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**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:** 13516  
**Folder ID Number:** 13516-015

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**Folder Title:**  
American Spectator Annual Dinner 1/22/90 [OA 4390]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 22, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
DURING AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER

The Willard Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

7:25 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, David. And let me say that I deem it a high honor to be introduced by David Morse, a man I've known for a long, long time. A Nobel winner and extraordinary human being. And congratulations, sir, on the wonderful work of Libertad, the work that it's doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. Let me also pay my respects and recognize Lord Henry Plumb over here, who is with us tonight, also a distinguished international figure -- very proud to be with him and many members of my administration, and Senators and members of the House of Representatives -- our whole team on Capitol Hill.

And of course, I'm very pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder and gentler side. (Laughter.) That's his right side, if any question about that.

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. (Laughter.) Now that's true conservatism, you see. Wait until the year's over -- completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about. (Laughter.) But who am I to criticize? Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. (Laughter and applause.)

But I am delighted to be here, and so is Barbara -- we are, to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- see beneath and beyond the intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there is a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to the democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard the law of unintended consequences. Well, what's at work here is what we could call the law of well-intended consequences. And in some ways, our difficulty with dealing with homelessness begins with the label -- a label that tells us what the homeless lack is homes.

But the problem is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. There are homeless families, cases where the husband and the wife and the children are all together, out on the street. But most often, homelessness is a symptom of a more pervasive problem -- drug or alcohol addiction or chronic joblessness, or mental illness or family problems -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people that we see on the streets from caring for their children, from keeping a

MORE

home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the housing in the world won't get the homeless off the street once and for all and back into society. There is no other way to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets. And so last November, I announced what we call the HOPE initiative -- Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. Along with help for first-time homebuyers, this new proposal brings other creative solutions to the difficult housing problems facing low-income families. Not new public construction programs that too often prove to be expensive failures, but more -- tenant ownership and housing vouchers to provide more options to more people.

But affordability is only one part of the problem. Availability is the other. We must renew the low-income housing tax credit to spur needed private construction. We've got to go even further. We need policies that encourage the growth and investment that provide jobs -- the jobs that translate into homes. And we need enterprise zones to stimulate entrepreneurship. And we need to cut the capital gains tax, and in these pockets of poverty, these special enterprise zones, we need to eliminate that tax altogether. (Applause.)

But the real answer for homeless with mental problems or dependent on drugs or alcohol -- the real answer is shelter plus care. And you're familiar with the McKinney Act. It's now been signed into law and substantially increases funding to reduce homelessness. But the solution to the problems of the homeless require partnership -- federal, state and local. Through hope, we will improve coordination of basic needs, like shelter, with other social services to help the homeless get the support they need to control their own lives and find the jobs that mean the difference between a life of despair and a life of dignity.

But homelessness isn't the only issue where we need to look beyond superficial quick-fix solutions. Take our schools -- education. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- current wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. Well, we all know the bigger the price tag, the better the quality, right?

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized societies and democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools simply are not making the grade.

So what's wrong? It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to the schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into the goals that all schools can aim for. And then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the freedom and flexibility they need to strive for higher standards -- and then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. And there's also no shortcut to the victory line in the race against drugs and crime. There's no simple solution to a problem as complex as this. And here again, it'll take a partnership of people reaching into every neighborhood and every school.

You know, at the federal level, we've developed a

MORE

comprehensive National Drug Strategy to attack this insidious plague on four fronts: enforcement, interdiction, education and treatment. And I salute our Drug Czar, Bill Bennett -- why we call people czars in the United States, I don't know. But if there's ever a guy that deserved the title, it's Bill. (Applause.)

But over the past year, we've sent Congress our proposals and, frankly, we have made progress in some areas. I'm pleased that Capitol Hill provided us with the reinforcements that we asked for. New agents, new prosecutors, new prisons to catch, convict, and hold those who value America so little. But these new troops can't do it alone. Simply put: We must have tougher laws on the books. And that means increased mandatory time for firearms offenses, the death penalty for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, and no more loopholes that let criminals go free.

Working together, the administration and Congress can make even more progress. But our drug and crime problems go beyond government solutions alone. Getting addicts off drugs or making sure that hardened criminals do hard time will take the commitment of everyone who cares about this country. And it will take a return to the values that have taught generations of Americans the difference between right and wrong. It's not an easy road to travel. But it is the surest route to a drug-free America.

And that's why, with all the flash and the fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.

You know, we all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances -- clashing interests. More than anything else, democracy depends on the decency of its people.

And I am convinced that there is in this country a deep reservoir of democratic decency. A respect for others. A sense of responsibility. A solid recognition that values matter. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of a free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family, in our churches and in our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

And this is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we must ourselves sustain.

And that's our challenge today. I must confess, I worry at times about the dissolution of the family, about the diminution of the family. But fundamentally, the institution is strong. And our challenge, then -- to see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture.

The American people understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with these core values. And for all the noise and the clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism. The calendar offers each of us convenient launch points for a fresh start. Sometimes it's a new day, a new year -- now, a brand-new decade. And the beginning of the '90s invites America to clearly put its signature on the 20th century. To write the next chapter in a book of spectacular achievements in freedom, economics, human advancement, world leadership. I welcome the '90s with a genuine sense of optimism. It's an ideal time to renew our vows and our values. Time to look

beyond the next paycheck and the next personal problem -- time, instead, to look to the next generation.

And so I am optimistic about our future for one compelling reason: To succeed, we do not have to acquire any new qualities. The courage, ingenuity and compassion that made us the leader of the Free World is still in every one of us. And we simply have to remember that the American adventure isn't over, it's just begun.

Thank you all very much. God bless you and the Spectator, and God bless the United States of America, and thank you for letting Barbara and me come by. (Applause.)

END

7:40 P.M. EST

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/17/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Thursday 1/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

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

**REMARKS:**  
 Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, 01/18, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

89 DEC 18 PM 4:59

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1990

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton

Re: American Spectator draft

This speech makes me nervous. Unfortunately I have not had time to go through it in detail, but overall it strikes me as rambling, excessively philosophical, and curiously negative in tone.

In particular, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th grafs on page 2 strike me as almost Carteresque in their neo Culture of Narcissism quality.

The treatment on homelessness beginning on the bottom of page 2 looks chancy to me. This is an unbelievably touchy issue, and I'll confess that I'm not up on all the nuances, but I would have someone really sensitive to the issue go through this carefully.

The bottom of page 4 picks up the Christopher Lasch stuff again in a way which just doesn't sound like George Bush.

I apologize for these sketchy, time-pressured comments. If I am the only one who has read the speech who feels this way, then I wouldn't worry too much. If others share these vague premonitions of disaster, then I think the speech needs a thorough rewrite.

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home.

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You know, at the federal level, we've developed a

MORE

comprehensive National Drug Strategy to attack this insidious plague on four fronts: enforcement, interdiction, education and treatment. And I salute our Drug Czar, Bill Bennett -- why we call people czars in the United States, I don't know. But if there's ever a guy that deserved the title, it's Bill. (Applause.)

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And that's why, with all the flash and the fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.

You know, we all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances -- clashing interests. More than anything else, democracy depends on the decency of its people.

And I am convinced that there is in this country a deep reservoir of democratic decency. A respect for others. A sense of responsibility. A solid recognition that values matter. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of a free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family, in our churches and in our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

And this is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we must ourselves sustain.

And that's our challenge today. I must confess, I worry at times about the dissolution of the family, about the diminution of the family. But fundamentally, the institution is strong. And our challenge, then -- to see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture.

The American people understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with these core values. And for all the noise and the clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism. The calendar offers each of us convenient launch points for a fresh start. Sometimes it's a new day, a new year -- now, a brand-new decade. And the beginning of the '90s invites America to clearly put its signature on the 20th century. To write the next chapter in a book of spectacular achievements in freedom, economics, human advancement, world leadership. I welcome the '90s with a genuine sense of optimism. It's an ideal time to renew our vows and our values. Time to look

beyond the next paycheck and the next personal problem -- time, instead, to look to the next generation.

And so I am optimistic about our future for one compelling reason: To succeed, we do not have to acquire any new qualities. The courage, ingenuity and compassion that made us the leader of the Free World is still in every one of us. And we simply have to remember that the American adventure isn't over, it's just begun.

Thank you all very much. God bless you and the Spectator, and God bless the United States of America, and thank you for letting Barbara and me come by. (Applause.)

END

7:40 P.M. EST

FILE

AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

THANK YOU, DAVID {MORSE}. AND CONGRATULATIONS ON  
THE WONDERFUL WORK YOUR ORGANIZATION -- LIBERTAD -- IS  
DOING TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD.  
LET ME RECOGNIZE LORD HENRY PLUMB -- FORMER PRESIDENT  
OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT -- THE MANY MEMBERS OF MY  
ADMINISTRATION, AND OUR REPUBLICAN TEAM ON CAPITOL  
HILL. //

AND OF COURSE I'M ALWAYS PLEASED TO BE ON BOB  
TYRRELL'S KINDER, GENTLER SIDE. // THAT'S HIS RIGHT  
SIDE, OF COURSE. //

I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS ACTUALLY THE AMERICAN  
SPECTATOR'S 1989 ANNUAL DINNER. // NOW THAT'S TRUE  
CONSERVATISM -- WAIT UNTIL THE YEAR'S COMPLETELY OVER  
UNTIL YOU DECIDE WHETHER IT'S WORTH CELEBRATING  
ABOUT.... // ACTUALLY, I'VE LEARNED TO BE MORE  
FORGIVING ABOUT CONFUSIONS INVOLVING THE CALENDAR --  
EVER SINCE I MADE SEPTEMBER 7TH A DATE THAT WOULD LIVE  
IN INFAMY. //

BUT I AM DELIGHTED TO HELP CELEBRATE TONIGHT WITH ALL OF YOU. OUR NATION'S INTELLECTUAL LIFE WOULD BE MORE THAN A LITTLE POORER WITHOUT THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR SURVEYING THE SCENE. YOUR CRITICAL EYE HELPS US SEE BENEATH THE SURFACE -- BEYOND THE INTELLECTUAL FADS AND FASHIONS OF THE DAY -- TO THE IDEAS AND THE ENDURING VALUES THAT REALLY MATTER IN OUR SOCIETY. THAT'S A VALUABLE SERVICE -- ESPECIALLY TODAY, BECAUSE THERE'S A TENDENCY THESE DAYS TO MISTAKE SURFACE APPEARANCES FOR THE SUBSTANCE OF THINGS.

TAKE AN ISSUE LIKE HOMELESSNESS. THERE IS NO CONDITION MORE REPUGNANT TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL. AND THERE'S NO PROBLEM MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO MISUNDERSTANDING. WE'VE ALL HEARD OF THE LAW OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES. WELL, WHAT'S AT WORK HERE IS WHAT WE COULD CALL THE LAW OF WELL-INTENDED CONSEQUENCES.

IN SOME WAYS, OUR DIFFICULTY IN DEALING WITH HOMELESSNESS BEGINS WITH THE LABEL -- A LABEL THAT TELLS US WHAT THE HOMELESS LACK IS HOMES.

BUT THE PROBLEM IS FAR MORE COMPLEX -- MORE COMPLEX BECAUSE THE REAL PROBLEM OF HOMELESSNESS IS NOT ONE-DIMENSIONAL. THERE ARE HOMELESS FAMILIES -- CASES WHERE THE HUSBAND, WIFE AND CHILDREN ARE ALL TOGETHER, OUT ON THE STREET. BUT MOST OFTEN, HOMELESSNESS IS A SYMPTOM OF MORE PERVASIVE PROBLEMS -- DRUG OR ALCOHOL ADDICTION, CHRONIC JOBLESSNESS, MENTAL ILLNESS OR FAMILY PROBLEMS -- CONDITIONS THAT PREVENT THE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE WE SEE ON THE STREETS FROM CARING FOR THEIR CHILDREN, FROM KEEPING A HOME.

IF OUR POLICY TOWARDS THE HOMELESS DOESN'T TREAT THESE CAUSES -- IF IT DOESN'T COMBINE THE BASIC NEED FOR SHELTER WITH OTHER SUPPORT SERVICES THAT REACH THE REAL REASONS FOR HOMELESSNESS -- ALL THE BEST INTENTIONS AND ALL THE HOUSING IN THE WORLD WON'T GET THE HOMELESS OFF THE STREET ONCE AND FOR ALL AND BACK INTO SOCIETY. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY TO TRULY HELP THE HOMELESS BREAK THE GRIP OF LIFE ON THE STREETS.

SO LAST NOVEMBER, I ANNOUNCED WHAT WE CALL THE HOPE INITIATIVE, HOME OWNERSHIP AND OPPORTUNITY FOR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. ALONG WITH HELP FOR FIRST-TIME HOMEBUYERS, THIS NEW PROPOSAL BRINGS OTHER CREATIVE SOLUTIONS TO THE DIFFICULT HOUSING PROBLEMS FACING LOW-INCOME FAMILIES. NOT NEW PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS THAT TOO OFTEN PROVE TO BE EXPENSIVE FAILURES BUT MORE TENANT OWNERSHIP AND HOUSING VOUCHERS TO PROVIDE MORE OPTIONS TO MORE PEOPLE. BUT AFFORDABILITY IS ONLY ONE PART OF THE PROBLEM. AVAILABILITY IS THE OTHER. WE MUST RENEW THE LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT TO SPUR NEEDED PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION.

BUT WE'VE GOT TO GO EVEN FURTHER. WE NEED POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH AND INVESTMENT THAT PROVIDE JOBS - THE JOBS THAT TRANSLATE INTO HOMES. WE NEED ENTERPRISE ZONES TO STIMULATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP. WE NEED TO CUT THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX AND, IN THESE POCKETS OF POVERTY - ENTERPRISE ZONES, WE NEED TO ELIMINATE IT ALTOGETHER.

BUT THE REAL ANSWER FOR THE HOMELESS WITH MENTAL PROBLEMS OR DEPENDENT ON DRUGS OR ALCOHOL, THE REAL ANSWER IS SHELTER PLUS CARE. THE MCKINNEY ACT HAS NOW BEEN SIGNED INTO LAW AND SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASES FUNDING TO REDUCE HOMELESSNESS. BUT THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE HOMELESS REQUIRES A PARTNERSHIP -- FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL. THROUGH HOPE, WE WILL IMPROVE COORDINATION OF BASIC NEEDS LIKE SHELTER WITH OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES TO HELP THE HOMELESS GET THE SUPPORT THEY NEED TO CONTROL THEIR OWN LIVES AND FIND THE JOBS THAT MEAN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A A LIFE OF DESPAIR AND A LIFE OF DIGNITY.

BUT HOMELESSNESS ISN'T THE ONLY ISSUE WHERE WE NEED TO LOOK BEYOND SUPERFICIAL, QUICK FIX SOLUTIONS. TAKE OUR SCHOOLS -- EDUCATION. THERE IS NO SINGLE FUNCTION MORE VITAL TO SOCIETY THAN WHAT GOES ON IN THAT CLASSROOM. CULTIVATING THE SKILLS AND INTELLECT WE NEED TO SUCCEED IN THE FUTURE. TRANSMITTING OUR VALUES -- CENTURIES OF EXPERIENCE AND HARD-WON WISDOM -- FROM GENERATION TO NEXT.

NOW THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM -- CURRENT WISDOM, I GUESS YOU CALL IT ON THE BACK PAGE OF THE SPECTATOR -- IS THAT THERE'S NOTHING WRONG WITH OUR SCHOOLS THAT CAN'T BE CORRECTED, IF ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD JUST GET OUT THAT CHECKBOOK AND WRITE A CHECK. WE ALL KNOW THE BIGGER THE PRICE TAG, THE BETTER THE QUALITY. RIGHT? //

WELL, THE FACT IS, WE ALREADY SPEND AS MUCH OR MORE THAN THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES ON EDUCATION -- AN AVERAGE OF ALMOST \$4,000 DOLLARS PER STUDENT EACH YEAR. AND WE ALL KNOW THE RESULTS. OUR SCHOOLS AREN'T MAKING THE GRADE.

SO WHAT'S WRONG? // IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF CASH. WE'VE GOT TO USE OUR RESOURCES MORE WISELY -- LOOK TO THOSE SCHOOLS THAT DO WORK. FIND OUT WHY. TRANSLATE THEIR SUCCESS INTO GOALS ALL SCHOOLS CAN AIM FOR -- AND THEN WE'VE GOT TO TAKE TWO MORE CRUCIAL STEPS. WE'VE GOT TO GIVE PARENTS A CHOICE IN THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS AND WE'VE GOT TO GIVE OUR SCHOOLS THE FREEDOM AND FLEXIBILITY THEY NEED TO STRIVE FOR HIGHER STANDARDS -- AND THEN HOLD THEM ACCOUNTABLE. THERE IS NO SHORTCUT TO BETTER SCHOOLS.

AND THERE IS ALSO NO SHORTCUT TO THE VICTORY LINE IN THE RACE AGAINST DRUGS AND CRIME. THERE IS NO SIMPLE SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM AS COMPLEX AS THIS. HERE AGAIN, IT WILL TAKE A PARTNERSHIP OF PEOPLE REACHING INTO EVERY NEIGHBORHOOD AND EVERY SCHOOL. AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, WE HAVE DEVELOPED A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL DRUG STRATEGY TO ATTACK THIS INSIDIOUS PLAGUE ON FOUR FRONTS: ENFORCEMENT, INTERDICTION, EDUCATION AND TREATMENT.

OVER THE PAST YEAR, WE HAVE SENT CONGRESS OUR PROPOSALS AND MADE PROGRESS IN SOME AREAS. I AM PLEASED CAPITOL HILL PROVIDED US WITH THE REINFORCEMENTS WE ASKED FOR: NEW AGENTS, NEW PROSECUTORS AND NEW PRISONS TO CATCH, CONVICT AND HOLD THOSE WHO VALUE AMERICA SO LITTLE. BUT THESE NEW TROOPS CAN'T DO IT ALONE. SIMPLY PUT: WE NEED TOUGHER LAWS ON THE BOOKS -- INCREASED MANDATORY TIME FOR FIREARMS OFFENSES. THE DEATH PENALTY FOR ANYONE WHO KILLS A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER AND NO MORE LOOPHOLES THAT LET CRIMINALS GO FREE.

WORKING TOGETHER, THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS CAN MAKE EVEN MORE PROGRESS. BUT OUR DRUG AND CRIME PROBLEMS GO BEYOND GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS ALONE. GETTING ADDICTS OFF DRUGS OR MAKING SURE HARDENED CRIMINALS DO HARD TIME WILL TAKE THE COMMITMENT OF EVERYONE WHO CARES ABOUT THIS COUNTRY. IT WILL TAKE A RETURN TO THE VALUES THAT HAVE TAUGHT GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG. IT'S NOT AN EASY ROAD TO TRAVEL BUT IT'S THE SUREST ROUTE TO A DRUG-FREE AMERICA.

THAT'S WHY, WITH ALL THE FLASH AND FLUFF IN THE WORLD TODAY, THERE'S SOMETHING WE CAN'T AFFORD TO LOSE SIGHT OF -- SOMETHING DECEPTIVELY SIMPLE: IT'S WHO WE ARE THAT MAKES THIS NATION WHAT IT IS.

WE ALL KNOW DEMOCRACY IS MORE THAN THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT -- MORE THAN JUST A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES AND CLASHING INTERESTS. MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, DEMOCRACY DEPENDS ON THE DECENCY OF ITS PEOPLE.

AND I'M CONVINCED THAT THERE IS IN THIS COUNTRY A DEEP RESERVOIR OF DEMOCRATIC DECENCY. A RESPECT FOR OTHERS. A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. A SOLID RECOGNITION THAT VALUES MATTER. THIS RESERVOIR OF DECENCY IS THERE FOR US TO DRAW ON -- TO RENEW OUR DEDICATION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEALS OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

AND IT'S NOT A MATTER OF EACH INDIVIDUAL WAGING A LONELY BATTLE AGAINST THE IMPERSONAL FORCES OF SOCIETY. WE'RE NOT ALONE. THE VALUES I'M TALKING ABOUT HAVE A HOME IN THE FAMILY. IN OUR CHURCHES. IN OUR COMMUNITIES.

AND THESE INSTITUTIONS ARE STRONG -- MUCH STRONGER THAN THE ALARMISTS OUT THERE WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE. EACH OF THEM CONTRIBUTES TO OUR PUBLIC LIFE. ENRICHES IT IN WAYS BEYOND MEASURE. EACH OF THEM MAKES THIS NATION STRONG. GIVES IT A SENSE OF PURPOSE AND A ROLE IN THE WORLD.

THIS IS THE CULTURE THAT SUSTAINS US -- THE CULTURE THAT WE OURSELVES MUST SUSTAIN. //

THAT'S OUR CHALLENGE TODAY. TO SEE THE VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ENDURE, BENEATH THE KALEIDOSCOPE OF MODERN CULTURE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THERE ARE NO SNAP ANSWERS -- THAT THE ONLY SOLUTIONS THAT SUCCEED ARE ONES CONSISTENT WITH OUR CORE VALUES. AND FOR ALL THE NOISE AND CLATTER OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURE, THAT'S CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM.

THE CALENDAR OFFERS EACH OF US CONVENIENT LAUNCH POINTS FOR A FRESH START. SOMETIMES, IT'S A NEW DAY, A NEW YEAR. NOW, IT'S A NEW DECADE.

THE BEGINNING OF THE '90S INVITES AMERICA TO CLEARLY PUT ITS SIGNATURE ON THE 20TH CENTURY -- TO WRITE THE NEXT CHAPTER IN A BOOK OF SPECTACULAR ACHIEVEMENTS IN FREEDOM, ECONOMICS, HUMAN ADVANCEMENT AND WORLD LEADERSHIP.

I WELCOME THE '90S WITH OPTIMISM. IT IS AN IDEAL TIME TO RENEW OUR VOWS AND OUR VALUES. TIME TO LOOK BEYOND THE NEXT PAYCHECK AND THE NEXT PERSONAL PROBLEM. TIME INSTEAD TO LOOK TO THE NEXT GENERATION.

I'M OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUR FUTURE FOR ONE COMPELLING REASON. TO SUCCEED, WE DO NOT HAVE TO ACQUIRE ANY NEW QUALITIES. THE COURAGE, INGENUITY, AND COMPASSION THAT MADE US THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD IS STILL IN EVERY ONE OF US. WE SIMPLY HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE ISN'T OVER -- IT'S JUST BEGUN. THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU -- AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 01/19/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR/LIBERTAD ANNUAL DINNER  
 SUBJECT: (01/17 5:00 p.m.)

	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 checked="" 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"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

*Good  
S.R.  
1-20-90*

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1990

1990 JAN 18 PM 7:13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *CW*  
FROM:               DAN MCGROARTY *DM*  
SUBJECT:            AMERICAN SPECTATOR/LIBERTAD ANNUAL DINNER

I.    SUMMARY

On Monday, January 22, at 7:00 p.m. you will address the American Spectator/Libertad "Celebration of Liberty" dinner at the Willard Hotel. About 250-300 people are expected to attend.

Libertad is an organization committed to guaranteeing commercial free speech around the world. The Chairman, David A. Morse, will introduce you.

Also attending the dinner will be Lord Henry Plumb, President of the European Parliament until July 1989.

II.   DISCUSSION

The American Spectator prides itself on being a conservative voice on contemporary culture. Accordingly, we believe something more innovative than our standard agenda speech would be well received.

This draft treats familiar topics like education and homelessness in a somewhat different way -- showing how modern culture can make it difficult to deal with the real substance of the problems we face.

If you would prefer to deliver a more straightforward talk on the issues, we will be happy to prepare another draft over the weekend. However, we believe this might provide an interesting "change of pace" to the past ten days of "agenda" speeches.

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plumb, former President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his right side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about these confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the

intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Partly, this tendency is the result of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That's what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts.

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in defining what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to observe -- without really understanding.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer. And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of well-intended consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the label -- a label that tells us what the homeless lack is homes.

But, the problem is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional.

Homelessness is most often a symptom of more pervasive problems - - of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the housing in the world won't get the homeless off the street once and for all and back into society. There is no other way to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets and live in dignity. ///

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. Take our schools -- education. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- current wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 dollars per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the freedom and flexibility they need to strive for higher standards -- and then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. ///

\*\*\*\*\*

This desire to skim the surface -- to look for the quick and easy fix -- goes beyond the public policy sphere. It's part of a broader impulse in our contemporary culture to confuse what is merely stylish with what is truly significant.

Think about it. We excel today at spotting trends, conducting polls and market surveys -- figuring out what people want to buy, what they want to wear, what they want to hear.

There's nothing wrong with that. After all, among other things, it helps sell magazines. There's nothing wrong at all -- provided we remember that behind all the demographics and market analyses are **flesh-and-blood people**. And that each of us is more than a bundle of wants and needs, conditioned by what we earn, where we live, and where we went to school. Who we are -- as individuals and as Americans -- is always more than that.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, democracy depends on the decency of its people.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a deep reservoir of democratic decency. A respect for others. A sense of responsibility. A solid recognition that values matter. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not

alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family. In our churches. In our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture. To see that it's time we get beyond the quick fix -- beyond the Cause-of-the-Month Club mentality that cares more about finding new problems than solving the old ones. Beyond the bumper-sticker solutions some people want to slap on the complex problems facing us today.

And we can get beyond style -- to substance, provided we enter the great public policy debates of our day with open minds, and good will.

And provided we do one thing more: play it straight. I think that's what the American people want. They understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with our core values. If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. // And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States  
of America.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 20, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHRISS WINSTON CW

SUBJECT: AMERICAN SPECTATOR SPEECH

We have redrafted the American Spectator dinner speech deleting some of the more philosophical paragraphs that you felt uncomfortable with and adding more specifics -- the HOPE initiative and the issue of crime and drugs.

We have also added some of Mr. Jackman's language on the last page of the speech and it works very well. We will try to work in more of it in the State of the Union.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/22/89

1990 JAN 21 AM 10:04

OK

1 minor changes  
2. a place to check.

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David (Morse). And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plumb, former President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his right side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the

enduring values that really matter in our society. That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well, what's at work here is what we could call the law of well-intended consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the label -- a label that tells us what the homeless lack is homes.

But, the problem is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional.

~~Homelessness is~~ <sup>But</sup> ~~most often~~ <sup>homelessness is</sup> a symptom of more pervasive problems - drug or alcohol addiction, joblessness, mental illness or family problems -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from caring for their children, from keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the housing in the world won't get the homeless off the street once and for all

*There are homeless families - husband & wife & kids all together but out on the street.*

*Some homeless are families husband & wife & kids*

*Wally*

*Dave  
Be sure his language checked into Rogus, Porter etc*

and back into society. There is no other way to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets.

So last November, I announced what we call the HOPE initiative, Home Ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. Along with help for first-time homebuyers, this new proposal brings other creative solutions to the difficult housing problems facing low-income families. Not new public construction programs that too often prove to be expensive failures but more tenant ownership and housing vouchers to provide more options to more people. But affordability is only one part of the problem. Availability is the other. We must renew the low-income housing tax credit to spur needed private construction.

But we've got to go even further. We need policies that encourage the growth and investment that provide jobs - the jobs that translate into homes. We need enterprise zones to stimulate entrepreneurship. We need <sup>to</sup> cut the capital gains tax and, in these pockets of poverty - enterprise zones, we need to eliminate it altogether.

But the real answer for the homeless with mental problems or dependent on drugs or alcohol, the real answer is shelter plus care. The McKinney Act has now been signed into law and substantially increases funding to reduce homelessness. But the solution to the problems of the homeless requires a partnership -- federal, state and local. Through HOPE, we will improve coordination of basic needs like shelter with other social services to help the homeless get the support they need to

control their own lives and find the jobs that mean the difference between a a life of despair and a life of dignity.

But homelessness isn't the only issue where we need to look beyond superficial, quick fix solutions. Take our schools -- education. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- current wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. We all know the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. Right? //

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 dollars per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the freedom and flexibility they need to strive for higher standards -- and

then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. ///

And there is also no shortcut to the victory line in the race against drugs and crime. There is no simple solution to a problem as complex as this. Here again, it will take a partnership of people reaching into every neighborhood and every school. At the federal level, we have developed a comprehensive national drug strategy to attack this insidious plague on four fronts: enforcement, interdiction, education and treatment.

Over the past year, we have sent Congress our proposals and made progress in some areas. I am pleased Capitol Hill provided us with the reinforcements we asked for: new agents, new prosecutors and new prisons to catch, convict and hold those who value America so little. But these new troops are can't do it alone. Simply put: we need tougher laws on the books -- increased mandatory time for firearms offenses. The death penalty for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer and no more loopholes that let criminals go free.

Working together, the Administration and Congress can make even more progress. But our drug and crime problems go beyond government solutions alone. Getting addicts off drugs or making sure hardened criminals do hard time will take the commitment of everyone who cares about this country. It will take a return to the values that have taught generations of Americans the difference between right and wrong. It's not an easy road to travel but it's the surest route to a drug-free America.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, democracy depends on the decency of its people.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a deep reservoir of democratic decency. A respect for others. A sense of responsibility. A solid recognition that values matter. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family. In our churches. In our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern

culture. The American people understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with our core values. And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

The calendar offers each of us convenient launch points for a fresh start. Sometimes, it's a new day, a new year. Now, it's a new decade.

The beginning of the '90s invites America to clearly put its signature on the 20th Century -- to write the next chapter in a book of spectacular achievements in freedom, economics, human advancement and world leadership.

I welcome the '90s with optimism. It is an ideal time to renew our vows and our values. Time to look beyond the next paycheck and the next personal problem. Time instead to look to the next generation.

I'm optimistic about our future for one compelling reason. To succeed, we do not have to acquire any new qualities. The courage, ingenuity, and compassion that made us the leader of the free world is still in every one of us. We simply have to remember that the American adventure isn't over -- it's just begun. Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: American Spectator Annual  
Dinner

This is an excellent speech, thoughtful and insightful. A job well done. We do not have any comments from a policy standpoint and approve of the draft remarks.

*This was fun to read.*

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 DEC 18 P5:49

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/17/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Thursday 1/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

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

**REMARKS:**  
 Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, 01/18, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

1990 JAN 17 PM 6:01

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

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We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of **well-intended** consequences.

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The real answer, of course, is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a **symptom** of more pervasive problems -- of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness, -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

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And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. **Take our schools -- education.** There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of

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That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's **who we are** that makes this nation **what it is**.

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And I'm convinced that there is in this country a **deep reservoir of democratic decency**. A respect for others. A sense of **responsibility**. A solid recognition that **values matter**. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

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And provided we do one thing more: play it straight. I think that's what the American people want. They understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones **consistent with our core values.** If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. // And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States  
of America.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/17/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Thursday 1/18


SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, 01/18, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

  
91:6v/61 330 68  
 for 3R.

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

1990 JAN 17 PM 6:01

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plum, President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

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# # #



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

January 18, 1990

*speechwriting*

**BATES**

NOTE TO MARNIE HAINES

RE: American Spectator Speech by the President

page 4, para. 2 - Change first sentence to: "Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the great majority of other industrialized democracies on education." The average dollar per classroom per year could create confusion. If you use a dollar amount, the preferred should be per pupil expenditure instead. Within the past week, the Department and the White House refuted a study by the Economic Policy Institute asserting that U.S. expenditures as a share of national income ranked 14th or 15th among other industrialized nations. In fact, in 1985 the U.S. ranked 2nd only to Switzerland in per pupil expenditures (the accepted standard of comparability) among industrialized nations. The per pupil expenditure in the U.S. for 1986-87 in constant dollars is \$3977. ✓

page 4, para. 3 - The paragraph refers to freedom and flexibility but neglects to mention parental choice. Just today at the Executive Forum the President again emphasized the need for parental choice. ✓

Chino Chapa

Note:

*HHS had no changes.*

89 DEC 18 5:03

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/17/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Thursday 1/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER (01/17 5:00 p.m.)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**RESPONSE:**

89 DEC 18 5:03

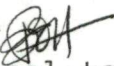
James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
Deputy Assistant to the President for  
Communications

FROM: BRENT O. HATCH   
Associate Counsel to the President

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks -- American Spectator Annual  
Dinner

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks. We have strong objections to the discussion of the homeless problem on page three of the draft. As currently written, the discussion on homelessness is too simplistic for use before the American Spectator Annual Dinner. We request that the following changes to the draft be made.

Paragraph one - delete the last sentence and replace with the following:

"We need to eliminate homelessness in America by dismantling burdensome and needless regulations and other impediments to the construction of new homes and apartments by the private sector."

Paragraph two - delete "real" from the first sentence. In that same sentence, replace "far" with "somewhat."

Delete all of paragraph three, which is full of code words for increased entitlements in social programs that the Administration is unlikely to support. The following language could be used as a more sound solution:

"We must eliminate these problems by ridding our society of the scourge of drugs, by ensuring that appropriate care is available for the mentally ill, and by providing jobs and opportunities for able-bodied Americans to become productive members of society."

If you would like to discuss these changes, please call me on extension 7953. Thank you for the opportunity to review this matter.

89 DEC 18 3:45

cc: James W. Cicconi

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

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McGroarty/Dooley  
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1990 JAN 17 PM 6:01

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Delete  
last  
sentence

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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/19/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR/LIBERTAD ANNUAL DINNER  
(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

	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 checked="" 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"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</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"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1990

1990 JAN 18 PM 7:13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*  
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DM*  
SUBJECT: AMERICAN SPECTATOR/LIBERTAD ANNUAL DINNER

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, January 22, at 7:00 p.m. you will address the American Spectator/Libertad "Celebration of Liberty" dinner at the Willard Hotel. About 250-300 people are expected to attend.

Libertad is an organization committed to guaranteeing commercial free speech around the world. The Chairman, David A. Morse, will introduce you.

Also attending the dinner will be Lord Henry Plumb, President of the European Parliament until July 1989.

II. DISCUSSION

The American Spectator prides itself on being a conservative voice on contemporary culture. Accordingly, we believe something more innovative than our standard agenda speech would be well received.

This draft treats familiar topics like education and homelessness in a somewhat different way -- showing how modern culture can make it difficult to deal with the real substance of the problems we face.

If you would prefer to deliver a more straightforward talk on the issues, we will be happy to prepare another draft over the weekend. However, we believe this might provide an interesting "change of pace" to the past ten days of "agenda" speeches.

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plumb, former President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his right side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about these confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the

intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Partly, this tendency is the result of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That's what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts.

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in defining what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to observe -- without really understanding.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer. And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of well-intended consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the label -- a label that tells us what the homeless lack is homes.

But, the problem is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a symptom of more pervasive problems -- of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the housing in the world won't get the homeless off the street once and for all and back into society. There is no other way to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets and live in dignity. ///

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. Take our schools -- education. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- current wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 dollars per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the freedom and flexibility they need to strive for higher standards -- and then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. ///

\*\*\*\*\*

This desire to skim the surface -- to look for the quick and easy fix -- goes beyond the public policy sphere. It's part of a broader impulse in our contemporary culture to confuse what is merely stylish with what is truly significant.

Think about it. We excel today at spotting trends, conducting polls and market surveys -- figuring out what people want to buy, what they want to wear, what they want to hear.

There's nothing wrong with that. After all, among other things, it helps sell magazines. There's nothing wrong at all -- provided we remember that behind all the demographics and market analyses are **flesh-and-blood people**. And that each of us is more than a bundle of wants and needs, conditioned by what we earn, where we live, and where we went to school. Who we are -- as individuals and as Americans -- is always more than that.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, democracy depends on the decency of its people.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a deep reservoir of democratic decency. A respect for others. A sense of responsibility. A solid recognition that values matter. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not

alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family. In our churches. In our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture. To see that it's time we get beyond the quick fix -- beyond the Cause-of-the-Month Club mentality that cares more about finding new problems than solving the old ones. Beyond the bumper-sticker solutions some people want to slap on the complex problems facing us today.

And we can get beyond style -- to substance, provided we enter the great public policy debates of our day with open minds, and good will.

And provided we do one thing more: play it straight. I think that's what the American people want. They understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with our core values. If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. // And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States  
of America.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/17/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Thursday 1/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, 01/18, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

1990 JAN 17 PM 6:01

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plum, President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his **right** side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about these confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the

intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake **surface appearances** for **the substance** of things.

Partly, this tendency is the result of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That's what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts.

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in defining what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to **observe** -- without really **understanding**.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure **to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer.** And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like **homelessness**. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the **law of unintended consequences**. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of **well-intended** consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the **label** -- a label that tells us **what the homeless lack is homes**. ~~If so -- if that were all there was to the homeless problem -- then the answer is simple. All we'd need to eliminate homelessness in America would be more housing -- especially public housing.~~

*But, the problem*  
~~The real answer, of course,~~ is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a **symptom** of more pervasive problems -- of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the ~~public~~ housing ~~units~~ in the world won't <sup>get</sup> help the homeless ~~get~~ off the street, <sup>once and for all</sup> and back into society. ~~///~~ ~~with integrity~~ *INSERT*

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. **Take our schools -- education.** There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of

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Now the conventional wisdom -- **current** wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. **There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //**

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- ~~an average of~~ <sup>an average of</sup> ~~\$100,000~~ <sup>\$4,000</sup> ~~dollars per classroom~~ <sup>student each</sup> per year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that **do** work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim at <sup>for</sup> -- and then we've got to take <sup>two</sup> ~~one~~ more crucial steps. <sup>We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools</sup> We've got to give our schools the **freedom and flexibility** <sup>and</sup> they need to strive for higher standards -- and then **hold them accountable**. There **is no shortcut** to better schools. ///

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That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: **it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.**

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, **democracy depends on the decency of its people.**

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a **deep reservoir of democratic decency**. A **respect** for others. A sense of **responsibility**. A solid recognition that **values matter**. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not

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And these institutions are **strong** -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

**This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //**

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture. To see that it's time we **get beyond the quick fix -- beyond the Cause-of-the-Month Club mentality that cares more about finding new problems than solving the old ones. Beyond the bumper-sticker solutions** some people want to slap on the complex problems facing us today.

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McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
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THE WILLARD HOTEL  
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enduring values that really matter in our society. That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well, what's at work here is what we could call the law of well-intended consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the label -- a label that tells us what the homeless lack is homes.

But, the problem is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a symptom of more pervasive problems -- drug or alcohol addiction, joblessness, mental illness or family problems -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from caring for their children, from keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the housing in the world won't get the homeless off the street once and for all

and back into society. There **is no other way** to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets,

So last November, I announced what we call the HOPE initiative, Home Ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. Along with help for first-time homebuyers, this new proposal brings other creative solutions to the difficult housing problems facing low-income families. Not new public construction programs that too often prove to be expensive failures but more tenant ownership and housing vouchers to provide more options to more people. But affordability is only **one** part of the problem. **Availability** is the other. We must renew the low-income housing tax credit to spur needed private construction.

But we've got to go even further. We need policies that encourage the growth and investment that provide jobs - **the jobs that translate into homes**. We need enterprise zones to stimulate entrepreneurship. We need a cut the capital gains tax and, in these pockets of poverty - enterprise zones, we need to eliminate it altogether.

But the real answer for the homeless with mental problems or dependent on drugs or alcohol, the real answer is shelter plus care. The McKinney Act has now been signed into law and substantially increases funding to reduce homelessness. But the solution to the problems of the homeless requires a partnership - federal, state and local. Through HOPE, we will improve coordination of basic needs like shelter with other social services to help the homeless get the support they need to

control their own lives and find the jobs that mean the difference between a a life of despair and a life of dignity.

But homelessness isn't the only issue where we need to look beyond superficial, quick fix solutions. **Take our schools -- education.** There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- **current** wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. We all know the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. Right? //

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 dollars per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the **freedom and flexibility** they need to strive for higher standards -- and

then **hold them accountable**. There is **no shortcut** to better schools. ///

And there is also no shortcut to the victory line in the race against drugs and crime. There is no simple solution to a problem as complex as this. Here again, it will take a partnership of people reaching into every neighborhood and every school. At the federal level, we have developed a comprehensive national drug strategy to attack this insidious plague on four fronts: enforcement, interdiction, education and treatment.

Over the past year, we have sent Congress our proposals and made progress in some areas. I am pleased Capitol Hill provided us with the reinforcements we asked for: new agents, new prosecutors and new prisons to catch, convict and hold those who value America so little. But these new troops are can't do it alone. Simply put: **we need tougher laws on the books --** increased mandatory time for firearms offenses. The death penalty for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer and **no more loopholes that let criminals go free.**

Working together, the Administration and Congress can make even more progress. But our drug and crime problems go beyond government solutions alone. Getting addicts off drugs or making sure hardened criminals do hard time will take the commitment of everyone who cares about this country. It will take a return to the values that have taught generations of Americans the difference between right and wrong. It's not an easy road to travel but it's the **surest route to a drug-free America.**

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: **it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.**

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, **democracy depends on the decency of its people.**

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And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in **the family. In our churches. In our communities.**

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That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern

culture. The American people understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones **consistent with our core values.** And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

The calendar offers each of us convenient launch points for a fresh start. Sometimes, it's a new day, a new year. Now, it's a new decade.

The beginning of the '90s invites America to clearly put its signature on the 20th Century -- to write the next chapter in a book of spectacular achievements in freedom, economics, human advancement and world leadership.

I welcome the 190s with optimism. It is an ideal time to renew our vows and our values. Time to look beyond the next paycheck and the next personal problem. Time instead to look to the next generation.

I'm optimistic about our future for one compelling reason. To succeed, we do not have to acquire any new qualities. The courage, ingenuity, and compassion that made us the leader of the free world is still in every one of us. We simply have to remember that the American adventure isn't over - it's just BF begun. Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

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Last November, I announced what we call the HOPE initiative, Home Ownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. Along with help for first-time homebuyers, this new proposal brings other creative solutions to the difficult housing problems facing low-income families. Not new public construction programs that too often prove to be expensive failures but housing vouchers to provide more options to more people and more tenant ownership. But affordability is only one part of the problem. Availability is the other. We must renew the low-income housing tax credit to spur needed private construction.

But we've got to go even further. We need policies that encourage the growth and investment that provides jobs - the jobs that translate into homes. We need enterprise zones to stimulate entrepreneurship. We need a cut the capital gains tax and, in these pockets of poverty - enterprise zones, we need to eliminate it altogether.

But the real answer for the homeless with mental problems or dependent on drugs or alcohol, the real answer is shelter plus care. The McKinney Act has now been signed into law and substantially increases funding to reduce homelessness. But the solution to the problems of the homeless requires a partnership - federal, state and local. Through HOPE, we will improve coordination of basic needs like shelter with other social services to help the homeless get the support they need to

control their own lives and find the jobs that mean the difference between a a life of despair and a life of dignity.

Homelessness isn't the only issue where we need to look beyond superficial, quick fix solutions. **Take our schools -- education.** There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- **current** wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. We all know the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. Right? //

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 dollars per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the **freedom and flexibility** they need to strive for higher standards -- and

then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. ///

And there is also no shortcut to the victory line in the race against drugs and crime. There is no simple solution to a problem as complex as this. Here again, it will take a partnership of people reaching into every neighborhood and every school. At the federal level, we have developed a comprehensive national drug strategy to attack this insidious plague on four fronts: enforcement, interdiction, education and treatment.

Over the past year, we have sent Congress our proposals and made progress in some areas. I am pleased Capitol Hill provided us with the reinforcements we asked for: new agents, new prosecutors and new prisons to catch, convict and hold those who value America so little. But these new troops are can't do it alone. Simply put: we need tougher laws on the books -- increased mandatory time for firearms offenses. The death penalty for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer and no more loopholes that let criminals go free.

Working together, the Administration and Congress can make even more progress. But our drug and crime problems go beyond government solutions alone. Getting addicts off drugs or making sure hardened criminals do hard time will take the commitment of everyone who cares about this country. It will take a return to the values that have taught generations of Americans the difference between right and wrong. It's not an easy road to travel but it's the surest route to a drug-free America.

solution to the problems of the homeless requires a partnership - federal, state and local, ~~if we are to end homelessness in this country~~ Through HOPE, we will improve coordination of basic needs like shelter with other social services to help the homeless get the support they need to control their own destiny, and find the jobs that mean the difference between a life of despair and a life of dignity.

Homelessness isn't the only issue where ~~we want progress to~~ *we need to look beyond* ~~be quick and easy~~. *paperfinal solutions, use common* Take our schools -- education. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

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So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 5, 1989

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
ON NATIONAL DRUG POLICY

The Oval Office

9:00 P.M. EDT

**THE PRESIDENT:** Good evening. This is the first time since taking the oath of office that I felt an issue was so important, so threatening that it warranted talking directly with you, the American people. All of us agree that the gravest domestic threat facing our nation today is drugs.

Drugs have strained our faith in our system of justice. Our courts, our prisons, our legal system are stretched to the breaking point. The social costs of drugs are mounting. In short, drugs are sapping our strength as a nation. Turn on the evening news or pick up the morning paper and you'll see what some Americans know just by stepping out their front door: Our most serious problem today is cocaine and, in particular, crack.

Who's responsible? Let me tell you straight out.

Everyone who uses drugs. Everyone who sells drugs. And everyone who looks the other way.

Tonight, I'll tell you how many Americans are using illegal drugs. I will present to you our national strategy to deal with every aspect of this threat. And I will ask you to get involved in what promises to be a very difficult fight.

This -- this is crack cocaine seized a few days ago by Drug Enforcement agents in a park just across the street from the White House. It could easily have been heroine or PCP. It's as innocent looking as candy, but it's turning our cities into battle zones and it is murdering our children. Let there be no mistake, this stuff is poison. Some used to call drugs harmless recreation. They're not. Drugs are a real and terribly dangerous threat to our neighborhoods, our friends and our families.

No one among us is out of harm's way. When four-year-olds play in playgrounds strewn with discarded hypodermic needles and crack vials -- it breaks my heart. When cocaine -- one of the most deadly and addictive illegal drugs -- is available to school kids -- school kids -- it's an outrage. And when hundreds of thousands of babies are born each year to mothers who use drugs -- premature babies born desperately sick -- then even the most defenseless among us are at risk.

These are the tragedies behind the statistics. But the numbers also have quite a story to tell. Let me share with you the results of the recently completed Household Survey of the National Institute on Drug Abuse. It compares recent drug use to three years ago. It tells us some good news and some very bad news. First, the good.

As you can see in the chart, in 1985, the government estimated that 23 million Americans were using drugs on a "current" basis -- that is, at least once in the preceding month. Last year, that number fell by more than a third. That means almost nine million fewer Americans are casual drug users. Good news.

MORE

Because we changed our national attitude toward drugs, casual drug use has declined. We have many to thank: Our brave law-enforcement officers, religious leaders, teachers, community activists, and leaders of business and labor. We should also thank the media for their exhaustive news and editorial coverage and for their air time and space for antidrug messages. And finally, I want to thank President and Mrs. Reagan for their leadership. All of these good people told the truth -- that drug use is wrong and dangerous.

But as much comfort as we can draw from these dramatic reductions, there is also bad news -- very bad news. Roughly eight million people have used cocaine in the past year, almost one million of them used it frequently -- once a week or more.

What this means is that, in spite of the fact that overall cocaine use is down, frequent use has almost doubled in the last few years. And that's why habitual cocaine users -- especially crack users -- are the most pressing, immediate drug problem.

What, then, is our plan? To begin with, I trust the lesson of experience: No single policy will cut it, no matter how glamorous or magical it may sound. To win the war against addictive drugs like crack will take more than just a federal strategy. It will take a national strategy, one that reaches into every school, every workplace, involving every family.

Earlier today, I sent this document, our first such national strategy, to the Congress. It was developed with the hard work of our nation's first Drug Policy Director, Bill Bennett. In preparing this plan, we talked with state, local and community leaders, law enforcement officials and experts in education, drug prevention, and rehabilitation. We talked with parents and kids. We took a long, hard look at all that the federal government has done about drugs in the past: What's worked, and -- let's be honest -- what hasn't. Too often, people in government acted as if their part of the problem -- whether fighting drug production, or drug smuggling, or drug demand -- was the only problem. But turf battle won't win this war. Teamwork will.

Tonight, I'm announcing a strategy that reflects the coordinated, cooperative commitment of all our federal agencies. In short, this plan is as comprehensive as the problem. With this strategy, we now finally have a plan that coordinates our resources, our programs and the people who run them.

Our weapons in this strategy are the law and criminal justice system, our foreign policy, our treatment systems, and our schools and drug prevention programs. So the basic weapons we need are the ones we already have. What's been lacking is a strategy to effectively use them.

Let me address four of the major elements of our strategy.

First, we are determined to enforce the law, to make our streets and neighborhoods safe. So to start, I'm proposing that we more than double federal assistance to state and local law enforcement. Americans have a right to safety in and around their homes. And we won't have safe neighborhoods unless we're tough on drug criminals -- much tougher than we are now. Sometimes that means tougher penalties. But more often it just means punishment that is swift and certain. We've all heard stories about drug dealers who are caught and arrested -- again and again -- but never punished. Well, here the rules have changed: If you sell drugs, you will be caught. And when you're caught, you will be prosecuted. And once you're convicted, you will do time. Caught. Prosecuted. Punished.

I'm also proposing that we enlarge our criminal justice system across the board -- at the local, state and federal levels alike. We need more prisons, more jails, more courts, more prosecutors. So tonight, I'm requesting -- altogether -- an almost

\$1.5 billion increase in drug-related federal spending on law enforcement.

And while illegal drug use is found in every community, nowhere is it worse than in our public housing projects. You know, the poor have never had it easy in this world. But in the past, they weren't mugged on the way home from work by crack gangs. And their children didn't have to dodge bullets on the way to school. And that's why I'm targeting \$50 million to fight crime in public housing projects -- to help restore order and to kick out the dealers for good.

The second element of our strategy looks beyond our borders where the cocaine and crack bought on America's streets is grown and processed. In Colombia alone, cocaine killers have gunned down a leading statesman, murdered almost 200 judges and seven members of their Supreme Court. The besieged governments of the drug-producing countries are fighting back, fighting to break the international drug rings. But you and I agree with the courageous President of Colombia, Virgilio Barco, who said that if Americans use cocaine, then Americans are paying for murder. American cocaine users need to understand that our nation has zero tolerance for casual drug use. We have a responsibility not to leave our brave friends in Colombia to fight alone.

The \$65-million emergency assistance announced two weeks ago was just our first step in assisting the Andean nations in their fight against the cocaine cartels. Colombia has already arrested suppliers, seized tons of cocaine and confiscated palatial homes of drug lords. But Colombia faces a long, uphill battle, so we must be ready to do more.

Our strategy allocates more than a quarter of a billion dollars for next year in military and law enforcement assistance for the three Andean nations of Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. This will be the first part of a five-year, \$2-billion program to counter the producers, the traffickers and the smugglers.

I spoke with President Barco just last week, and we hope to meet with the leaders of affected countries in an unprecedented drug summit, all to coordinate an inter-American strategy against the cartels. We will work with our allies and friends -- especially our economic summit partners -- to do more in the fight against drugs. I'm also asking the Senate to ratify the United Nations Antidrug Convention concluded last December.

To stop those drugs on the way to America, I propose that we spend more than \$1.5 billion on interdiction. Greater interagency cooperation, combined with sophisticated intelligence-gathering and Defense Department technology can help stop drugs at our borders.

And our message to the drug cartels is this: The rules have changed. We will help any government that wants our help. When requested, we will for the first time make available the appropriate resources of America's armed forces. We will intensify our efforts against drug smugglers on the high seas, in international airspace and at our borders. We will stop the flow of chemicals from the United States used to process drugs. We will pursue and enforce international agreements to track drug money to the front men and financiers. And then we will handcuff these money launderers and jail them -- just like any street dealer. And for the drug kingpin, the death penalty.

The third part of our strategy concerns drug treatment. Experts believe that there are two million American drug users who may be able to get off drugs with proper treatment. But right now, only 40 percent of them are actually getting help. This is simply not good enough.

Many people who need treatment won't seek it on their own. And some who do seek it are put on a waiting list. Most programs were set up to deal with heroin addicts, but today, the

major problem is cocaine users. It's time we expand our treatment systems and do a better job of providing services to those who need them.

And so tonight, I'm proposing an increase of \$321 million in federal spending on drug treatment.

With this strategy, we will do more. We will work with the states. We will encourage employers to establish employee assistance programs to cope with drug use. And because addiction is such a cruel inheritance, we will intensify our search for ways to help expectant mothers who use drugs.

Fourth, we must stop illegal drug use before it starts. Unfortunately, it begins early -- for many kids, before their teens. But it doesn't start the way you might think, from a dealer or an addict hanging around a school playground. More often, our kids first get their drugs free, from friends, or even from older brother or sisters. Peer pressure spreads drug use. Peer pressure can help stop it.

I am proposing a quarter-of-a-billion-dollar increase in federal funds for school and community prevention programs that help young people and adults reject enticements to try drugs. And I'm proposing something else. Every school, college and university -- and every workplace -- must adopt tough but fair policies about drug use by students and employees. And those that will not adopt such policies will not get federal funds. Period.

The private sector also has an important role to play. I spoke with a businessman named Jim Burke who said he was haunted by the thought -- a nightmare, really -- that somewhere in America, at any given moment, there is a teenage girl who should be in school, instead of giving birth to a child addicted to cocaine. So Jim did something. He led an antidrug partnership, financed by private funds, to work with advertisers and media firms. Their partnership is now determined to work with our strategy by generating educational messages worth a million dollars a day -- every day for the next three years -- a billion dollars worth of advertising, all to promote the antidrug message.

As President, one of my first missions is to keep the national focus on our offensive against drugs. And so next week I will take the antidrug message to the classrooms of America in a special television address, one that I hope will reach every school, every young American. But drug education doesn't begin in class or on TV. It must begin at home and in the neighborhood. Parents and families must set the first example of a drug-free life. And when families are broken, caring friends and neighbors must step in.

These are the most important elements in our strategy to fight drugs. They are all designed to reinforce one another, to mesh into a powerful whole, to mount an aggressive attack on the problem from every angle. This is the first time in the history of our country, that we truly have a comprehensive strategy.

As you can tell, such an approach will not come cheaply. Last February, I asked for a \$700-million increase in the drug budget for the coming year. And now, over the past six months of careful study, we have found an immediate need for another \$1.5 billion. With this added \$2.2 billion, our 1990 drug budget totals almost \$8 billion -- the largest increase in history.

We need this program fully implemented -- right away. The next fiscal year begins just 26 days from now. So tonight, I'm asking the Congress -- which has helped us formulate this strategy -- to help us move it forward immediately.

We can pay for this fight against drugs without raising taxes or adding to the budget deficit. We have submitted our plan to Congress that shows just how to fund it within the limits of our bipartisan budget agreement.

MORE

Now, I know some will still say that we're not spending enough money. But those who judge our strategy only by its price tag simply don't understand the problem. Let's face it, we've all seen in the past that money alone won't solve our toughest problems.

To be strong and efficient, our strategy needs these funds. But there is no match for a united America, a determined America, an angry America. Our outrage against drugs unites us, brings us together behind this one plan of action, an assault on every front.

This is the toughest domestic challenge we've faced in decades. And it's a challenge we must face -- not as Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives -- but as Americans. The key is a coordinated, united effort. We've responded faithfully to the request of the Congress to produce our nation's first national drug strategy. I'll be looking to the Democratic majority and our Republicans in Congress for leadership and bipartisan support. And our citizens deserve cooperation, not competition; a national effort not a partisan bidding war.

To start, Congress needs not only to act on this national drug strategy, but also to act on our crime package announced last May; a package to toughen sentences, beef up law enforcement and build new prison space for 24,000 inmates.

You and I both know the federal government can't do it alone. The states need to match tougher federal laws with tougher laws of their own -- stiffer bail, probation, parole and sentencing.

And we need your help. If people you know are users, help them -- help them get off drugs. If you're a parent, talk to your kids about drugs -- tonight.

Call your local drug prevention program. Be a Big Brother or Sister to a child in need. Pitch in with your local Neighborhood Watch program. Whether you give your time or talent, everyone counts.

Every employer who bans drugs from the workplace. Every school that's tough on drug use. Every neighborhood in which drugs are not welcome. And most important, every one of you who refuses to look the other way. Every one of you counts.

Of course, victory will take hard work and time. But together we will win -- too many young lives are at stake.

Not long ago, I read a newspaper story about a little boy named Dooney, who, until recently, lived in a crack house in a suburb of Washington, D.C. In Dooney's neighborhood, children don't flinch at the sound of gunfire. And when they play, they pretend to sell to each other small white rocks that they call crack.

Life at home was so cruel that Dooney begged his teachers to let him sleep on the floor at school. And when asked about his future, six-year-old Dooney answers, "I don't want to sell drugs, but I'll probably have to."

Well, Dooney does not have to sell drugs. No child in America should have to live like this. Together as a people we can save these kids. We've already transformed a national attitude of tolerance into one of condemnation. But the war on drugs will be hard-won, neighborhood by neighborhood, block by block, child by child.

If we fight this war as a divided nation, then the war is lost. But if we face this evil as a nation united, this will be nothing but a handful of useless chemicals.

Victory. Victory over drugs is our cause, a just cause and, with your help, we are going to win.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the freedom and flexibility they need to strive for higher standards -- and then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. ///

And there is also no shortcut to the victory line in the race against drugs and crime. But, here again, it will take a partnership - federal, state and local - reaching into every community and school, ~~to win the battle~~. At the federal level, we have developed a comprehensive national drug strategy to attack this insidious plague on four fronts: enforcement, interdiction, education and treatment.

*There is no simple solution to a problem as complex as this one.*

Over the past year, we have sent Congress our proposals and made progress in some areas. I am pleased Capitol Hill provided us with the reinforcements we asked for: new agents, new prosecutors and new prisons to catch, convict and hold those who value America so little. But these new troops ~~and~~ can't do it alone. Simply put: we need tougher laws on the books -- increased mandatory time for firearms offenses. The death penalty for anyone who kills a law enforcement officer, *and* No more loopholes that let criminals go free.

Working together, the Administration and Congress can make even more progress. But our drug and crime problems go beyond government solutions alone. Getting addicts off drugs or making

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 01/17/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. Thursday 1/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
(01/17 5:00 p.m.)

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

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, 01/18, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

89 DEC 18 P 3: 57

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

1990.JAN 17 PM 6:01

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plum, President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his **right** side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about these confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the

intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Partly, this tendency is the result of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That's what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts. ✓

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in defining what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to observe -- without really understanding.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer. And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. ✓  
We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of **well-intended** consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the **label** -- a label that tells us **what the homeless lack is homes**. ~~If so -- if that were all there was to the homeless problem -- then the answer is simple. All we'd need to eliminate homelessness in America would be more housing -- especially public housing.~~

Ryden  
4/5/16

*But the problem*  
The ~~real answer, of course,~~ is far more complex -- more complex because ~~the real problem~~ of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a **symptom** of more pervasive problems -- of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the ~~public housing units~~ <sup>housing</sup> in the world won't help the homeless get off the street and back into society. ///

Ryden

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. **Take our schools -- education.** There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of

*There is no other way to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets + live in dignity.*

experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- **current** wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. **There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //**

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of \$100,000 dollars per classroom per year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim at -- and then we've got to take one more crucial step. We've got to give our schools the **freedom and flexibility** they need to strive for higher standards -- and then **hold them accountable**. **There is no shortcut to better schools. ///**

\*\*\*\*\*

This desire to skim the surface -- to look for the quick and easy fix -- goes beyond the public policy sphere. It's part of a broader impulse in our contemporary culture to **confuse what is merely stylish with what is truly significant**.

Think about it. We excel today at spotting trends, conducting polls and market surveys -- figuring out what people want to buy, what they want to wear, what they want to hear.

There's nothing wrong with that. After all, among other things, it helps sell magazines. There's nothing wrong at all -- provided we remember that behind all the demographics and market analyses are **flesh-and-blood people**. And that each of us is more than a bundle of wants and needs, conditioned by what we earn, where we live, and where we went to school. **Who we are** -- as **individuals and as Americans** -- is always more than that.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: **it's who we are that makes this nation what it is**.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, **democracy depends on the decency of its people**.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a **deep reservoir of democratic decency**. A **respect** for others. A sense of **responsibility**. A solid recognition that **values matter**. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not

alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in **the family. In our churches. In our communities.**

And these institutions are **strong** -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

**This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //**

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture. To see that it's time we **get beyond the quick fix -- beyond the Cause-of-the-Month Club mentality that cares more about finding new problems than solving the old ones. Beyond the bumper-sticker solutions** some people want to slap on the complex problems facing us today.

And we can get beyond style -- to substance, provided we enter the great public policy debates of our day with open minds, and good will.

And provided we do one thing more: play it straight. I think that's what the American people want. They understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones **consistent with our core values.** If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. // And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States  
of America.

# # #

Bob Risner  
5589  
teletypewriter

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 17, 1990  
5:00 pm  
[SPEC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER  
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JANUARY 22, 1990  
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. ~~Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator.~~ Lord Henry Plum, <sup>Chairman sponsor of Libertad</sup> President of the European Parliament. ~~Charleton Heston.~~ <sup>LMR</sup> Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his **right** side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about these confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the

intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Partly, this tendency is the result of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts.

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in defining what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to observe -- without really understanding.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure **to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer.** And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like **homelessness**. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding.

**We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences.** Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of **well-intended** consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the **label** -- a label that tells us **what the homeless lack is homes**. If so -- if that were all there was to the homeless problem -- then the answer is simple. All we'd need to eliminate homelessness in America would be more housing -- especially public housing.

The real answer, of course, is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a **symptom** of more pervasive problems -- of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the public housing units in the world won't help the homeless get off the street and back into society. ///

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. **Take our schools -- education**. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of

experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- **current** wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. **There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //**

**Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of \$100,000 dollars per classroom per year.** And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that **do** work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim at -- and then we've got to take one more crucial step. We've got to give our schools the **freedom and flexibility** they need to strive for higher standards -- and then **hold them accountable.** There **is no shortcut** to better schools. ///

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This desire to skim the surface -- to look for the quick and easy fix -- goes beyond the public policy sphere. It's part of a broader impulse in our contemporary culture to **confuse what is merely stylish with what is truly significant.**

Think about it. We excel today at spotting trends, conducting polls and market surveys -- figuring out what people want to buy, what they want to wear, what they want to hear.

There's nothing wrong with that. After all, among other things, it helps sell magazines. There's nothing wrong at all -- provided we remember that behind all the demographics and market analyses are **flesh-and-blood people**. And that each of us is more than a bundle of wants and needs, conditioned by what we earn, where we live, **and where we went to school**. **Who we are** -- as **individuals and as Americans** -- is always more than that.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: **it's who we are that makes this nation what it is**.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, **democracy depends on the decency of its people**.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country **a deep reservoir of democratic decency**. A **respect** for others. A sense of **responsibility**. A solid recognition that **values matter**. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not

alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family. In our churches. In our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

**This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //**

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture. To see that it's time we **get beyond the quick fix -- beyond the Cause-of-the-Month Club mentality that cares more about finding new problems than solving the old ones. Beyond the bumper-sticker solutions** some people want to slap on the complex problems facing us today.

And we can get beyond style -- to substance, provided we enter the great public policy debates of our day with open minds, and good will.

And provided we do one thing more: play it straight. I think that's what the American people want. They understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones **consistent with our core values.** If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. // And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States  
of America.

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sense of excitement we share about the events in Eastern Europe. Where millions of people are tasting for the first time the freedoms we enjoy.

Decency a match for moral decay....There is a sense of civic spirit in America that runs deep. A sense that values matter -- and that the quality of our society depends on....