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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13506  
**Folder ID Number:** 13506-008

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**Folder Title:**  
Republican Eagles 10/13/89 [OA 3536][1]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>

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ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN EAGLES  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1989  
GRAND HYATT, WASHINGTON D.C.  
12:00 P.M.

((THANK YOU, BUT YOU CAN'T KID ME. I KNOW ALL THE  
APPLAUSE WAS REALLY FOR THE SILVER FOX.))\ \

I WANT TO THANK LEE ATWATER. AS SOMEONE WHO ONCE  
WORKED IN THE CHAIRMAN'S FOURTH FLOOR OFFICE, I KNOW  
THE CHALLENGES YOU FACE. AND I KNOW HOW WELL YOUR  
LEADERSHIP HAS SET A STEADY COURSE FOR OUR REPUBLICAN  
PARTY. AND, OF COURSE, IT'S ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO SEE  
OUR OUTSTANDING CO-CHAIRMAN, JEANIE AUSTIN, WHO'S  
BROUGHT HER OWN BRAND OF FLORIDA KNOW-HOW TO THE RNC.

LARRY BATHGATE, RNC FINANCE CHAIRMAN: YOU'VE DONE  
A GREAT JOB. ALL THAT WE DO, YOU HELP MAKE POSSIBLE.  
ALONG THOSE LINES, I'D <sup>ALSO</sup> LIKE TO THANK MARGARET  
ALEXANDER, FORMER ~~3~~ FINANCE CHAIRMAN OF  
THE RNC AND CAMPAIGN.

AND BOBBY HOLT, A FELLOW TEXAN AND ONE OF MY OLDEST AND DEAREST FRIENDS -- ((AS THEY SAY IN MIDLAND, I'D KNOW YOUR ASHES IN A WHIRLWIND.)) BOBBY, I'M GLAD YOU BRING THE SAME DRIVE TO THE EAGLES PROGRAM THAT YOU BROUGHT TO THE INAUGURAL. NANCY THAWLEY, GOOD TO SEE YOU. AND BILL MCMANUS, OUR TREASURER. ((YOU KNOW, PEOPLE THINK I'M ACTIVE. BUT BILL MAKES ME LOOK LIKE A VERITABLE COUCH POTATO.\\ AND YET HE STILL IS THE ONLY MAN IN AMERICA WHO CALLS RONALD REAGAN "SONNY."))\\

IT'S GOOD TO SEE YOU. BUT MOST OF ALL, I CAME HERE TODAY TO RECOGNIZE AND THANK A GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE NOT CONTENT TO FOLLOW, BUT MUST LEAD -- THE REPUBLICAN EAGLES OF AMERICA.\\

((OUR GROUP IS, OF COURSE, NAMED AFTER THE NATIONAL SYMBOL OF AMERICA. BUT I'M SURE YOU KNOW THAT IF BEN FRANKLIN HAD HIS WAY, OUR NATIONAL SYMBOL WOULD HAVE BEEN ANOTHER NATIVE AMERICAN BIRD.\\ AND HAD THAT BEEN THE CASE, THEN WE WOULD HAVE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO LET THE OTHER PARTY USE THE NAME.\\ CAN YOU IMAGINE IT?\\ THE DEMOCRATIC TURKEYS?\\))

THE LAST TIME WE MET, THE CHERRY BLOSSOMS WERE IN FULL BLOOM, AND WASHINGTON WAS DEBATING HOW THE YEAR WOULD GO. THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HELD THAT FOR REPUBLICANS, THIS WAS TO BE THE YEAR OF LIVING DANGEROUSLY. IT IS NOW MID-OCTOBER, AND WE CAN, INSTEAD, LOOK BACK TO A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT.

EXAMPLE: THE HOUSE, INCLUDING SOME 64 DEMOCRATS, VOTED FOR A CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT. \\ THE COURAGEOUS STAND TAKEN BY SO MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOWS THAT WASHINGTON IS REALIZING WHAT THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY HAS ALWAYS KNOWN: WE MUST JOIN THE OTHER MAJOR INDUSTRIAL POWERS IN FAVORING INVESTMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH -- IN OTHER WORDS, JOBS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.\\\ ((AND AS FOR THOSE WHO STILL OPPOSE THIS CAPITOL GAINS DIFFERENTIAL, WELL, SOMETIMES I THINK THERE SHOULD BE AN EDUCATION SUMMIT JUST FOR LIBERALS.)) WHICH BRINGS ME TO OUR NEXT EXAMPLE.

TWO MONTHS AGO, I INVITED THE GOVERNORS TO A SUMMIT -- ONLY THE THIRD OF ITS KIND IN OUR HISTORY -- TO DISCUSS HISTORIC REFORM OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. AT THAT SUMMIT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE AGREED TO SET NATIONAL GOALS, TO REQUIRE ACCOUNTABILITY, AND TO PERMIT STATES, LOCALITIES AND SCHOOLS THE FLEXIBILITY THEY NEED TO MEET THESE HIGHER GOALS. TWO WEEKS AGO, WE JOINED FORCES FOR A SOCIAL COMPACT -- WE CALLED IT A JEFFERSONIAN COMPACT -- BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND PRINCIPAL, GOVERNORS AND TEACHERS, PARENTS AND STUDENTS, TO SAVE OUR SCHOOLS.\

ONE MORE EXAMPLE: CONTINUED PEACE AND PROSPERITY. VICTOR HUGO SAID THAT THERE IS NO ARMY THAT CAN MATCH AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM IS AN IDEA THAT IS ON THE MARCH ABROAD, AND ALLOWS US UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY AT HOME. IN FACT, UNDER REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, WE HAVE CREATED 20 MILLION NEW JOBS AS WE MARK THE 83RD MONTH OF ECONOMIC GROWTH - - THE LONGEST PEACETIME EXPANSION IN MODERN AMERICAN HISTORY.\ (IN SHORT, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DONE FOR AMERICA WHAT WILL CLARK HAS DONE FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO GIANTS.))

SO TO PUT IT SIMPLY, OUR PARTY, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, HAS LED AMERICA FROM THE DESPONDENCY AND DESPAIR OF THE PAST, TO A NEW ERA OF OPPORTUNITY. WILL THIS PROGRESS CONTINUE? YES, BUT ONLY IF REPUBLICANS CONTINUE TO LEAD.

DURING THE LAST DECADE, THE TWO PARTIES HAVE BATTLED FOR THE MAJORITY POSITION -- THE RIGHT TO LEAD AMERICA. WE WILL START TO KNOW THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE IN JUST A LITTLE MORE THAN ONE YEAR FROM TODAY.

ONE PARTY WON THE PRESIDENCY BY MAKING PROMISES; AND KEPT THE PRESIDENCY BY DELIVERING ON THOSE PROMISES. BUT THE OTHER PARTY HAS RETAINED ITS HOLD ON CONGRESS WELL INTO ITS THIRD DECADE, IN PART BECAUSE IT IS AFRAID TO MEET US ON A LEVEL FIELD OF FAIR COMPETITION.

YOU KNOW HOW THE UGLY GERRYMANDER DILUTES THE VOTES OF REPUBLICAN AND INDEPENDENT VOTERS ACROSS AMERICA. WE HAVE PROTESTED THIS IN THE PAST; BUT NOW IT IS TIME FOR US TO BECOME ACTIVISTS. I HAVE SENT PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO CONGRESS WHICH CALLS FOR NEW FEDERAL STANDARDS FOR FAIR REDISTRICTING. OUR DISTINGUISHED REPUBLICAN LEADERS, BOB DOLE AND BOB MICHEL, HAVE INTRODUCED THIS LEGISLATION WHICH I URGE CONGRESS TO ENACT. IT IS TIME WE STAND UP, AND MAKE OUR CASE IN THE CONGRESS, IN THE COURTS, IN THE MEDIA AND WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: THIS FORM OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST VOTERS MUST END.\

IF WE ARE GOING TO GET A FAIR CHANCE IN CONGRESS, WE MUST HAVE A SAY IN HOW CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE LEGISLATIVE LINES ARE DRAWN. THIS MAKES IT CRITICAL FOR US TO INVEST OUR BEST EFFORTS IN STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES AND GOVERNORSHIPS. IN THIS WAY, REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGNS AT THE LOCAL AND STATE LEVEL CAN SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN OUR BID FOR CONTROL OF CONGRESS.

OUR VISION IS SET: WE ARE GOING TO BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS THE STATES. WE ARE GOING TO BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS CONGRESS. AND THEN WE WILL BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS AMERICA INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.\ \

TO DO THIS, WE MUST ALSO REACH OUT TO NEW CONSTITUENCIES, TO THOSE ONCE CONSIDERED TO BE THE EXCLUSIVE VOTING BLOC OF THE OPPOSITION. WE ARE GOING TO REACH OUT TO NEW VOTERS AND REACH OUT TO BROADEN OUR PARTY.

SO IT ALL COMES DOWN TO THIS: TO WIN BIG, YOU MUST THINK BIG. WE MUST HAVE THE AUDACITY -- NOT JUST TO WIN MORE SEATS IN THE HOUSE -- BUT TO TAKE BACK THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR. WE MUST HAVE THE DARING -- NOT JUST TO REACH OUT, BUT TO WIN SUPPORT IN EVERY COMMUNITY, AT EVERY LEVEL.

SOME OBSERVERS LOOK BACK AT THE ELECTIONS OF THE 1980S, AND WONDER IF THE REPUBLICANS HAVE ALREADY SEEN THEIR BEST DAYS. WELL, WE HAVE A SAYING IN TEXAS: YOU CAN'T TELL WHICH WAY THE TRAIN WENT BY LOOKING AT THE TRACKS. WHEN THE DUST SETTLES FROM THE 1990 ELECTION, THIS NATION WILL BE HEADING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. I KNOW THAT WITH THE LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT OF THE EAGLES, AMERICA WILL BE GOING IN A REPUBLICAN DIRECTION.

FOR EVERYTHING THAT YOU HAVE DONE FOR OUR GREAT PARTY AND COUNTRY AND ARE PLEDGED TO DO, I THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 09/30/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL INNER CIRCLE GALA  
 (09/29 3:30 p.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WRAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>_____</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>_____</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>_____</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

89 SEP 1 10 48

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1989

1989 SEP 29 PM 4: 04

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DM*

SUBJECT: REMARKS AT REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL INNER CIRCLE GALA

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, October 2, at 9:00 p.m., you will make brief remarks at the Republican Senatorial Inner Circle Gala, at Union Station. Approximately 2500 Inner Circle members will attend this 10th anniversary celebration, which is closed to the press. Approximately two dozen U.S. Senators will be in attendance. Among the entertainers who will precede you is Fred Travalena, who will be doing his impersonation of you.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks focus on the central role of the Inner Circle in the Republican successes of the 1980s, and enlist its membership in the effort to take back the Senate in 1990. Senate Candidates Bill Cabaniss (Ala.), Claudine Schneider (R.I.), Tom Tauke (Ia.), Lynn Martin (Il.) and Hank Brown (Col.) -- the five uncontested candidates -- are mentioned in the text. St. Senator Cabaniss and Cong. Schneider will be in attendance.

McGroarty/Dooley  
September 29, 1989  
3:30 pm  
[INNER]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL INNER CIRCLE GALA  
UNION STATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.  
OCTOBER 2, 1989  
9:00 PM

Thank you, Don [Sen. Nickles] -- and thank you for the fine work you're doing as Chairman of the Inner Circle. And let me say hello to all the members of the Senate who have turned out tonight. To Mary Hart. And to another fine entertainer -- Lee Atwater.

Barbara and I are delighted to be here -- delighted to see so many friendly faces.

And I'm delighted to be in Washington. In the past ten days I've been to New Jersey, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland. I told John Sununu I'd done enough travelling for awhile -- and he promised he'd keep me off Air Force One. That's why I got a little bit suspicious when he told me tonight I'd be going to Union Station.... [Pause]

I've known many of you active in the Inner Circle for years, and I've always valued your friendship and support. Barbara and I remember having some of you over to Observatory Hill just a few months before the '84 elections. We agreed back then that we'd like to get together more often -- but we'd have to get a bigger house. [[Pause]] Well, we got that bigger house -- but the Inner Circle's gotten bigger, too.

I am pleased to share this evening with you and so many special guests. [[I heard I missed a great routine by Fred Travalena -- but Barbara tells me it's nothing I haven't seen before.]]

[[You know, Fred, the other day I ran into Bob Dole. He told me: "I know George Bush. George Bush is a friend of mine. **But George, let me tell you -- you're no Fred Travalena.**"]]

[[Fred, I just want you to know we've got something else in common: you've been on Johnny Carson -- and Johnny Carson's been all over me....]]

Tonight is the 10th anniversary of the Inner Circle. I want to congratulate all of you who have made these past ten years **ten of the very best years ever** for the Republican Party.

But it's the **next ten years** I want to talk about tonight -- and how we can make the 1990s the decade the Grand Old Party becomes the **majority party** in America.

I know there are plenty of baseball fans here. [[Must be a few old **Senators** fans in this crowd....]] This is the time of year when the teams at the top are watching that magic number that will bring them the championship. Well, the Republican Party has a magic number of its own, and that number is 5: 5 seats stand between us and a Senate majority. And we've got a lucky number, too: 13 -- 13 months until the 1990 elections.

That's why we've got to make today the first day of the Republican "stretch drive" for the Senate. **And make no mistake: we can put the Senate back in Republican hands.**

And I don't need to tell you how much it means down on my end of Pennsylvania Avenue to have a majority on the Hill. President Reagan and I had a Republican majority in the Senate from 1980 to 1986. In those six years, steady Senate support helped us launch the economic recovery -- 82 months and still going strong. It helped us restore America to a position of strength and respect in the world -- and it helped us put the values of faith, family, honest work and open opportunity back where they belong: at the center of all America stands for.

And a Republican Senate is within reach. Even a small shift can put us back on top. In 1986, 35,000 more Republican votes in the 6 tightest Senate races would have given us a 51-49 majority. Think about that: That's a fraction of 1 percent of all votes cast.

We're privileged to have here tonight two of the talented candidates who can help us take back the Senate: Claudine Schneider and Bill Cabaniss. Along with Lynn Martin, Tom Tauke and Hank Brown -- that makes 5 great reasons we're looking to 1990 to be the beginning of the GOP decade.

I hope you're optimistic -- because I am. The Republican Party is building an agenda for the 1990s -- an agenda for a new American Century. Whatever the issues -- economic growth. The war on drugs. The environment. Education. America's place in a changing world: **We're the party with ideas. We're the party with experience. We're the party with solutions.**

We occupy the high ground. We stand for the solid values of mainstream America. It's time the Republican Party became the majority party -- the party America puts its faith in.

That's our goal for the 1990s. And with the Inner Circle's help, we're going to make the Senate our first step. [[And I can't think of a better setting than this, to point out that the Republican Party is on the right track, and with your help, we'll leave our opponents at the station.]] [Pause]

It's been my pleasure to join you tonight. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

Davis/Martin  
Oct. 10, 1989  
Title: Governors  
Draft: One

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC.,  
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 7 p.m.**

Thank you Chairman Hayden for that gracious introduction. My congratulations go to you for your effective tenure, and to your successor, Governor Ashcroft.

I also ask you to join me in honoring another governor among us today, someone who stood his ground through a time of turbulence and tragedy, a great governor and a true leader . . . Carroll Campbell of South Carolina.\\

((Finally, I also want to recognize a former chairman of this association, and my chief of staff, John Sununu.\\ John, did you hear of the boy in the spelling bee who was asked if he could spell your last name? The boy said he could spell "Sununu," but he just wasn't sure when to stop.))\\

((By the way, did you hear that ABC is going to air a made-for-T.V. movie entitled: "George Bush, the War Years"?\\ You can pretty much guess what this movie will be about. It'll be about the time I had to bail out.\\ And to think, Terry Branstad, that there are actually people out there who would want to see a movie about the Iowa primary.\\ \\ \\ \\))

As you know, I am not an alumnus of your organization. But over the years, as I worked with the governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility you are shouldering, and the leadership you provide.

But of course, there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It is not possible for a governor to shy away from the hard decisions. You are responsible, as am I. You are forced to confront the gritty problems, as am I. Some describe this responsibility as a great burden. But as I said before, for us, if it is a burden, it is one we cheerfully accept. To sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

For that reason I believe we can, **we must**, as chief executives **take responsibility**, join forces, and make a common cause of building a better America.

That is why we came together at Charlottesville, at an historic summit, only the third of its kind in our history. We came together, with your Democratic counterparts, in open, wide-ranging and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. In the end, we agreed to an historic compact -- a Jeffersonian compact -- to set national goals; to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity; and then to be accountable for the results.

We could achieve this, because at Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment and our children before ourselves. America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals. We must work together to redeem our schools. We must work together to save our children

from drugs. We must work together to protect the environment and meet the changing needs of the American family.

Still, this does not mean that there is no time and place for partisanship. There is a Republican approach to the challenges we face. And we have proven, time and again, that the Republican approach is **the best approach.**\\

I consider this a matter of record, a record that includes **eighty-three months** of economic growth and **more than twenty million new jobs.**\\ A few years ago, when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut taxes -- and it did the opposite. When our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our armed forces -- and the Soviets met us at the negotiating table. In short, whatever has worked at the federal level happened only because Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress joined forces to **make** it work.

So the bottom line is this -- throughout the 1980s, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. And it is no less true at the state level. Who is implementing alternative teacher certification? Our Republican governors. Who enacted the first child-care programs based on the principle of choice? Our Republican governors. Who is leading the way to welfare reform? Or to protect our wetlands and environment? Again, it is you.

While Republicans lead the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. After the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't quite bring

themselves to admit that Republicans were right. Nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents hits the liberal Democrats so well today. It is the story of the "unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch Plaid."\\

This is precisely what we must do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues, and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and state elections of the 1990s will not just be a battle of the century; it will be a battle **for** the century -- the 21st century.

We have proven, time and again, that our party can keep the White House. But in a majority of governorships, state offices and seats in Congress, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. We must be more competitive, for when it comes to the nuts and bolts of politics, our opponents are the master mechanics of all time.

As we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward **our rightful place as the majority party of governors.**\\ As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of

the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the U.S. Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition. But the key to all three goals is the first -- to elect more Republican governors.

It's no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in state government. It's no coincidence that the House majority remains in force today. The Founding Fathers intended the House of Representatives to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. Instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about my son Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. Neil is thirty-four years old. Neil was born on January, 22, 1955, three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not one time in his life has Neil seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties. Not one time. Just like Neil, there are millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Will the House remain static for another thirty-four years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that

compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. **This must not continue.**\\

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republicans and Independents across this country. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to raise our voices, to become true activists. As Republican leaders, you can take our message to voters of your states. You must declare that **this form of voter discrimination must end.**\\

To lead America in the next century, we must make aggressive gains at the state level in the next few years. A majority, or even a large minority, of Republicans in state legislatures can join with you to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymander schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Strong state parties can also help us to win back the U.S. Senate.

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems that require more than federal solutions. They require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when: "a single courageous state . . . may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the nation." ((To borrow a phrase)) The states are becoming these "laboratories of democracy," with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative policies. You are following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor who said that our national greatness "is not what we **have** that will make us a great nation; it is the **way** in which we **use** it."

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity, and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century.

The states are at the forefront because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and the private sector. Much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it is due. But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republican governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs **that work**.

The people know this. And come November, 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will vote Republican.

But to win big, you must think big. We must have the audacity -- not just to hold our own in the Senate, but to win it back. We must have the tenacity -- not just to elect more Members of Congress, but to reach for the Speaker's Chair. And

we must have the daring to seize the majority position among governors.

Republican governors are already thinking big, thinking ahead. You are the planners **and** the prophets, the managers **and** the visionaries, the dreamers **and** the doers. You are the ones I look to join me, in a partnership, to win the future.

So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. **Then we will be the party that leads America into the 21st Century.**\\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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Davis/Martin  
Oct. 10, 1989  
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Draft: One

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So the bottom line is this -- throughout the 1980s, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the state level. Who is implementing alternative teacher certification? Our Republican governors. Who enacted the first child-care programs based on the principle of choice? Our Republican governors. Who is leading the way to welfare reform? Or to protect our wetlands and environment? Again, it is you.

While Republicans lead the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. After the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't quite bring

themselves to admit that Republicans were right. Nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. It is the story of the "unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch Plaid."\\

This is precisely what we must do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues, and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and state elections of the 1990s will not just be a battle of the century; it will be a battle for the century -- the 21st century.

We have proven, time and again, that our party can keep the White House. But to win a majority of governorships, state offices and seats in Congress, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. We must be more competitive, for when it comes to the nuts and bolts of politics, our opponents are the master mechanics of all time.

As we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward **our rightful place as the majority party of governors.**\\ As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of

the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the U.S. Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition.\\ But the key to all three goals is the first -- to elect more Republican governors.

It's no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in state government. It's no coincidence that the House majority remains in force today. The Founding Fathers intended the House of Representatives to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. Instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about my son Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. Neil is thirty-four years old. Neil was born on January, 22, 1955, three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not one time in his life has Neil seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties. Not one time. Just like Neil, there are millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Will the House remain static for another thirty-four years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that

compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. **This must not continue.**\\

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republicans and Independents across this country. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to raise our voices, to become true activists. As Republican leaders, you can take our message to voters of your states. You must declare that **this form of voter discrimination must end.**\\

To lead America in the next century, we must make aggressive gains at the state level in the next few years. A majority, or even a large minority, of Republicans in state legislatures can join with you to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymander schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Strong state parties can also help us to win back the U.S. Senate.

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems that require more than federal solutions. They require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when: "a single courageous state . . . may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the nation." ((To borrow a phrase)) The states are becoming these "laboratories of democracy," with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative policies. You are following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor who said that our national greatness "is not what we **have** that will make us a great nation; it is the **way** in which we **use** it."

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity, and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century.

The states are at the forefront because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and the private sector. Much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it is due. But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republican governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs **that work**.

The people know this. And come November, 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will vote Republican.

But to win big, you must think big. We must have the audacity -- not just to hold our own in the Senate, but to win it back. We must have the tenacity -- not just to elect more Members of Congress, but to reach for the Speaker's Chair. And

we must have the daring to seize the majority position among governors.

Republican governors are already thinking big, thinking ahead. You are the planners and the prophets, the managers and the visionaries, the dreamers and the doers. You are the ones I look to join me, in a partnership, to win the future.

So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. **Then we will be** the party that leads America into the 21st Century.\\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN EAGLES  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1989  
GRAND HYATT, WASHINGTON D.C.  
12:00 P.M.

((THANK YOU, BUT YOU CAN'T KID ME. I KNOW ALL THE  
APPLAUSE WAS REALLY FOR THE SILVER FOX.))\ \

I WANT TO THANK LEE ATWATER. AS SOMEONE WHO ONCE  
WORKED IN THE CHAIRMAN'S FOURTH FLOOR OFFICE, I KNOW  
THE CHALLENGES YOU FACE. AND I KNOW HOW WELL YOUR  
LEADERSHIP HAS SET A STEADY COURSE FOR OUR REPUBLICAN  
PARTY. AND, OF COURSE, IT'S ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO SEE  
OUR OUTSTANDING CO-CHAIRMAN, JEANIE AUSTIN, WHO'S  
BROUGHT HER OWN BRAND OF FLORIDA KNOW-HOW TO THE RNC.

LARRY BATHGATE, RNC FINANCE CHAIRMAN: YOU'VE DONE  
A GREAT JOB. ALL THAT WE DO, YOU HELP MAKE POSSIBLE.

AND BOBBY HOLT, A FELLOW TEXAN AND ONE OF MY OLDEST AND DEAREST FRIENDS -- ((AS THEY SAY IN MIDLAND, I'D KNOW YOUR ASHES IN A WHIRLWIND.)) BOBBY, I'M GLAD YOU BRING THE SAME DRIVE TO THE EAGLES PROGRAM THAT YOU BROUGHT TO THE INAUGURAL. NANCY THAWLEY, GOOD TO SEE YOU. AND BILL MCMANUS, OUR TREASURER. ((YOU KNOW, PEOPLE THINK I'M ACTIVE. BUT BILL MAKES ME LOOK LIKE A VERITABLE COUCH POTATO.\\ AND YET HE STILL IS THE ONLY MAN IN AMERICA WHO CALLS RONALD REAGAN "SONNY."))\\

IT'S GOOD TO SEE YOU. BUT MOST OF ALL, I CAME HERE TODAY TO RECOGNIZE AND THANK A GROUP OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE NOT CONTENT TO FOLLOW, BUT MUST LEAD -- THE REPUBLICAN EAGLES OF AMERICA.\\

((OUR GROUP IS, OF COURSE, NAMED AFTER THE NATIONAL SYMBOL OF AMERICA. BUT I'M SURE YOU KNOW THAT IF BEN FRANKLIN HAD HIS WAY, OUR NATIONAL SYMBOL WOULD HAVE BEEN ANOTHER NATIVE AMERICAN BIRD.\\ AND HAD THAT BEEN THE CASE, THEN WE WOULD HAVE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO LET THE OTHER PARTY USE THE NAME.\\ CAN YOU IMAGINE IT?\\ THE DEMOCRATIC TURKEYS?\\))

THE LAST TIME WE MET, THE CHERRY BLOSSOMS WERE IN FULL BLOOM, AND WASHINGTON WAS DEBATING HOW THE YEAR WOULD GO. THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HELD THAT FOR REPUBLICANS, THIS WAS TO BE THE YEAR OF LIVING DANGEROUSLY. IT IS NOW MID-OCTOBER, AND WE CAN, INSTEAD, LOOK BACK TO A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT.

EXAMPLE: THE HOUSE, INCLUDING SOME 64 DEMOCRATS, VOTED FOR A CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT. \ \ THE COURAGEOUS STAND TAKEN BY SO MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SHOWS THAT WASHINGTON IS REALIZING WHAT THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY HAS ALWAYS KNOWN: WE MUST JOIN THE OTHER MAJOR INDUSTRIAL POWERS IN FAVORING INVESTMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH -- IN OTHER WORDS, JOBS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS. \ \ \ ((AND AS FOR THOSE WHO STILL OPPOSE THIS CAPITOL GAINS DIFFERENTIAL, WELL, SOMETIMES I THINK THERE SHOULD BE AN EDUCATION SUMMIT JUST FOR LIBERALS.)) WHICH BRINGS ME TO OUR NEXT EXAMPLE.

TWO MONTHS AGO, I INVITED THE GOVERNORS TO A SUMMIT -- ONLY THE THIRD OF ITS KIND IN OUR HISTORY -- TO DISCUSS HISTORIC REFORM OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. AT THAT SUMMIT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE AGREED TO SET NATIONAL GOALS, TO REQUIRE ACCOUNTABILITY, AND TO PERMIT STATES, LOCALITIES AND SCHOOLS THE FLEXIBILITY THEY NEED TO MEET THESE HIGHER GOALS. TWO WEEKS AGO, WE JOINED FORCES FOR A SOCIAL COMPACT -- WE CALLED IT A JEFFERSONIAN COMPACT -- BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND PRINCIPAL, GOVERNORS AND TEACHERS, PARENTS AND STUDENTS, TO SAVE OUR SCHOOLS.\

ONE MORE EXAMPLE: CONTINUED PEACE AND PROSPERITY. VICTOR HUGO SAID THAT THERE IS NO ARMY THAT CAN MATCH AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM IS AN IDEA THAT IS ON THE MARCH ABROAD, AND ALLOWS US UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY AT HOME. IN FACT, UNDER REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, WE HAVE CREATED 20 MILLION NEW JOBS AS WE MARK THE 83RD MONTH OF ECONOMIC GROWTH - - THE LONGEST PEACETIME EXPANSION IN MODERN AMERICAN HISTORY.\ ( (IN SHORT, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DONE FOR AMERICA WHAT WILL CLARK HAS DONE FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO GIANTS.))

SO TO PUT IT SIMPLY, OUR PARTY, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, HAS LED AMERICA FROM THE DESPONDENCY AND DESPAIR OF THE PAST, TO A NEW ERA OF OPPORTUNITY. WILL THIS PROGRESS CONTINUE? YES, BUT ONLY IF REPUBLICANS CONTINUE TO LEAD.

DURING THE LAST DECADE, THE TWO PARTIES HAVE BATTLED FOR THE MAJORITY POSITION -- THE RIGHT TO LEAD AMERICA. WE WILL START TO KNOW THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE IN JUST A LITTLE MORE THAN ONE YEAR FROM TODAY.

ONE PARTY WON THE PRESIDENCY BY MAKING PROMISES; AND KEPT THE PRESIDENCY BY DELIVERING ON THOSE PROMISES. BUT THE OTHER PARTY HAS RETAINED ITS HOLD ON CONGRESS WELL INTO ITS THIRD DECADE, IN PART BECAUSE IT IS AFRAID TO MEET US ON A LEVEL FIELD OF FAIR COMPETITION.

YOU KNOW HOW THE UGLY GERRYMANDER DILUTES THE VOTES OF REPUBLICAN AND INDEPENDENT VOTERS ACROSS AMERICA. WE HAVE PROTESTED THIS IN THE PAST; BUT NOW IT IS TIME FOR US TO BECOME ACTIVISTS. I HAVE SENT PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO CONGRESS WHICH CALLS FOR NEW FEDERAL STANDARDS FOR FAIR REDISTRICTING. OUR DISTINGUISHED REPUBLICAN LEADERS, BOB DOLE AND BOB MICHEL, HAVE INTRODUCED THIS LEGISLATION WHICH I URGE CONGRESS TO ENACT. IT IS TIME WE STAND UP, AND MAKE OUR CASE IN THE CONGRESS, IN THE COURTS, IN THE MEDIA AND WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: THIS FORM OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST VOTERS MUST END.\ \

IF WE ARE GOING TO GET A FAIR CHANCE IN CONGRESS, WE MUST HAVE A SAY IN HOW CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE LEGISLATIVE LINES ARE DRAWN. THIS MAKES IT CRITICAL FOR US TO INVEST OUR BEST EFFORTS IN STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES AND GOVERNORSHIPS. IN THIS WAY, REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGNS AT THE LOCAL AND STATE LEVEL CAN SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN OUR BID FOR CONTROL OF CONGRESS.

OUR VISION IS SET: WE ARE GOING TO BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS THE STATES. WE ARE GOING TO BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS CONGRESS. AND THEN WE WILL BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS AMERICA INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.\

TO DO THIS, WE MUST ALSO REACH OUT TO NEW CONSTITUENCIES, TO THOSE ONCE CONSIDERED TO BE THE EXCLUSIVE VOTING BLOC OF THE OPPOSITION. WE ARE GOING TO REACH OUT TO NEW VOTERS AND REACH OUT TO BROADEN OUR PARTY.

SO IT ALL COMES DOWN TO THIS: TO WIN BIG, YOU MUST THINK BIG. WE MUST HAVE THE AUDACITY -- NOT JUST TO WIN MORE SEATS IN THE HOUSE -- BUT TO TAKE BACK THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR. WE MUST HAVE THE DARING -- NOT JUST TO REACH OUT, BUT TO WIN SUPPORT IN EVERY COMMUNITY, AT EVERY LEVEL.

SOME OBSERVERS LOOK BACK AT THE ELECTIONS OF THE 1980S, AND WONDER IF THE REPUBLICANS HAVE ALREADY SEEN THEIR BEST DAYS. WELL, WE HAVE A SAYING IN TEXAS: YOU CAN'T TELL WHICH WAY THE TRAIN WENT BY LOOKING AT THE TRACKS. WHEN THE DUST SETTLES FROM THE 1990 ELECTION, THIS NATION WILL BE HEADING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. I KNOW THAT WITH THE LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT OF THE EAGLES, AMERICA WILL BE GOING IN A REPUBLICAN DIRECTION.

FOR EVERYTHING THAT YOU HAVE DONE FOR OUR GREAT PARTY AND COUNTRY AND ARE PLEDGED TO DO, I THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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Davis/Martin  
Date: Oct. 11, 1989  
Draft: Two  
Title: Eagles

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN EAGLES**  
Friday, Oct. 13, 1989  
Grand Hyatt, Washington, D.C.  
12:00 p.m.

((Thank you, but you can't kid me. I know all the applause was really for the Silver Fox.))\\

I want to thank Lee Atwater. As someone who once worked in the Chairman's fourth floor office, I know the challenges you face. And I know how well your leadership has set a steady course for our Republican Party. And, of course, it's always a pleasure to see our outstanding Co-Chairman, Jeanie Austin, who's brought her own brand of Florida know-how to the RNC.

Larry Bathgate, RNC Finance Chairman: You've done a great job. All that we do, you help make possible.

And Bobby Holt, a fellow Texan and one of my oldest and dearest friends -- ((As they say in Midland, I'd know your ashes in a whirlwind.)) Bobby, I'm glad you bring the same drive to the Eagles program that you brought to the Inaugural. Nancy Thawley, good to see you. And Bill McManus, our Treasurer. ((You know, people think I'm active. But Bill makes me look like a veritable couch potato.\\ And yet he still is the only man in America who calls Ronald Reagan "Sonny."))\\

It's good to see you. But most of all, I came here today to recognize and thank a group of men and women who are not content to follow, but must lead -- the Republican Eagles of America.\\

((Our group is, of course, named after the national symbol of America. But I'm sure you know that if Ben Franklin had his way, our national symbol would have been another native American bird.\\ And had that been the case, then we would have had no choice but to let the other party use the name.\\ Can you imagine it?\\ The Democratic Turkeys?\\))

The last time we met, the cherry blossoms were in full bloom, and Washington was debating how the year would go. The conventional wisdom held that for Republicans, this was to be the year of living dangerously. It is now mid-October, and we can, instead, look back to a year of achievement.

Example: The House, including some 64 Democrats, voted for capital gains tax cut. \\ The courageous stand taken by so many Members of Congress shows that Washington is realizing what the business community has always known: we must join the other major industrial powers in favoring investment and economic growth -- **in other words, jobs and opportunity for all Americans.**\\ \\ ((And as for those who still oppose this capital gains differential, well, sometimes I think there should be an education summit just for liberals.)) Which brings me to our next example.

A few months ago, I invited the governors to a summit -- only the third of its kind in our history -- to discuss historic reform of our educational system. <sup>At that summit,</sup> For the first time, we agreed to set national goals, to require accountability, and to permit states, localities and schools the flexibility they need to meet these higher goals. Two weeks ago, we joined forces for a social

compact -- we called it a Jeffersonian Compact -- between president and principal, governors and teachers, parents and students, to save our schools.\\

One more example: Continued peace and prosperity. Victor Hugo said that there is no army that can match an idea whose time has come. Economic and political freedom is an idea that is on the march abroad, and allows us unprecedented prosperity at home. In fact, under Republican leadership, we have created 20 million new jobs as we mark the 83rd month of economic growth -- **the longest peacetime expansion in modern American history.**\\ ((In short, the Republican Party has done for America what Will Clark has done for the San Francisco Giants.))

So to put it simply, our party, the Republican Party, has led America from the despondency and despair of the past, to a new era of opportunity. Will this progress continue? Yes, but only if Republicans continue to lead.

During the last decade, the two parties have battled for the majority position -- the right to lead America. We will start to know the outcome of this struggle in just a little more than one year from today.

One party won the presidency by making promises; and kept the presidency by delivering on those promises. But the other party has retained its hold on Congress well into its third decade, in part because it is afraid to meet us on a level field of fair competition.

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republican and Independent voters across America. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to become activists. I have sent proposed legislation to Congress which calls for new federal standards for fair redistricting. Our distinguished Republican leaders, Bob Dole and Bob Michel, have introduced this legislation which I urge Congress to enact. It is time we stand up, and make our case in the Congress, in the courts, in the media and with the American people: **this form of discrimination against voters must end.**\\

If we are going to get a fair chance in Congress, we must have a say in how Congressional and state legislative lines are drawn. This makes it critical for us to invest our **best efforts** in state legislative races and governorships. In this way, Republican campaigns at the local and state level can support and strengthen our bid for control of Congress.

Our vision is set: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. **And then we will be the party that leads America into the 21st Century.**\\

To do this, we must also reach out to new constituencies, to those once considered to be the exclusive voting bloc of the opposition. We are going to **reach out** to new voters and **reach out** to broaden our party.

So it all comes down to this: to win big, you must think big. We must have the audacity -- not just to win more seats in

the House -- but to take back the Speaker's Chair. We must have the temerity -- not just to reach out, but to win support in every community, at every level.

Some observers look back at the elections of the 1980s, and wonder if the Republicans have already seen their best days. Well, we have a saying in Texas: You can't tell which way the train went by looking at the tracks. When the dust settles from the 1990 election, this nation will be heading one way or the other. I know that with the leadership and support of the Eagles, America will be going in a Republican direction.

For everything that you have done for our great party and country and are pledged to do, I thank you. God bless you and God bless America.

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