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State of the Union Address 1/31/90 [OA 4391] [2]

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/17/90

**TO:** CHRISS WINSTON  
**FROM:** **JAMES W. CICCONI**  
Assistant to the President and  
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

- Information
- Action
- Let's Discuss

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

Put in  
State of  
the Union  
S

OUTLINE: 1/29/90, 3 PM

Not state of government -- state of union

revolution of 1989

One year ago . . . (Panama)

Idea called America

**Building blocks:** democracy, investment, competition,  
opportunity, stardship, and leadership

jobs

child care

safe environment

disabled Americans

homeless

drug-free

education

3 capitals

family savings plan

capital gains

money is there -- R & D, HOPE, drugs, education

Education Goals (Head Start)

competition

deficit control

pay off debt

environment (America the Beautiful)

Full agenda/work together

Clean Air

Child Care

Crime & Drugs

National Transportation Policy

Space Exploration

Tort Reform

Enterprise Zones

Social Security

Health Care

State of the Union depends on all Americans

racism

lend a hand . . . read with our kids . . . pass long values

Marwell letter

**Leadership**

Truman quote  
democracy's advance/commonwealth of nations  
Soviet Union  
Eastern Europe  
Far East/China  
Our hemisphere

Strong America

Solidarity monument

Children/grandparents/parents/children

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
UNTIL 9:00 P.M. EST  
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1990

FACT SHEET

The President's CFE Initiative on U.S. and Soviet Manpower

After initial discussions with NATO Allies, the President concluded that changes which have taken place in Europe over the last three months have made it possible to propose lower levels in the area of greatest concentration of forces -- Central and Eastern Europe. However, the United States will maintain significant military forces in Europe as long as our Allies desire our presence as part of a common security effort.

Therefore, in his State of the Union address to Congress on January 31, President Bush proposed to revise NATO's current position in the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Negotiations to lower substantially the levels of U.S. and Soviet ground and air force manpower in Central and Eastern Europe to 195,000 on each side. Forces withdrawn will be demobilized. There would be approximately 225,000 U.S. ground and air force personnel in Europe after CFE reductions are completed. The proposal responds to rapid changes in Eastern Europe and is designed to help propel the CFE negotiations to an early conclusion in 1990.

The President's initiative would supersede an earlier proposal establishing a level of 275,000 each on U.S. and Soviet ground and air force manpower stationed outside of their respective national territories in the Atlantic to the Urals region.

The President has concluded that this proposal reflects the minimum level of U.S. forces needed in Europe to protect American interests and to sustain NATO's strategy of forward defense and flexible response. Even if -- as we expect -- Soviet forces in this region are reduced even further, the United States does not envision the further reduction of its forces in Europe below this new level.

\* \* \*

'DRAFT TALKING POINTS

My speech tonight doesn't detail every line item in our new budget; rather it sets out my view of the state the union and our world. What a year this has been.

Because of the dramatic events of 1989, my speech reviews the past year - from Panama to Poland to the Berlin Wall - and looks forward to the challenges we face in the future.

I'm grateful to all of you for your contributions and suggestions about this speech, ~~but~~ I decided that rather than recite a laundry list of accomplishment and programs, I'd like to talk thematically about our <sup>responsibilities</sup> responsibilities. I've called them opportunity, ~~competitiveness~~, stewardship and investment.  
*competitiveness*

I've included a section on our domestic initiatives, and our foreign policy goals for the coming year, and I ~~hope you'll find it inclusive~~.  
*admit it's not inclusive of all the good work going on in your department*

As I outlined in my budget, we've got some new ideas I'll talk about tonight, and reiterate my call for some old ones: a balanced budget with no new taxes, and a cut in the capital gains tax.

~~As I mentioned~~ <sup>will repeat what I said in</sup> in my inaugural address, ~~I'll~~ <sup>and</sup> extend my hand to Congress again tonight. It's time we roll up our sleeves and get to it. And I'll tell senior citizens loudly and clearly that we don't need to ~~tinker~~ <sup>mess</sup> with the Social Security system.

Finally, I'll end my speech with some personal observations about things that have touched my family and me deeply in the last year.

I wanted this to be a shorter speech <sup>more thematic</sup> than usual, and I think we've succeeded. Thanks to you and your hard working staffs for all your contributions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM

COOPER EVANS 

SUBJECT

MENTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL NATIONAL RESEARCH  
INITIATIVE IN THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET MESSAGE  
OR STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

Attached is a letter to me from Dr. Charles Hess, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Science and Education. Dr. Hess notes the substantial increase in spending for agricultural research and development in the 1991 and subsequent budgets. He suggests that the President comment on this important new commitment in his Budget Message or State of the Union Address.

I too believe this item is noteworthy and should be included for several reasons:

- \* The President needs to emphasize the positive aspects of the agricultural budget -- and there aren't many. Otherwise coverage will focus on the several proposals which will be viewed with dismay by many out in farm country -- for example, doing away with Federal Crop Insurance.
- \* The National Academy of Sciences strongly supports such an increase. Actually, they advocate even more money and believe that more emphasis on research and development is crucial to the future of American agriculture.
- \* Finally, as Dr. Hess points out, the President should take credit for this important initiative. If he does not, the credit will tend to go to Democratic Congressman McCloskey and Jontz who have introduced HR 3806 based on National Academy recommendations.

Note that Dr. Hess has attached a brief draft of what he considers to be appropriate comments by the President. I believe comments should include "industrial uses" of agricultural products -- see attached Presidential quotes on this subject.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

1 200 1989

Mr. Cooper Evans  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Agricultural Trade and Food Assistance  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Cooper:

Although the level of funding for the National Research Initiative is not as high as recommended by the National Academy of Sciences, the funding level of \$100 million for 1991 and a commitment for a \$50 million increase per year for the next four years does represent a significant new investment in research in agriculture, food, and the environment.


It would be a great help if the President could mention this initiative in his State of the Union and/or budget message for two reasons. One, it would help raise the level of awareness of the new investment and will galvanize the coalition which has been developed to shepherd the initiative through Congress. We need the external support as part of our strategy to help prevent the new funds from being "earmarked." Second, the President should take credit for the initiative and not have the credit go to Congressmen McCloskey and Jontz, who have introduced H.R. 3806, which is based on the National Academy of Sciences report.

I have appreciated the opportunity to discuss the National Research Initiative with you in the past, and ask your support to include a statement about the initiative in the President's message to Congress. A suggested statement is enclosed.

I am sending similar letters to Allan Bromley, Bob Grady, and Roger Porter.

With best regards for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
CHARLES E. HESS  
Assistant Secretary  
Science and Education

Enclosure

cc: Secretary Yeutter

**Suggested statement for President Bush  
on the  
National Initiative for Research on Agriculture,  
Food, and the Environment**

A new investment of \$100 million for agricultural research is being made to enhance production efficiency, food safety, and environmental quality. This investment will allow U.S. agriculture to broaden its science and technology base to more effectively meet the challenges of international competitiveness, new product development, food quality and nutrition, and environmental issues, including water quality and global climate change.

## PRESIDENTIAL QUOTES

"Let's be aggressive about pursuing new markets here at home, from alternative fuels like ethanol, to plastics from cornstarch, to printers ink from soybean oil. These programs offer rural America new jobs in new industries. And at the same time, they offer potentially higher prices and increased demand for the commodities you already produce."

10/26/88 Speech Sioux City Stockyards

"At home, the need to compete means developing new crops and uses for agricultural commodities as raw materials for industry."

7/27/89 Speech FFA

"My administration would shift the focus to lowering production costs and developing new markets for crops, some of which I've just mentioned. And when we make advances in technology, we will move them as quickly as possible from the laboratory to the farm."

7/11/88 Speech Ag Communicators Congress

*Copy Chris  
Dan*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
January 22, 1990

0442

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID F. DEMAREST, JR.

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT: Second Draft of the State of the Union Speech

NSC concurs in the draft, with suggestions as marked.

Attachment  
Tab A Draft Speech

cc: James W. Cicconi

CLOSE HOLD

DRAFT

McGroarty/Dobley  
January 18, 1990  
5:45 pm

1990 JAN 18  
PM 6:01

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the United States Congress: as a former President of the Senate, and proud member of this House, it is my great privilege to report to you on the State of the Union.

I didn't come here tonight to do what's been done so often in the past. I didn't come here to speak about the "**state of the government**" -- to outline every program and new initiative we plan for the coming year, or to recite every line item in the budget. I came here to speak to you and to the American people about **the State of the Union** -- about our world -- the changes we've seen, the challenges we'll face. And what that means for America. ///

There are singular moments in history: dates that divide all that goes before from all that comes after. Many of us here in this chamber have lived much of our lives in a world whose fundamental features were defined in 1945. The events of that year decreed the shape of nations. The pace of progress. The fate of freedom for millions of people around the world.

1945 provided the common frame of reference -- the compass points -- we've relied upon to understand ourselves. Our world. Our goals. /// Until today. /// Such have been the events of

the year just passed -- the revolution of 1989 -- a chain reaction of change so striking that it marks the beginning of a new era in the world's affairs.

Think back -- just twelve short months ago -- to the world we knew as this past year began.

One year ago, the people of Panama lived in fear, under a dictator's rule. Today, democracy is restored -- Panama // is free. //

One year ago in Poland, Lech Walesa declared that he was ready to open a dialogue with the communist rulers of that country. Today, with the future of a free Poland in their hands, members of Solidarity <sup>lead</sup> ~~sit in~~ the Polish <sup>government.</sup> ~~Parliament~~ //

One year ago, freedom's playwright, Vaclav Havel, languished in a prison in Prague. Today, it's Vaclav Havel -- President of Czechoslovakia. //

And one year ago, Erich Honecker of East Germany claimed history as his guide. He predicted the Berlin Wall would last another hundred years. Today -- not one year later -- it's the Wall that's history. ///

What a world of change we've witnessed in one year's time.//

Remarkable events -- events that fulfill the long-held hopes of the American people... That validate the long-standing goals of American policy -- a policy based on a single, shining principle: advancing the cause of freedom in the world.

And in this new world now emerging, our nation -- America -- will continue to be what it has always been -- not just a nation

*America and its democratic allies stood fast -- and stood together -- for four decades. Our policy of strength and solidarity has brought us to this moment. Our being resolute left communist leaders --> no choice but to reform.*

*Need to mention allies + vindication of past policies of strength*



CLOSE HOLD

DRAFT

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-- but an idea alive in the minds of people everywhere, full of hope for all the world. America... the sum total of the hopes of the men and women who built this nation. The shining dream of every immigrant who set foot on our shores. This nation -- this idea called America -- was for all of them -- and is still for all of us -- a new world. Our new world. ///

And now, as a new world takes shape -- at the center of a widening circle of freedom -- today, tomorrow and into the next century -- that's where you'll find America. //

In a place called Branik, on the outskirts of Prague, the idea called America is alive. A worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rises to speak at the factory gates. He begins his speech to his fellow workers with these words -- words of a distant revolution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

When did this occur?  
check.

Today, East and West and in every corner of the globe, we hear the voices of democracy -- the truths that speak across the centuries to men and women everywhere.

\*\*\*\*\*

It's no secret to those gathered here and watching on TV tonight that, here at home, freedom's door opened long ago. We understand the building blocks of a free society: Democracy, Investment, Competition, Opportunity, Stewardship. And of course, leadership. So today, Americans want to know about this new

change order

**CLOSE HOLD**

**DRAFT**

4

world, and our place in it. About the challenges on the horizon -- and what we as a nation must do to meet them.

Yes -- we're going to invest in America. We're going to encourage the creation of capital -- capital of all kinds.

**Physical capital:** everything, from America's farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, that enables us to produce and deliver quality goods and services. **Intellectual capital:** the store-house of ideas that become tomorrow's products. And of course, America's **human capital:** the well-educated, highly-skilled workforce we'll need to compete in the global market.

I'm talking about creating the capital that fuels growth -- that creates jobs. Because when you keep the cost of capital high -- when you make it hard to expand, hard to start that new business -- you stifle growth. When you delay upkeep -- you lose your competitive edge. And when you ignore human capital -- you lose the spirit of American ingenuity -- the spirit that is the hallmark of the American worker. **And the American worker remains the most productive worker in the world.**

**We need to save more** -- expand the pool of capital for the new investments that mean more jobs, more growth. That's the reason behind the new initiative I call the **Family Savings Plan**, [which creates new incentive to save.]

**We need people to take risks** -- to take that first step that translates into economic reward, a stronger economy, for all of us -- that's why we've got to **cut the tax on capital gains.**

# CLOSE HOLD

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# DRAFT

And investment means **Research and Development**. That's what spawns the new products, moves new ideas off the drawing board and into the market. **And that's why I've proposed an R&D budget of \$70 billion dollars -- <sup>an all-time</sup> [a record] high for R&D. //**

And of course, there's the most important investment of all: our investment in America's children. Education. In this year's budget, the federal government will spend more on education than ever before. //

And we've got to do all we can to make sure that -- from the very first day in school -- all our children are ready to learn. That's why I've proposed a record increase in funds -- an extra [xx] million dollars -- for something near and dear to all of us: **Head Start. //**

But real education reform -- real improvement in our schools -- isn't simply a matter of spending more. That's why tonight I want to announce [[Education Goals]]. //

Opportunity for all Americans. Nothing matters more. Every man, woman -- and every American child -- deserves a chance to grow up in a community that's safe and secure -- because fear is the enemy of opportunity. That's why it's time to take the next step towards a drug-free future for all Americans. Just last week we released Phase II of our National Drug Control Strategy. And our budget provides funds to implement that plan: an increase of \$2.1 billion dollars -- 41% more than last year. //

Then there's stewardship: **America's precious environmental inheritance**. We simply **must** preserve it. And there's something

**CLOSE HOLD**

**DRAFT**

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really new in this year's budget [-- an initiative I call the Endowment for the Environment [America the Beautiful Fund?]. \$2 [?] billion dollars to clean up our country -- and keep America beautiful for generations to come. //

And we've sent up a budget that brings federal spending under control. It meets the Gramm-Rudman budget targets, and balances the budget by 1993. // And once again, read my lips: we're going to do it without raising taxes. //

And once the budget is balanced, we will begin operating the way every family in America has to when it has bills to pay: We're going to start buying down our debt. //

And let me say something about obligations. We're going to keep our commitments. Once again, we have fully funded Social Security. And I want to assure not only today's retired Americans, but tomorrow's retirees -- especially those of you born in the 1950s -- the system will remain sound. Your benefits will be there when you retire.

The proposals I've just spoken of are all part of an agenda that will keep the idea we call America alive -- all the dreams and hopes we cherish -- keep it alive today, and into the next century and new world ahead. ///

So tonight, let me say to all the members of Congress the same thing I said one year ago. The American people didn't send us here to bicker. There's work to do -- and they sent us here to get it done. And as I did a year ago, once again, I offer my hand to all of you. Let's work together to do the will of the

# CLOSE HOLD

# DRAFT

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American people. There's a full agenda in front of us. It's time to take action. /////

Now, there's something else I want to say right now to every American watching tonight. The "state of the government" does indeed depend on many of us in this very chamber. But the State of the Union depends on all Americans. Whether we are a decent people -- whether we maintain the democratic decency that makes a nation out of millions of individuals. Whether we respect the rights of all -- equally. Whether we speak out against racism, bigotry and hate. ///

The State of the Union depends on whether we help our neighbor -- claim the problems of our community as our own. Whether we step forward when there's trouble -- lend a hand, volunteer. /// Whether we take the time after a busy day to sit down and read with our kids. Help them with their homework. Pass along the values we learned as children. That's how we measure the State of the Union. //

Nothing's too small -- too unimportant. It all adds up -- to whether we do the things that give democracy meaning. It all adds up to who we are. ///

So let me say, that so long as we remember the American idea -- so long as we live up to the American ideal -- the State of the Union will remain sound and strong.

I know there are doubters. People out there who lack faith in this nation's future. Some who've been forgotten, some who've given up. To them we must offer hope and encouragement. And to

CLOSE HOLD

DRAFT

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those who think we **have** lost our way -- well, I want you to listen to a letter from one young man that came to me at the White House.

It was written by James Markwell -- PFC James Markwell, a 20-year old Army medic. It's dated December 18th -- the night before our Armed Forces went into action in Panama. It's a letter servicemen write -- and hope will never be sent. Sadly, Private Markwell's mother received this letter. And she passed it on to me.

He writes: "I have never been afraid of death, but I know now he is waiting at the corner.... I have been trained to kill and to save, so has everyone else. I am frightened of what lays beyond the fog, yet... I must go through the fog -- whether the other side is a plane ride home for Christmas, or the fog never ends. Do not mourn for me. Revel in the life that I have died to give you."

"...And most of all, don't forget that the Army was my choice. Something that I wanted to do."

Private Markwell was among the first to see battle in Panama, and one of the first to fall. ///

He wasn't lost. He knew what he believed in -- **because he carried the idea we call America in his heart.** ///

It is that spirit that tells me -- that tells all of us -- the State of the Union is strong. That our nation can meet the challenges we face. That we can build a better world here at

home -- that we possess the sense of purpose we need to play a leading role in the new world taking shape around us. ////

I began tonight speaking about the changes we've seen this past year. There is a new world of challenges and opportunities before us. And there is a need for leadership that only America can provide.

Nearly forty years ago, in his last address to the Congress, President Harry Truman predicted such a time would come. He said: "As our world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the iron curtain, then inevitably there will come a time of change within the communist world."

Today, that opportunity exists.

And I say tonight to the Congress and to the American people: the time is right to build a new relationship with the Soviet Union. // As long as glasnost and perestroika move forward, we must welcome -- and we must support -- these dramatic changes -- these long-awaited steps towards lasting peace. //

All of us understand that the events of this past year open unparalleled opportunities for peace and freedom.

Together, we must create a new consensus -- a common vision of this new world we want to see. A world that is more than a collection of nations at odds, at arms-length, and -- all too often -- at war. But for the first time, a truly international community -- a commonwealth with freedom <sup>and a commitment to peace</sup> at its core. Not a world where all nations are identical, where all differences

Today, we must respond to the new forces of freedom -- including support for new democracies in Eastern Europe. Next year I'm increasing our funding for this purpose by \$300 million, as part of a comprehensive strategy for the region.

And we must respond to a changing security environment. I'm proposing a defense budget that begins the transition to a restructured military -- more flexible, more geared to contingencies outside of Europe, while continuing to meet our inescapable responsibilities for ~~defense~~ <sup>to NATO</sup> and to maintaining the global balance.

Before we can expect a peace dividend we must first make additional investments

Add something on these key issues  
get to make  
next page

disappear -- but one where the diversity of cultures and customs finds an open door in democracy. <sup>and where it is understood that differences are to be settled by words, NOT war.</sup>

For more than forty years, America and its allies sought to hold communism in check, and to ensure that **democracy would continue to exist**. Today, with communism crumbling, our aim must be to ensure **democracy's advance**. ////

But we must recognize a sad, but unfortunate fact: **We have not entered an era of perpetual peace**. In many regions of the world tonight, the reality is war. Enduring animosities, opposing interests, will continue to cause conflict -- **and peace will continue to be served by an America strong enough -- and sure enough -- to defend our interests and ideals.**

\*\*\*\*\*

Here at home -- and in the world -- there is **history in the making -- and history to be made**. But the changes and the challenges ahead should not blind us to the elements that endure -- to the principles that remain fixed forever in the human mind and spirit.

Six months ago, early in this season of change, I stood at the gates of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, at the monument to the fallen workers of Solidarity. It is a monument of simple majesty. Three tall crosses rise up from the stones. **Atop each cross, an anchor -- an ancient symbol of hope.**

**The anchor in our world today is freedom**. Holding us steady in times of change. A symbol of hope to all the world. And freedom is the very center of **the idea that is America**. ///

*Interim plan  
will be aid  
for new democracies.*  
→  
*Need  
more on  
peace &  
development*  
*Interim plan but  
need for continuity*  
→  
*strengthen  
alliances &  
esp. NATO.*

CLOSE HOLD

DRAFT

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And every one of us can help keep this idea alive for ourselves and all the world. /// You know, in the last few days of this past momentous year, Barbara and I were blessed once more -- blessed with a new grandson -- our twelfth -- Charles Walker Bush {here tonight}. [GRANDCHILDREN IN GALLERY] Those 12 are their grandparents' pride and joy. And together with the tens of millions of children in this great nation, they are far more. They are the very future of freedom. To them belongs this new world I've been speaking about.

So tonight -- for them and for every child in America -- I'm going to ask something of every one of you. Let me start with my generation -- with the grandparents out there. You are our living link to the past. Tell your grandchildren the story of struggles waged, at home and abroad. Of sacrifices freely made for freedom's sake. And tell them **your** story as well -- because every American has a story to tell.

And parents: your children look to you for direction and guidance. Teach them that of all the many gifts they can receive, **liberty** is their most precious legacy. You too must tell them the story of America.

And of course, let me say to the children and young people watching tonight: with you rests our hope -- all that America **will** mean in the years and decades ahead. Fix your vision on a new century -- your century. On dreams we cannot see. On the destiny that is yours -- and yours alone -- to fulfill. //

CLOSE HOLD

DRAFT

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And finally, let all Americans -- all of us together here in this chamber, the symbolic center of American democracy -- affirm our allegiance to this idea we call America. And let us all remember that the State of the Union depends on each and every one of us.

God bless all of you. God bless every American watching tonight -- and may God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

# # #

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS & POLICY

The Crisis Magazine

NAACP 4805 Mt. Hope Drive  
Baltimore, MD. 21215



FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO: Joe Watkins

DATE: Jan 25, 1990

COMPANY: \_\_\_\_\_

TIME: \_\_\_\_\_

NUMBER OF PAGES: (including cover sheet) 2

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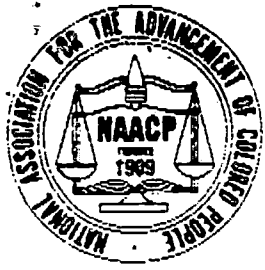
FROM: Jerry Guess

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JERRY M. GUESS  
(301) 486-9104   
(212) 481-4100



**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**  
4805 MT HOPE DRIVE · BALTIMORE, MD 21215-3297 · (301) 358-8900

BENJAMIN L. HOOKS  
Executive Director/CEO

January 25, 1990

Mr. Joe Watkins  
Assistant to the President  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Watkins:

I am attaching hereto some suggested language on the issue of Racial Violence for possible inclusion in the President's State of the Union Address.

Let me hear from you.

Keep the faith!!!

Sincerely,

Jerry M. Guess  
Director of Communications

JMG/sic

Phone #: (301) 486-9160  
Fax #: (301) 486-9164

**SUGGESTED REMARKS ON RACIAL VIOLENCE FOR INCLUSION**

**IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS**

In recent months there has been an alarming and disturbing increase in reported instances of racial violence in a number of communities across the nation. Bombs have been sent through the mail which killed a federal judge in Alabama and a civil rights lawyer in Savannah, Georgia. In addition, potentially lethal bombs were sent to the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals and to the offices of the NAACP in Jacksonville, Florida and in Atlanta, Georgia. In June the National Headquarters of the NAACP was fired into under the cover of darkness. In addition, vicious threats against civil rights activists have been received. These threats promised the assassinations of members of the judiciary and civil rights leaders.

In this nation we do not express our dissent by bullets and bombs, but rather, this dissent is rendered at the ballot box.

As we move into the decade of the 90's and prepare to enter the 21st century, we simply cannot nor will not allow lawlessness and bigotry to engender a reign of terror, fear and repression. We must somehow, as a nation of people consisting of descendants from every country on the face of the globe, rid ourselves of the tired old baggage of racial intolerance, religious bigotry, and sexism. To do less would be to deny ourselves, as the leaders of the free world, of the moral high ground necessary in pursuing our ultimate destiny as a free and civilized people. Failure to act now to defeat the guardians of

hatred and violence would make us unworthy of our creed. Failure to act now would deny this, the greatest nation on the face of the earth, of its rightful place in history as the defender of human rights.

If the walls which existed over 30 years between the people of the city of Berlin could be breached, and hopefully ultimately torn down, certainly, we Americans, can find common ground upon which to live and work together. We, here in America, can and must tear down the walls of suspicion and mistrust which separates us because of our differences of skin color, religious preference or political beliefs.

As President of this nation, I intend to use my office to heal old wounds, to encourage new dialogue, to invoke new trust, to instill new pride, and to speed up the day when the old antiquated luggage of racism and intolerance are no longer present on the American scene.

The greatest resource this nation has is not our military might, not our natural resources of coal, iron, oil, gold, agriculture, prosperity, or our vast timber lands. Our greatest national resources are not our fertile farmlands, our abundance of lakes, rivers or streams. Rather, the people of this nation are the resource that has enabled us to experience the technological and industrial success that has spurred our conquest of space, our exploration of the ocean depths, and made our system of government - the envy of the world. People of all

Page 3

colors, all religious beliefs, all levels of educational attainment that make up this beautiful mosaic we proudly call America.

**SENSITIVE**

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 1/29/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00pm TODAY

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION - 1/29/90 DRAFT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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>BOSKIN</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>BROMLEY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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**REMARKS:**

The attached has been forwarded to the President. Action assignees are requested to check facts and substantive statements in the draft. Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston's (x2930) with a copy to my office, by 4:00pm TODAY, Tuesday, January 30. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

**SENSITIVE**

**CLOSE HOLD**

88 : 01 08 JAN 30 90

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

**OUTLINE: 1/29/90, 3 PM**

Not state of government -- state of union

revolution of 1989

One year ago . . . (Panama)

Idea called America

**Building blocks:** democracy, investment, competition,  
opportunity, stardship, and leadership

- jobs
- child care
- safe environment
- disabled Americans
- homeless
- drug-free
- education

3 capitals

- family savings plan
- capital gains
- money is there -- R & D, HOPE, drugs, education
- Education Goals (Head Start)
- competition
- deficit control
- pay off debt
- environment (America the Beautiful)

Full agenda/work together

- Clean Air
- Child Care
- Crime & Drugs
- National Transportation Policy
- Space Exploration
- Tort Reform
- Enterprise Zones

Social Security

Health Care

State of the Union depends on all Americans

- racism
- lend a hand . . . read with our kids . . . pass long values

Marwell letter

**Leadership**

Truman quote

democracy's advance/commonwealth of nations

Soviet Union

Eastern Europe

Far East/China

Our hemisphere

Strong America

Solidarity monument

Children/grandparents/parents/children

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 29, 1990  
9:30 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the United States Congress: I return as a former President of the Senate, and proud member of this great House. // Now, as President, it is my privilege to report to you on the State of the Union.

Tonight, I come not to speak about the "state of the government" -- not to detail every new initiative we plan for the coming year, nor to describe every line item in the budget. I am here to speak to you and to the American people about the State of the Union -- about our world -- the changes we've seen, the challenges we'll face. And what that means for America. ///

There are singular moments in history: dates that divide all that goes before from all that comes after. Many of us in this chamber have lived much of our lives in a world whose fundamental features were defined in 1945. The events of that year decreed the shape of nations. The pace of progress. Freedom or oppression for millions of people around the world.

1945 provided the common frame of reference -- the compass points of the post-war era we've relied upon to understand ourselves. That was our world. /// Until now. /// The events of the year just ended -- the revolution of '89 -- have been a

chain reaction of change so striking that it marks the beginning of a new era in the world's affairs.

Think back -- just twelve short months ago -- to the world we knew -- as 1989 began.

One year ago, the people of Panama lived in fear, under the thumb of a dictator. Today, democracy is restored -- Panama // is free. //

And tonight I'm proud to announce the formal termination of Operation JUST CAUSE. [[Tonight, troop levels in Panama are just 1000 above where they stood before our operation began.]] By the last day of February, our personnel will be at the same levels as before the operation -- all of the additional American troops who made this mission a success will be back home. ///

A year ago in Poland, Lech Walesa declared that he was ready to open a dialogue with the communist rulers of that country. Today, with the future of a free Poland in their hands, members of Solidarity lead the Polish Government. //

A year ago, freedom's playwright, Vaclav Havel, languished as a prisoner in Prague. Today, it's Vaclav Havel -- President of Czechoslovakia. //

And one year ago, Erich Honecker of East Germany claimed history as his guide. He predicted the Berlin Wall would last another hundred years. Today -- less than one year later -- it's the Wall that's history. ///

Remarkable events -- events that fulfill the long-held hopes of the American people... Events that validate the long-standing

goals of American policy -- a policy based on a single, shining principle: the cause of freedom.

America -- not just the nation -- but an idea, alive in the minds of people everywhere. As this new world takes shape, America stands at the center of a widening circle of freedom -- today, tomorrow and into the next century. //

Our America is the shining dream of every immigrant who ever set foot on these shores -- and the millions still struggling to be free. This nation -- this idea called America -- was and always will be -- a new world. Our new world. ///

At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- the idea called America is alive. A worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rises to speak at the factory gates. He begins his speech to his fellow citizens with these words -- words of a distant revolution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, [and] that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."  
/////

It's no secret that, here at home, freedom's door opened long ago. The cornerstones of this free society have already been set in place: Democracy. Competition. Opportunity. Private investment. Stewardship. And of course, leadership.

Our challenge today is to take this democratic system of ours -- a system second to none -- and make it better. That's the American idea.

A better America, where there's a job for everyone who wants one.

Where women who work outside the home can be confident their children are in safe and loving care -- and where government works to **expand** child care alternatives for parents.

Where we aren't forced to make an "either-or" decision between a **clean environment and American jobs**.

Where all Americans enjoy the **same opportunities** to live, to work, and to contribute to society. And where, for the first time, the American mainstream includes **all disabled Americans**.

// Where every American has a roof over his head -- and where the homeless get the help they need to **live in dignity**. //

Where every street, every city, every school and **every American child** is drug-free. //

Where our schools challenge our kids and our teachers -- and where **all of them** make the grade.

That's part of the future we want to see -- the future we can make for ourselves. But dreams alone won't get us there. We need to extend our horizon -- commit to the long-view. Our [plans] for the future start today. ///

Yes -- **we are** going to invest in America. This Administration is **determined** to encourage the creation of capital -- capital of all kinds. **Physical capital:** everything, from America's farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, all that is needed to produce and deliver quality goods and services. **Intellectual capital:** the store-house of ideas

that become tomorrow's products. And of course, America's human capital: the talented workforce we'll need to compete in the global market.

And let me tell you: if we ignore human capital -- we lose the spirit of American ingenuity -- the spirit that is the hallmark of the American worker. And the American worker is the most productive worker in the world. //

We need to save more -- expand the pool of capital for the new investments that mean more jobs, more growth. That's the idea behind a new initiative I call the Family Savings Account [Package], which I will send to the Congress tomorrow. //

We need to encourage risk-takers to take those steps that translate into economic reward, jobs and a better life for all of us -- that's why we've got to cut the tax on capital gains. //

We'll do what it takes to invest in America's future. The commitment is there. The money is there. // It's there for Research and Development, R&D -- a record high. It's there for our housing initiative -- HOPE, to help everyone from first-time homebuyers to the homeless. The money's there to keep our kids drug-free: a 70% increase in funds to fight drugs since last year. It's there for Space -- and it's there for education: another record high. //

And one more thing: last fall at the Education Summit, the Governors and I agreed to look for ways to help make sure kids are ready to learn the very first day they walk into that classroom. I've made good on that commitment -- by proposing a

P. 47  
1991  
Budget

41%  
P. 111  
budget

record increase in funds -- an extra half a billion dollars --  
for something near and dear to all of us: Head Start. //

✓  
P.100  
Budget

Education is the one investment that means **more** for our future because it means the **most** for our children. Real improvement in our schools is **not** simply a matter of spending more. It is a matter of **asking more -- expecting more:** of our schools, our teachers, of our kids, and our parents. That's why tonight I am announcing **America's education goals** -- goals agreed upon with the nation's Governors:

By the year 2000, **every child in America** must start school ready to learn. The United States must increase the high school graduation rate to **no less than 90%**. And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas **means something:** at the critical grades -- 4th, 8th and 12th -- we must check all our students' progress.

By the year 2000, U.S. students must be **first in the world** in math and science skills. Every American adult must be **literate**. **Every school** in America must offer the kind of disciplined environment that makes it possible for our kids to learn -- **and every school in America must be drug-free**. //

Ambitious aims? Of course. Guaranteed success? Far from it. But the future's at stake. This nation will not accept anything less than **excellence in education**. //

These investments will **keep America competitive**. And I know this about the American people: **we welcome competition**. We'll match our ingenuity and energy -- our experience and technology -

notes  
5.4%  
7 cannot  
round  
to 6%

Last year it was  
39% and of  
with the

- our spirit and enterprise -- against anyone. Let the competition be free -- but let it be fair. America is ready. //

Since we really mean it -- and since we are serious about being ready to meet that challenge -- let's get our house in order. // We've made real progress. 5 years ago, the federal deficit was 6% of our Gross National Product. This year in the budget I sent up two days ago -- the deficit's down to 1% of GNP.

Budget  
P.A 283  
Total 5:  
Budget 5:  
1985  
1991  
Total

That budget brings federal spending under control. It meets the Gramm-Rudman target. Brings that deficit down further. And balances the budget by 1993 -- with no new taxes. //

And once the budget is balanced, we can operate the way every family in America has to when it has bills to pay. We won't leave it to our children and grandchildren. We will start paying off the national debt. //

And there's something more we owe the generations of the future: stewardship -- the safekeeping of America's precious environmental inheritance. As just one sign of how serious we are, we will elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet rank. Not more bureaucracy, not more red tape -- but the certainty that here at home, and in our dealings with other nations, environmental issues have the status they deserve. //

[[And this year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to protect our environment. Over \$1 billion for global change research.]] And a new initiative I call the America the Beautiful Fund -- to expand our national parks and wildlife

misleading:  
the A is \$375n  
+ the level is 1 B

refuges and improve recreational facilities on public lands. And something else: something that will help keep this country clean, from our forestland to our inner cities, and keep American beautiful for generations to come -- the money to plant a billion trees a year. /////

And tonight, let me say again to all the members of Congress: The American people did not send us here to bicker. There's work to do -- and they sent us here to get it done. And once again, I offer my hand to all of you. Let's work together to do the will of the American people. Clean Air. Child Care. Crime and Drugs. It's time to act. /// The farm bill. Transportation policy. Tort reform. Enterprise Zones. It's time to act together. ///

And there's one thing I hope we'll all be able to agree on. It's about our commitments. I'm talking about Social Security.

To every American out there on Social Security, to every American supporting that system today, and to everyone counting on it when they retire: We made a promise to you -- and we're going to keep it. //

We rescued the Social Security system in 1983 -- and it's sound again. // Social Security is fully funded in our budget - and fully funded for the future. The last thing we need to do is tinker with the system. /////

There's one more problem we need to address. We must give careful consideration to the recommendations of the health care studies now underway. That's why tonight, I am requesting that

Dr. Louis Sullivan -- Secretary of Health and Human Services -- lead a Domestic Policy Council review of recommendations on the quality, accessibility and cost of our nation's health care system. ////

The "state of the government" does indeed depend on many of us in this very chamber. But the State of the Union depends on all Americans. We must maintain the democratic decency that makes a nation out of millions of individuals. I have been appalled at the recent letter bombings across this country. Every one of us must confront and condemn racism. Anti-semitism. Bigotry and hate. /// Not tomorrow, not next week, but today.

The State of the Union depends on whether we help our neighbor -- claim the problems of our community as our own. We've got to step forward when there's trouble -- lend a hand, be a point of light to a stranger in need. /// We've got to take the time after a busy day to sit down and read with our kids. Help them with their homework. Pass along the values we learned as children. That's how we sustain the State of the Union. //

Every effort is important. It all adds up -- it's doing the things that give democracy meaning. It all adds up to who we are -- and who we will be. ///

And let me say, that so long as we remember the American idea -- so long as we live up to the American ideal -- the State of the Union will remain sound and strong.

And to those who worry we have lost our way -- well, I want you to listen to a letter written by James Markwell -- PFC James

Markwell, a 20-year old Army medic. It's dated December 18th -- the night before our Armed Forces went into action in Panama. It's a letter servicemen write -- and hope will never be sent. Sadly, Private Markwell's mother did receive this letter. And she passed it on to me.

He writes: "I have never been afraid of death, but I know now he is waiting at the corner.... I have been trained to kill and to save, so has everyone else. I am frightened of what lays beyond the fog, yet... I must go through the fog -- whether the other side is a plane ride home for Christmas, or the fog never ends. Do not mourn for me. Revel in the life that I have died to give you. ...And most of all, don't forget that the Army was my choice. Something that I wanted to do." //

Private Markwell was among the first to see battle in Panama, and one of the first to fall. ///

He knew what he believed in. // He carried the idea we call America in his heart. ////

I began tonight speaking about the changes we've seen this past year. There is a new world of challenges and opportunities before us. And there is a need for leadership that only America can provide.

Nearly forty years ago, in his last address to the Congress, President Harry Truman predicted such a time would come. He said: "As our world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the iron curtain, then inevitably there will come a time of change within the communist world."

Today, that change is taking place. //

For more than forty years, America and its allies held communism in check, and ensured that democracy would continue to exist. Today, with communism crumbling, our aim must be to ensure democracy's advance. To take the lead in forging peace and freedom's best hope -- a great and growing commonwealth of free nations. ///

I say to the Congress and to all Americans: It is time to acclaim a new consensus at home and abroad -- a common vision of the peaceful world we want to see.

It's time to reconcile a new relationship with the Soviet Union -- to endorse and extend the peaceful process of internal change toward democracy and economic opportunity. //

It is time to offer our hand to the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. So that continent -- for too long a continent divided -- can see a future whole and free. //

In the Far East, it is time for the full flowering of free governments and free markets that have served as the engine of progress. In China, two decades ago, we opened the door, awakening a love of democracy in the Chinese people. // The key to democracy in China today is to keep that door open -- to rekindle the flame of freedom. /////

And finally, the time is right -- here in our own hemisphere for all the people of the Americas, North and South, to live in freedom.



All kids are unique. Yet, all kids are alike. The budding young environmentalists I met this month, who joined me exploring the Florida Everglades. The little leaguers I played catch with in Poland -- ready to go from Warsaw to the World Series. Even the kids who are ill or alone, coping with problems no child should have to face. When it comes to hope and the future: Every kid is the same. Full of dreams. Ready to take on the world. All special: because they are the very future of freedom. To them belongs this new world I've been speaking about.

So tonight I'm going to ask something of every one of you. Let me start with my generation -- with the grandparents out there. You are our living link to the past. Tell your grandchildren the story of struggles waged, at home and abroad. Of sacrifices freely made for freedom's sake. And tell them your own story as well -- because every American has a story to tell.

Parents: your children look to you for direction and guidance. Tell them of faith and family. Teach them that of all the many gifts they can receive, liberty is their most precious legacy. And of all the gifts they can give, the greatest is servicing others.

And of course, let me say to the children and young people out there tonight: with you rests our hope -- all that America will mean in the years and decades ahead. Fix your vision on a new century -- your century. On dreams we cannot see. On the destiny that is yours -- and yours alone. //

And finally, let all Americans -- all of us together here in this chamber, the symbolic center of American democracy -- affirm our allegiance to this idea we call America. And let us all remember that the State of the Union depends on each and every one of us.

God bless all of you. God bless every American -- and may God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

# # #

CLOSE HOLD

EYES ONLY

Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 1/25/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 pm Friday 1/26

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION - 1/25 DRAFT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input 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 your comments/recommendations directly to David Demarest's office with an information copy to my office by 3:00 pm Friday, January 26. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

EYES ONLY

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

# CLOSE HOLD

OUTLINE - 1/25/90

Not state of government -- state of union

revolution of 1989

One year ago . . .

Idea called America

**Building blocks:** democracy, investment, competition, opportunity, stewardship, and leadership.

- jobs
- child care
- safe environment
- homeless
- drug-free
- education

3 capitals

- family savings plan
- capital gains
- money is there -- R & D, drugs, education
- Head Start
- education goals
- competition
- balance budget
- pay off debt
- environment (America the Beautiful?)

Full agenda/work together

Social Security

State of the Union depends on all Americans

lend a hand . . . read with our kids . . . pass along values

Markwell letter

## **Leadership**

- Truman quote
- democracy's advance
- Soviet Union
- Eastern Europe
- our own hemisphere
- Europe
- Far East

Strong America

Solidarity monument

Children/grandparents/parents/children

# CLOSE HOLD

CLOSE HOLD

OVER

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 25, 1990  
4:00 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the United States Congress: <sup>As</sup> a former President of the Senate, and proud member of this <sup>great</sup> House, <sup>Now as President,</sup> it is my great privilege to report to you on the State of the Union.

I ~~didn't~~ <sup>am not</sup> come here tonight to do what's been done so often in the past. I ~~didn't~~ <sup>am not</sup> come here to speak about the "state of the government" -- to outline every new initiative we plan for the coming year, or to recite every line item in the budget. I <sup>am</sup> ~~came~~ here to speak to you and to the American people about the State of the Union -- about our world -- the changes we've seen, the challenges we'll face. And what that means for America. ///

There are singular moments in history: dates that divide all that goes before from all that comes after. Many of us here in this chamber have lived much of our lives in a world whose fundamental features were defined in 1945. The events of that year decreed the shape of nations. The pace of progress. The fate of freedom for millions of people around the world.

1945 provided the common frame of reference -- the compass points -- we've relied upon to understand ourselves. Our world. Our goals. ///

/// Until <sup>now</sup> today. ///

/// ~~Such have been~~ <sup>have been</sup> the events of the year just passed -- the revolution of 1989 -- <sup>1</sup> a chain

CLOSE HOLD

reaction of change so striking that it marks the beginning of a new era in the world's affairs.

Think back -- just twelve short months ago -- to the world we knew as this past year began.

One year ago in Poland, Lech Walesa declared that he was ready to open a dialogue with the communist rulers of that country. Today, with the future of a free Poland in their hands, members of Solidarity lead the Polish Government. //

One year ago, freedom's playwright, Vaclav Havel, languished <sup>as</sup> in a prison in Prague. Today, it's <sup>President -- President</sup> Vaclav Havel -- President of Czechoslovakia. //

One year ago, Erich Honecker of East Germany claimed history as his guide. He predicted the Berlin Wall would last another hundred years. Today -- not one year later -- it's the Wall that's history. ///

And one year ago, the people of Panama lived in fear, under the thumb of a dictator. Today, democracy is restored -- Panama // is free. // *Panama insert*

~~What a world of change we've witnessed in one year's time.//~~

Remarkable events -- events that fulfill the long-held hopes of the American people... That validate the long-standing goals of American policy -- a policy based on a single, shining principle: advancing the cause of freedom.

And in this new world now emerging, our nation -- America -- will continue to be what it has always been -- not just a nation -- but an idea alive in the minds of people everywhere, full of

hope for all the world. And now, as a new world takes shape  
 at the center of a widening circle of freedom -- today, tomorrow  
 and into the next century -- that's where you'll find America. //

This America is the shining dream of every immigrant who  
 ever set foot on our shores, *and millions who still yearn to*  
 every one a Pilgrim at Plymouth

*breath of*  
 Rock. This nation -- this idea called America -- was for all of  
them -- and is still for all of us -- a new world. Our new  
 world. ///

In a place called Branik, on the outskirts of Prague, the  
 idea called America is alive. A worker, dressed in grimy  
 overalls, rises to speak at the factory gates. He begins his  
 speech to his fellow workers with these words -- words of a  
 distant revolution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident.  
 That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their  
 creator with certain unalienable rights, [and] that among these  
 are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." /////

It's no secret to those gathered in this chamber and  
 watching on TV tonight that, here at home, freedom's door opened  
 long ago. We already understand the **building blocks of a free  
 society: Democracy. Investment. Competition. Opportunity.  
 Stewardship. And of course, leadership.**

Our challenge today is to take this democratic system of  
 ours -- a system second to none -- and make it better. That's  
 the American idea.

An America where there's a job for everyone who wants one.

Where women who work outside the home can be confident their children are well cared for -- and where government works to expand choice in child care.

Where we aren't forced to make an "either-or" choice between a **safe environment and American jobs.**

Where every American has a roof over his head -- where the homeless get the help they need to leave the streets behind, and **live in dignity.**

**Where every street, every city, every school and every American child is drug-free. //**

Where parents decide what schools their kids will attend. Where our schools don't fail our kids or our teachers -- and where all of them make the grade.

That's the <sup>part of the</sup> future we want to see -- the future we can make for ourselves. But dreams alone won't get us there. We need to change our focus -- commit to the long-view. We need to realize that our plans for the future start today.

Let's talk for a moment about how we get there:

Yes -- we're going to invest in America. We're going to encourage the creation of capital -- capital of all kinds.

**Physical capital:** everything, from America's farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, that enables us to produce and deliver quality goods and services. **Intellectual capital:** the store-house of ideas that become tomorrow's products. And of course, America's **human capital:** the well-educated, highly-skilled workforce we'll need to compete in the global market.

And let me tell you: when we ignore human capital -- we lose the spirit of American ingenuity -- the spirit that is the hallmark of the American worker. **And the American worker is the most productive worker in the world. //**

*myf  
trous.*

**We need to save more** -- expand the pool of capital for the new investments that mean more jobs, more growth. That's the idea behind a new initiative I call the **Family Savings Plan**, which creates new incentive to save.

**We need people to take risks** -- to take that first step that translates into economic reward, a stronger economy, for all of us -- that's why we've got to **cut the tax on capital gains.** //

And when I say we're serious about investing in our future -- we've got the budget to back us up. ~~I know money is tight --~~ but for the key programs, the money is there. It's there for Research and Development, R&D -- a record high. It's there to keep our kids drug-free: a 69% increase in funds to fight drugs since ~~last year~~ <sup>took office</sup>. It's there for education: a record high. //

*HOPE*

*Education Summit*

And one more thing: I've proposed a record increase in funds -- <sup>half a billion</sup> ~~an extra [xx] million~~ dollars -- for something near and dear to all of us: **Head Start.** //

*Gov's*

Let me speak for a moment about education -- about the one investment that means **more** for our future because it means the **most** for our children. Real improvement in our schools isn't simply a matter of spending more. It's a matter of asking more -- expecting more: of our schools, our teachers, of our kids.

*I stood here a year ago*

*So working with the Governors we have developed*

That's why tonight I want to announce America's education goals -  
 - the new national <sup>standards</sup> standards for all our schools.

*Goal 1* By the year 2000, every child in America will start school ready to learn.

*Goal 2* Every American adult will be literate -- with the skills they need to succeed in our competitive economy.

*Goal 3* Every school in America will offer the kind of disciplined environment that makes it possible for our kids to learn -- and every school in America will be drug-free.

By the year 2000, the United States will increase the high school graduation rate to 90%.

By the year 2000, U.S. students will be first in the world in math and science skills.

*Guaranteed success? OF COURSE!*  
 Ambitious aims. But the future's at stake. This nation cannot afford anything less than excellence in education. //

*highlight*  
 The kind of investments I'm talking about is what will keep America competitive -- able to come out ahead in the international marketplace. I know this about the American people: we welcome competition. We'll match our ingenuity and energy -- our experience and technology -- against anyone. Let the competition be free -- let it be fair. America is ready. //

But if we really mean it -- if we're serious about being ready to meet that challenge -- we've got to get our house in order here at home. // We've sent up a budget that brings federal spending under control. It meets the Gramm-Rudman

target. Brings that deficit down. And balances the budget by 1993 -- with no new taxes. //

And once the budget is balanced, we will begin operating the way every family in America has to when it has bills to pay:

We're going to start **paying off the national debt.** // Our ~~kids~~ <sup>children</sup> shouldn't have to foot the bill for **our** failure to spend within our means.

And there's something more we owe ~~our children:~~ <sup>the generations of the future.</sup> **stewardship** -- the safekeeping of **America's precious environmental**

**inheritance.** We simply must preserve it. As just one sign of how serious we are about the environment, we're going to elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet rank. // And there's something really new in this year's budget -- an initiative I call the America the Beautiful Fund. \$2[?] billion dollars **to clean up our country -- and keep America beautiful for generations to come.** //

This is an agenda that will <sup>help</sup> keep the idea we call America alive. ///

<sup>A yr ago on the steps of this great institution</sup> So tonight, let me say to all the members of Congress the same thing I said one year ago. The American people didn't send us here to bicker. There's work to do -- and they sent us here **to get it done.** And as I did a year ago, once again, I offer my hand to all of you. Let's work together to do the will of the American people. **There's a full agenda in front of us.** It's **time to ~~take~~ action.** ///

*and grandchildren*  
*sub long Grady*

*Clean Air*  
*HOPE initiative*  
*Crime*  
*National Transp. Policy*

*deficit reduction*  
*enterprise zones*  
*space exploration*

But there's one thing I hope we'll all be able to agree on. It's about our obligations. I'm talking about Social Security.

Let me say this to every American out there on Social Security, to every American supporting that system today, and counting on it when they retire. We made a promise to the American people -- and we're going to keep it. // Social Security is fully funded. <sup>We rescued the</sup> ~~So in the words of that old saying, if it ain't broke -- [Pause] don't fix it. ///~~

Health SS

Now, there's something I want to say right now to every American watching tonight. The "state of the government" does indeed depend on many of us in this very chamber. But the State of the Union depends on all Americans. Whether we are a decent people -- whether we maintain the democratic decency that makes a nation out of millions of individuals. Whether we respect the rights of all -- equally. <sup>confront & Condem</sup> Every one of us must speak out against racism, bigotry, and hate. <sup>antisemitism</sup> ///

Bridge

The State of the Union depends on whether we help our neighbor -- claim the problems of our community as our own. Whether we step forward when there's trouble -- lend a hand, light the life of a stranger in need. /// Whether we take the time after a busy day to sit down and read with our kids. Help them with their homework. Pass along the values we learned as children. That's how we measure the State of the Union. // <sup>Every effort is important</sup> ~~Nothing's too small -- too unimportant.~~ It all adds up -- to whether we do the things that give democracy meaning. It all adds up to who we are. ///

and who we will be

*Americans  
that who*

So let me say, that so long as we remember the American idea -- so long as we live up to the American ideal -- the State of the Union will remain sound and strong.

~~I know there are doubters. People out there who lack faith in this nation's future.~~ So to those who <sup>worry</sup> think we have lost our way -- well, I want you to listen to a letter written by James Markwell -- PFC James Markwell, a 20-year old Army medic. It's dated December 18th -- the night before our Armed Forces went into action in Panama. It's a letter servicemen write -- and hope will never be sent. Sadly, Private Markwell's mother received this letter. And she passed it on to me.

He writes: "I have never been afraid of death, but I know now he is waiting at the corner.... I have been trained to kill and to save, so has everyone else. I am frightened of what lays beyond the fog, yet... I must go through the fog -- whether the other side is a plane ride home for Christmas, or the fog never ends. Do not mourn for me. Revel in the life that I have died to give you. ...And most of all, don't forget that the Army was **my choice**. Something that I wanted to do." //

Private Markwell was among the first to see battle in Panama, and one of the first to fall. ///

~~He hadn't lost his way. He knew what he believed in -- because he carried the idea we call America in his heart. // No country that produces a young man like that can ever lose its way. ////~~

*So long as there are Americans who believe  
remember  
willing to fight*

I began tonight speaking about the changes we've seen this past year. There is a new world of challenges and opportunities before us. And there is a need for leadership that only America can provide.

Nearly forty years ago, in his last address to the Congress, President Harry Truman predicted such a time would come. He said: "As our world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the iron curtain, then inevitably there will come a time of change within the communist world."

Today, that <sup>Change is taking place</sup> ~~opportunity exists~~. //

All of us understand that the events of this past year have opened unparalleled opportunities for peace and freedom. For more than forty years, America and its allies sought to hold communism in check, to ensure that democracy would continue to exist. Today, with communism crumbling, our aim must be to ensure democracy's advance. //

I say now to the Congress and to all Americans: the time is right <sup>X</sup> ~~To build a new relationship with the Soviet Union, -- to see that it is in America's interest that perestroika succeed.~~

The time is right to offer our hand to the <sup>emerging democracies</sup> ~~new nations~~ of Eastern Europe -- offer ~~American aid,~~ American assistance to help ~~millions grasp the freedoms they seek.~~ //

The time is right to create a new consensus <sup>at home and abroad</sup> -- a common vision of this new world we want to see.

In our own hemisphere, a day when democracy links the nations of North and South. When -- for the first time in

history -- all the people in all of the Americas live in freedom.

In Europe -- for too long a continent divided, a future whole and free. A chance for East and West to live in peace, and prosper together. In the Soviet Union -- a peaceful process of internal change and movement toward the universal ideals of democracy and economic opportunity.

In the Far East, the full flowering of the free government and free markets that has proved the engine of progress. And in China -- home to more than a billion people -- a fresh move forward on the path toward human rights and market reform -- and yes, towards democracy.

add p. 10  
~~Everywhere, a world that is more than a collection of nations at odds, at arms-length, and all too often at war. For the first time, a truly international community -- a commonwealth with freedom at its core. Not a world where all nations are identical, where all differences disappear -- but one where the diversity of cultures and customs finds an open door in democracy.~~

And still, we must recognize a sad, but unfortunate fact: We have not entered an era of perpetual peace. In many regions of the world tonight, the reality is war. Enduring animosities, opposing interests, will continue to cause conflict -- and peace will continue to be served by an America strong enough -- and sure enough -- to defend our interests and ideals. /////

[~~PANAMA INSERT~~]

defense insert

Here at home -- and in the world -- there is **history in the making -- and history to be made**. Six months ago, early in this season of change, I stood at the gates of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland at the monument to the fallen workers of Solidarity. It's a monument of simple majesty. Three tall crosses rise up from the stones. **Atop each cross, an anchor -- an ancient symbol of hope.**

**The anchor in our world today is freedom**. Holding us steady in times of change -- a symbol of hope to all the world. And freedom is at the very heart of **the idea that is America**. ///

Keeping that idea alive depends on every one of us. In America, our anchor has always been the family. And you know, in the last few days of this past momentous year, our family was blessed once more -- blessed when a little boy born back in November became our newest grandchild -- our twelfth. Charles Walker Bush. [WITH GRANDCHILDREN IN GALLERY] Those 12 are their grandparents' pride and joy. //

Now, I know you're thinking: that's a grandfather talking. // Well, I've met a lot of children this past year -- across this country, and everywhere from the Far East to Eastern Europe. ~~And every kid is the same~~. The budding young environmentalists I met this month, who joined me exploring the Florida Everglades. The little leaguers I played catch with in Poland -- ready to go from Warsaw to the World Series. Even the kids who are ill or alone, coping with problems no child should have to face. **Every kid is the same. Full of dreams. Ready to take on the world.**

**All special: because they are the very future of freedom. To them belongs this new world I've been speaking about.**

So tonight I'm going to ask something of every one of you. Let me start with my generation -- with the grandparents out there. You are our living link to the past. Tell your grandchildren the story of struggles waged, at home and abroad. Of sacrifices freely made for freedom's sake. And tell them **your** own story as well -- because every American has a story to tell.

Parents: your children look to you for direction and guidance. You too must tell them the story of America. Teach them that of all the many gifts they can receive, **liberty** is their most precious legacy. And of all the gifts they can give, the greatest is **servng others**.

And of course, let me say to the children and young people watching tonight: with you rests our hope -- all that America **will** mean in the years and decades ahead. Fix your vision on a new century -- your century. On dreams we cannot see. On the destiny that is yours -- and yours alone -- to fulfill. //

And finally, let all Americans -- **all of us together here in this chamber, the symbolic center of American democracy -- affirm our allegiance to this idea we call America**. And let us all remember that the **State of the Union** depends on each and every one of us.

God bless all of you. ~~God bless every American watching tonight~~ -- and may God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

*Sumner*  
---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 30, 1990

NOTE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
THE CHIEF OF STAFF ✓  
GENERAL SCOWCROFT  
DIRECTOR DARMAN  
ANDY CARD  
ROGER PORTER  
ED ROGERS

Attached is the latest revised draft  
of the State of the Union address.

*Jm*  
James W. Cicconi

cc: David Demarest

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

**EYES ONLY SENSITIVE**

199 JAN 30 PM 2:50

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS: I RETURN AS A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND <sup>FORMER</sup> ~~PROUD~~ MEMBER OF THIS GREAT HOUSE. \* // NOW, AS PRESIDENT, IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO REPORT TO YOU ON THE STATE OF THE UNION. \*

↑ A ex-PRES.

TONIGHT, I COME NOT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE "STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT" -- NOT TO DETAIL EVERY NEW INITIATIVE WE PLAN FOR THE COMING YEAR, NOR TO DESCRIBE EVERY LINE ITEM IN THE BUDGET. I'M HERE TO SPEAK TO YOU AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE STATE OF THE UNION -- ABOUT OUR WORLD -- THE CHANGES WE'VE SEEN, THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. AND WHAT THAT MEANS FOR AMERICA.

///

**EYES ONLY SENSITIVE**

99 JAN 30 P2:11

THERE ARE SINGULAR MOMENTS IN HISTORY: DATES THAT DIVIDE ALL THAT GOES BEFORE FROM ALL THAT COMES AFTER. MANY OF US IN THIS CHAMBER HAVE LIVED MUCH OF OUR LIVES IN A WORLD WHOSE FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES WERE DEFINED IN 1945. THE EVENTS OF THAT YEAR DECREED THE SHAPE OF NATIONS. THE PACE OF PROGRESS. FREEDOM OR OPPRESSION FOR MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD.

1945 PROVIDED THE COMMON FRAME OF REFERENCE -- THE COMPASS POINTS OF THE POST-WAR ERA WE'VE RELIED UPON TO UNDERSTAND OURSELVES. THAT WAS OUR WORLD. /// UNTIL NOW. /// THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR JUST ENDED -- THE REVOLUTION OF '89 -- HAVE BEEN A CHAIN REACTION OF CHANGE SO STRIKING THAT IT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS.

THINK BACK -- JUST TWELVE SHORT MONTHS AGO -- TO THE WORLD WE KNEW -- AS 1989 BEGAN.

ONE YEAR AGO, THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA LIVED IN FEAR, UNDER THE THUMB OF A DICTATOR. TODAY, DEMOCRACY IS RESTORED -- PANAMA // IS FREE. \* //

AND TONIGHT I'M PROUD TO ANNOUNCE THE FORMAL  
TERMINATION OF OPERATION "JUST CAUSE." [[TONIGHT,  
TROOP LEVELS IN PANAMA ARE JUST 1000 ABOVE WHERE THEY  
STOOD BEFORE OUR OPERATION BEGAN.]] BY THE LAST DAY OF  
FEBRUARY, OUR PERSONNEL WILL BE AT THE SAME LEVELS AS  
BEFORE THE OPERATION -- ALL OF THE ADDITIONAL AMERICAN  
TROOPS WHO MADE THIS MISSION A SUCCESS WILL BE BACK  
HOME. \* ///

A YEAR AGO IN POLAND, LECH WALESA DECLARED THAT HE  
WAS READY TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE COMMUNIST RULERS  
OF THAT COUNTRY. TODAY, WITH THE FUTURE OF A FREE  
POLAND IN THEIR OWN HANDS, MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY LEAD  
THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. \* //

A YEAR AGO, FREEDOM'S PLAYWRIGHT, VACLAV HAVEL  
[VAHTS-LAHV HA-VEL], LANGUISHED AS A PRISONER IN  
PRAGUE. TODAY, IT'S VACLAV HAVEL -- PRESIDENT OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. \* //

AND ONE YEAR AGO, ERICH HONECKER OF EAST GERMANY CLAIMED HISTORY AS HIS GUIDE. HE PREDICTED THE BERLIN WALL WOULD LAST ANOTHER HUNDRED YEARS. TODAY -- LESS THAN ONE YEAR LATER -- IT'S THE WALL THAT'S HISTORY. \*  
///

~~LETALK ABOUT BEING WRONG...!!~~

REMARKABLE EVENTS -- EVENTS THAT FULFILL THE LONG-HELD HOPES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE... EVENTS THAT VALIDATE THE LONG-STANDING GOALS OF AMERICAN POLICY -- A POLICY BASED ON A SINGLE, SHINING PRINCIPLE: THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. \*

AMERICA -- NOT JUST THE NATION -- BUT AN IDEA, // ALIVE IN THE MINDS OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. AS THIS NEW WORLD TAKES SHAPE, AMERICA STANDS AT THE CENTER OF A WIDENING CIRCLE OF FREEDOM -- TODAY, TOMORROW AND INTO THE NEXT CENTURY. \* //

OUR NATION IS THE ENDURING DREAM OF EVERY  
IMMIGRANT WHO EVER SET FOOT ON THESE SHORES -- AND THE  
MILLIONS STILL STRUGGLING TO BE FREE. THIS NATION --  
THIS IDEA CALLED AMERICA -- WAS AND ALWAYS WILL BE -- A  
NEW WORLD. OUR NEW WORLD. ///

AT A WORKERS' RALLY -- IN A PLACE CALLED  
BRANIK [BRAH-NEEK] ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF PRAGUE -- THE  
IDEA CALLED AMERICA IS ALIVE. A WORKER, DRESSED IN  
GRIMY OVERALLS, RISES TO SPEAK AT THE FACTORY GATES.  
HE BEGINS HIS SPEECH TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THESE  
WORDS -- WORDS OF A DISTANT REVOLUTION:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT. THAT  
ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY  
THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, [AND]  
THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF  
HAPPINESS." /////

IT'S NO SECRET THAT, HERE AT HOME, FREEDOM'S DOOR  
OPENED LONG AGO. THE CORNERSTONES OF THIS FREE SOCIETY  
HAVE ALREADY BEEN SET IN PLACE: DEMOCRACY.  
COMPETITION. OPPORTUNITY. PRIVATE INVESTMENT.  
STEWARDSHIP. AND OF COURSE, LEADERSHIP.

OUR CHALLENGE TODAY IS TO TAKE THIS DEMOCRATIC  
SYSTEM OF OURS -- A SYSTEM SECOND TO NONE -- AND MAKE  
IT BETTER. \* /// A BETTER AMERICA, WHERE  
THERE'S A JOB FOR EVERYONE WHO WANTS ONE. \*

WHERE WOMEN WHO WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME CAN BE  
CONFIDENT THEIR CHILDREN ARE IN SAFE AND LOVING CARE --  
AND WHERE GOVERNMENT WORKS TO EXPAND CHILD CARE  
ALTERNATIVES FOR PARENTS. \*

WHERE WE AREN'T FORCED TO MAKE AN "EITHER-OR"  
DECISION BETWEEN A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT AND AMERICAN JOBS.

\*

WHERE EVERY ONE OF US ENJOYS THE SAME  
OPPORTUNITIES TO LIVE, TO WORK, AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO  
SOCIETY. AND WHERE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE AMERICAN  
MAINSTREAM INCLUDES ALL OF OUR DISABLED CITIZENS. \* //

WHERE EVERYONE HAS A ROOF OVER HIS HEAD -- AND  
WHERE THE HOMELESS GET THE HELP THEY NEED TO LIVE IN  
DIGNITY. \* //

WHERE OUR SCHOOLS CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT OUR KIDS  
AND OUR TEACHERS -- AND WHERE ALL OF THEM MAKE THE  
GRADE. \*

WHERE EVERY STREET, EVERY CITY, EVERY SCHOOL AND  
EVERY CHILD IS DRUG-FREE. \* //

THAT'S PART OF THE FUTURE WE WANT TO SEE -- THE  
FUTURE WE CAN MAKE FOR OURSELVES. BUT DREAMS ALONE  
WON'T GET US THERE. WE NEED TO EXTEND OUR HORIZON --  
COMMIT TO THE LONG-VIEW. OUR [PLANS] FOR THE FUTURE  
START TODAY. ///

YES -- WE ARE GOING TO INVEST IN AMERICA. THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DETERMINED TO ENCOURAGE THE CREATION OF CAPITAL -- CAPITAL OF ALL KINDS. PHYSICAL CAPITAL: EVERYTHING, FROM OUR FARMS AND FACTORIES TO OUR WORKSHOPS AND PRODUCTION LINES, ALL THAT IS NEEDED TO PRODUCE AND DELIVER QUALITY GOODS AND QUALITY SERVICES. INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL: THE SOURCE OF IDEAS THAT SPARK TOMORROW'S PRODUCTS. AND OF COURSE, OUR HUMAN CAPITAL: THE TALENTED WORKFORCE WE'LL NEED TO COMPETE IN THE GLOBAL MARKET.

AND LET ME TELL YOU: IF WE IGNORE HUMAN CAPITAL -- WE LOSE THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN INGENUITY -- THE SPIRIT THAT IS THE HALLMARK OF THE AMERICAN WORKER. AND THE AMERICAN WORKER IS THE MOST PRODUCTIVE WORKER IN THE WORLD. \* //

WE NEED TO SAVE MORE -- EXPAND THE POOL OF CAPITAL FOR THE NEW INVESTMENTS THAT MEAN MORE JOBS, MORE GROWTH. THAT'S THE IDEA BEHIND A NEW INITIATIVE I CALL THE FAMILY SAVINGS PLAN, WHICH I WILL SEND TO THE CONGRESS TOMORROW. //

WE NEED TO CUT THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS --  
ENCOURAGE RISK-TAKERS -- ESPECIALLY THOSE IN OUR SMALL  
BUSINESSES -- TO TAKE THOSE STEPS THAT TRANSLATE INTO  
ECONOMIC REWARD, JOBS, AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OF US.  
\* //

WE'LL DO WHAT IT TAKES TO INVEST IN AMERICA'S  
FUTURE. THE BUDGET COMMITMENT IS THERE. THE MONEY IS  
THERE. // IT'S THERE FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT,  
R&D -- A RECORD HIGH. IT'S THERE FOR OUR HOUSING  
INITIATIVE -- HOPE, TO HELP EVERYONE FROM FIRST-TIME  
HOMEBUYERS TO THE HOMELESS. THE MONEY'S THERE TO KEEP  
OUR KIDS DRUG-FREE: 70% MORE THAN WHEN I TOOK OFFICE  
IN 1989. \* IT'S THERE FOR SPACE EXPLORATION -- AND  
IT'S THERE FOR EDUCATION: ANOTHER RECORD HIGH. \* //

AND ONE MORE THING: LAST FALL AT THE EDUCATION  
SUMMIT, THE GOVERNORS AND I AGREED TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO  
HELP MAKE SURE KIDS ARE READY TO LEARN THE VERY FIRST  
DAY THEY WALK INTO THAT CLASSROOM. I'VE MADE GOOD ON  
THAT COMMITMENT -- BY PROPOSING A RECORD INCREASE IN  
FUNDS -- AN EXTRA HALF A BILLION DOLLARS -- FOR  
SOMETHING NEAR AND DEAR TO ALL OF US: HEAD START. \*  
//

EDUCATION IS THE ONE INVESTMENT THAT MEANS MORE FOR OUR FUTURE BECAUSE IT MEANS THE MOST FOR OUR CHILDREN. REAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR SCHOOLS IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF SPENDING MORE. IT IS A MATTER OF ASKING MORE -- EXPECTING MORE: OF OUR SCHOOLS, OUR TEACHERS, OF OUR KIDS, AND OUR PARENTS AND OURSELVES. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT I AM ANNOUNCING AMERICA'S EDUCATION GOALS -- GOALS DEVELOPED WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS:

BY THE YEAR 2000, EVERY CHILD MUST START SCHOOL READY TO LEARN.

THE UNITED STATES MUST INCREASE THE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATE TO NO LESS THAN 90%.

AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE OUR SCHOOLS' DIPLOMAS MEAN SOMETHING: AT THE CRITICAL GRADES -- 4TH, 8TH AND 12TH -- WE MUST CHECK ALL OUR STUDENTS' PROGRESS.

BY THE YEAR 2000, U.S. STUDENTS MUST BE FIRST IN THE WORLD IN MATH AND SCIENCE SKILLS.

EVERY AMERICAN ADULT MUST BE LITERATE.

EVERY SCHOOL MUST OFFER THE KIND OF DISCIPLINED ENVIRONMENT THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR OUR KIDS TO LEARN -- AND EVERY SCHOOL IN AMERICA MUST BE DRUG-FREE.

\* //

AMBITIOUS AIMS? OF COURSE. EASY TO DO? FAR FROM IT. BUT THE FUTURE'S AT STAKE. THIS NATION WILL NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION. \*

//

THESE INVESTMENTS WILL KEEP AMERICA COMPETITIVE. AND I KNOW THIS ABOUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: WE WELCOME COMPETITION. WE'LL MATCH OUR INGENUITY AND ENERGY -- OUR EXPERIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY -- OUR SPIRIT AND ENTERPRISE -- AGAINST ANYONE. LET THE COMPETITION BE FREE -- BUT LET IT BE FAIR. AMERICA IS READY. \* //

SINCE WE REALLY MEAN IT -- AND SINCE WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT BEING READY TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE -- WE'RE GETTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. // WE'VE MADE REAL PROGRESS. 5 YEARS AGO, THE FEDERAL DEFICIT WAS 6% OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. THIS YEAR -- IN THE BUDGET I SENT UP TWO DAYS AGO -- THE DEFICIT IS DOWN TO 1½ OF GNP.

THAT BUDGET BRINGS FEDERAL SPENDING UNDER CONTROL.  
IT MEETS THE GRAMM-RUDMAN TARGET. BRINGS THAT DEFICIT  
DOWN FURTHER. AND BALANCES THE BUDGET BY 1993 -- WITH  
NO NEW TAXES. \* //

AND ONCE THE BUDGET IS BALANCED, WE CAN OPERATE  
THE WAY EVERY FAMILY MUST WHEN IT HAS BILLS TO PAY. WE  
WON'T LEAVE IT TO OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN. WE  
WILL START PAYING OFF THE NATIONAL DEBT. \* //

AND THERE'S SOMETHING MORE WE OWE THE GENERATIONS  
OF THE FUTURE: STEWARDSHIP -- THE SAFEKEEPING OF  
AMERICA'S PRECIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL INHERITANCE. \*

AS JUST ONE SIGN OF HOW SERIOUS WE ARE, WE WILL  
ELEVATE THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TO CABINET  
RANK. NOT MORE BUREAUCRACY, NOT MORE RED TAPE -- BUT  
THE CERTAINTY THAT HERE AT HOME, AND IN OUR DEALINGS  
WITH OTHER NATIONS, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES HAVE THE  
STATUS THEY DESERVE. \* //

THIS YEAR'S BUDGET PROVIDES OVER \$2 BILLION IN NEW SPENDING TO PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT, <sup>with</sup> OVER \$1 BILLION FOR GLOBAL CHANGE RESEARCH. AND A NEW INITIATIVE I CALL THE AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL FUND -- TO EXPAND OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDLIFE PRESERVES AND IMPROVE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ON PUBLIC LANDS.

2  
Where  
EPA Says  
\$50M.

AND SOMETHING ELSE: SOMETHING THAT WILL HELP KEEP THIS COUNTRY CLEAN, FROM OUR FORESTLAND TO OUR INNER CITIES, AND KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL FOR GENERATIONS TO COME -- THE MONEY TO PLANT A BILLION TREES A YEAR. \*

////

AND TONIGHT, LET ME SAY AGAIN TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DID NOT SEND US HERE TO BICKER. THERE'S WORK TO DO -- AND THEY SENT US HERE TO GET IT DONE. AND ONCE AGAIN, I OFFER MY HAND TO ALL OF YOU. LET'S WORK TOGETHER TO DO THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. CLEAN AIR. CHILD CARE. CRIME AND DRUGS. IT'S TIME TO ACT. /// THE FARM BILL. TRANSPORTATION POLICY. PRODUCT LIABILITY. ENTERPRISE ZONES. IT'S TIME TO ACT TOGETHER. ///

?

AND THERE'S ONE THING I HOPE WE'LL ALL BE ABLE TO AGREE ON. IT'S ABOUT OUR COMMITMENTS. I'M TALKING ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY.

TO EVERY AMERICAN OUT THERE ON SOCIAL SECURITY, TO EVERY AMERICAN SUPPORTING THAT SYSTEM TODAY, AND TO EVERYONE COUNTING ON IT WHEN THEY RETIRE: WE MADE A PROMISE TO YOU -- AND WE'RE GOING TO KEEP IT. \* //

*And you've heard me say it before read me lips, don't*

WE RESCUED THE SYSTEM IN 1983 -- AND IT'S SOUND AGAIN. // IT IS FULLY FUNDED IN OUR BUDGET -- AND FULLY FUNDED FOR THE FUTURE. THE LAST THING WE NEED TO DO IS <sup>MESS</sup> TINKER WITH SOCIAL SECURITY. \* ////

*You've heard it before Read My Lips Don't Mess with S.S.*

THERE'S ONE MORE PROBLEM WE NEED TO ADDRESS. WE MUST GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HEALTH CARE STUDIES NOW UNDERWAY. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT, I AM INSTRUCTING DR. LOUIS SULLIVAN -- SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES -- TO LEAD A DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL REVIEW OF RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE QUALITY, ACCESSIBILITY AND COST OF OUR NATION'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. I AM COMMITTED TO BRING THE STAGGERING COSTS OF HEALTH CARE UNDER CONTROL. ////

THE "STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT" DOES INDEED DEPEND ON MANY OF US IN THIS VERY CHAMBER. BUT THE STATE OF THE UNION DEPENDS ON ALL AMERICANS. WE MUST MAINTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC DECENCY THAT MAKES A NATION OUT OF MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUALS. I HAVE BEEN APPALLED AT THE RECENT LETTER BOMBINGS ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. EVERY ONE OF US MUST CONFRONT AND CONDEMN RACISM. ANTI-SEMITISM. BIGOTRY AND HATE. /// NOT NEXT WEEK, NOT TOMORROW, BUT RIGHT NOW. \*

THE STATE OF THE UNION DEPENDS ON WHETHER WE HELP OUR NEIGHBOR -- CLAIM THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COMMUNITY AS OUR OWN. WE'VE GOT TO STEP FORWARD WHEN THERE'S TROUBLE -- LEND A HAND, BE WHAT I CALL A POINT OF LIGHT TO A STRANGER IN NEED. /// WE'VE GOT TO TAKE THE TIME AFTER A BUSY DAY TO SIT DOWN AND READ WITH OUR KIDS. HELP THEM WITH THEIR HOMEWORK. PASS ALONG THE VALUES WE LEARNED AS CHILDREN. THAT'S HOW WE SUSTAIN THE STATE OF THE UNION. //

EVERY EFFORT IS IMPORTANT. IT ALL ADDS UP -- IT'S DOING THE THINGS THAT GIVE DEMOCRACY MEANING. IT ALL ADDS UP TO WHO WE ARE -- AND WHO WE WILL BE. ///

AND LET ME SAY, THAT SO LONG AS WE REMEMBER THE AMERICAN IDEA -- SO LONG AS WE LIVE UP TO THE AMERICAN IDEAL -- THE STATE OF THE UNION WILL REMAIN SOUND AND STRONG.

AND TO THOSE WHO WORRY WE HAVE LOST OUR WAY -- WELL, I WANT YOU TO LISTEN TO A LETTER WRITTEN BY JAMES MARKWELL -- PFC JAMES MARKWELL, A 20-YEAR OLD ARMY MEDIC. IT'S DATED DECEMBER 18TH -- THE NIGHT BEFORE OUR ARMED FORCES WENT INTO ACTION IN PANAMA. IT'S A LETTER SERVICEMEN WRITE -- AND HOPE WILL NEVER BE SENT. SADLY, PRIVATE MARKWELL'S MOTHER DID RECEIVE THIS LETTER. AND SHE PASSED IT ON TO ME.

HE WROTE: "I HAVE NEVER BEEN AFRAID OF DEATH, BUT I KNOW NOW HE IS WAITING AT THE CORNER.... I HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO KILL AND TO SAVE, SO HAS EVERYONE ELSE. I AM FRIGHTENED OF WHAT LAYS BEYOND THE FOG, YET... I MUST GO THROUGH THE FOG -- WHETHER THE OTHER SIDE IS A PLANE RIDE HOME FOR CHRISTMAS, OR THE FOG NEVER ENDS. DO NOT MOURN FOR ME. REVEL IN THE LIFE THAT I HAVE DIED TO GIVE YOU. ...AND MOST OF ALL, DON'T FORGET THAT THE ARMY WAS MY CHOICE. SOMETHING THAT I WANTED TO DO." //

PRIVATE MARKWELL WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO SEE BATTLE  
IN PANAMA, AND ONE OF THE FIRST TO FALL. ///

HE KNEW WHAT HE BELIEVED IN. // HE CARRIED THE  
IDEA WE CALL AMERICA IN HIS HEART. ////

I BEGAN TONIGHT SPEAKING ABOUT THE CHANGES WE'VE  
SEEN THIS PAST YEAR. THERE IS A NEW WORLD OF  
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US. AND THERE IS A  
NEED FOR LEADERSHIP THAT ONLY AMERICA CAN PROVIDE.

NEARLY FORTY YEARS AGO, IN HIS LAST ADDRESS TO THE  
CONGRESS, PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN PREDICTED SUCH A TIME  
WOULD COME. HE SAID: "AS OUR WORLD GROWS STRONGER,  
MORE UNITED, MORE ATTRACTIVE TO MEN ON BOTH SIDES OF  
THE IRON CURTAIN, THEN INEVITABLY THERE WILL COME A  
TIME OF CHANGE WITHIN THE COMMUNIST WORLD."

TODAY, THAT CHANGE IS TAKING PLACE. //




FOR MORE THAN FORTY YEARS, AMERICA AND ITS ALLIES HELD COMMUNISM IN CHECK, AND ENSURED THAT DEMOCRACY WOULD CONTINUE TO EXIST. TODAY, WITH COMMUNISM CRUMBLING, OUR AIM MUST BE TO ENSURE DEMOCRACY'S ADVANCE. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN FORGING PEACE AND FREEDOM'S BEST HOPE -- A GREAT AND GROWING COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. ///


TO THE CONGRESS AND TO ALL AMERICANS, I SAY IT IS TIME TO ACCLAIM A NEW CONSENSUS AT HOME AND ABROAD -- A COMMON VISION OF THE PEACEFUL WORLD WE WANT TO SEE.

IT'S TIME TO RECONCILE A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- TO ENDORSE AND ENCOURAGE A PEACEFUL PROCESS OF INTERNAL CHANGE TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. //

IT IS TIME TO OFFER OUR HAND TO THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. SO THAT CONTINENT -- FOR TOO LONG A CONTINENT DIVIDED -- CAN SEE A FUTURE WHOLE AND FREE. //

IN THE FAR EAST, IT IS TIME FOR THE FULL FLOWERING  
OF FREE GOVERNMENTS AND FREE MARKETS THAT HAVE SERVED  
AS THE ENGINE OF PROGRESS. // THE KEY TO DEMOCRACY IN  
THE FAR EAST TODAY IS TO KEEP THE DOOR OPEN -- TO  
REKINDLE THE FLAME OF FREEDOM. /////  


AND FINALLY, I WILL NOT NEGLECT THE DEMOCRACIES OF  
THIS HEMISPHERE. THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR ALL THE PEOPLE  
OF THE AMERICAS, NORTH AND SOUTH, TO LIVE IN FREEDOM.

STILL, WE MUST RECOGNIZE AN UNFORTUNATE FACT: IN  
MANY REGIONS OF THE WORLD TONIGHT, THE REALITY IS  
CONFLICT -- NOT PEACE. ENDURING ANIMOSITIES, <sup>and</sup> OPPOSING  
INTERESTS REMAIN. THUS THE CAUSE OF PEACE MUST BE  
SERVED BY AN AMERICA STRONG ENOUGH -- AND SURE  
ENOUGH -- TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS AND IDEALS. /////  


[[DEFENSE LINE]]

HERE AT HOME -- AND IN THE WORLD -- THERE IS HISTORY IN THE MAKING -- AND HISTORY TO BE MADE. SIX MONTHS AGO, EARLY IN THIS SEASON OF CHANGE, I STOOD AT THE GATES OF THE GDANSK SHIPYARD IN POLAND AT THE MONUMENT TO THE FALLEN WORKERS OF SOLIDARITY. IT'S A MONUMENT OF SIMPLE MAJESTY. THREE TALL CROSSES RISE UP FROM THE STONES. ATOP EACH CROSS, AN ANCHOR -- AN ANCIENT SYMBOL OF HOPE.

THE ANCHOR IN OUR WORLD TODAY IS FREEDOM. HOLDING US STEADY IN TIMES OF CHANGE -- A SYMBOL OF HOPE TO ALL THE WORLD. AND FREEDOM IS AT THE VERY HEART OF THE IDEA THAT IS AMERICA. ///

GIVING LIFE TO THAT IDEA DEPENDS ON EVERY ONE OF US. OUR ANCHOR HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAITH AND FAMILY. AND YOU KNOW, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS OF THIS PAST MOMENTOUS YEAR, OUR FAMILY WAS BLESSED ONCE MORE -- CELEBRATING THE JOY OF LIFE WHEN A LITTLE BOY BECAME OUR NEWEST GRANDCHILD -- OUR TWELFTH. CHARLES WALKER BUSH. // AS IN EVERY FAMILY, THOSE 12 ARE THEIR GRANDPARENTS' PRIDE AND JOY. //

NOW, I KNOW YOU'RE THINKING: THAT'S A GRANDFATHER  
TALKING. //

WELL, I'VE MET A LOT OF CHILDREN THIS PAST YEAR --  
ACROSS THIS COUNTRY, AND EVERYWHERE FROM THE FAR EAST  
TO EASTERN EUROPE. ALL KIDS ARE UNIQUE <sup>yet</sup> ALL KIDS ARE ✓  
ALIKE. THE BUDDING YOUNG ENVIRONMENTALISTS I MET THIS  
MONTH, WHO JOINED ME EXPLORING THE FLORIDA EVERGLADES.  
THE LITTLE LEAGUERS I PLAYED CATCH WITH IN POLAND --  
READY TO GO FROM WARSAW TO THE WORLD SERIES. EVEN THE  
KIDS WHO ARE ILL OR ALONE -- GOD BLESS THOSE BOARDER  
BABIES, BORN ADDICTED TO DRUGS -- COPING WITH PROBLEMS  
NO CHILD SHOULD HAVE TO FACE. BUT, YOU KNOW, WHEN IT  
COMES TO HOPE AND THE FUTURE: EVERY KID IS THE SAME.  
FULL OF DREAMS. READY TO TAKE ON THE WORLD. ALL  
SPECIAL: BECAUSE THEY ARE THE VERY FUTURE OF FREEDOM.  
TO THEM BELONGS THIS NEW WORLD I'VE BEEN SPEAKING  
ABOUT.

SO TONIGHT I'M GOING TO ASK SOMETHING OF EVERY ONE OF YOU. LET ME START WITH MY GENERATION -- WITH THE GRANDPARENTS OUT THERE. YOU ARE OUR LIVING LINK TO THE PAST. TELL YOUR GRANDCHILDREN THE STORY OF STRUGGLES WAGED, AT HOME AND ABROAD. OF SACRIFICES FREELY MADE FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE. AND TELL THEM YOUR OWN STORY AS WELL -- BECAUSE EVERY AMERICAN HAS A STORY TO TELL.

PARENTS: YOUR CHILDREN LOOK TO YOU FOR DIRECTION AND GUIDANCE. TELL THEM OF FAITH AND FAMILY. TELL THEM WE ARE ONE NATION UNDER GOD. TEACH THEM THAT OF ALL THE MANY GIFTS THEY CAN RECEIVE, LIBERTY IS THEIR MOST PRECIOUS LEGACY. AND OF ALL THE GIFTS THEY CAN GIVE, THE GREATEST IS SERVING OTHERS.

AND OF COURSE, LET ME SAY TO THE CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE OUT THERE TONIGHT: WITH YOU RESTS OUR HOPE -- ALL THAT AMERICA WILL MEAN IN THE YEARS AND DECADES AHEAD. FIX YOUR VISION ON A NEW CENTURY -- YOUR CENTURY. ON DREAMS WE CANNOT SEE. ON THE DESTINY THAT IS YOURS -- AND YOURS ALONE. //

AND FINALLY, LET ALL AMERICANS -- ALL OF US  
TOGETHER HERE IN THIS CHAMBER, THE SYMBOLIC CENTER OF  
DEMOCRACY -- AFFIRM OUR ALLEGIANCE TO THIS IDEA WE CALL  
AMERICA. AND LET US ALL REMEMBER THAT THE STATE OF THE  
UNION DEPENDS ON EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US.

GOD BLESS ALL OF YOU. AND MAY GOD BLESS THIS  
GREAT NATION, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # #



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

January 30, 1990

NOTE TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: William Kristol *WK*

RE: State of the Union

On page seven we prefer "product liability reform" to "tort reform," for reasons I'll be glad to explain. We also think there's a case to be made for a whole sentence on product liability, added to the paragraph on risk-taking on page five, along these lines:

*NO*  
*32*  
"And that's why I've proposed a product liability reform package that would encourage innovation by American entrepreneurs and improve U.S. competitiveness, while insuring fairness and safety for American consumers."

I would also expand the mention of Space on page five, to something like, "It's there for Space -- so we can continue to lead the world forward in exploring this new frontier."

cc: Jim Cicconi

90 JAN 30 P 3: 53

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: *Chris Winston*

FROM: **JAMES W. CICONI**  
**Assistant to the President and**  
**Deputy to the Chief of Staff**

*Attached are from  
VP's office. Dave's  
call, but I feel  
some mention is warranted  
(largest % increase in budget).*

*cc: Gov. Sumner*

*Thanks  
Jim*

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

PROPOSED STATE OF THE UNION INSERTS

p.5 par 5. "Our largest increase - for space, the ultimate investment in the future.

p.7 par 2. " And while I'm on the subject of education and investment in our future, I want to underscore my commitment to future generations represented by our national space program. Under the leadership of Vice President Quayle and the National Space Council we are opening up the frontiers of space, frontiers of economic opportunity, of knowledge and learning--and we will do so through expanding global partnerships."

90 JAN 29 P 4 : 36



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

January 30, 1990

NOTE TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: William Kristol *WK*

RE: 1990 Agenda Talking Points

Under Section 8. Competitiveness, we recommend changing  
"tort reform" to "product liability reform."

cc: Jim Cicconi

17:14 PM 30 JAN 90

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Jan. 30, 1990

**TO:** CHRISS WINSTON

**FROM: JAMES W. CICONI**  
**Assistant to the President and**  
**Deputy to the Chief of Staff**

The attached re State of the  
Union are from Bill Kristol.

Thanks.



---



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

State of Union

Space

Add to last paragraph on p.5 ("And when I say we're serious about investing in our future--we've got the budget to back it up,"):

"The money's there for our vitally important program of space exploration--~~a 24% increase in funding for our space programs,~~ so we can maintain our leadership in exploring this new frontier."

Chris -

Above may or may not fit, but  
it is definitely more concise than  
the Space Council language on  
space I sent you yesterday.

This doesn't look bad to me.

Thanks

Jim

1/30/90



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

State of Union

Product liability

Add sentence to "We need people to take risks" paragraph on p.5:

"And that's why I've proposed a product liability reform package that would encourage innovation by American entrepreneurs and improve U.S. competitiveness, while insuring fairness and safety for American consumers."

And/or: in list of issues on p.8, replace "tort reform" (which we don't have a concrete proposal on) with "product liability reform."



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

State of the Union

Defense:

Add to P.12 top:

"And that's why we can't afford to gut our defense budget, and why we must move ahead with important ~~new~~ programs like the Strategic Defense Initiative."

---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CHRISS -

Counsel's office called with a last minute comment on State of the Union. On Page 4 line 3 (of the regular text version) when he speaks of "women" who work outside the home, they would advise a change to "parents" or "men & women" so the statement is not taken as sexist.

---

Kristen  
1/30 5:30pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 30, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: JAY S. BYBEE *job*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: State of the Union

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We have no legal objections.

On page four, we do, however, question whether the reference to child care should properly follow the reference to jobs -- and come ahead of references to a clean environment and equal opportunity for the disabled. It strikes us that the environment and equal opportunity for the disabled should take priority over child care.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on this matter.

90 JAN 30 P 3: 42

**SENSITIVE**

**CLOSE HOLD**

Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 1/29/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00pm TODAY

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION - 1/29/90 DRAFT

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

**REMARKS:**

The attached has been forwarded to the President. Action assignees are requested to check facts and substantive statements in the draft. Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston's (x2930) with a copy to my office, by 4:00pm TODAY, Tuesday, January 30. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

**SENSITIVE**

**CLOSE HOLD**

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

OUTLINE: 1/29/90, 3 PM

Not state of government -- state of union

revolution of 1989

One year ago . . . (Panama)

Idea called America

**Building blocks:** democracy, investment, competition,  
opportunity, stardship, and leadership

- jobs
- child care
- safe environment
- disabled Americans
- homeless
- drug-free
- education

3 capitals

- family savings plan
- capital gains
- money is there -- R & D, HOPE, drugs, education
- Education Goals (Head Start)
- competition
- deficit control
- pay off debt
- environment (America the Beautiful)

Full agenda/work together

- Clean Air
- Child Care
- Crime & Drugs
- National Transportation Policy
- Space Exploration
- Tort Reform
- Enterprise Zones

Social Security

Health Care

State of the Union depends on all Americans

- racism
- lend a hand . . . read with our kids . . . pass long values

Marwell letter

**Leadership**

Truman quote  
democracy's advance/commonwealth of nations  
Soviet Union  
Eastern Europe  
Far East/China  
Our hemisphere

Strong America

Solidarity monument

Children/grandparents/parents/children

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 29, 1990  
9:30 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the United States Congress: I return as a former President of the Senate, and proud member of this great House. // Now, as President, it is my privilege to report to you on the State of the Union.

Tonight, I come not to speak about the "state of the government" -- not to detail every new initiative we plan for the coming year, nor to describe every line item in the budget. I am here to speak to you and to the American people about the State of the Union -- about our world -- the changes we've seen, the challenges we'll face. And what that means for America. ///

There are singular moments in history: dates that divide all that goes before from all that comes after. Many of us in this chamber have lived much of our lives in a world whose fundamental features were defined in 1945. The events of that year decreed the shape of nations. The pace of progress. Freedom or oppression for millions of people around the world.

1945 provided the common frame of reference -- the compass points of the post-war era we've relied upon to understand ourselves. That was our world. /// Until now. /// The events of the year just ended -- the revolution of '89 -- have been a

chain reaction of change so striking that it marks the beginning of a new era in the world's affairs.

Think back -- just twelve short months ago -- to the world we knew -- as 1989 began.

One year ago, the people of Panama lived in fear, under the thumb of a dictator. Today, democracy is restored -- Panama // is free. //

And tonight I'm proud to announce the formal termination of Operation JUST CAUSE. [[Tonight, troop levels in Panama are just 1000 above where they stood before our operation began.]] By the last day of February, our personnel will be at the same levels as before the operation -- all of the additional American troops who made this mission a success will be back home. ///

A year ago in Poland, Lech Walesa declared that he was ready to open a dialogue with the communist rulers of that country. Today, with the future of a free Poland in their hands, members of Solidarity lead the Polish Government. //

A year ago, freedom's playwright, Vaclav Havel, languished as a prisoner in Prague. Today, it's Vaclav Havel -- President of Czechoslovakia. //

And one year ago, Erich Honecker of East Germany claimed history as his guide. He predicted the Berlin Wall would last another hundred years. Today -- less than one year later -- it's the Wall that's history. ///

Remarkable events -- events that fulfill the long-held hopes of the American people... Events that validate the long-standing

goals of American policy -- a policy based on a single, shining principle: the cause of freedom.

America -- not just the nation -- but an idea, alive in the minds of people everywhere. As this new world takes shape, America stands at the center of a widening circle of freedom -- today, tomorrow and into the next century. //

Our America is the shining dream of every immigrant who ever set foot on these shores -- and the millions still struggling to be free. This nation -- this idea called America -- was and always will be -- a new world. Our new world. ///

At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- the idea called America is alive. A worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rises to speak at the factory gates. He begins his speech to his fellow citizens with these words -- words of a distant revolution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, [and] that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."  
/////

It's no secret that, here at home, freedom's door opened long ago. The cornerstones of this free society have already been set in place: Democracy. Competition. Opportunity. Private investment. Stewardship. And of course, leadership.

Our challenge today is to take this democratic system of ours -- a system second to none -- and make it better. That's the American idea.

A better America, where there's a job for everyone who wants one.

Where women who work outside the home can be confident their children are in safe and loving care -- and where government works to **expand** child care alternatives for parents.

Where we aren't forced to make an "either-or" decision between a **clean environment and American jobs**.

Where all Americans enjoy the **same opportunities** to live, to work, and to contribute to society. And where, for the first time, the American mainstream includes **all disabled Americans**.

// Where every American has a roof over his head -- and where the homeless get the help they need to live in dignity. //

Where every street, every city, every school and every American child is drug-free. //

Where our schools challenge our kids and our teachers -- and where **all of them** make the grade.

That's part of the future we want to see -- the future we can make for ourselves. But dreams alone won't get us there. We need to extend our horizon -- commit to the long-view. Our [plans] for the future start today. ///

Yes -- we are going to invest in America. This Administration is **determined** to encourage the creation of capital -- capital of all kinds. **Physical capital:** everything, from America's farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, all that is needed to produce and deliver quality goods and services. **Intellectual capital:** the store-house of ideas

that become tomorrow's products. And of course, America's human capital: the talented workforce we'll need to compete in the global market.

And let me tell you: if we ignore human capital -- we lose the spirit of American ingenuity -- the spirit that is the hallmark of the American worker. And the American worker is the most productive worker in the world. //

We need to save more -- expand the pool of capital for the new investments that mean more jobs, more growth. That's the idea behind a new initiative I call the Family Savings [Package], which I will send to the Congress tomorrow. //

We need to encourage risk-takers to take those steps that translate into economic reward, jobs and a better life for all of us -- that's why we've got to cut the tax on capital gains. //

We'll do what it takes to invest in America's future. The commitment is there. The money is there. // It's there for Research and Development, R&D -- a record high. It's there for our housing initiative -- HOPE, to help everyone from first-time homebuyers to the homeless. The money's there to keep our kids drug-free: a 70% increase in funds to fight drugs since last year. It's there for Space -- and it's there for education: another record high. //

And one more thing: last fall at the Education Summit, the Governors and I agreed to look for ways to help make sure kids are ready to learn the very first day they walk into that classroom. I've made good on that commitment -- by proposing a

record increase in funds -- an extra half a billion dollars --  
for something near and dear to all of us: **Head Start.** //

Education is the one investment that means more for our future because it means the most for our children. Real improvement in our schools is not simply a matter of spending more. It is a matter of asking more -- expecting more: of our schools, our teachers, of our kids, and our parents. That's why tonight I am announcing America's education goals -- goals agreed upon with the nation's Governors:

By the year 2000, every child in America must start school ready to learn. The United States must increase the high school graduation rate to no less than 90%. And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas means something: at the critical grades -- 4th, 8th and 12th -- we must check all our students' progress.

By the year 2000, U.S. students must be first in the world in math and science skills. Every American adult must be literate. Every school in America must offer the kind of disciplined environment that makes it possible for our kids to learn -- and every school in America must be drug-free. //

Ambitious aims? Of course. Guaranteed success? Far from it. But the future's at stake. This nation will not accept anything less than excellence in education. //

These investments will keep America competitive. And I know this about the American people: we welcome competition. We'll match our ingenuity and energy -- our experience and technology -

- our spirit and enterprise -- against anyone. Let the competition be free -- but let it be fair. America is ready. //

Since we really mean it -- and since we are serious about being ready to meet that challenge -- let's get our house in order. // We've made real progress. 5 years ago, the federal deficit was 6% of our Gross National Product. This year -- in the budget I sent up two days ago -- the deficit's down to 1% of GNP.

That budget brings federal spending under control. It meets the Gramm-Rudman target. Brings that deficit down further. And balances the budget by 1993 -- with no new taxes. //

And once the budget is balanced, we can operate the way every family in America has to when it has bills to pay. We won't leave it to our children and grandchildren. We will start paying off the national debt. //

And there's something more we owe the generations of the future: stewardship -- the safekeeping of America's precious environmental inheritance. As just one sign of how serious we are, we will elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet rank. Not more bureaucracy, not more red tape -- but the certainty that here at home, and in our dealings with other nations, environmental issues have the status they deserve. //

[[And this year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to protect our environment. Over \$1 billion for global change research.]] And a new initiative I call the America the Beautiful Fund -- to expand our national parks and wildlife

refuges and improve recreational facilities on public lands. And something else: something that will help keep this country clean, from our forestland to our inner cities, and keep America beautiful for generations to come -- the money to plant a billion trees a year. /////

And tonight, let me say again to all the members of Congress: The American people did not send us here to bicker. There's work to do -- and they sent us here to get it done. And once again, I offer my hand to all of you. Let's work together to do the will of the American people. Clean Air. Child Care. Crime and Drugs. It's time to act. /// The farm bill. Transportation policy. Tort reform. Enterprise Zones. It's time to act together. ///

And there's one thing I hope we'll all be able to agree on. It's about our commitments. I'm talking about Social Security.

To every American out there on Social Security, to every American supporting that system today, and to everyone counting on it when they retire: We made a promise to you -- and we're going to keep it. //

We rescued the Social Security system in 1983 -- and it's sound again. // Social Security is fully funded in our budget - - and fully funded for the future. The last thing we need to do is tinker with the system. /////

There's one more problem we need to address. We must give careful consideration to the recommendations of the health care studies now underway. That's why tonight, I am requesting that

Dr. Louis Sullivan -- Secretary of Health and Human Services -- lead a Domestic Policy Council review of recommendations on the quality, accessibility and cost of our nation's health care system. ////

The "state of the government" does indeed depend on many of us in this very chamber. But the State of the Union depends on all Americans. We must maintain the democratic decency that makes a nation out of millions of individuals. I have been appalled at the recent letter bombings across this country. Every one of us must confront and condemn racism. Anti-semitism. Bigotry and hate. /// Not tomorrow, not next week, but today.

The State of the Union depends on whether we help our neighbor -- claim the problems of our community as our own. We've got to step forward when there's trouble -- lend a hand, be a point of light to a stranger in need. /// We've got to take the time after a busy day to sit down and read with our kids. Help them with their homework. Pass along the values we learned as children. That's how we sustain the State of the Union. //

Every effort is important. It all adds up -- it's doing the things that give democracy meaning. It all adds up to who we are -- and who we will be. ///

And let me say, that so long as we remember the American idea -- so long as we live up to the American ideal -- the State of the Union will remain sound and strong.

And to those who worry we have lost our way -- well, I want you to listen to a letter written by James Markwell -- PFC James

Markwell, a 20-year old Army medic. It's dated December 18th -- the night before our Armed Forces went into action in Panama. It's a letter servicemen write -- and hope will never be sent. Sadly, Private Markwell's mother did receive this letter. And she passed it on to me.

He writes: "I have never been afraid of death, but I know now he is waiting at the corner.... I have been trained to kill and to save, so has everyone else. I am frightened of what lays beyond the fog, yet... I must go through the fog -- whether the other side is a plane ride home for Christmas, or the fog never ends. Do not mourn for me. Revel in the life that I have died to give you. ...And most of all, don't forget that the Army was my choice. Something that I wanted to do." //

Private Markwell was among the first to see battle in Panama, and one of the first to fall. ///

He knew what he believed in. // He carried the idea we call America in his heart. ////

I began tonight speaking about the changes we've seen this past year. There is a new world of challenges and opportunities before us. And there is a need for leadership that only America can provide.

Nearly forty years ago, in his last address to the Congress, President Harry Truman predicted such a time would come. He said: "As our world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the iron curtain, then inevitably there will come a time of change within the communist world."

Today, that change is taking place. //

For more than forty years, America and its allies held communism in check, and ensured that democracy would continue to exist. Today, with communism crumbling, our aim must be to ensure democracy's advance. To take the lead in forging peace and freedom's best hope -- a great and growing commonwealth of free nations. ///

I say to the Congress and to all Americans: It is time to acclaim a new consensus at home and abroad -- a common vision of the peaceful world we want to see.

It's time to reconcile a new relationship with the Soviet Union -- to endorse and extend the peaceful process of internal change toward democracy and economic opportunity. //

It is time to offer our hand to the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe. So that continent -- for too long a continent divided -- can see a future whole and free. //

In the Far East, it is time for the full flowering of free governments and free markets that have served as the engine of progress. In China, two decades ago, we opened the door, awakening a love of democracy in the Chinese people. // The key to democracy in China today is to keep that door open -- to rekindle the flame of freedom. /////

And finally, the time is right -- here in our own hemisphere for all the people of the Americas, North and South, to live in freedom.



All kids are unique. Yet, all kids are alike. The budding young environmentalists I met this month, who joined me exploring the Florida Everglades. The little leaguers I played catch with in Poland -- ready to go from Warsaw to the World Series. Even the kids who are ill or alone, coping with problems no child should have to face. When it comes to hope and the future: Every kid is the same. Full of dreams. Ready to take on the world. All special: because they are the very future of freedom. To them belongs this new world I've been speaking about.

So tonight I'm going to ask something of every one of you. Let me start with my generation -- with the grandparents out there. You are our living link to the past. Tell your grandchildren the story of struggles waged, at home and abroad. Of sacrifices freely made for freedom's sake. And tell them your own story as well -- because every American has a story to tell.

Parents: your children look to you for direction and guidance. Tell them of faith and family. Teach them that of all the many gifts they can receive, liberty is their most precious legacy. And of all the gifts they can give, the greatest is servicing others.

And of course, let me say to the children and young people out there tonight: with you rests our hope -- all that America will mean in the years and decades ahead. Fix your vision on a new century -- your century. On dreams we cannot see. On the destiny that is yours -- and yours alone. //

And finally, let all Americans -- all of us together here in this chamber, the symbolic center of American democracy -- affirm our allegiance to this idea we call America. And let us all remember that the State of the Union depends on each and every one of us.

God bless all of you. God bless every American -- and may God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

# # #



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503



**NOTICE:**

Enclosed are comments from staff members of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Such comments do not necessarily represent the official position of the Director of OMB or of the Office of Management and Budget. If you wish to have the Director's personal comments, please let me know -- and contact me if you have any questions.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "David J. Haun", is positioned above the typed name.

David J. Haun  
Executive Assistant  
to the Director

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

January 30, 1990

NOTE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT  
THE CHIEF OF STAFF  
GENERAL SCOWCROFT  
DIRECTOR DARMAN ✓  
ANDY CARD  
ROGER PORTER  
ED ROGERS

Attached is the latest revised draft  
of the State of the Union address.

*Jim*  
James W. Cicconi

cc: David Demarest

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

GRADY

\* = APPLAUSE  
LIVE

**EYES ONLY SENSITIVE**

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS: I RETURN AS A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND PROUD MEMBER OF THIS GREAT HOUSE. \* // NOW, AS PRESIDENT, IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO REPORT TO YOU ON THE STATE OF THE UNION. \*

PH 2:5  
20  
30 min  
speech

and my  
Constitutional  
DUTY

GRADY

TONIGHT, I COME NOT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE "STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT" -- NOT TO DETAIL EVERY NEW INITIATIVE WE PLAN FOR THE COMING YEAR, NOR TO DESCRIBE EVERY LINE ITEM IN THE BUDGET. I'M HERE TO SPEAK TO YOU AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE STATE OF THE UNION -- ABOUT OUR WORLD -- THE CHANGES WE'VE SEEN, THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. AND WHAT THAT MEANS FOR AMERICA.

///

**EYES ONLY SENSITIVE**

01 JAN 30 P2:11

THERE ARE SINGULAR MOMENTS IN HISTORY: DATES THAT DIVIDE ALL THAT GOES BEFORE FROM ALL THAT COMES AFTER. MANY OF US IN THIS CHAMBER HAVE LIVED MUCH OF OUR LIVES IN A WORLD WHOSE FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES WERE DEFINED IN 1945. THE EVENTS OF THAT YEAR DECREED THE SHAPE OF NATIONS. THE PACE OF PROGRESS. FREEDOM OR OPPRESSION FOR MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD.

*Grady*  
1945 PROVIDED <sup>a</sup> ~~THE~~ COMMON FRAME OF REFERENCE -- THE COMPASS POINTS OF THE POST-WAR ERA. ~~WE'VE RELIED UPON TO UNDERSTAND OURSELVES.~~ THAT WAS OUR WORLD. /// UNTIL NOW. /// THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR JUST ENDED -- THE REVOLUTION OF '89 -- HAVE BEEN A CHAIN REACTION OF CHANGE SO STRIKING THAT IT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS.

THINK BACK -- JUST TWELVE SHORT MONTHS AGO -- TO THE WORLD WE KNEW -- AS 1989 BEGAN.

ONE YEAR AGO, THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA LIVED IN FEAR, UNDER THE THUMB OF A DICTATOR. TODAY, DEMOCRACY IS RESTORED -- PANAMA // IS FREE. \* //

*check*

AND TONIGHT I'M PROUD TO ANNOUNCE THE FORMAL  
 TERMINATION OF OPERATION "JUST CAUSE." [[TONIGHT,  
 TROOP LEVELS IN PANAMA ARE JUST 1000 ABOVE WHERE THEY  
 STOOD BEFORE OUR OPERATION BEGAN.]] BY THE LAST DAY OF  
 FEBRUARY, OUR PERSONNEL WILL BE AT THE SAME LEVELS AS  
 BEFORE THE OPERATION -- ALL OF THE ADDITIONAL AMERICAN  
 TROOPS WHO MADE THIS MISSION A SUCCESS WILL BE BACK  
HOME. \* ///

*DoD  
~~SAWS~~  
 SAWS  
 3300  
 we have  
 @@@@  
 @@@@  
 @@@@*

A YEAR AGO IN POLAND, LECH WALESA DECLARED THAT HE  
 WAS READY TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE COMMUNIST RULERS  
 OF THAT COUNTRY. TODAY, WITH THE FUTURE OF A FREE  
 POLAND IN THEIR OWN HANDS, <sup>the</sup> MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY LEAD  
 THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. \* //

*Grady*

A YEAR AGO, FREEDOM'S PLAYWRIGHT, VACLAV HAVEL  
 [VAHTS-LAHV HA-VEL], LANGUISHED AS A PRISONER IN  
 PRAGUE. TODAY, IT'S VACLAV HAVEL -- PRESIDENT OF  
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA. \* //

*Grady*

AND ONE YEAR AGO, ERICH HONECKER OF EAST GERMANY CLAIMED HISTORY AS HIS GUIDE. HE PREDICTED THE BERLIN WALL WOULD LAST ANOTHER HUNDRED YEARS. TODAY -- LESS THAN ONE YEAR LATER -- <sup>THE WALL HAS COME DOWN</sup> ~~IT'S THE WALL THAT'S HISTORY.~~ \*

///

[[TALK ABOUT BEING WRONG....]] ///

REMARKABLE EVENTS -- EVENTS THAT FULFILL THE LONG-HELD HOPES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE... EVENTS THAT VALIDATE THE LONG-STANDING GOALS OF AMERICAN POLICY -- A POLICY BASED ON A SINGLE, SHINING PRINCIPLE: THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. \*

AMERICA -- NOT JUST THE NATION -- BUT AN IDEA, // ALIVE IN THE MINDS OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. AS THIS NEW WORLD TAKES SHAPE, AMERICA STANDS AT THE CENTER OF A WIDENING CIRCLE OF FREEDOM -- TODAY, TOMORROW AND INTO THE NEXT CENTURY. \* //

OUR NATION IS THE ENDURING DREAM OF EVERY IMMIGRANT WHO EVER SET FOOT ON THESE SHORES -- AND THE MILLIONS STILL STRUGGLING TO BE FREE. THIS NATION -- THIS IDEA CALLED AMERICA -- WAS AND ALWAYS WILL BE -- A NEW WORLD. OUR NEW WORLD. ///

AT A WORKERS' RALLY -- IN A PLACE CALLED BRANIK [BRAH-NEEK] ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF PRAGUE -- THE IDEA CALLED AMERICA IS ALIVE. A WORKER, DRESSED IN GRIMY OVERALLS, RISES TO SPEAK AT THE FACTORY GATES. HE BEGINS HIS SPEECH TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THESE WORDS -- WORDS OF A DISTANT REVOLUTION:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT. THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, [AND] THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." ///// \*

Grady

IT'S NO SECRET THAT, HERE AT HOME, FREEDOM'S DOOR  
OPENED LONG AGO. THE CORNERSTONES OF THIS FREE SOCIETY  
HAVE ALREADY BEEN SET IN PLACE: DEMOCRACY.  
COMPETITION. OPPORTUNITY. PRIVATE INVESTMENT.  
STEWARDSHIP. AND OF COURSE, LEADERSHIP.

OUR CHALLENGE TODAY IS TO TAKE THIS DEMOCRATIC  
SYSTEM OF OURS -- A SYSTEM SECOND TO NONE -- AND MAKE  
IT BETTER. \* /// A BETTER AMERICA, WHERE  
THERE'S A JOB FOR EVERYONE WHO WANTS ONE. \*

WHERE <sup>WORKING FAMILIES</sup> [WOMEN WHO WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME] CAN BE  
CONFIDENT THEIR CHILDREN ARE IN SAFE AND LOVING CARE --  
AND WHERE GOVERNMENT WORKS TO EXPAND CHILD CARE  
ALTERNATIVES FOR PARENTS. \*

WHERE WE AREN'T FORCED TO MAKE AN "EITHER-OR"  
DECISION BETWEEN A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT AND AMERICAN JOBS. ✓

\*

Hölen

WHERE EVERY ONE OF US ENJOYS THE SAME  
OPPORTUNITIES TO LIVE, TO WORK, AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO  
SOCIETY. AND WHERE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE AMERICAN  
MAINSTREAM INCLUDES ALL OF OUR DISABLED CITIZENS. \* //

WHERE EVERYONE HAS A ROOF OVER HIS HEAD -- AND  
WHERE THE HOMELESS GET THE HELP THEY NEED TO LIVE IN  
DIGNITY. \* //

WHERE OUR SCHOOLS CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT OUR KIDS  
AND OUR TEACHERS -- AND <sup>these schools are second to none.</sup> ~~WHERE ALL OF THEM MAKE THE~~  
~~GRADE.~~ \*

WHERE EVERY STREET, EVERY CITY, EVERY SCHOOL AND  
EVERY CHILD IS DRUG-FREE. \* //

THAT'S PART OF THE FUTURE WE WANT TO SEE -- THE  
FUTURE WE CAN MAKE FOR OURSELVES. BUT DREAMS ALONE  
WON'T GET US THERE. WE NEED TO EXTEND OUR HORIZON --  
COMMIT TO THE LONG-VIEW. OUR [PLANS] FOR THE FUTURE  
START TODAY. ///

YES -- WE ARE GOING TO INVEST IN AMERICA. THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DETERMINED TO ENCOURAGE THE CREATION OF CAPITAL -- CAPITAL OF ALL KINDS. PHYSICAL CAPITAL: EVERYTHING, FROM OUR FARMS AND FACTORIES TO OUR WORKSHOPS AND PRODUCTION LINES, ALL THAT IS NEEDED TO PRODUCE AND DELIVER QUALITY GOODS AND QUALITY SERVICES. INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL: THE SOURCE OF IDEAS THAT SPARK TOMORROW'S PRODUCTS. AND OF COURSE, OUR HUMAN CAPITAL: THE TALENTED WORKFORCE WE'LL NEED TO COMPETE IN THE GLOBAL MARKET.

AND LET ME TELL YOU: IF WE IGNORE HUMAN CAPITAL -- WE LOSE THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN INGENUITY -- THE SPIRIT THAT IS THE HALLMARK OF THE AMERICAN WORKER. AND THE AMERICAN WORKER IS THE MOST PRODUCTIVE WORKER IN THE WORLD. \* //

WE NEED TO SAVE MORE -- EXPAND THE POOL OF CAPITAL FOR THE NEW INVESTMENTS THAT MEAN MORE JOB<sup>and</sup>S, MORE GROWTH. THAT'S THE IDEA BEHIND A NEW INITIATIVE I CALL THE FAMILY SAVINGS PLAN, WHICH I WILL SEND TO THE CONGRESS TOMORROW. //

*Crosby*

WE NEED TO CUT THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS --  
ENCOURAGE RISK-TAKERS -- ESPECIALLY THOSE IN OUR SMALL  
BUSINESSES -- TO TAKE THOSE STEPS THAT TRANSLATE INTO  
ECONOMIC REWARD, JOBS, AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OF US.  
\* //

*Grady*  
*\$71 Billion*  
WE'LL DO WHAT IT TAKES TO INVEST IN AMERICA'S  
FUTURE. THE BUDGET COMMITMENT IS THERE. THE MONEY IS  
THERE. // IT'S THERE FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT,  
R&D -- A RECORD HIGH. IT'S THERE FOR OUR HOUSING  
INITIATIVE -- HOPE, TO HELP EVERYONE FROM FIRST-TIME  
HOMEBUYERS TO THE HOMELESS. THE MONEY'S THERE TO KEEP  
OUR KIDS DRUG-FREE: 70% MORE THAN WHEN I TOOK OFFICE  
IN 1989. \* IT'S THERE FOR SPACE EXPLORATION -- AND  
IT'S THERE FOR EDUCATION: <sup>*Both*</sup> ~~ANOTHER~~ RECORD HIGH. \* //

AND ONE MORE THING: LAST FALL AT THE EDUCATION  
SUMMIT, THE GOVERNORS AND I AGREED TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO  
HELP MAKE SURE KIDS ARE READY TO LEARN THE VERY FIRST  
DAY THEY WALK INTO THAT CLASSROOM. I'VE MADE GOOD ON  
THAT COMMITMENT -- BY PROPOSING A RECORD INCREASE IN  
FUNDS -- AN EXTRA HALF A BILLION DOLLARS -- FOR  
SOMETHING NEAR AND DEAR TO ALL OF US: HEAD START. \*  
//

EDUCATION IS THE ONE INVESTMENT THAT MEANS MORE FOR OUR FUTURE BECAUSE IT MEANS THE MOST FOR OUR CHILDREN. REAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR SCHOOLS IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF SPENDING MORE. IT IS A MATTER OF ASKING MORE -- EXPECTING MORE: OF OUR SCHOOLS, OUR TEACHERS, OF OUR KIDS, AND OUR PARENTS AND OURSELVES. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT I AM ANNOUNCING AMERICA'S EDUCATION GOALS -- GOALS DEVELOPED WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS:

BY THE YEAR 2000, EVERY CHILD MUST START SCHOOL READY TO LEARN.

THE UNITED STATES MUST INCREASE THE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATE TO NO LESS THAN 90%.

AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE OUR SCHOOLS' DIPLOMAS MEAN SOMETHING: AT THE CRITICAL GRADES -- 4TH, 8TH AND 12TH -- WE MUST CHECK ALL OUR STUDENTS' PROGRESS.

BY THE YEAR 2000, U.S. STUDENTS MUST BE FIRST IN THE WORLD IN MATH AND SCIENCE SKILLS.

EVERY AMERICAN ADULT MUST BE LITERATE.



EVERY SCHOOL MUST OFFER THE KIND OF DISCIPLINED ENVIRONMENT THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR OUR KIDS TO LEARN -- AND EVERY SCHOOL IN AMERICA MUST BE DRUG-FREE.

GRADY

GB HATES RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

\* //

AMBITIOUS AIMS? OF COURSE. EASY TO DO? FAR FROM IT. BUT THE FUTURE'S AT STAKE. THIS NATION WILL NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION. \*

//

THESE INVESTMENTS WILL KEEP AMERICA COMPETITIVE. AND I KNOW THIS ABOUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: WE WELCOME COMPETITION. WE'LL MATCH OUR INGENUITY AND ENERGY -- OUR EXPERIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY -- OUR SPIRIT AND ENTERPRISE -- AGAINST ANYONE. LET THE COMPETITION BE FREE -- BUT LET IT BE FAIR. AMERICA IS READY. \* //

Dale (1983) 7

SINCE WE REALLY MEAN IT -- AND SINCE WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT BEING READY TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE -- WE'RE GETTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. // WE'VE MADE REAL PROGRESS. 5 YEARS AGO, THE FEDERAL DEFICIT WAS 6% OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. THIS YEAR -- IN THE NEW BUDGET I SENT UP TWO DAYS AGO -- THE DEFICIT IS DOWN TO 1% OF GNP.

Dale

THAT BUDGET BRINGS FEDERAL SPENDING UNDER CONTROL. IT MEETS THE GRAMM-RUDMAN TARGET. BRINGS THAT DEFICIT DOWN FURTHER. AND BALANCES THE BUDGET BY 1993 -- WITH NO NEW TAXES. \* //

AND ONCE THE BUDGET IS BALANCED, WE CAN OPERATE THE WAY EVERY FAMILY MUST WHEN IT HAS BILLS TO PAY. WE WON'T LEAVE IT TO OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN. WE WILL START PAYING OFF THE NATIONAL DEBT. \* //

AND THERE'S SOMETHING MORE WE OWE THE GENERATIONS OF THE FUTURE: STEWARDSHIP -- THE SAFEKEEPING OF AMERICA'S PRECIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL INHERITANCE. \*

AS JUST ONE SIGN OF HOW SERIOUS WE ARE, WE WILL ELEVATE THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TO CABINET RANK. NOT MORE BUREAUCRACY, NOT MORE RED TAPE -- BUT THE CERTAINTY THAT HERE AT HOME, AND IN OUR DEALINGS WITH OTHER NATIONS, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES HAVE THE STATUS THEY DESERVE. \* //

AND GIVE IT THE TOOLS NECESSARY TO DO THE JOB.

GRADY

THIS YEAR'S BUDGET PROVIDES OVER \$2 BILLION IN NEW SPENDING TO PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT. OVER \$1 BILLION FOR GLOBAL CHANGE RESEARCH. AND A NEW INITIATIVE I CALL ~~THE AMERICA~~ <sup>A</sup> ~~THE BEAUTIFUL FUND~~ <sup>"</sup> -- TO EXPAND OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDLIFE PRESERVES AND IMPROVE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ON PUBLIC LANDS.

GRADY

MONEY TO CLEAN UP WASTE AT FEDERAL FACILITIES

?

AND SOMETHING ELSE: SOMETHING THAT WILL HELP KEEP THIS COUNTRY CLEAN, FROM OUR FORESTLAND TO OUR INNER CITIES, AND KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL FOR GENERATIONS TO COME -- THE MONEY TO PLANT A BILLION TREES A YEAR. \*  
/////

AND TONIGHT, LET ME SAY AGAIN TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DID NOT SEND US HERE TO BICKER. THERE'S WORK TO DO -- AND THEY SENT US HERE TO GET IT DONE. AND ONCE AGAIN, I OFFER MY HAND TO ALL OF YOU. LET'S WORK TOGETHER TO DO THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. CLEAN AIR. CHILD CARE. CRIME AND DRUGS. IT'S TIME TO ACT. /// ~~THE FARM BILL.~~ TRANSPORTATION POLICY. PRODUCT LIABILITY. ENTERPRISE ZONES. IT'S TIME TO ACT TOGETHER. ///

Grady

IT IS NOT TRANS. POLICY, IT IS THE AVIATION REAUTHORIZATION DAVE & HACE

AND THERE'S ONE THING I HOPE WE'LL ALL BE ABLE TO AGREE ON. IT'S ABOUT OUR COMMITMENTS. I'M TALKING ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY.

TO EVERY AMERICAN OUT THERE ON SOCIAL SECURITY, TO EVERY AMERICAN SUPPORTING THAT SYSTEM TODAY, AND TO EVERYONE COUNTING ON IT WHEN THEY RETIRE: WE MADE A PROMISE TO YOU -- AND WE'RE GOING TO KEEP IT. \* //

WE RESCUED THE SYSTEM IN 1983 -- AND IT'S SOUND AGAIN. // IT IS FULLY FUNDED IN OUR BUDGET -- AND FULLY FUNDED FOR THE FUTURE. THE LAST THING WE NEED TO DO IS TINKER WITH SOCIAL SECURITY. \* ////

THERE'S ONE MORE PROBLEM WE NEED TO ADDRESS. WE MUST GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HEALTH CARE STUDIES NOW UNDERWAY. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT, I AM INSTRUCTING DR. LOUIS SULLIVAN -- SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES -- TO LEAD A DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL REVIEW OF RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE QUALITY, ACCESSIBILITY AND COST OF OUR NATION'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. I AM COMMITTED TO BRING THE STAGGERING COSTS OF HEALTH CARE UNDER CONTROL. ////

EXPENDABLE IF YOU ARE LOOKING FOR IT GRADY

HOLLEN & DARREMAN

fully funds today's benefits -- ~~our budget provides for full payment of social security benefits -- and assures the security of future benefits that future benefits will be funded.~~ //

THE "STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT" DOES INDEED DEPEND ON MANY OF US IN THIS VERY CHAMBER. BUT THE STATE OF THE UNION DEPENDS ON ALL AMERICANS. WE MUST MAINTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC DECENCY THAT MAKES A NATION OUT OF MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUALS. I HAVE BEEN APPALLED AT THE RECENT LETTER BOMBINGS ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. EVERY ONE OF US MUST CONFRONT AND CONDEMN RACISM. ANTI-SEMITISM. BIGOTRY AND HATE. /// NOT NEXT WEEK, NOT TOMORROW,

BUT RIGHT NOW. \* LET THE WORD GO OUT: RACISM HAS NO PLACE IN THIS UNION \*

GRADY

THE STATE OF THE UNION DEPENDS ON WHETHER WE HELP OUR NEIGHBORS-- CLAIM THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COMMUNITY AS OUR OWN. WE'VE GOT TO STEP FORWARD WHEN THERE'S TROUBLE -- LEND A HAND, BE WHAT I CALL A POINT OF LIGHT TO A STRANGER IN NEED. /// WE'VE GOT TO TAKE THE TIME AFTER A BUSY DAY TO SIT DOWN AND READ WITH OUR KIDS. HELP THEM WITH THEIR HOMEWORK. PASS ALONG THE VALUES WE LEARNED AS CHILDREN. THAT'S HOW WE SUSTAIN THE STATE OF THE UNION. //

EVERY EFFORT IS IMPORTANT. IT ALL ADDS UP -- IT'S DOING THE THINGS THAT GIVE DEMOCRACY MEANING. IT ALL ADDS UP TO WHO WE ARE -- AND WHO WE WILL BE. ///

AND LET ME SAY, THAT SO LONG AS WE REMEMBER THE AMERICAN IDEA -- SO LONG AS WE LIVE UP TO THE AMERICAN IDEAL -- THE STATE OF THE UNION WILL REMAIN SOUND AND STRONG.

AND TO THOSE WHO WORRY WE HAVE LOST OUR WAY -- WELL, I WANT YOU TO LISTEN TO A LETTER WRITTEN BY JAMES MARKWELL -- PFC JAMES MARKWELL, A 20-YEAR OLD ARMY MEDIC. IT'S DATED DECEMBER 18TH -- THE NIGHT BEFORE OUR ARMED FORCES WENT INTO ACTION IN PANAMA. IT'S A LETTER SERVICEMEN WRITE -- AND HOPE WILL NEVER BE SENT. SADLY, PRIVATE MARKWELL'S MOTHER DID RECEIVE THIS LETTER. AND SHE PASSED IT ON TO ME.

HE WROTE: "I HAVE NEVER BEEN AFRAID OF DEATH, BUT I KNOW NOW HE IS WAITING AT THE CORNER.... I HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO KILL AND TO SAVE, SO HAS EVERYONE ELSE. I AM FRIGHTENED OF WHAT LAYS BEYOND THE FOG, YET... I MUST GO THROUGH THE FOG -- WHETHER THE OTHER SIDE IS A PLANE RIDE HOME FOR CHRISTMAS, OR THE FOG NEVER ENDS. DO NOT MOURN FOR ME. REVEL IN THE LIFE THAT I HAVE DIED TO GIVE YOU. ...AND MOST OF ALL, DON'T FORGET THAT THE ARMY WAS MY CHOICE. SOMETHING THAT I WANTED TO DO." //

PRIVATE MARKWELL WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO SEE BATTLE  
IN PANAMA, AND ONE OF THE FIRST TO FALL. ///

HE KNEW WHAT HE BELIEVED IN. // HE CARRIED THE  
IDEA WE CALL AMERICA IN HIS HEART. ////

I BEGAN TONIGHT SPEAKING ABOUT THE CHANGES WE'VE  
SEEN THIS PAST YEAR. THERE IS A NEW WORLD OF  
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US. AND THERE IS A  
NEED FOR LEADERSHIP THAT ONLY AMERICA CAN PROVIDE.

NEARLY FORTY YEARS AGO, IN HIS LAST ADDRESS TO THE  
CONGRESS, PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN PREDICTED SUCH A TIME  
WOULD COME. HE SAID: "AS OUR WORLD GROWS STRONGER,  
MORE UNITED, MORE ATTRACTIVE TO MEN ON BOTH SIDES OF  
THE IRON CURTAIN, THEN INEVITABLY THERE WILL COME A  
TIME OF CHANGE WITHIN THE COMMUNIST WORLD."

TODAY, THAT CHANGE IS TAKING PLACE. //

FOR MORE THAN FORTY YEARS, AMERICA AND ITS ALLIES HELD COMMUNISM IN CHECK, AND ENSURED THAT DEMOCRACY WOULD CONTINUE TO EXIST. TODAY, WITH COMMUNISM CRUMBLING, OUR AIM MUST BE TO ENSURE DEMOCRACY'S ADVANCE. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN FORGING PEACE AND FREEDOM'S BEST HOPE -- A GREAT AND GROWING COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. ///

TO THE CONGRESS AND TO ALL AMERICANS, I SAY IT IS TIME TO ACCLAIM A NEW CONSENSUS AT HOME AND ABROAD -- A COMMON VISION OF THE PEACEFUL WORLD WE WANT TO SEE.

IT'S TIME TO RECONCILE A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- TO ENDORSE AND ENCOURAGE A PEACEFUL PROCESS OF INTERNAL CHANGE TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. //

IT IS TIME TO OFFER OUR HAND TO THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. SO THAT CONTINENT -- FOR TOO LONG A CONTINENT DIVIDED -- CAN SEE A FUTURE WHOLE AND FREE. //



HERE AT HOME -- AND IN THE WORLD -- THERE IS HISTORY IN THE MAKING -- AND HISTORY TO BE MADE. SIX MONTHS AGO, EARLY IN THIS SEASON OF CHANGE, I STOOD AT THE GATES OF THE GDANSK SHIPYARD IN POLAND AT THE MONUMENT TO THE FALLEN WORKERS OF SOLIDARITY. IT'S A MONUMENT OF SIMPLE MAJESTY. THREE TALL CROSSES RISE UP FROM THE STONES. ATOP EACH CROSS, AN ANCHOR -- AN ANCIENT SYMBOL OF HOPE.

THE ANCHOR IN OUR WORLD TODAY IS FREEDOM. HOLDING US STEADY IN TIMES OF CHANGE -- A SYMBOL OF HOPE TO ALL THE WORLD. AND FREEDOM IS AT THE VERY HEART OF THE IDEA THAT IS AMERICA. ///

GIVING LIFE TO THAT IDEA DEPENDS ON EVERY ONE OF US. OUR ANCHOR HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAITH AND FAMILY. AND YOU KNOW, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS OF THIS PAST MOMENTOUS YEAR, OUR FAMILY WAS BLESSED ONCE MORE -- CELEBRATING THE JOY OF LIFE WHEN A LITTLE BOY BECAME OUR NEWEST GRANDCHILD -- OUR TWELFTH. CHARLES WALKER BUSH. // AS IN EVERY FAMILY, THOSE 12 ARE THEIR GRANDPARENTS' PRIDE AND JOY. //

NOW, I KNOW YOU'RE THINKING: THAT'S A GRANDFATHER  
TALKING. //

WELL, I'VE MET A LOT OF CHILDREN THIS PAST YEAR --  
ACROSS THIS COUNTRY, AND EVERYWHERE FROM THE FAR EAST  
TO EASTERN EUROPE. ALL KIDS ARE UNIQUE. ALL KIDS ARE  
ALIKE. THE BUDDING YOUNG ENVIRONMENTALISTS I MET THIS  
MONTH, WHO JOINED ME EXPLORING THE FLORIDA EVERGLADES.  
THE LITTLE LEAGUERS I PLAYED CATCH WITH IN POLAND --  
READY TO GO FROM WARSAW TO THE WORLD SERIES. EVEN THE  
KIDS WHO ARE ILL OR ALONE -- GOD BLESS THOSE BOARDER  
BABIES, BORN ADDICTED TO DRUGS -- COPING WITH PROBLEMS  
NO CHILD SHOULD HAVE TO FACE. BUT, YOU KNOW, WHEN IT  
COMES TO HOPE AND THE FUTURE: EVERY KID IS THE SAME.  
FULL OF DREAMS. READY TO TAKE ON THE WORLD. ALL  
SPECIAL: BECAUSE THEY ARE THE VERY FUTURE OF FREEDOM.  
~~TO THEM BELONGS THIS NEW WORLD I'VE BEEN SPEAKING~~  
~~ABOUT.~~

LET US DEDICATE THIS NEW WORLD  
TO THEM : THE CHILDREN OF THE WORLD \*

GRADY

SO TONIGHT I'M GOING TO ASK SOMETHING OF EVERY ONE OF YOU. LET ME START WITH MY GENERATION -- WITH THE GRANDPARENTS OUT THERE. YOU ARE OUR LIVING LINK TO THE PAST. TELL YOUR GRANDCHILDREN THE STORY OF STRUGGLES WAGED, AT HOME AND ABROAD. OF SACRIFICES FREELY MADE FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE. AND TELL THEM YOUR OWN STORY AS WELL -- BECAUSE EVERY AMERICAN HAS A STORY TO TELL.

PARENTS: YOUR CHILDREN LOOK TO YOU FOR DIRECTION AND GUIDANCE. TELL THEM OF FAITH AND FAMILY. TELL THEM WE ARE ONE NATION UNDER GOD. TEACH THEM THAT OF ALL THE MANY GIFTS THEY CAN RECEIVE, LIBERTY IS THEIR MOST PRECIOUS LEGACY. AND OF ALL THE GIFTS THEY CAN GIVE, THE GREATEST IS SERVING OTHERS.

AND OF COURSE, LET ME SAY TO THE CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE OUT THERE TONIGHT: WITH YOU RESTS OUR HOPE -- ALL THAT AMERICA WILL MEAN IN THE YEARS AND DECADES AHEAD. FIX YOUR VISION ON A NEW CENTURY -- YOUR CENTURY. [ ON DREAMS WE CANNOT SEE. ON THE DESTINY THAT IS YOURS -- AND YOURS ALONE. ] //

*GLADY*  
*OR* → DARE TO DREAM GREATLY. AND GO AFTER THAT DREAM WITH ALL YOUR HEART. \*

AND FINALLY, LET ALL AMERICANS -- ALL OF US  
TOGETHER HERE IN THIS CHAMBER, THE SYMBOLIC CENTER OF  
DEMOCRACY -- AFFIRM OUR ALLEGIANCE TO THIS IDEA WE CALL  
AMERICA. AND LET US ALL REMEMBER THAT THE STATE OF THE  
UNION DEPENDS ON EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US.

GOD BLESS ALL OF YOU. AND MAY GOD BLESS THIS  
GREAT NATION, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # #

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS: I RETURN AS A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND PROUD MEMBER OF THIS GREAT HOUSE. \* //  
NOW, AS PRESIDENT, IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO REPORT TO YOU ON THE STATE OF THE UNION. \*

TONIGHT, I COME NOT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE "STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT" -- NOT TO DETAIL EVERY NEW INITIATIVE WE PLAN FOR THE COMING YEAR, NOR TO DESCRIBE EVERY LINE ITEM IN THE BUDGET. I'M HERE TO SPEAK TO YOU AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE STATE OF THE UNION -- ABOUT OUR WORLD -- THE CHANGES WE'VE SEEN, THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. AND WHAT THAT MEANS FOR AMERICA.  
///

90 JAN 30 P2:10

THERE ARE SINGULAR MOMENTS IN HISTORY: DATES THAT DIVIDE ALL THAT GOES BEFORE FROM ALL THAT COMES AFTER. MANY OF US IN THIS CHAMBER HAVE LIVED MUCH OF OUR LIVES IN A WORLD WHOSE FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES WERE DEFINED IN 1945. THE EVENTS OF THAT YEAR DECREED THE SHAPE OF NATIONS. THE PACE OF PROGRESS. FREEDOM OR OPPRESSION FOR MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD.

1945 PROVIDED THE COMMON FRAME OF REFERENCE -- THE COMPASS POINTS OF THE POST-WAR ERA WE'VE RELIED UPON TO UNDERSTAND OURSELVES. THAT WAS OUR WORLD. /// UNTIL NOW. /// THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR JUST ENDED -- THE REVOLUTION OF '89 -- HAVE BEEN A CHAIN REACTION OF CHANGE SO STRIKING THAT IT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS.

THINK BACK -- JUST TWELVE SHORT MONTHS AGO -- TO THE WORLD WE KNEW -- AS 1989 BEGAN.

ONE YEAR AGO, THE PEOPLE OF PANAMA LIVED IN FEAR, UNDER THE THUMB OF A DICTATOR. TODAY, DEMOCRACY IS RESTORED -- PANAMA // IS FREE. \* //

AND TONIGHT I'M PROUD TO ANNOUNCE THE FORMAL  
TERMINATION OF OPERATION "JUST CAUSE." [[TONIGHT,  
TROOP LEVELS IN PANAMA ARE JUST 1000 ABOVE WHERE THEY  
STOOD BEFORE OUR OPERATION BEGAN.]] BY THE LAST DAY OF  
FEBRUARY, OUR PERSONNEL WILL BE AT THE SAME LEVELS AS  
BEFORE THE OPERATION -- ALL OF THE ADDITIONAL AMERICAN  
TROOPS WHO MADE THIS MISSION A SUCCESS WILL BE BACK  
HOME. \* ///

A YEAR AGO IN POLAND, LECH WALESA DECLARED THAT HE  
WAS READY TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE COMMUNIST RULERS  
OF THAT COUNTRY. TODAY, WITH THE FUTURE OF A FREE  
POLAND IN THEIR OWN HANDS, MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY LEAD  
THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. \* //

A YEAR AGO, FREEDOM'S PLAYWRIGHT, VACLAV HAVEL  
[VAHTS-LAHV HA-VEL], LANGUISHED AS A PRISONER IN  
PRAGUE. TODAY, IT'S VACLAV HAVEL -- PRESIDENT OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. \* //

AND ONE YEAR AGO, ERICH HONECKER OF EAST GERMANY CLAIMED HISTORY AS HIS GUIDE. HE PREDICTED THE BERLIN WALL WOULD LAST ANOTHER HUNDRED YEARS. TODAY -- LESS THAN ONE YEAR LATER -- IT'S THE WALL THAT'S HISTORY. \*  
///

[[TALK ABOUT BEING WRONG....]] ///

REMARKABLE EVENTS -- EVENTS THAT FULFILL THE LONG-HELD HOPES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE... EVENTS THAT VALIDATE THE LONG-STANDING GOALS OF AMERICAN POLICY -- A POLICY BASED ON A SINGLE, SHINING PRINCIPLE: THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. \*

AMERICA -- NOT JUST THE NATION -- BUT AN IDEA, // ALIVE IN THE MINDS OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. AS THIS NEW WORLD TAKES SHAPE, AMERICA STANDS AT THE CENTER OF A WIDENING CIRCLE OF FREEDOM -- TODAY, TOMORROW AND INTO THE NEXT CENTURY. \* //

OUR NATION IS THE ENDURING DREAM OF EVERY IMMIGRANT WHO EVER SET FOOT ON THESE SHORES -- AND THE MILLIONS STILL STRUGGLING TO BE FREE. THIS NATION -- THIS IDEA CALLED AMERICA -- WAS AND ALWAYS WILL BE -- A NEW WORLD. OUR NEW WORLD. ///

AT A WORKERS' RALLY -- IN A PLACE CALLED BRANIK [BRAH-NEEK] ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF PRAGUE -- THE IDEA CALLED AMERICA IS ALIVE. A WORKER, DRESSED IN GRIMY OVERALLS, RISES TO SPEAK AT THE FACTORY GATES. HE BEGINS HIS SPEECH TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THESE WORDS -- WORDS OF A DISTANT REVOLUTION:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT. THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, [AND] THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." /////

IT'S NO SECRET THAT, HERE AT HOME, FREEDOM'S DOOR  
OPENED LONG AGO. THE CORNERSTONES OF THIS FREE SOCIETY  
HAVE ALREADY BEEN SET IN PLACE: DEMOCRACY.  
COMPETITION. OPPORTUNITY. PRIVATE INVESTMENT.  
STEWARDSHIP. AND OF COURSE, LEADERSHIP.

OUR CHALLENGE TODAY IS TO TAKE THIS DEMOCRATIC  
SYSTEM OF OURS -- A SYSTEM SECOND TO NONE -- AND MAKE  
IT BETTER. \* /// A BETTER AMERICA, WHERE  
THERE'S A JOB FOR EVERYONE WHO WANTS ONE. \*

WHERE WOMEN WHO WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME CAN BE  
CONFIDENT THEIR CHILDREN ARE IN SAFE AND LOVING CARE --  
AND WHERE GOVERNMENT WORKS TO EXPAND CHILD CARE  
ALTERNATIVES FOR PARENTS. \*

WHERE WE AREN'T FORCED TO MAKE AN "EITHER-OR"  
DECISION BETWEEN A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT AND AMERICAN JOBS.

\*

WHERE EVERY ONE OF US ENJOYS THE SAME  
OPPORTUNITIES TO LIVE, TO WORK, AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO  
SOCIETY. AND WHERE, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE AMERICAN  
MAINSTREAM INCLUDES ALL OF OUR DISABLED CITIZENS. \* //

WHERE EVERYONE HAS A ROOF OVER HIS HEAD -- AND  
WHERE THE HOMELESS GET THE HELP THEY NEED TO LIVE IN  
DIGNITY. \* //

WHERE OUR SCHOOLS CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT OUR KIDS  
AND OUR TEACHERS -- AND WHERE ALL OF THEM MAKE THE  
GRADE. \*

WHERE EVERY STREET, EVERY CITY, EVERY SCHOOL AND  
EVERY CHILD IS DRUG-FREE. \* //

THAT'S PART OF THE FUTURE WE WANT TO SEE -- THE  
FUTURE WE CAN MAKE FOR OURSELVES. BUT DREAMS ALONE  
WON'T GET US THERE. WE NEED TO EXTEND OUR HORIZON --  
COMMIT TO THE LONG-VIEW. OUR [PLANS] FOR THE FUTURE  
START TODAY. ///

YES -- WE ARE GOING TO INVEST IN AMERICA. THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DETERMINED TO ENCOURAGE THE CREATION OF CAPITAL -- CAPITAL OF ALL KINDS. PHYSICAL CAPITAL: EVERYTHING, FROM OUR FARMS AND FACTORIES TO OUR WORKSHOPS AND PRODUCTION LINES, ALL THAT IS NEEDED TO PRODUCE AND DELIVER QUALITY GOODS AND QUALITY SERVICES. INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL: THE SOURCE OF IDEAS THAT SPARK TOMORROW'S PRODUCTS. AND OF COURSE, OUR HUMAN CAPITAL: THE TALENTED WORKFORCE WE'LL NEED TO COMPETE IN THE GLOBAL MARKET.

AND LET ME TELL YOU: IF WE IGNORE HUMAN CAPITAL -- WE LOSE THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN INGENUITY -- THE SPIRIT THAT IS THE HALLMARK OF THE AMERICAN WORKER. AND THE AMERICAN WORKER IS THE MOST PRODUCTIVE WORKER IN THE WORLD. \* //

WE NEED TO SAVE MORE -- EXPAND THE POOL OF CAPITAL FOR THE NEW INVESTMENTS THAT MEAN MORE JOBS, MORE GROWTH. THAT'S THE IDEA BEHIND A NEW INITIATIVE I CALL THE FAMILY SAVINGS PLAN, WHICH I WILL SEND TO THE CONGRESS TOMORROW. //

WE NEED TO CUT THE TAX ON CAPITAL GAINS --  
ENCOURAGE RISK-TAKERS -- ESPECIALLY THOSE IN OUR SMALL  
BUSINESSES -- TO TAKE THOSE STEPS THAT TRANSLATE INTO  
ECONOMIC REWARD, JOBS, AND A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OF US.  
\* //

WE'LL DO WHAT IT TAKES TO INVEST IN AMERICA'S  
FUTURE. THE BUDGET COMMITMENT IS THERE. THE MONEY IS  
THERE. // IT'S THERE FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT,  
R&D -- A RECORD HIGH. IT'S THERE FOR OUR HOUSING  
INITIATIVE -- HOPE, TO HELP EVERYONE FROM FIRST-TIME  
HOMEBUYERS TO THE HOMELESS. THE MONEY'S THERE TO KEEP  
OUR KIDS DRUG-FREE: 70% MORE THAN WHEN I TOOK OFFICE  
IN 1989. \* IT'S THERE FOR SPACE EXPLORATION -- AND  
IT'S THERE FOR EDUCATION: ANOTHER RECORD HIGH. \* //

AND ONE MORE THING: LAST FALL AT THE EDUCATION  
SUMMIT, THE GOVERNORS AND I AGREED TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO  
HELP MAKE SURE KIDS ARE READY TO LEARN THE VERY FIRST  
DAY THEY WALK INTO THAT CLASSROOM. I'VE MADE GOOD ON  
THAT COMMITMENT -- BY PROPOSING A RECORD INCREASE IN  
FUNDS -- AN EXTRA HALF A BILLION DOLLARS -- FOR  
SOMETHING NEAR AND DEAR TO ALL OF US: HEAD START. \*

//

EDUCATION IS THE ONE INVESTMENT THAT MEANS MORE FOR OUR FUTURE BECAUSE IT MEANS THE MOST FOR OUR CHILDREN. REAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR SCHOOLS IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF SPENDING MORE. IT IS A MATTER OF ASKING MORE -- EXPECTING MORE: OF OUR SCHOOLS, OUR TEACHERS, OF OUR KIDS, AND OUR PARENTS AND OURSELVES. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT I AM ANNOUNCING AMERICA'S EDUCATION GOALS -- GOALS DEVELOPED WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS:

BY THE YEAR 2000, EVERY CHILD MUST START SCHOOL READY TO LEARN.

THE UNITED STATES MUST INCREASE THE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATE TO NO LESS THAN 90%.

AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE OUR SCHOOLS' DIPLOMAS MEAN SOMETHING: AT THE CRITICAL GRADES -- 4TH, 8TH AND 12TH -- WE MUST CHECK ALL OUR STUDENTS' PROGRESS.

BY THE YEAR 2000, U.S. STUDENTS MUST BE FIRST IN THE WORLD IN MATH AND SCIENCE SKILLS.

EVERY AMERICAN ADULT MUST BE LITERATE.

EVERY SCHOOL MUST OFFER THE KIND OF DISCIPLINED ENVIRONMENT THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR OUR KIDS TO LEARN -- AND EVERY SCHOOL IN AMERICA MUST BE DRUG-FREE.

\* //

AMBITIOUS AIMS? OF COURSE. EASY TO DO? FAR FROM IT. BUT THE FUTURE'S AT STAKE. THIS NATION WILL NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION. \*

//

THESE INVESTMENTS WILL KEEP AMERICA COMPETITIVE. AND I KNOW THIS ABOUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: WE WELCOME COMPETITION. WE'LL MATCH OUR INGENUITY AND ENERGY -- OUR EXPERIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY -- OUR SPIRIT AND ENTERPRISE -- AGAINST ANYONE. LET THE COMPETITION BE FREE -- BUT LET IT BE FAIR. AMERICA IS READY. \* //

SINCE WE REALLY MEAN IT -- AND SINCE WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT BEING READY TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE -- WE'RE GETTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. // WE'VE MADE REAL PROGRESS. 5 YEARS AGO, THE FEDERAL DEFICIT WAS 6% OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. THIS YEAR -- IN THE BUDGET I SENT UP TWO DAYS AGO -- THE DEFICIT IS DOWN TO 1% OF GNP.

THAT BUDGET BRINGS FEDERAL SPENDING UNDER CONTROL. IT MEETS THE GRAMM-RUDMAN TARGET. BRINGS THAT DEFICIT DOWN FURTHER. AND BALANCES THE BUDGET BY 1993 -- WITH NO NEW TAXES. \* //

AND ONCE THE BUDGET IS BALANCED, WE CAN OPERATE THE WAY EVERY FAMILY MUST WHEN IT HAS BILLS TO PAY. WE WON'T LEAVE IT TO OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN. WE WILL START PAYING OFF THE NATIONAL DEBT. \* //

AND THERE'S SOMETHING MORE WE OWE THE GENERATIONS OF THE FUTURE: STEWARDSHIP -- THE SAFEKEEPING OF AMERICA'S PRECIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL INHERITANCE. \*

AS JUST ONE SIGN OF HOW SERIOUS WE ARE, WE WILL ELEVATE THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY TO CABINET RANK. NOT MORE BUREAUCRACY, NOT MORE RED TAPE -- BUT THE CERTAINTY THAT HERE AT HOME, AND IN OUR DEALINGS WITH OTHER NATIONS, ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES HAVE THE STATUS THEY DESERVE. \* //

THIS YEAR'S BUDGET PROVIDES OVER \$2 BILLION IN NEW SPENDING TO PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT. OVER \$1 BILLION FOR GLOBAL CHANGE RESEARCH. AND A NEW INITIATIVE I CALL THE AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL FUND -- TO EXPAND OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDLIFE PRESERVES AND IMPROVE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ON PUBLIC LANDS.

AND SOMETHING ELSE: SOMETHING THAT WILL HELP KEEP THIS COUNTRY CLEAN, FROM OUR FORESTLAND TO OUR INNER CITIES, AND KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL FOR GENERATIONS TO COME -- THE MONEY TO PLANT A BILLION TREES A YEAR. \*  
/////

AND TONIGHT, LET ME SAY AGAIN TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DID NOT SEND US HERE TO BICKER. THERE'S WORK TO DO -- AND THEY SENT US HERE TO GET IT DONE. AND ONCE AGAIN, I OFFER MY HAND TO ALL OF YOU. LET'S WORK TOGETHER TO DO THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. CLEAN AIR. CHILD CARE. CRIME AND DRUGS. IT'S TIME TO ACT. /// THE FARM BILL. TRANSPORTATION POLICY. PRODUCT LIABILITY. ENTERPRISE ZONES. IT'S TIME TO ACT TOGETHER. ///

AND THERE'S ONE THING I HOPE WE'LL ALL BE ABLE TO AGREE ON. IT'S ABOUT OUR COMMITMENTS. I'M TALKING ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY.

TO EVERY AMERICAN OUT THERE ON SOCIAL SECURITY, TO EVERY AMERICAN SUPPORTING THAT SYSTEM TODAY, AND TO EVERYONE COUNTING ON IT WHEN THEY RETIRE: WE MADE A PROMISE TO YOU -- AND WE'RE GOING TO KEEP IT. \* //

WE RESCUED THE SYSTEM IN 1983 -- AND IT'S SOUND AGAIN. // IT IS FULLY FUNDED IN OUR BUDGET -- AND FULLY FUNDED FOR THE FUTURE. THE LAST THING WE NEED TO DO IS TINKER WITH SOCIAL SECURITY. \* ////

THERE'S ONE MORE PROBLEM WE NEED TO ADDRESS. WE MUST GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HEALTH CARE STUDIES NOW UNDERWAY. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT, I AM INSTRUCTING DR. LOUIS SULLIVAN -- SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES -- TO LEAD A DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL REVIEW OF RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE QUALITY, ACCESSIBILITY AND COST OF OUR NATION'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. I AM COMMITTED TO BRING THE STAGGERING COSTS OF HEALTH CARE UNDER CONTROL. ////

THE "STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT" DOES INDEED DEPEND ON MANY OF US IN THIS VERY CHAMBER. BUT THE STATE OF THE UNION DEPENDS ON ALL AMERICANS. WE MUST MAINTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC DECENCY THAT MAKES A NATION OUT OF MILLIONS OF INDIVIDUALS. I HAVE BEEN APPALLED AT THE RECENT LETTER BOMBINGS ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. EVERY ONE OF US MUST CONFRONT AND CONDEMN RACISM. ANTI-SEMITISM. BIGOTRY AND HATE. /// NOT NEXT WEEK, NOT TOMORROW, BUT RIGHT NOW. \*

THE STATE OF THE UNION DEPENDS ON WHETHER WE HELP OUR NEIGHBOR -- CLAIM THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COMMUNITY AS OUR OWN. WE'VE GOT TO STEP FORWARD WHEN THERE'S TROUBLE -- LEND A HAND, BE WHAT I CALL A POINT OF LIGHT TO A STRANGER IN NEED. /// WE'VE GOT TO TAKE THE TIME AFTER A BUSY DAY TO SIT DOWN AND READ WITH OUR KIDS. HELP THEM WITH THEIR HOMEWORK. PASS ALONG THE VALUES WE LEARNED AS CHILDREN. THAT'S HOW WE SUSTAIN THE STATE OF THE UNION. //

EVERY EFFORT IS IMPORTANT. IT ALL ADDS UP -- IT'S DOING THE THINGS THAT GIVE DEMOCRACY MEANING. IT ALL ADDS UP TO WHO WE ARE -- AND WHO WE WILL BE. ///

AND LET ME SAY, THAT SO LONG AS WE REMEMBER THE AMERICAN IDEA -- SO LONG AS WE LIVE UP TO THE AMERICAN IDEAL -- THE STATE OF THE UNION WILL REMAIN SOUND AND STRONG.

AND TO THOSE WHO WORRY WE HAVE LOST OUR WAY -- WELL, I WANT YOU TO LISTEN TO A LETTER WRITTEN BY JAMES MARKWELL -- PFC JAMES MARKWELL, A 20-YEAR OLD ARMY MEDIC. IT'S DATED DECEMBER 18TH -- THE NIGHT BEFORE OUR ARMED FORCES WENT INTO ACTION IN PANAMA. IT'S A LETTER SERVICEMEN WRITE -- AND HOPE WILL NEVER BE SENT. SADLY, PRIVATE MARKWELL'S MOTHER DID RECEIVE THIS LETTER. AND SHE PASSED IT ON TO ME.

HE WROTE: "I HAVE NEVER BEEN AFRAID OF DEATH, BUT I KNOW NOW HE IS WAITING AT THE CORNER.... I HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO KILL AND TO SAVE, SO HAS EVERYONE ELSE. I AM FRIGHTENED OF WHAT LAYS BEYOND THE FOG, YET... I MUST GO THROUGH THE FOG -- WHETHER THE OTHER SIDE IS A PLANE RIDE HOME FOR CHRISTMAS, OR THE FOG NEVER ENDS. DO NOT MOURN FOR ME. REVEL IN THE LIFE THAT I HAVE DIED TO GIVE YOU. ...AND MOST OF ALL, DON'T FORGET THAT THE ARMY WAS MY CHOICE. SOMETHING THAT I WANTED TO DO." //

PRIVATE MARKWELL WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO SEE BATTLE  
IN PANAMA, AND ONE OF THE FIRST TO FALL. ///

HE KNEW WHAT HE BELIEVED IN. // HE CARRIED THE  
IDEA WE CALL AMERICA IN HIS HEART. ////

I BEGAN TONIGHT SPEAKING ABOUT THE CHANGES WE'VE  
SEEN THIS PAST YEAR. THERE IS A NEW WORLD OF  
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US. AND THERE IS A  
NEED FOR LEADERSHIP THAT ONLY AMERICA CAN PROVIDE.

NEARLY FORTY YEARS AGO, IN HIS LAST ADDRESS TO THE  
CONGRESS, PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN PREDICTED SUCH A TIME  
WOULD COME. HE SAID: "AS OUR WORLD GROWS STRONGER,  
MORE UNITED, MORE ATTRACTIVE TO MEN ON BOTH SIDES OF  
THE IRON CURTAIN, THEN INEVITABLY THERE WILL COME A  
TIME OF CHANGE WITHIN THE COMMUNIST WORLD."

TODAY, THAT CHANGE IS TAKING PLACE. //

FOR MORE THAN FORTY YEARS, AMERICA AND ITS ALLIES HELD COMMUNISM IN CHECK, AND ENSURED THAT DEMOCRACY WOULD CONTINUE TO EXIST. TODAY, WITH COMMUNISM CRUMBLING, OUR AIM MUST BE TO ENSURE DEMOCRACY'S ADVANCE. TO TAKE THE LEAD IN FORGING PEACE AND FREEDOM'S BEST HOPE -- A GREAT AND GROWING COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. ///

TO THE CONGRESS AND TO ALL AMERICANS, I SAY IT IS TIME TO ACCLAIM A NEW CONSENSUS AT HOME AND ABROAD -- A COMMON VISION OF THE PEACEFUL WORLD WE WANT TO SEE.

IT'S TIME TO RECONCILE A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION -- TO ENDORSE AND ENCOURAGE A PEACEFUL PROCESS OF INTERNAL CHANGE TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. //

IT IS TIME TO OFFER OUR HAND TO THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. SO THAT CONTINENT -- FOR TOO LONG A CONTINENT DIVIDED -- CAN SEE A FUTURE WHOLE AND FREE. //



HERE AT HOME -- AND IN THE WORLD -- THERE IS HISTORY IN THE MAKING -- AND HISTORY TO BE MADE. SIX MONTHS AGO, EARLY IN THIS SEASON OF CHANGE, I STOOD AT THE GATES OF THE GDANSK SHIPYARD IN POLAND AT THE MONUMENT TO THE FALLEN WORKERS OF SOLIDARITY. IT'S A MONUMENT OF SIMPLE MAJESTY. THREE TALL CROSSES RISE UP FROM THE STONES. ATOP EACH CROSS, AN ANCHOR -- AN ANCIENT SYMBOL OF HOPE.

THE ANCHOR IN OUR WORLD TODAY IS FREEDOM. HOLDING US STEADY IN TIMES OF CHANGE -- A SYMBOL OF HOPE TO ALL THE WORLD. AND FREEDOM IS AT THE VERY HEART OF THE IDEA THAT IS AMERICA. ///

GIVING LIFE TO THAT IDEA DEPENDS ON EVERY ONE OF US. OUR ANCHOR HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAITH AND FAMILY. AND YOU KNOW, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS OF THIS PAST MOMENTOUS YEAR, OUR FAMILY WAS BLESSED ONCE MORE -- CELEBRATING THE JOY OF LIFE WHEN A LITTLE BOY BECAME OUR NEWEST GRANDCHILD -- OUR TWELFTH. CHARLES WALKER BUSH. // AS IN EVERY FAMILY, THOSE 12 ARE THEIR GRANDPARENTS' PRIDE AND JOY. //

NOW, I KNOW YOU'RE THINKING: THAT'S A GRANDFATHER  
TALKING. //

WELL, I'VE MET A LOT OF CHILDREN THIS PAST YEAR --  
ACROSS THIS COUNTRY, AND EVERYWHERE FROM THE FAR EAST  
TO EASTERN EUROPE. ALL KIDS ARE UNIQUE. ALL KIDS ARE  
ALIKE. THE BUDDING YOUNG ENVIRONMENTALISTS I MET THIS  
MONTH, WHO JOINED ME EXPLORING THE FLORIDA EVERGLADES.  
THE LITTLE LEAGUERS I PLAYED CATCH WITH IN POLAND --  
READY TO GO FROM WARSAW TO THE WORLD SERIES. EVEN THE  
KIDS WHO ARE ILL OR ALONE -- GOD BLESS THOSE BORDER  
BABIES, BORN ADDICTED TO DRUGS -- COPING WITH PROBLEMS  
NO CHILD SHOULD HAVE TO FACE. BUT, YOU KNOW, WHEN IT  
COMES TO HOPE AND THE FUTURE: EVERY KID IS THE SAME.  
FULL OF DREAMS. READY TO TAKE ON THE WORLD. ALL  
SPECIAL: BECAUSE THEY ARE THE VERY FUTURE OF FREEDOM.  
TO THEM BELONGS THIS NEW WORLD I'VE BEEN SPEAKING  
ABOUT.

SO TONIGHT I'M GOING TO ASK SOMETHING OF EVERY ONE OF YOU. LET ME START WITH MY GENERATION -- WITH THE GRANDPARENTS OUT THERE. YOU ARE OUR LIVING LINK TO THE PAST. TELL YOUR GRANDCHILDREN THE STORY OF STRUGGLES WAGED, AT HOME AND ABROAD. OF SACRIFICES FREELY MADE FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE. AND TELL THEM YOUR OWN STORY AS WELL -- BECAUSE EVERY AMERICAN HAS A STORY TO TELL.

PARENTS: YOUR CHILDREN LOOK TO YOU FOR DIRECTION AND GUIDANCE. TELL THEM OF FAITH AND FAMILY. TELL THEM WE ARE ONE NATION UNDER GOD. TEACH THEM THAT OF ALL THE MANY GIFTS THEY CAN RECEIVE, LIBERTY IS THEIR MOST PRECIOUS LEGACY. AND OF ALL THE GIFTS THEY CAN GIVE, THE GREATEST IS SERVING OTHERS.

AND OF COURSE, LET ME SAY TO THE CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE OUT THERE TONIGHT: WITH YOU RESTS OUR HOPE -- ALL THAT AMERICA WILL MEAN IN THE YEARS AND DECADES AHEAD. FIX YOUR VISION ON A NEW CENTURY -- YOUR CENTURY. ON DREAMS WE CANNOT SEE. ON THE DESTINY THAT IS YOURS -- AND YOURS ALONE. //

AND FINALLY, LET ALL AMERICANS -- ALL OF US  
TOGETHER HERE IN THIS CHAMBER, THE SYMBOLIC CENTER OF  
DEMOCRACY -- AFFIRM OUR ALLEGIANCE TO THIS IDEA WE CALL  
AMERICA. AND LET US ALL REMEMBER THAT THE STATE OF THE  
UNION DEPENDS ON EACH AND EVERY ONE OF US.

GOD BLESS ALL OF YOU. AND MAY GOD BLESS THIS  
GREAT NATION, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
January 29, 1990  
9:30 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS  
THE CAPITOL  
JANUARY 31, 1990  
9:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, members of the United States Congress: I return as a former President of the Senate, and proud member of this great House. // Now, as President, it is my privilege to report to you on the State of the Union.

Tonight, I come not to speak about the "state of the government" -- not to detail every new initiative we plan for the coming year, nor to describe every line item in the budget. I am here to speak to you and to the American people about the State of the Union -- about our world -- the changes we've seen, the challenges we'll face. And what that means for America. ///

There are singular moments in history: dates that divide all that goes before from all that comes after. Many of us in this chamber have lived much of our lives in a world whose fundamental features were defined in 1945. The events of that year decreed the shape of nations. The pace of progress. Freedom or oppression for millions of people around the world.

1945 provided the common frame of reference -- the compass points of the post-war era we've relied upon to understand ourselves. That was our world. /// Until now. /// The events of the year just ended -- the revolution of '89 -- have been a

chain reaction of change so striking that it marks the beginning of a new era in the world's affairs.

Think back -- just twelve short months ago -- to the world we knew -- as 1989 began.

One year ago, the people of Panama lived in fear, under the thumb of a dictator. Today, democracy is restored -- Panama // is free. //

And tonight I'm proud to announce the formal termination of Operation JUST CAUSE. [[Tonight, troop levels in Panama are just 1000 above where they stood before our operation began.]] By the last day of February, our personnel will be at the same levels as before the operation -- all of the additional American troops who made this mission a success will be back home. ///

A year ago in Poland, Lech Walesa declared that he was ready to open a dialogue with the communist rulers of that country. Today, with the future of a free Poland in their hands, members of Solidarity lead the Polish Government. //

A year ago, freedom's playwright, Vaclav Havel, languished as a prisoner in Prague. Today, it's Vaclav Havel -- President of Czechoslovakia. //

And one year ago, Erich Honecker of East Germany claimed history as his guide. He predicted the Berlin Wall would last another hundred years. Today -- less than one year later -- it's the Wall that's history. ///

Remarkable events -- events that fulfill the long-held hopes of the American people... Events that validate the long-standing

goals of American policy -- a policy based on a single, shining principle: the cause of freedom.

America -- not just the nation -- but an idea, alive in the minds of people everywhere. As this new world takes shape, America stands at the center of a widening circle of freedom -- today, tomorrow and into the next century. //

Our America is the shining dream of every immigrant who ever set foot on these shores -- and the millions still struggling to be free. This nation -- this idea called America -- was and always will be -- a new world. Our new world. ///

At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- the idea called America is alive. A worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rises to speak at the factory gates. He begins his speech to his fellow citizens with these words -- words of a distant revolution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, [and] that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."  
/////

It's no secret that, here at home, freedom's door opened long ago. The cornerstones of this free society have already been set in place: Democracy. Competition. Opportunity. Private investment. Stewardship. And of course, leadership.

Our challenge today is to take this democratic system of ours -- a system second to none -- and make it better. That's the American idea.

A better America, where there's a job for everyone who wants one.

Where women who work outside the home can be confident their children are in safe and loving care -- and where government works to **expand** child care alternatives for parents.

Where we aren't forced to make an "either-or" decision between a **clean environment** and **American jobs**.

Where all Americans enjoy the **same opportunities** to live, to work, and to contribute to society. And where, for the first time, the American mainstream includes **all disabled Americans**.

// Where every American has a roof over his head -- and where the homeless get the help they need to live in dignity. //

Where every street, every city, every school and every American child is drug-free. //

Where our schools challenge our kids and our teachers -- and where **all of them** make the grade.

That's part of the future we want to see -- the future we can make for ourselves. But dreams alone won't get us there. We need to extend our horizon -- commit to the long-view. Our [plans] for the future start today. ///

Yes -- we are going to invest in America. This Administration is **determined** to encourage the creation of capital -- capital of all kinds. **Physical capital:** everything, from America's farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, all that is needed to produce and deliver quality goods and services. **Intellectual capital:** the store-house of ideas

that become tomorrow's products. And of course, America's human capital: the talented workforce we'll need to compete in the global market.

And let me tell you: if we ignore human capital -- we lose the spirit of American ingenuity -- the spirit that is the hallmark of the American worker. And the American worker is the most productive worker in the world. //

We need to save more -- expand the pool of capital for the new investments that mean more jobs, more growth. That's the idea behind a new initiative I call the Family Savings [Package], which I will send to the Congress tomorrow. //

We need to encourage risk-takers to take those steps that translate into economic reward, jobs and a better life for all of us -- that's why we've got to cut the tax on capital gains. //

We'll do what it takes to invest in America's future. The commitment is there. The money is there. // It's there for Research and Development, R&D -- a record high. It's there for our housing initiative -- HOPE, to help everyone from first-time homebuyers to the homeless. The money's there to keep our kids drug-free: a 70% increase in funds to fight drugs since last year. It's there for Space -- and it's there for education: another record high. //

And one more thing: last fall at the Education Summit, the Governors and I agreed to look for ways to help make sure kids are ready to learn the very first day they walk into that classroom. I've made good on that commitment -- by proposing a

record increase in funds -- an extra half a billion dollars -- for something near and dear to all of us: **Head Start.** //

Education is the one investment that means more for our future because it means the most for our children. Real improvement in our schools is not simply a matter of spending more. It is a matter of asking more -- expecting more: of our schools, our teachers, of our kids, and our parents. That's why tonight I am announcing America's education goals -- goals agreed upon with the nation's Governors:

By the year 2000, every child in America must start school ready to learn. The United States must increase the high school graduation rate to no less than 90%. And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas means something: at the critical grades -- 4th, 8th and 12th -- we must check all our students' progress.

By the year 2000, U.S. students must be first in the world in math and science skills. Every American adult must be literate. Every school in America must offer the kind of disciplined environment that makes it possible for our kids to learn -- and every school in America must be drug-free. //

Ambitious aims? Of course. Guaranteed success? Far from it. But the future's at stake. This nation will not accept anything less than excellence in education. //

These investments will keep America competitive. And I know this about the American people: we welcome competition. We'll match our ingenuity and energy -- our experience and technology -

- our spirit and enterprise -- against anyone. Let the competition be free -- but let it be fair. America is ready. //

Since we really mean it -- and since we are serious about being ready to meet that challenge -- let's get our house in order. // We've made real progress. 5 years ago, the federal deficit was 6% of our Gross National Product. This year -- in the budget I sent up two days ago -- the deficit's down to 1% of GNP.

That budget brings federal spending under control. It meets the Gramm-Rudman target. Brings that deficit down further. And balances the budget by 1993 -- with no new taxes. //

And once the budget is balanced, we can operate the way every family in America has to when it has bills to pay. We won't leave it to our children and grandchildren. We will start paying off the national debt. //

And there's something more we owe the generations of the future: stewardship -- the safekeeping of America's precious environmental inheritance. As just one sign of how serious we are, we will elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to cabinet rank. Not more bureaucracy, not more red tape -- but the certainty that here at home, and in our dealings with other nations, environmental issues have the status they deserve. //

[[And this year's budget provides over \$2 billion in new spending to protect our environment. Over \$1 billion for global change research.]] And a new initiative I call the America the Beautiful Fund -- to expand our national parks and wildlife

refuges and improve recreational facilities on public lands. And something else: something that will help keep this country clean, from our forestland to our inner cities, and keep American beautiful for generations to come -- the money to plant a billion trees a year. //

And tonight, let me say again to all the members of Congress: The American people did not send us here to bicker. There's work to do -- and they sent us here to get it done. And once again, I offer my hand to all of you. Let's work together to do the will of the American people. Clean Air. Child Care. Crime and Drugs. It's time to act. // The farm bill. Transportation policy. Tort reform. Enterprise Zones. It's time to act together. //

And there's one thing I hope we'll all be able to agree on. It's about our commitments. I'm talking about Social Security.

To every American out there on Social Security, to every American supporting that system today, and to everyone counting on it when they retire: We made a promise to you -- and we're going to keep it. //

We rescued the Social Security system in 1983 -- and it's sound again. // Social Security is fully funded in our budget - - and fully funded for the future. The last thing we need to do is tinker with the system. //

There's one more problem we need to address. We must give careful consideration to the recommendations of the health care studies now underway. That's why tonight, I am requesting that

Dr. Louis Sullivan -- Secretary of Health and Human Services -- lead a Domestic Policy Council review of recommendations on the quality, accessibility and cost of our nation's health care system. ////

The "state of the government" does indeed depend on many of us in this very chamber. But the State of the Union depends on all Americans. We must maintain the democratic decency that makes a nation out of millions of individuals. I have been appalled at the recent letter bombings across this country. Every one of us must confront and condemn racism. Anti-semitism. Bigotry and hate. /// Not tomorrow, not next week, but today.

The State of the Union depends on whether we help our neighbor -- claim the problems of our community as our own. We've got to step forward when there's trouble -- lend a hand, be a point of light to a stranger in need. /// We've got to take the time after a busy day to sit down and read with our kids. Help them with their homework. Pass along the values we learned as children. That's how we sustain the State of the Union. //

Every effort is important. It all adds up -- it's doing the things that give democracy meaning. It all adds up to who we are -- and who we will be. ///

And let me say, that so long as we remember the American idea -- so long as we live up to the American ideal -- the State of the Union will remain sound and strong.

And to those who worry we have lost our way -- well, I want you to listen to a letter written by James Markwell -- PFC James

Markwell, a 20-year old Army medic. It's dated December 18th -- the night before our Armed Forces went into action in Panama. It's a letter servicemen write -- and hope will never be sent. Sadly, Private Markwell's mother did receive this letter. And she passed it on to me.

He writes: "I have never been afraid of death, but I know now he is waiting at the corner.... I have been trained to kill and to save, so has everyone else. I am frightened of what lays beyond the fog, yet... I must go through the fog -- whether the other side is a plane ride home for Christmas, or the fog never ends. Do not mourn for me. Revel in the life that I have died to give you. ...And most of all, don't forget that the Army was **my choice**. Something that I wanted to do." //

Private Markwell was among the first to see battle in Panama, and one of the first to fall. ///

He knew what he believed in. // **He carried the idea we call America in his heart. ////**

I began tonight speaking about the changes we've seen this past year. There is a new world of challenges and opportunities before us. And there is a need for leadership that only **America can provide.**

Nearly forty years ago, in his last address to the Congress, President Harry Truman predicted such a time would come. He said: "As our world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the iron curtain, then inevitably there will come a time of change within the communist world."

Today, that change is taking place. //

For more than forty years, America and its allies held communism in check, and ensured that **democracy would continue to exist**. Today, with communism crumbling, our aim must be to **ensure democracy's advance**. To take the lead in forging peace and freedom's best hope -- a great and growing **commonwealth of free nations**. ///

I say to the Congress and to all Americans: **It is time to acclaim a new consensus at home and abroad -- a common vision of the peaceful world we want to see.**

**It's time to reconcile a new relationship with the Soviet Union -- to endorse and extend the peaceful process of internal change toward democracy and economic opportunity.** //

It is time to offer our hand to the **emerging democracies of Eastern Europe**. So that continent -- for too long a continent divided -- can see a future whole and free. //

In the **Far East**, it is time for the full flowering of free governments and free markets that have served as the engine of progress. In China, two decades ago, **we opened the door, awakening a love of democracy in the Chinese people.** // The key to democracy in China **today is to keep that door open** -- to rekindle the flame of freedom. /////

And finally, the time is right -- here in our own hemisphere for all the people of the Americas, North and South, to live in freedom.



All kids are unique. Yet, all kids are alike. The budding young environmentalists I met this month, who joined me exploring the Florida Everglades. The little leaguers I played catch with in Poland -- ready to go from Warsaw to the World Series. Even the kids who are ill or alone, coping with problems no child should have to face. When it comes to hope and the future: Every kid is the same. Full of dreams. Ready to take on the world. All special: because they are the very future of freedom. To them belongs this new world I've been speaking about.

So tonight I'm going to ask something of every one of you. Let me start with my generation -- with the grandparents out there. You are our living link to the past. Tell your grandchildren the story of struggles waged, at home and abroad. Of sacrifices freely made for freedom's sake. And tell them your own story as well -- because every American has a story to tell.

Parents: your children look to you for direction and guidance. Tell them of faith and family. Teach them that of all the many gifts they can receive, liberty is their most precious legacy. And of all the gifts they can give, the greatest is serving others.

And of course, let me say to the children and young people out there tonight: with you rests our hope -- all that America will mean in the years and decades ahead. Fix your vision on a new century -- your century. On dreams we cannot see. On the destiny that is yours -- and yours alone. //

And finally, let all Americans -- all of us together here in this chamber, the symbolic center of American democracy -- affirm our allegiance to this idea we call America. And let us all remember that the State of the Union depends on each and every one of us.

God bless all of you. God bless every American -- and may God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

# # #

## MARKWELL LETTER

"I HAVE NEVER BEEN AFRAID OF DEATH, BUT I KNOW HE IS WAITING AT THE CORNER . . . . I HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO KILL AND TO SAVE, SO HAS EVERYONE ELSE. I AM FRIGHTENED OF WHAT LAYS BEYOND THE FOG, YET . . . . I MUST GO THROUGH THE FOG, WHETHER THE OTHER SIDE IS A PLANE RIDE HOME FOR CHRISTMAS, OR THE FOG NEVER ENDS. DO NOT MOURN FOR ME, REVEL IN THE LIFE THAT I HAVE DIED TO GIVE YOU. . . . BUT MOST OF ALL, DON'T FORGET THAT THE ARMY WAS MY CHOICE. SOMETHING THAT I WANTED TO DO."

**PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCE: THE WHITE HOUSE  
9:15 A.M. \ WED., JAN. 24, 1990**

**GOOD MORNING.**

**AS YOU KNOW, I WILL SOON PRESENT MY BUDGET TO CONGRESS. AND AS I PREPARE TO DO SO, IT STRIKES ME THAT OUR NATION FACES CHALLENGES ON MANY FRONTS. SO LET US GIVE EACH THE ATTENTION IT DESERVES.**

**TOMORROW, I WILL ANNOUNCE THE SECOND PHASE OF OUR STRATEGY TO FIGHT DRUGS IN THE SCHOOLS AND STREETS OF AMERICA.**


**- 2 -**

**THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY DEPENDS ON WHETHER WE CAN GIVE OUR CHILDREN A CHANCE TO GROW UP DRUG-FREE.**

**SECONDLY, I WILL SOON PRESENT OUR PLAN TO RESTRUCTURE AMERICA'S DEFENSES IN THE WAKE OF DRAMATIC CHANGE ABROAD. I'M PROPOSING A DEFENSE BUDGET THAT BEGINS THE TRANSITION TO A RESTRUCTURED MILITARY -- A NEW STRATEGY THAT IS MORE FLEXIBLE, MORE GEARED TO CONTINGENCIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE, WHILE CONTINUING TO MEET OUR INESCAPABLE RESPONSIBILITY TO NATO, AND TO MAINTAINING THE GLOBAL BALANCE.**

- 3 -

FINALLY, SECRETARY BRADY, DIRECTOR DARMAN AND CHAIRMAN BOSKIN WILL PUT THE DETAILS OF OUR BUDGET BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AS THAT OCCURS, OTHER MEMBERS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION -- THE CABINET AND KEY AGENCIES -- WILL PROVIDE AN INDEPTH OUTLINE OF THEIR EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THE MANY CHALLENGES OF CARING FOR THE AFFLICTED, UPLIFTING THE POOR, CLEANING THE ENVIRONMENT AND EDUCATING OUR CHILDREN, AS WELL AS OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES.




- 4 -

ALL OF THIS IS PREPARATORY TO THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, ONE WEEK FROM TODAY, IN WHICH I WILL SPEAK TO THE BROADER ISSUES WE FACE AS A NATION.

THERE ARE TWO ITEMS IN PARTICULAR THAT I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY.

FIRST, I HAVE DECIDED THAT THE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES THAT FACE AMERICA -- AND THE WORLD -- ARE SO IMPORTANT THAT THEY MUST BE ADDRESSED FROM THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY, PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT HELPED PAVE THE WAY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM. TWENTY YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT NIXON ESTABLISHED THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY BY EXECUTIVE ORDER. EPA IS NOW ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT REGULATORY AGENCIES IN THE GOVERNMENT. TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE ANOTHER STEP FORWARD IN THIS IMPORTANT TRADITION OF SUPPORT FOR CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION.



WITH SO MANY DIFFICULT DECISIONS AHEAD, I WILL NEED BILL REILLY'S COUNSEL. I WILL NEED HIM SITTING AT MY SIDE, IN MY CABINET. SO I AM PLEASED TO ENDORSE THE ELEVATION OF THE EPA TO CABINET STATUS BY CREATING A DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT.\

SENATORS JOHN GLENN AND BILL ROTH, THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING MEMBERS OF THE SENATE GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION THAT WOULD CREATE THIS NEW DEPARTMENT.

CONGRESSMAN CONYERS AND HORTON ARE WORKING ON SIMILAR LEGISLATION. I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH THEM AND OTHER INTERESTED MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE TO ENACT LEGISLATION THAT WOULD BRING EPA TO THE CABINET TABLE, WHERE IT BELONGS. NOW, I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE THAT I KNOW IS FIRST ON YOUR MINDS THIS MORNING.

EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW I WILL NOT BREAK FAITH WITH THE CHINESE STUDENTS HERE. RIGHT AFTER TIANANMEN, I MOVED TO PROTECT THE CHINESE STUDENTS IN THIS COUNTRY. NOT ONE WAS SENT BACK. THEY WERE SAFE THEN, AND THEY ARE SAFE NOW.

WHEN CONGRESS PASSED THE PELOSI BILL LAST FALL, I WAS FACED WITH A CHOICE: IF I SIGNED THE BILL, THE STUDENTS HERE WOULD STILL BE SAFE, BUT CHINA WOULD RETALIATE AND CUT OFF FUTURE STUDENT EXCHANGES.

- 9 -

IF I VETOED THE BILL, I COULD TAKE ACTIONS TO PROVIDE THE STUDENTS WITH EVEN GREATER PROTECTION WHILE KEEPING THE DOOR OPEN FOR MORE CHINESE SCHOLARS TO STUDY HERE. THE PRICE OF THE PELOSI BILL IS LOST OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CHINESE SCHOLARS OF TOMORROW. THE BILL IS TOTALLY UNNECESSARY -- THE LONG-TERM POLICY CONSEQUENCES ARE POTENTIALLY GREAT -- AND CONGRESS WILL HAVE ONLY ITSELF TO BLAME.

- 10 -

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