

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

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

---

**OA/ID Number:** 13539  
**Folder ID Number:** 13539-008

---

**Folder Title:**  
Address to Joint Session of Congress 9/11/90 [OA 5376] [1]

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>

---

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 11, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

United States Capitol  
Washington, DC

9:09 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President and Mr. Speaker, and members of the United States Congress, distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you very much for that warm welcome.

We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as significant as they are tragic. In the early morning hours of August 2nd, following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait. Within three days, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks had poured into Kuwait and moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. It was then that I decided to check that aggression.

At this moment, our brave servicemen and women stand watch in that distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with the forces of more than 20 other nations. They are some of the finest men and women of the United States of America. And they're doing one terrific job. (Applause.) These valiant Americans were ready at a moment's notice to leave their spouses and their children, to serve on the front line halfway around the world. They remind us who keeps America strong. They do. (Applause.)

In the trying circumstances of the Gulf, the morale of our servicemen and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they're brave, well-trained and dedicated.

A soldier, Private First Class Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in Saudi Arabia, wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hope for peace. But Wade also wrote, "I am proud of my country and its firm stance against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my army and its men. I am proud to serve my country." Well, let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you and is grateful to every soldier, sailor, Marine and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf. (Applause.)

I also want to thank the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Powell; the Chiefs here tonight; our Commander in the Persian Gulf, General Schwartzkopf; and the men and women of the Department of Defense. What a magnificent job you all are doing. And thank you very, very much -- (applause.) I wish I could say that their work is done. But we all know it's not.

So if there ever was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, the time is now. And let me thank all Americans, especially those here in this Chamber tonight, for your support for our forces and for their mission. That support will be even more important in the days to come.

So tonight, I want to talk to you about what's at stake -- what we must do together to defend civilized values around the world and maintain our economic strength at home.

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely,

MORE

immediately, and without condition. (Applause.) Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored. The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured. And American citizens abroad must be protected. (Applause.)

These goals are not ours alone. They've been endorsed by the United Nations Security Council five times in as many weeks. Most countries share our concern for principle. And many have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq against the world. (Applause.)

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. And I am pleased that we are working together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, our joint statement affirmed to the world our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace. Let me quote: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their smaller neighbors."

Clearly, no longer can a dictator count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted United Nations action against aggression. (Applause.) A new partnership of nations has begun.

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective -- a new world order -- can emerge: a new era -- freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony.

A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling to be born. A world quite different from the one we've known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak.

This is the vision that I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He and other leaders from Europe, the Gulf and around the world, understand that how we manage this crisis today could shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great -- and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the new world that we seek, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose, if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination, it would be a signal to actual and potential despots around the world.

America and the world must defend common vital interests. And we will. (Applause.) America and the world must support the rule of law. And we will. (Applause.) America and the world must stand up to aggression. And we will. (Applause.) And one thing more -- in the pursuit of these goals America will not be intimidated. (Applause.)

Vital issues of principle are at stake. Saddam Hussein is literally trying to wipe a country off the face of the Earth. We do not exaggerate. Nor do we exaggerate when we say Saddam Hussein will fail.

Vital economic interests are at risk as well. Iraq itself controls some 10 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Iraq plus Kuwait controls twice that. An Iraq permitted to swallow Kuwait would have the economic and military power, as well as the arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors -- neighbors who control the lion's share of the world's remaining oil reserves. We

cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by one so ruthless. And we won't. (Applause.)

Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership. In the face of tyranny, let no one doubt American credibility and reliability. Let no one doubt our staying power. We will stand by our friends. One way or another, the leader of Iraq must learn this fundamental truth. (Applause.)

From the outset, acting hand in hand with others, we've sought to fashion the broadest possible international response to Iraq's aggression. The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented. Armed forces from countries spanning four continents are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and, if need be, to defend against attack. Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from many nations stand shoulder to shoulder, resolute against Saddam Hussein's ambitions.

We can now point to five United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemn Iraq's aggression. They call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, and categorically reject Iraq's cynical and self-serving attempt to annex Kuwait.

Finally, the United Nations has demanded the release of all foreign nationals held hostage against their will and in contravention of international law. It is a mockery of human decency to call these people "guests." They are hostages, and the whole world knows it. (Applause.)

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a dependable ally, said it all: "We do not bargain over hostages. We will not stoop to the level of using human beings as bargaining chips ever." Of course, our hearts go out to the hostages and to their families. But our policy cannot change. And it will not change. America and the world will not be blackmailed by this ruthless policy. (Applause.)

We're now in sight of a United Nations that performs as envisioned by its founders. We owe much to the outstanding leadership of Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. The United Nations is backing up its words with action. The Security Council has imposed mandatory economic sanctions on Iraq, designed to force Iraq to relinquish the spoils of its illegal conquest. The Security Council has also taken the decisive step of authorizing the use of all means necessary to ensure compliance with these sanctions.

Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are today patrolling Mideast waters. They've already intercepted more than 700 ships to enforce the sanctions. Three regional leaders I spoke with just yesterday told me that these sanctions are working. Iraq is feeling the heat.

We continue to hope that Iraq's leaders will recalculate just what their aggression has cost them. They are cut off from world trade, unable to sell their oil. And only a tiny fraction of goods gets through.

The communique with President Gorbachev made mention of what happens when the embargo is so effective that children of Iraq literally need milk or the sick truly need medicine. Then, under strict international supervision that guarantees the proper destination, then food will be permitted.

At home, the material cost of our leadership can be steep. That's why Secretary of State Baker and Treasury Secretary Brady have met with many world leaders to underscore that the burden of this collective effort must be shared. (Applause.) We are prepared to do our share and more to help carry that load; we insist that others do their share as well. (Applause.)

The response of most of our friends and allies has been good. To help defray costs, the leaders of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and

the UAE, the United Arab Emirates have pledged to provide our deployed troops with all the food and fuel they need. Generous assistance will also be provided to stalwart front-line nations, such as Turkey and Egypt.

I am also heartened to report that this international response extends to the neediest victims of this conflict -- those refugees. For our part, we've contributed \$28 million for relief efforts. This is but a portion of what is needed. I commend, in particular, Saudi Arabia, Japan, and several European nations who have joined us in this purely humanitarian effort.

There's an energy-related cost to be borne as well. Oil-producing nations are already replacing lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti output. More than half of what was lost has been made up. And we're getting superb cooperation. If producers, including the United States, continue steps to expand oil and gas production, we can stabilize prices and guarantee against hardship. Additionally, we and several of our allies always have the option to extract oil from our strategic petroleum reserves if conditions warrant. As I've pointed out before, conservation efforts are essential to keep our energy needs as low as possible. (Applause.) And we must then take advantage of our energy sources across the board: coal, natural gas, hydro and nuclear. (Applause.) Our failure to do these things has made us more dependent on foreign oil than ever before. Finally, let no one even contemplate profiteering from this crisis. We will not have it. (Applause.)

I cannot predict just how long it will take to convince Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Sanctions will take time to have their full intended effect. We will continue to review all options with our allies, but let it be clear: we will not let this aggression stand. (Applause.)

Our interest, our involvement in the Gulf is not transitory. It predated Saddam Hussein's aggression and will survive it. Long after all our troops come home -- and we all hope it's soon, very soon -- there will be a lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf. Our role then -- to deter future aggression. Our role is to help our friends in their own self-defense. And something else -- to curb the proliferation of chemical, biological, ballistic missile and, above all, nuclear technologies. (Applause.)

Let me also make clear that the United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our quarrel is with Iraq's dictator and with his aggression. Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. That's not a threat, that's not a boast, that's just the way it's going to be. (Applause.)

Our ability to function effectively as a great power abroad depends on how we conduct ourselves at home. Our economy, our Armed Forces, our energy dependence, and our cohesion all determine whether we can help our friends and stand up to our foes.

For America to lead, America must remain strong and vital. Our world leadership and domestic strength are mutual and reinforcing; a woven piece, strongly bound as Old Glory. To revitalize our leadership, our leadership capacity, we must address our budget deficit -- not after Election Day, or next year, but now. (Applause.)

Higher oil prices slow our growth, and higher defense costs would only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. That deficit was already greater than it should have been -- a projected \$232 billion for the coming year. It must -- it will -- be reduced.

To my friends in Congress, together we must act this very month -- before the next fiscal year begins on October 1st -- to get America's economic house in order. The Gulf situation helps us realize we are more economically vulnerable than we ever should be. Americans must never again enter any crisis -- economic or military

-- with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of federal debt. (Applause.)

Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles in the Congress and between the branches over budget matters. It is high time we pulled together and get the job done right. It's up to us to straighten this out.

This job has four basic parts. First, the Congress should, this month, within a budget agreement, enact growth-oriented tax measures -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity and competitiveness for the longer term. (Applause.) These measures include extending incentives for research and experimentation; expanding the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establishing tax-deferred family savings accounts; creating incentives for the creation of enterprise zones and initiatives to encourage more domestic drilling; and, yes, reducing the tax rate on capital gains. (Applause.)

And second, the Congress should, this month, enact a prudent multiyear defense program -- one that reflects not only the improvement in East-West relations, but our broader responsibilities to deal with the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict. Even with our obligations in the Gulf, a sound defense budget can have some reduction in real terms; and we're prepared to accept that. But to go beyond such levels, where cutting defense would threaten our vital margin of safety, is something I will never accept. (Applause.)

The world is still dangerous. And surely, that is now clear. Stability's not secure. American interests are far-reaching. Interdependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to risk America's capacity to protect her vital interests.

And third, the Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation in order to reduce dependence on foreign oil. (Applause.) These measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, fuel-switching, and to accelerate the development of the Alaskan energy resources without damage to wildlife. (Applause.)

As you know, when the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970s, the United States imported almost six million barrels of oil a day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to nearly eight million barrels per day. And we'd moved in the wrong direction. And now we must act to correct that trend.

And fourth, the Congress should, this month, enact a five-year program to reduce the projected debt and deficits by \$500 billion -- that's by half a trillion dollars. And if, with the Congress, we can develop a satisfactory program by the end of the month, we can avoid the axe of sequester -- deep across-the-board cuts that would threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption. (Applause.)

I want to be able to tell the American people that we have truly solved the deficit problem. And for me to do that, a budget agreement must meet these tests:

-- It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil.

-- It must be fair. All should contribute, but the burden should not be excessive for any one group, or of programs, or people.

-- It must address the growth of government's hidden liabilities.

-- It must reform the budget process, and further, it

MORE

must be real. (Applause.)

I urge Congress to provide a comprehensive five-year deficit reduction program to me as a complete legislative package, with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. America is tired of phoney deficit reduction, or promise-now, save-later plans. (Applause.) It is time for a program that is credible and real.

And finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward the days of punishing income tax rates. (Applause.) That is one path we should not head down again.

I have been pleased with recent progress, although it has not always seemed so smooth. But now it's time to produce.

I hope we can work out a responsible plan. But with or without agreement from the budget summit, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a straight up-or-down vote on a complete \$500-billion deficit reduction package not later than September 28. (Applause.)

If the Congress cannot get me a budget, then Americans will have to face a tough, mandated sequester.

I'm hopeful, in fact, I'm confident that the Congress will do what it should. And I can assure you that we in the Executive Branch will do our part.

In the final analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies -- for we govern only with the consent of the governed. And although free people in a free society are bound to have their differences, Americans traditionally come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful good-bye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with Arabs, Europeans, Asians and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That's why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun.

If they can come together under such adversity; if old adversaries like the Soviet Union and the United States can work in common cause; then surely we who are so fortunate to be in this great chamber -- Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives -- can come together to fulfill our responsibilities here.

Thank you. Good night. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END

9:41 P.M. EDT

DD

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS U.S. CAPITOL  
SEPTEMBER 11, 1990  
9:00 P. M.  
DRAFT:FOUR

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE  
CONGRESS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, FELLOW AMERICANS, THANK  
YOU.

WE GATHER TONIGHT, WITNESS TO EVENTS IN THE  
PERSIAN GULF AS SIGNIFICANT AS THEY ARE TRAGIC.  
FOLLOWING NEGOTIATIONS AND PROMISES BY IRAQ'S DICTATOR  
SADDAM HUSSEIN NOT TO USE FORCE, A POWERFUL IRAQI ARMY  
INVADED ITS TRUSTING AND MUCH WEAKER NEIGHBOR, KUWAIT,  
IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF AUGUST 2ND. WITHIN THREE  
DAYS, 120,000 IRAQI TROOPS WITH 850 TANKS OCCUPIED THE  
COUNTRY. THEN IRAQ ANNEXED KUWAIT, AND MOVED ITS TANK  
COLUMNS SOUTH TOWARD SAUDI ARABIA. THE WORLD IS  
APPALLED BY THE ACCOUNTS OF IRAQI SOLDIERS LOOTING  
KUWAITI PROPERTY AND ATTACKING KUWAITI CITIZENS.

AT THIS MOMENT, OUR BRAVE SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN  
STAND WATCH IN THIS DISTANT DESERT AND ON DISTANT SEAS,  
SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE FORCES OF MORE THAN TWENTY OTHER  
NATIONS.

THEY ARE SOME OF THE FINEST MEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. AND THEY'RE DOING ONE HELL OF A JOB.\\

THESE VALIANT AMERICANS WERE READY AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE TO LEAVE THEIR SPOUSES, THEIR CHILDREN, TO SERVE ON THE FRONT-LINE HALF-WAY AROUND THE WORLD. THEY REMIND US ALL WHO KEEPS AMERICA STRONG.\\ THEY DO.\\

IN THE TRYING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE GULF, THE MORALE OF OUR SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN IS EXCELLENT. IN THE FACE OF DANGER, THEY ARE BRAVE AND DEDICATED.

PFC ~~1st Lt~~

A SOLDIER, (~~(RANK)~~) ~~BY THE NAME~~ OF WADE MERRITT OF KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, NOW STATIONED IN ((SAUDI ARABIA)), WROTE HIS PARENTS OF HIS WORRIES, HIS LOVE OF FAMILY, AND HIS HOPES FOR PEACE. BUT WADE ALSO WROTE: "I AM PROUD OF MY COUNTRY AND ITS FIRM STAND AGAINST INHUMANE AGGRESSION. I AM PROUD OF MY ARMY AND ITS MEN . . . I AM PROUD TO SERVE MY COUNTRY."

LET ME JUST SAY, WADE, AMERICA IS PROUD OF YOU. \\  
AMERICA IS GRATEFUL TO EVERY SOLDIER, SAILOR, <sup>COAST GUARDSMAN</sup> MARINE,  
AND AIRMAN SERVING THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE PERSIAN  
GULF. \\\

LET US ALSO RETURN A HEARTFELT SALUTE TO THE  
MILITARY LEADERS WITH US TONIGHT -- THE FIRST-CLASS  
PROFESSIONALS OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF. ON BEHALF  
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, GENERAL POWELL, CHIEFS, THE MEN  
AND WOMEN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- WHAT A  
MAGNIFICENT JOB YOU ARE DOING. \\\

I WISH I COULD SAY THEIR WORK IS DONE. BUT WE ALL  
KNOW IT IS NOT.

SO IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME TO PUT COUNTRY BEFORE  
SELF AND PATRIOTISM BEFORE PARTY, THAT TIME IS NOW. \\  
LET ME THANK ALL AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THIS  
CHAMBER FOR YOUR SUPPORT.

THAT SUPPORT WILL BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IN THE  
DAYS TO COME.

SO TONIGHT, I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT WHAT IS AT STAKE -- WHAT WE MUST DO TOGETHER TO DEFEND CIVILIZED VALUES AROUND THE WORLD, AND MAINTAIN OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH AT HOME. FOR MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS, WE HAVE BEEN ONE PEOPLE, WITH A BROAD SET OF PRINCIPLES SERVED BY BOTH OUR FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES. THAT REMAINS UNCHANGED.

OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE PERSIAN GULF ARE CLEAR, OUR GOALS DEFINED AND FAMILIAR:

\*\*\* IRAQ MUST WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT COMPLETELY, IMMEDIATELY, AND WITHOUT CONDITION.\\

\*\*\* KUWAIT'S LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT MUST BE RESTORED.\\

\*\*\* THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN GULF MUST BE ASSURED.\\

\*\*\* AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD MUST BE PROTECTED.\\

THESE GOALS ARE NOT OURS ALONE. THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL IS UNANIMOUS. MOST COUNTRIES SHARE OUR CONCERN FOR PRINCIPLE. AND MANY HAVE A STAKE IN THE STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN GULF. THIS IS NOT, AS SADDAM HUSSEIN WOULD HAVE IT, THE UNITED STATES AGAINST IRAQ. IT IS IRAQ AGAINST THE WORLD.\ \ \

AS YOU KNOW, I'VE JUST RETURNED FROM A VERY PRODUCTIVE MEETING WITH SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. I AM THANKFUL THAT WE ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO BUILD A NEW RELATIONSHIP. IN HELSINKI, OUR JOINT STATEMENT AFFIRMED TO THE WORLD OUR SHARED RESOLVE TO COUNTER IRAQ'S THREAT TO PEACE, AND I QUOTE: "WE ARE UNITED IN THE BELIEF THAT IRAQ'S AGGRESSION MUST NOT BE TOLERATED. NO PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS POSSIBLE IF LARGER STATES CAN DEVOUR THEIR SMALLER NEIGHBORS."

CLEARLY, NO LONGER CAN A DICTATOR LIKE SADDAM HUSSEIN COUNT ON EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION TO STYMIE CONCERTED U.N. ACTION AGAINST AGGRESSION. NO LONGER WILL THE MACHINERY OF THE UNITED NATIONS BE SABOTAGED BY THE COLD WAR.\ \ \

A NEW PARTNERSHIP OF NATIONS HAS BEGUN.

WE STAND TODAY AT A UNIQUE AND EXTRAORDINARY MOMENT. THE CRISIS IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AS GRAVE AS IT IS, ALSO OFFERS A RARE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD AN HISTORIC PERIOD OF COOPERATION. OUT OF THESE TROUBLED TIMES, OUR FIFTH OBJECTIVE -- A NEW WORLD ORDER -- CAN EMERGE: A NEW ERA, FREER FROM THE THREAT OF TERROR, STRONGER IN THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE, AND MORE SECURE IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE. AN ERA IN WHICH THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH, CAN PROSPER AND LIVE IN HARMONY.

A HUNDRED GENERATIONS HAVE SEARCHED FOR THIS ELUSIVE PATH TO PEACE, WHILE A THOUSAND WARS RAGED ACROSS THE SPAN OF HUMAN ENDEAVOR. TODAY THAT NEW WORLD IS STRUGGLING TO BE BORN. A WORLD QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE ONE WE'VE KNOWN. A WORLD WHERE THE RULE OF LAW SUPPLANTS THE RULE OF THE JUNGLE. A WORLD IN WHICH NATIONS RECOGNIZE THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. A WORLD WHERE THE STRONG RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF THE WEAK.

THIS IS THE VISION I SHARED WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IN HELSINKI. HE, AND OTHER LEADERS FROM EUROPE, THE GULF AND AROUND THE WORLD, UNDERSTAND THAT HOW WE MANAGE THIS CRISIS TODAY, WILL SHAPE THE FUTURE FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

THE TEST WE FACE IS GREAT -- AND SO ARE THE STAKES. THIS IS THE FIRST ASSAULT ON THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD, THE FIRST TEST OF OUR METTLE. HAD WE NOT RESPONDED TO THIS FIRST PROVOCATION WITH CLARITY OF PURPOSE; IF WE DO NOT CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE OUR DETERMINATION; IT WOULD BE A SIGNAL TO A HALF-DOZEN ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL DESPOTS AROUND THE WORLD.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD MUST DEFEND COMMON VITAL INTERESTS. AND WE WILL.\\\

AMERICA AND THE WORLD MUST SUPPORT THE RULE OF LAW. AND WE WILL.\\\

AMERICA AND THE WORLD MUST STAND UP TO AGGRESSION. AND WE WILL.\\\

AND ONE THING MORE -- IN PURSUIT OF THESE GOALS  
AMERICA WILL NOT BE INTIMIDATED.\\ AMERICA WILL NOT BE  
BLACKMAILED.\\\

VITAL ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE ARE AT STAKE. SADDAM  
HUSSEIN IS LITERALLY TRYING TO WIPE A COUNTRY OFF THE  
FACE OF THE EARTH.

WE DO NOT EXAGGERATE.\\\

NOR DO WE EXAGGERATE WHEN WE SAY: SADDAM HUSSEIN  
WILL FAIL.\\\

VITAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE AT RISK AS WELL.  
IRAQ ITSELF CONTROLS SOME TEN PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S  
PROVEN OIL RESERVES. IRAQ PLUS KUWAIT CONTROLS TWICE  
THAT. AN IRAQ PERMITTED TO SWALLOW KUWAIT WOULD HAVE  
THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER, AS WELL AS THE  
ARROGANCE, TO INTIMIDATE AND COERCE ITS NEIGHBORS --  
NEIGHBORS WHO CONTROL THE LION'S SHARE OF THE WORLD'S  
REMAINING OIL RESERVES. WE CANNOT PERMIT A RESOURCE SO  
VITAL TO BE EXPLOITED SO RUTHLESSLY. AND WE WON'T.\\\

RECENT EVENTS HAVE SURELY PROVEN THAT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. IN THE FACE OF TYRANNY, LET NO ONE DOUBT AMERICAN CREDIBILITY AND RELIABILITY.

LET NO ONE DOUBT OUR STAYING POWER.\\ WE WILL STAND BY OUR FRIENDS.\\

ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, SADDAM HUSSEIN MUST LEARN THIS FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH.\\

FROM THE OUTSET, ACTING HAND-IN-HAND WITH OTHERS, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO FASHION THE BROADEST POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO IRAQ'S AGGRESSION. THE LEVEL OF WORLD COOPERATION AND CONDEMNATION OF IRAQ IS UNPRECEDENTED.

AMERICAN FORCES, AND THOSE OF A HOST OF NATIONS, ARE THERE AT THE REQUEST OF KING FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA TO DETER AND IF NEED BE, TO DEFEND AGAINST ATTACK. MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS, ARABS AND NON-ARABS, SOLDIERS FROM MANY NATIONS, STAND SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER, RESOLUTE AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AMBITIONS.

WE CAN NOW POINT TO FIVE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS THAT CONDEMN IRAQ'S AGGRESSION. THEY CALL FOR IRAQ'S IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL, THE RESTORATION OF KUWAIT'S LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, AND CATEGORICALLY REJECT IRAQ'S CYNICAL AND SELF-SERVING ATTEMPT TO ANNEX KUWAIT.

FINALLY, THE U.N. HAS DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS HELD HOSTAGE AGAINST THEIR WILL, IN CONTRAVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT IS A MOCKERY OF HUMAN DECENCY TO CALL THESE PEOPLE "GUESTS." THEY ARE HOSTAGES, AND THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS IT.\\\

PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER SAID IT ALL: "WE DO NOT BARGAIN OVER HOSTAGES. WE WILL NOT STOOP TO THE LEVEL OF USING HUMAN BEINGS AS BARGAINING (CHIPS). EVER."\\\

OF COURSE, OUR HEARTS GO OUT TO THE HOSTAGES AND THEIR FAMILIES. BUT OUR POLICY CANNOT CHANGE. AND IT WILL NOT CHANGE. AMERICA AND THE WORLD WILL NOT BE TERRORIZED.\\\

AFTER ALL, WE ARE NOW IN SIGHT OF A UNITED NATIONS THAT PLAYS THE ROLE ENVISIONED BY ITS FOUNDERS. WE OWE MUCH TO THE OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP OF SECRETARY-GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR. THE U.N. IS BACKING UP ITS WORDS WITH ACTION. THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS IMPOSED MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON IRAQ, DESIGNED TO FORCE IRAQ TO RELINQUISH THE SPOILS OF ITS ILLEGAL CONQUEST. THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ALSO TAKEN THE DECISIVE STEP OF AUTHORIZING THE USE OF ALL MEANS NECESSARY TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THESE SANCTIONS.

TOGETHER WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, SHIPS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY ARE TODAY PATROLLING TO ENFORCE THE SANCTIONS. THEY HAVE ALREADY STOPPED MORE THAN SEVEN HUNDRED SHIPS TO ENFORCE THE SANCTIONS. MORE THAN SEVEN HUNDRED SHIPS. THREE ARAB LEADERS I SPOKE WITH JUST YESTERDAY TOLD ME THAT THESE SANCTIONS ARE WORKING. IRAQ IS FEELING THE HEAT.\ \ \

WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT IRAQ'S LEADERS WILL RECALCULATE JUST WHAT THEIR AGGRESSION HAS COST THEM. THEY ARE CUT OFF FROM WORLD TRADE. UNABLE TO SELL THEIR OIL. AND ONLY A TINY FRACTION OF GOODS GETS THROUGH.

BUT THE MATERIAL COST OF LEADERSHIP CAN BE STEEP AS WELL. THAT'S WHY SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER AND TREASURY SECRETARY BRADY HAVE MET WITH MANY WORLD LEADERS TO UNDERSCORE THAT THE BURDEN OF THIS COLLECTIVE EFFORT MUST BE SHARED. WE ARE PREPARED TO ~~DO~~ TO HELP CARRY THAT LOAD; WE INSIST OTHERS DO THEIR SHARE.\ \

THE RESPONSE OF MOST OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES HAS BEEN GOOD. TO HELP DEFRAY COSTS, THE LEADERS OF SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT AND THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES HAVE PLEDGED TO PROVIDE THOSE SUPPLYING TROOPS WITH ALL THE FOOD AND FUEL THEY NEED. GENEROUS ASSISTANCE WILL ALSO BE PROVIDED TO STALWART FRONT-LINE NATIONS, SUCH AS TURKEY AND EGYPT.

I AM ALSO HEARTENED TO REPORT THAT THIS INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE EXTENDS TO THE NEEDIEST VICTIMS OF THIS CONFLICT -- THE REFUGEES. FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED \$28 MILLION FOR RELIEF EFFORTS. THIS IS BUT A PORTION OF WHAT IS NEEDED. I COMMEND, IN PARTICULAR, SAUDI ARABIA, JAPAN, AND SEVERAL EUROPEAN NATIONS WHO HAVE JOINED US IN THIS HUMANITARIAN EFFORT.

THERE IS ALSO AN ENERGY-RELATED COST TO BE BORNE AS WELL. OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS ARE ALREADY REPLACING LOST IRAQI AND KUWAITI OUTPUT. MORE THAN HALF OF WHAT WAS LOST HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE UP. WE ARE GETTING SUPERB COOPERATION. IF PRODUCERS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, CONTINUE STEPS TO EXPAND OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION, WE CAN STABILIZE PRICES AND GUARANTEE AGAINST HARDSHIP. ADDITIONALLY, WE AND SEVERAL OF OUR ALLIES ALWAYS HAVE THE OPTION TO EXTRACT OIL FROM OUR STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVES, IF CONDITIONS WARRANT. AS I HAVE POINTED OUT BEFORE, CONSERVATION EFFORTS ARE ESSENTIAL TO KEEP OUR ENERGY NEEDS AS LOW AS POSSIBLE. WE MUST THEN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR PRODUCTION CAPACITY ACROSS THE BOARD: COAL, NATURAL GAS, HYDRO AND NUCLEAR. OUR FAILURE TO DO THESE THINGS HAS MADE US MORE DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN OIL THAN EVER BEFORE. FINALLY, LET NO ONE EVEN CONTEMPLATE PROFITEERING FROM THIS CRISIS.\\

I CANNOT PREDICT JUST HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE TO CONVINCED SADDAM HUSSEIN TO WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT. SANCTIONS WILL TAKE TIME TO HAVE THEIR INTENDED EFFECT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO REVIEW ALL OPTIONS WITH OUR ALLIES, SO LET IT BE CLEAR: WE WILL NOT LET THIS AGGRESSION BY IRAQ STAND.\\

OUR INTEREST, OUR INVOLVEMENT, IN THE GULF, IS NOT TRANSITORY. IT PRE-DATED SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGGRESSION, AND WILL SURVIVE IT. LONG AFTER ALL OUR TROOPS COME HOME, (AND WE ALL HOPE IT'S SOON), THERE WILL BE A LASTING ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN ASSISTING THE NATIONS OF THE PERSIAN GULF. OUR ROLE IS BE READY TO DETER FUTURE AGGRESSION. OUR ROLE IS TO HELP OUR FRIENDS IN THEIR OWN SELF-DEFENSE. AND SOMETHING ELSE: TO CURB THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL, MISSILE AND ABOVE ALL, NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGIES.\\

LET ME ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NO QUARREL WITH THE IRAQI PEOPLE. OUR QUARREL IS WITH IRAQ'S DICTATOR, AND WITH HIS AGGRESSION. IRAQ WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO ANNEX KUWAIT. THAT'S NOT A THREAT, OR A BOAST, THAT'S JUST THE WAY IT'S GOING TO BE.\\

//// //| ///

//// //| ///

//// //

ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS U.S. CAPITOL  
SEPTEMBER 11, 1990  
9:00 P. M.  
DRAFT:FOUR

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE  
CONGRESS, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, FELLOW AMERICANS, THANK  
YOU.

WE GATHER TONIGHT, WITNESS TO EVENTS IN THE  
PERSIAN GULF AS SIGNIFICANT AS THEY ARE TRAGIC.

FOLLOWING NEGOTIATIONS AND PROMISES BY IRAQ'S DICTATOR  
SADDAM HUSSEIN NOT TO USE FORCE, A POWERFUL IRAQI ARMY  
INVADED ITS TRUSTING AND MUCH WEAKER NEIGHBOR, KUWAIT.

**IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS OF AUGUST 2ND**

*annexed it*  
WITHIN THREE  
had poured into Kuwait, and

~~OCUPIED THE~~  
DAYS, 120,000 IRAQI TROOPS WITH 850 TANKS ~~OCUPIED THE~~  
*moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. Then Iraq captured Kuwait.*  
~~COUNTRY. THEN IRAQ ANNEXED KUWAIT, AND MOVED ITS TANK~~  
*If is then I decided to act to check that aggression*  
~~COLUMNS SOUTH TOWARD SAUDI ARABIA.] [THE WORLD IS~~

NSC  
JHS  
↓

OK

~~APPALLED BY THE ACCOUNTS OF IRAQI SOLDIERS LOOTING  
KUWAITI PROPERTY AND ATTACKING KUWAITI CITIZENS.]~~

AT THIS MOMENT, OUR BRAVE SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN  
STAND WATCH IN <sup>that</sup> [THIS] DISTANT DESERT AND ON DISTANT SEAS,  
SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE FORCES OF MORE THAN TWENTY OTHER  
NATIONS.

IC

P THEY ARE SOME OF THE FINEST MEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. AND THEY'RE DOING ONE <sup>terrific</sup> [HELL] [OF A] JOB. \\\

DD THESE VALIANT AMERICANS WERE READY AT A MOMENT'S NOTICE TO LEAVE THEIR SPOUSES, THEIR CHILDREN, TO SERVE ON THE FRONT-LINE HALF-WAY AROUND THE WORLD. THEY REMIND US [ALL] WHO KEEPS AMERICA STRONG. \\\ THEY DO. \\\ \\\

P IN THE TRYING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE GULF, THE MORALE OF OUR SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN IS EXCELLENT. IN THE FACE OF DANGER, THEY ARE <sup>well-trained,</sup> BRAVE AND DEDICATED.

DD A SOLDIER, <sup>P.F.C.</sup> [~~(RANK)~~ BY THE NAME OF] WADE MERRITT OF KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, NOW STATIONED IN ~~SAUDI~~ ARABIA~~IT~~, WROTE HIS PARENTS OF HIS WORRIES, HIS LOVE OF FAMILY, AND HIS HOPES FOR PEACE. \* BUT WADE ALSO WROTE: "I AM PROUD OF MY COUNTRY AND ITS FIRM STAND AGAINST INHUMANE AGGRESSION. I AM PROUD OF MY ARMY AND ITS MEN . . . I AM PROUD TO SERVE MY COUNTRY."

((Pull out letter))

LET ME JUST SAY, WADE, AMERICA IS PROUD OF YOU. \\  
~~[AMERICA IS]~~ <sup>And</sup> GRATEFUL TO EVERY SOLDIER, SAILOR, MARINE  
AND AIRMAN SERVING THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE PERSIAN  
GULF. \\ \\

I want to thank the  
~~[LET US] ALSO [RETURN A HEARTFELT SALUTE TO THE]~~  
~~[MILITARY LEADERS WITH US TONIGHT -- THE FIRST-CLASS]~~  
<sup>chairman</sup> ~~[PROFESSIONALS]~~ OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, ~~[ON BEHALF~~  
~~OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE]~~ GENERAL POWELL, <sup>the</sup> CHIEFS, THE MEN  
AND WOMEN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE -- WHAT A  
MAGNIFICENT JOB YOU ARE DOING. \\ \\

our  
commander in  
the Persian  
Gulf, General  
Schwartzkopf,  
and

I WISH I COULD SAY THEIR WORK IS DONE. BUT WE ALL  
KNOW IT IS NOT.

SO IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME TO PUT COUNTRY BEFORE  
SELF AND PATRIOTISM BEFORE PARTY, THAT TIME IS NOW. \\ \\  
LET ME THANK ALL AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THIS  
CHAMBER, FOR YOUR SUPPORT <sup>for our forces and their mission.</sup>

THAT SUPPORT WILL BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IN THE  
DAYS TO COME.

SO TONIGHT, I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT WHAT IS AT  
STAKE -- WHAT WE MUST DO TOGETHER TO DEFEND CIVILIZED  
VALUES AROUND THE WORLD, AND MAINTAIN OUR ECONOMIC  
STRENGTH AT HOME. [~~FOR MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS, WE  
HAVE BEEN ONE PEOPLE, WITH A BROAD SET OF PRINCIPLES  
SERVED BY BOTH OUR FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES. THAT  
REMAINS UNCHANGED.~~]

OUR OBJECTIVES IN THE PERSIAN GULF ARE CLEAR, OUR  
GOALS DEFINED AND FAMILIAR:

\*\*\* IRAQ MUST WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT COMPLETELY,  
IMMEDIATELY <sup>^</sup> AND WITHOUT CONDITION. \\\

\*\*\* KUWAIT'S LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT MUST-BE-  
RESTORED. \\\

\*\*\* THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN  
GULF MUST-BE-ASSURED. \\\

\*\*\* AMERICAN CITIZENS ABROAD MUST-BE-  
PROTECTED. \\\

indent >>

5 times in  
as many weeks.  
- 5 -

They have been endorsed  
~~by~~ by

NSC  
THESE GOALS ARE NOT OURS ALONE. ✓ THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL ~~[IS UNANIMOUS]~~ MOST COUNTRIES SHARE OUR CONCERN FOR PRINCIPLE. AND MANY HAVE A STAKE IN THE STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN GULF. THIS IS NOT, AS SADDAM HUSSEIN WOULD HAVE IT, THE UNITED STATES AGAINST IRAQ. IT IS IRAQ AGAINST THE WORLD. \\\

NSC  
AS YOU KNOW, I'VE JUST RETURNED FROM A VERY PRODUCTIVE MEETING WITH SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. I AM <sup>pleased</sup> [THANKFUL] THAT WE ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO BUILD A NEW RELATIONSHIP. IN HELSINKI, OUR JOINT STATEMENT AFFIRMED TO THE WORLD OUR SHARED RESOLVE TO COUNTER IRAQ'S THREAT TO PEACE. <sup>let me</sup> [AND I] QUOTE: "WE ARE UNITED IN THE BELIEF THAT IRAQ'S AGGRESSION MUST-NOT-BE-TOLERATED. NO PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS POSSIBLE IF LARGER STATES CAN DEVOUR THEIR SMALLER NEIGHBORS."

NSC  
CLEARLY, NO LONGER CAN A DICTATOR ~~[LIKE SADDAM HUSSEIN]~~ COUNT ON EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION TO STYMIE CONCERTED U.N. ACTION AGAINST AGGRESSION. ~~[NO LONGER WILL THE MACHINERY OF THE UNITED NATIONS BE SABOTAGED BY THE COLD WAR.]~~ \\\

A NEW PARTNERSHIP OF NATIONS HAS BEGUN.

WE STAND TODAY AT A UNIQUE AND EXTRAORDINARY  
MOMENT. THE CRISIS IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AS GRAVE AS IT  
IS, ALSO OFFERS A RARE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD AN  
HISTORIC PERIOD OF COOPERATION. OUT OF THESE TROUBLED  
TIMES, OUR FIFTH OBJECTIVE -- A NEW WORLD ORDER -- CAN  
EMERGE: A NEW ERA, FREER FROM THE THREAT OF TERROR,  
STRONGER IN THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE, AND MORE SECURE IN  
THE QUEST FOR PEACE. AN ERA IN WHICH THE NATIONS OF  
THE WORLD, EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH, CAN PROSPER  
AND LIVE IN HARMONY. //

A HUNDRED GENERATIONS HAVE SEARCHED FOR THIS  
ELUSIVE PATH TO PEACE, WHILE A THOUSAND WARS RAGED  
ACROSS THE SPAN OF HUMAN ENDEAVOR. TODAY THAT NEW  
WORLD IS STRUGGLING TO BE BORN. A WORLD QUITE  
DIFFERENT FROM THE ONE WE'VE KNOWN. A WORLD WHERE THE  
RULE OF LAW SUPPLANTS THE RULE OF THE JUNGLE. A WORLD  
IN WHICH NATIONS RECOGNIZE THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. A WORLD WHERE THE STRONG . . .  
RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF THE WEAK.

NSC THIS IS THE VISION I SHARED WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IN HELSINKI. HE, AND OTHER LEADERS FROM EUROPE, THE GULF AND AROUND THE WORLD, UNDERSTAND THAT HOW WE MANAGE THIS CRISIS TODAY, <sup>could</sup> ~~WILL~~ SHAPE THE FUTURE FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

NSC THE TEST WE FACE IS GREAT -- AND SO ARE THE STAKES. THIS IS THE FIRST ASSAULT ON THE <sup>new</sup> ~~POST-COLD-WAR~~ WORLD, <sup>we seek</sup> THE FIRST TEST OF OUR METTLE. HAD WE NOT RESPONDED TO THIS FIRST PROVOCATION WITH CLARITY OF PURPOSE; IF WE DO NOT CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE OUR DETERMINATION; IT WOULD BE A SIGNAL TO ~~[A-HALF-DOZEN]~~ ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL DESPOTS AROUND THE WORLD.

♀ AMERICA AND THE WORLD MUST DEFEND COMMON VITAL INTERESTS. AND-WE-WILL. \ \ \

♀ AMERICA AND THE WORLD MUST SUPPORT THE RULE OF LAW. AND-WE-WILL. \ \ \

♀ AMERICA AND THE WORLD MUST STAND UP TO AGGRESSION. AND-WE-WILL. \ \ \

AND ONE THING MORE -- IN PURSUIT OF THESE GOALS  
AMERICA WILL NOT BE INTIMIDATED. \\ ~~AMERICA WILL NOT BE~~  
~~BLACMAILED~~ ] \\ \\

NSC

VITAL ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE ARE AT STAKE. SADDAM  
HUSSEIN IS LITERALLY TRYING TO WIPE A COUNTRY OFF THE  
FACE OF THE EARTH.

WE DO NOT EXAGGERATE. \\ \\

NOR DO WE EXAGGERATE WHEN WE SAY: SADDAM HUSSEIN  
WILL FAIL. \\ \\

VITAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE AT RISK AS WELL.  
IRAQ ITSELF CONTROLS SOME TEN PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S  
PROVEN OIL RESERVES. IRAQ PLUS KUWAIT CONTROLS TWICE  
THAT. AN IRAQ PERMITTED TO SWALLOW KUWAIT WOULD HAVE  
THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER, AS WELL AS THE  
ARROGANCE, TO INTIMIDATE AND COERCE ITS NEIGHBORS --  
NEIGHBORS WHO CONTROL THE LION'S SHARE OF THE WORLD'S  
REMAINING OIL RESERVES. WE CANNOT PERMIT A RESOURCE SO  
VITAL TO BE <sup>dominated by one</sup> ~~EXPLOITED~~ ] SO RUTHLESSLY. AND-WE-WON'T. \\ \\

NSC

RECENT EVENTS HAVE SURELY PROVEN THAT THERE IS NO  
SUBSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. IN THE FACE OF  
TYRANNY, LET NO ONE DOUBT AMERICAN ~~[CREDIBILITY AND]~~  
RELIABILITY.

stat

NSC

LET NO ONE DOUBT OUR STAYING POWER. \\\ WE WILL  
STAND BY OUR FRIENDS. \\\

ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, <sup>the leader of Iraq</sup> ~~[SADDAM HUSSEIN]~~ MUST LEARN THIS  
FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH. \\\

FROM THE OUTSET, ACTING HAND-IN-HAND WITH OTHERS,  
WE <sup>we</sup> ~~HAVE~~ SOUGHT TO FASHION THE BROADEST POSSIBLE  
INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO IRAQ'S AGGRESSION. THE LEVEL  
OF WORLD COOPERATION AND CONDEMNATION OF IRAQ IS  
UNPRECEDENTED.

<sup>Armed</sup> ~~[AMERICAN]~~ FORCES <sup>from countries spanning four continents</sup> ~~[AND THOSE OF A HOST OF NATIONS,]~~  
ARE THERE AT THE REQUEST OF KING FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA  
TO DETER AND IF NEED BE, TO DEFEND AGAINST ATTACK.  
MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS, ARABS AND NON-ARABS, SOLDIERS  
FROM MANY NATIONS, STAND SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER, RESOLUTE  
AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AMBITIONS.

NSC

WE CAN NOW POINT TO FIVE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS THAT CONDEMN IRAQ'S AGGRESSION. THEY CALL FOR IRAQ'S IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL, THE RESTORATION OF KUWAIT'S LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, AND CATEGORICALLY REJECT IRAQ'S CYNICAL AND SELF-SERVING ATTEMPT TO ANNEX KUWAIT.

FINALLY, THE U.N. HAS DEMANDED THE RELEASE OF ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS HELD HOSTAGE AGAINST THEIR WILL, <sup>and</sup> IN CONTRAVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT IS A MOCKERY OF HUMAN DECENCY TO CALL THESE PEOPLE "GUESTS." THEY ARE HOSTAGES, AND THE WHOLE WORLD KNOWS IT. \\

PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER SAID IT ALL: "WE DO NOT BARGAIN OVER HOSTAGES. WE WILL NOT STOOP TO THE LEVEL OF USING HUMAN BEINGS AS BARGAINING (CHIPS). EVER." \\

OF COURSE, OUR HEARTS GO OUT TO THE HOSTAGES AND THEIR FAMILIES. BUT OUR POLICY CANNOT CHANGE. AND IT WILL NOT CHANGE. AMERICA AND THE WORLD WILL NOT BE

NSC  
blackmailed,  
TERRORIZED. \\

NSE

~~[AFTER ALL]~~ WE ARE NOW IN SIGHT OF A UNITED NATIONS  
 THAT <sup>performs as</sup> ~~[PLAYS THE ROLE]~~ ENVISIONED BY ITS FOUNDERS. WE OWE  
 MUCH TO THE OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP OF SECRETARY-  
 GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR. THE U.N. IS BACKING UP ITS  
 WORDS WITH ACTION. THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS IMPOSED  
 MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON IRAQ, DESIGNED TO FORCE  
 IRAQ TO RELINQUISH THE SPOILS OF ITS ILLEGAL CONQUEST.  
 THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ALSO TAKEN THE DECISIVE STEP  
 OF AUTHORIZING THE USE OF ALL MEANS NECESSARY TO ENSURE  
 COMPLIANCE WITH THESE SANCTIONS.

check  
word  
"stopped"

TOGETHER WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, SHIPS OF THE  
 UNITED STATES NAVY ARE TODAY PATROLLING <sup>Mideast waters,</sup> ~~[TO ENFORCE THE]~~  
~~[SANCTIONS]~~ THEY HAVE ALREADY <sup>challenged</sup> ~~[STOPPED]~~ <sup>intercepted</sup> MORE THAN SEVEN  
 HUNDRED SHIPS TO ENFORCE THE SANCTIONS. ~~[MORE THAN~~  
~~SEVEN HUNDRED SHIPS.]~~ THREE <sup>regional</sup> ~~[ARAB]~~ LEADERS I SPOKE WITH  
 JUST YESTERDAY TOLD ME THAT THESE SANCTIONS ARE  
 WORKING. IRAQ IS FEELING THE HEAT. \ \ \

WE CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT IRAQ'S LEADERS WILL  
 RECALCULATE JUST WHAT THEIR AGGRESSION HAS COST THEM.  
 THEY ARE CUT OFF FROM WORLD TRADE. UNABLE TO SELL  
 THEIR OIL. AND ONLY A TINY FRACTION OF GOODS GETS  
 THROUGH.

milit

The communique with President Gorbachev makes mention of what happens  
 when the embargo is so effective that the children of Iraq literally need bread, or the  
 sick truly need medicine. Then, under some kind of international supervision  
 that guarantees the proper destination, then -- food will be permitted.

strict

At home, <sup>our</sup> BUT THE MATERIAL COST OF LEADERSHIP CAN BE STEEP.

MD

[AS WELL.] THAT'S WHY SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER AND TREASURY SECRETARY BRADY HAVE MET WITH MANY WORLD LEADERS TO UNDERSCORE THAT THE BURDEN OF THIS

COLLECTIVE EFFORT MUST BE SHARED. WE ARE PREPARED TO DO <sup>our share and more</sup> TO HELP CARRY THAT LOAD; ~~WE INSIST~~ <sup>should</sup> OTHERS DO THEIR SHARE <sup>as well.</sup> stet

P

NSC

THE RESPONSE OF MOST OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES HAS BEEN GOOD. TO HELP DEFRAY COSTS, THE LEADERS OF SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT AND THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES HAVE PLEDGED TO PROVIDE <sup>our deployed</sup> ~~THOSE SUPPLYING~~ TROOPS WITH ALL THE FOOD AND FUEL THEY NEED. GENEROUS ASSISTANCE WILL ALSO BE PROVIDED TO STALWART FRONT-LINE NATIONS, SUCH AS TURKEY AND EGYPT.

NSC

I AM ALSO HEARTENED TO REPORT THAT THIS INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE EXTENDS TO THE NEEDIEST VICTIMS OF THIS CONFLICT -- THE REFUGEES. FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED \$28 MILLION FOR RELIEF EFFORTS. THIS IS BUT A PORTION OF WHAT IS NEEDED. I COMMEND, IN PARTICULAR, SAUDI ARABIA, JAPAN, AND SEVERAL EUROPEAN NATIONS WHO HAVE JOINED US IN THIS HUMANITARIAN EFFORT.

NSC ✓  
THERE IS ~~ALSO~~ AN ENERGY-RELATED COST TO BE BORNE  
AS WELL. OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS ARE ALREADY REPLACING  
LOST IRAQI AND KUWAITI OUTPUT. MORE THAN HALF OF WHAT  
✓ WAS LOST HAS ~~ALREADY~~ BEEN MADE UP. WE ARE GETTING ✓  
SUPERB COOPERATION. IF PRODUCERS, INCLUDING THE UNITED  
STATES, CONTINUE STEPS TO EXPAND OIL AND GAS  
PRODUCTION, WE CAN STABILIZE PRICES AND GUARANTEE  
AGAINST HARDSHIP. ADDITIONALLY, WE AND SEVERAL OF OUR  
ALLIES ALWAYS HAVE THE OPTION TO EXTRACT OIL FROM OUR  
STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVES, IF CONDITIONS WARRANT.  
AS I HAVE POINTED OUT BEFORE, CONSERVATION EFFORTS ARE  
ESSENTIAL TO KEEP OUR ENERGY NEEDS AS LOW AS POSSIBLE.  
✓ WE MUST THEN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR <sup>energy sources</sup> ~~PRODUCTION CAPACITY~~  
ACROSS THE BOARD: COAL, NATURAL GAS, HYDRO AND NUCLEAR.  
OUR FAILURE TO DO THESE THINGS HAS MADE US MORE  
DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN OIL THAN EVER BEFORE. FINALLY,  
LET NO ONE EVEN CONTEMPLATE PROFITEERING FROM THIS  
CRISIS. \ \ \

stet

I CANNOT PREDICT JUST HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE TO  
 CONVINCING <sup>Iraq</sup> ~~SADDAM HUSSEIN~~ TO WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT.  
 SANCTIONS WILL TAKE TIME TO HAVE THEIR <sup>full</sup> INTENDED EFFECT.  
 WE WILL CONTINUE TO REVIEW ALL OPTIONS WITH OUR ALLIES,  
<sup>But</sup> ~~[SO]~~ LET IT BE CLEAR: WE WILL NOT LET THIS AGGRESSION ~~BY~~  
~~IRAQ~~ STAND. \ \ \

Keep this paragraph w/ changes

VJHS  
NSC

OUR INTEREST, OUR INVOLVEMENT <sup>y</sup> IN THE GULF, IS NOT  
 TRANSITORY. IT PRE-DATED SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGGRESSION,  
 AND WILL SURVIVE IT. LONG AFTER ALL OUR TROOPS COME  
 HOME, (AND WE ALL HOPE IT'S SOON), THERE WILL BE A  
 LASTING ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN ASSISTING THE  
 NATIONS OF THE PERSIAN GULF. OUR ROLE ~~IS BE READY TO~~  
 DETER FUTURE AGGRESSION. OUR ROLE IS TO HELP OUR  
 FRIENDS IN THEIR OWN SELF-DEFENSE. AND SOMETHING ELSE:  
 TO CURB THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL, <sup>ballistic</sup>  
 MISSILE AND ABOVE ALL, NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGIES. \ \ \

with others, is to

P

NSC

LET ME ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS  
 NO QUARREL WITH THE IRAQI PEOPLE. OUR QUARREL IS WITH  
 IRAQ'S DICTATOR, AND WITH HIS AGGRESSION. IRAQ WILL  
 NOT BE PERMITTED TO ANNEX KUWAIT. THAT'S NOT A THREAT,  
 OR A BOAST, THAT'S JUST THE WAY IT'S GOING TO BE. \ \ \

OUR ABILITY TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AS A GREAT POWER ABROAD DEPENDS ON HOW WE CONDUCT OURSELVES HERE AT HOME. OUR ECONOMY, OUR ARMED FORCES, OUR ENERGY DEPENDENCE, AND OUR COHESION ALL DETERMINE WHETHER WE CAN HELP OUR FRIENDS AND STAND UP TO OUR FOES.

FOR AMERICA TO LEAD, AMERICA MUST REMAIN STRONG AND VITAL. OUR WORLD LEADERSHIP AND DOMESTIC STRENGTH ARE MUTUAL AND REINFORCING; A WOVEN PIECE, AS STRONGLY BOUND AS OLD GLORY.

TO REVITALIZE OUR LEADERSHIP CAPACITY, WE MUST ADDRESS OUR BUDGET DEFICIT -- NOT AFTER ELECTION DAY, OR NEXT YEAR, BUT NOW.\

HIGHER OIL PRICES SLOW OUR GROWTH, AND HIGHER DEFENSE COSTS WOULD ONLY MAKE OUR FISCAL DEFICIT PROBLEM WORSE. THAT DEFICIT WAS ALREADY GREATER THAN IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN -- A PROJECTED \$232 BILLION FOR THE COMING YEAR. IT MUST -- IT WILL -- BE REDUCED.\

To my friends in <sup>together we</sup> [THE] CONGRESS, MUST ACT THIS VERY MONTH -- BEFORE THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR BEGINS OCTOBER FIRST -- TO GET AMERICA'S ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER. THE GULF SITUATION HELPS US REALIZE WE ARE MORE ECONOMICALLY VULNERABLE THAN WE EVER SHOULD BE. AMERICANS MUST NEVER AGAIN ENTER ANY CRISIS -- ECONOMIC OR MILITARY -- WITH AN EXCESSIVE DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL AND AN EXCESSIVE BURDEN OF FEDERAL DEBT. \\\

MOST AMERICANS ARE SICK AND TIRED OF ENDLESS BATTLES IN THE CONGRESS AND BETWEEN THE BRANCHES OVER BUDGET MATTERS. IT IS HIGH TIME WE PULLED TOGETHER -- AND GET THE JOB DONE RIGHT. IT IS UP TO US TO STRAIGHTEN THIS OUT.

THIS JOB HAS FOUR BASIC [STEPS] parts,

**FIRST: THE CONGRESS SHOULD, THIS MONTH, WITHIN A BUDGET AGREEMENT, ENACT GROWTH-ORIENTED TAX MEASURES -- TO HELP AVOID RECESSION IN THE SHORT TERM; AND TO INCREASE SAVINGS, INVESTMENT, PRODUCTIVITY AND COMPETITIVENESS FOR THE LONGER TERM. THESE MEASURES INCLUDE EXTENDING INCENTIVES FOR RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION; EXPANDING THE USE OF IRAs FOR NEW HOMEOWNERS; ESTABLISHING TAX-DEFERRED FAMILY SAVINGS ACCOUNTS; CREATING INCENTIVES FOR THE CREATION OF ENTERPRISE ZONES AND INITIATIVES TO ENCOURAGE MORE DOMESTIC DRILLING; AND, YES, REDUCING THE TAX RATE FOR CAPITAL GAINS.\\ \\ \\**

**ONE SUCH MEASURE ALREADY HAS THE SUPPORT OF BIPARTISAN MAJORITIES IN BOTH THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE: THE CAPITAL-GAINS RATE CUT. \\ \\ AND IT IS TIME WE PUT ITS INVESTMENT AND JOB-CREATING POWER TO WORK.**

SOME SAY A CAPITAL-GAINS RATE CUT IS UNFAIR. BUT LET ME SAY WHAT'S UNFAIR FOR MOST AMERICANS: RECESSION IS UNFAIR. \ THE LOSS OF A JOB IS UNFAIR. \ THE LOSS OF AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS IS UNFAIR. \ SO, FOR THOSE WHO CARE ABOUT FAIRNESS -- AND I AM ONE -- I SAY: DON'T HOLD AMERICA BACK. \ \ DON'T HOLD AMERICANS BACK. \ \

SECOND: THE CONGRESS SHOULD <sup>2</sup> THIS MONTH, ~~AGAIN~~ ~~WITHIN A BUDGET AGREEMENT~~ ENACT A PRUDENT MULTI-YEAR DEFENSE PROGRAM -- ONE THAT REFLECTS NOT ONLY THE IMPROVEMENT IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, BUT OUR BROADER RESPONSIBILITIES TO DEAL WITH THE CONTINUING RISKS OF OUTLAW ACTION AND REGIONAL CONFLICT. EVEN WITH OUR OBLIGATIONS IN THE GULF, A SOUND DEFENSE BUDGET CAN HAVE SOME REDUCTION IN REAL TERMS, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THAT. BUT TO GO BEYOND SUCH LEVELS, WHERE CUTTING DEFENSE WOULD THREATEN OUR VITAL MARGIN OF SAFETY, IS SOMETHING I WILL NEVER ACCEPT. \ \

THE WORLD IS STILL DANGEROUS. SURELY THAT IS NOW CLEAR. STABILITY IS NOT SECURE. AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE FAR-REACHING. INTER-DEPENDENCE HAS INCREASED. THE CONSEQUENCES OF REGIONAL INSTABILITY CAN BE GLOBAL. THIS IS NO TIME TO <sup>RISK</sup> ~~TRIPLE~~ ~~DOWN~~ AMERICA'S CAPACITY TO PROTECT HER VITAL INTERESTS. \ \ \

THIRD: THE CONGRESS SHOULD, THIS MONTH, ENACT MEASURES TO INCREASE DOMESTIC ENERGY PRODUCTION AND ENERGY CONSERVATION -- IN ORDER TO REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL. THESE MEASURES SHOULD INCLUDE MY PROPOSALS TO INCREASE INCENTIVES FOR DOMESTIC OIL AND GAS EXPLORATION, FUEL-SWITCHING, AND TO ACCELERATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALASKAN ENERGY RESOURCES, WITHOUT DAMAGE TO WILDLIFE.

*As you know,*  
^ WHEN THE OIL EMBARGO WAS IMPOSED IN THE EARLY 1970'S, THE UNITED STATES IMPORTED ALMOST SIX MILLION BARRELS OF OIL PER DAY. THIS YEAR, BEFORE THE IRAQI INVASION, U.S. IMPORTS HAD RISEN TO NEARLY EIGHT MILLION BARRELS PER DAY. WE HAD MOVED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION. NOW WE MUST ACT TO CORRECT THAT TREND, ~~SO~~ ~~THAT OUR VULNERABILITY DOES NOT INCREASE AGAIN.~~

**FOURTH: THE CONGRESS SHOULD, THIS MONTH, ENACT A FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM TO REDUCE THE PROJECTED DEFICITS AND DEBT BY \$500 BILLION -- THAT IS, BY HALF A TRILLION DOLLARS. \\\ [If, with the Congress, we can develop IF CONGRESS PRESENTS ME WITH A SATISFACTORY PROGRAM BY THE END OF THE MONTH, WE CAN AVOID THE AXE OF "SEQUESTER" -- DEEP ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUTS THAT WOULD THREATEN OUR MILITARY CAPACITY AND RISK SUBSTANTIAL DOMESTIC DISRUPTION.**

**I WANT TO BE ABLE TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE HAVE TRULY SOLVED THE DEFICIT PROBLEM. FOR ME TO DO THAT, A BUDGET AGREEMENT MUST MEET THESE TESTS:**

**\*\*\* IT MUST INCLUDE THE MEASURES I'VE RECOMMENDED TO INCREASE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND REDUCE DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL.**

**\*\* IT MUST BE FAIR. ALL SHOULD CONTRIBUTE, BUT THE BURDEN SHOULD NOT BE EXCESSIVE FOR ANY ONE GROUP OF PROGRAMS OR PEOPLE.**

**\*\*\* IT MUST ADDRESS THE GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT'S HIDDEN LIABILITIES.**

\*\*\* IT MUST REFORM THE BUDGET PROCESS, AND  
FURTHER: IT MUST BE REAL. \\\

*I urge* ~~THE~~ CONGRESS *to provide me a* ~~SHOULD PRESENT THE~~ COMPREHENSIVE  
FIVE-YEAR DEFICIT REDUCTION PROGRAM TO ME AS A ~~SINGLE~~ *complete*  
LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE -- WITH MEASURES TO ASSURE THAT IT  
CAN BE FULLY ENFORCED.

*stet* AMERICA IS TIRED OF PHONEY  
DEFICIT REDUCTION, OR PROMISE-NOW, SAVE-LATER-PLANS, --  
WHETHER THEY COME FROM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OR THE  
LEGISLATIVE. ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. IT IS A TIME FOR A  
PROGRAM THAT IS CREDIBLE, ENFORCEABLE AND WITHOUT *real*  
LOOPHOLES. \\\

\*\*\* FINALLY, TO THE EXTENT THAT THE DEFICIT  
REDUCTION PROGRAM INCLUDES NEW REVENUE MEASURES, IT  
MUST AVOID ANY MEASURE THAT WOULD THREATEN ECONOMIC  
GROWTH OR TURN US BACK TOWARD HIGHER INCOME TAX RATES.  
THAT IS ONE PATH WE SHOULD NOT HEAD DOWN AGAIN. \\\

I HAVE BEEN PLEASED WITH RECENT PROGRESS, ALTHOUGH IT HAS NOT ALWAYS SEEMED SO SMOOTH.

LET ME REMIND YOU, I FIRST CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS MANY MONTHS AGO. THESE TALKS HAVE ALREADY DRAGGED ON TOO LONG. I HAVE PUT SEVERAL SPECIFIC BUDGET PLANS ON THE TABLE. I HAVE GONE THE EXTRA MILE, AND THEN SOME. OTHERS HAVE, AS WELL, ON BOTH SIDES -- AND I APPRECIATE THAT.

BUT NOW IT IS TIME TO PRODUCE. \ \ \

*we can work out a*  
I HOPE ~~THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS WILL AGREE ON A~~ RESPONSIBLE PLAN. BUT WITH OR WITHOUT AGREEMENT, *from the budget summit,* I ASK BOTH HOUSES OF THE CONGRESS TO ALLOW A STRAIGHT UP-OR-DOWN VOTE ON A COMPLETE \$500 BILLION DEFICIT REDUCTION PACKAGE -- NOT LATER THAN SEPTEMBER 28.

IF THE CONGRESS ~~FAILS TO FULFILL ITS~~ *cannot get me a budget, then* RESPONSIBILITY, AMERICANS WILL ~~THEN~~ HAVE TO FACE A *tough, mandated*

~~SELF-IMPOSED~~ SEQUESTER. ~~INCREASED RISK OF RECESSION,~~ AND PERHAPS INCREASED INTERNATIONAL TENSION. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONGRESS RESPONDS FAVORABLY, WE WILL AT LAST, HAVE PUT OURSELVES ON THE RIGHT COURSE HERE AT HOME.

I AM HOPEFUL, IN FACT I AM CONFIDENT, THE CONGRESS WILL DO WHAT IT SHOULD. *I can assure you.*

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, OUR ABILITY TO MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES ABROAD DEPENDS UPON POLITICAL WILL AND CONSENSUS AT HOME. THIS IS NEVER EASY IN DEMOCRACIES -- WHERE WE GOVERN ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. AND ALTHOUGH FREE PEOPLE IN A FREE SOCIETY ARE BOUND TO HAVE THEIR DIFFERENCES, AMERICANS TRADITIONALLY COME TOGETHER IN TIMES OF ADVERSITY AND CHALLENGE.

ONCE AGAIN, AMERICANS HAVE STEPPED FORWARD TO SHARE A TEARFUL GOODBYE WITH THEIR FAMILIES BEFORE LEAVING FOR A STRANGE AND DISTANT SHORE. AT THIS VERY MOMENT, THEY SERVE TOGETHER WITH ARABS, EUROPEANS, ASIANS AND AFRICANS IN DEFENSE OF PRINCIPLE AND THE DREAM OF A NEW WORLD ORDER. THAT IS WHY THEY SWEAT AND TOIL IN THE SAND AND THE HEAT AND THE SUN.

IF THEY CAN COME TOGETHER UNDER SUCH ADVERSITY; IF  
OLD ADVERSARIES LIKE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED  
STATES CAN WORK IN COMMON CAUSE; THEN SURELY WE WHO ARE  
SO FORTUNATE TO BE IN THIS GREAT CHAMBER -- DEMOCRATS,  
REPUBLICANS, LIBERALS, CONSERVATIVES -- CAN COME  
TOGETHER TO FULFILL OUR RESPONSIBILITIES HERE.\ \ \

THANK YOU, GOOD NIGHT, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

# # #

Davis  
September 4, 1990  
Title: Y  
Draft: Four

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
9 p.m., TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1990

Mister President, Mister Speaker, Members of the Congress,  
distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you:

We gather here while brave young members of the Armed Forces  
stand in harm's way -- in a distant desert and on distant seas to  
protect the rule of law. We gather in the aftermath of an  
outrageous and callous act -- Iraqi aggression in the Persian  
Gulf.

DISMANTLEMENT  
DISMEMBERMENT

My purpose tonight is to clarify what is at stake -- and  
what we, **together**, must do to defend civilized peoples around the  
world, and economic strength here at home.

Make no mistake: Peace is at risk.\\ Lives are at risk.\\  
The global economy is at risk.\\ Indeed, the shape of a new  
world order is at risk.\\

But something else is clear: America\\ will\\ not\\ be\\  
terrorized.\\

So I am sure we all agree: If there ever were a time to put  
country before self, and patriotism before party, **that time is**  
**now.**\\

Let me thank you all, Republicans and Democrats, for the  
bipartisan support you have shown in the face of terrorist  
aggression.

We are all reminded that there are far greater risks and sacrifices than any we are called to make in Washington. I recently read of a Marine Master Sergeant from Oceanside, California, a self-described "old war horse" who served in Vietnam. But this same seasoned veteran is also a single father who says that the toughest moment in a Marine's life is leaving his kids behind. Such partings, in his words, are "like opening up your chest and pulling out your heart." \\

So when we stop to think that these valiant men and women in our Armed Services volunteered to be ready at a moment's notice, to leave familiar posts and careers, their spouses, their children, to put themselves on the front-line half-way around the world, then we know who keeps America great.\\ They do.\\\

Let us also return a salute to the military leaders with us tonight -- the first-class professionals of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Powell, Chiefs, what a magnificent job you have done.\\\ The response of the men and women of the United States Armed Forces over the past few weeks has been nothing short of heroic.\\

In the face of danger, they are brave. In trying circumstances, their morale is excellent. Helping to keep the world free from further aggression, they make us all proud.\\\

I wish I could say their work is done. But we all know it isn't.

Saddam Hussein **started out** as a terrorist. And he is **still** a terrorist. But we can take hope from this: The world has united against him.

It is a testament to his isolation that the United Nations Security Council has passed five resolutions opposing his actions, without a single dissenting vote. And now Arab soldiers from Damascus to Cairo, from Mecca to Marrakech, and nations as diverse as Norway and Bangladesh, have stood up in defiance to his aggression.

In the world community, the man is an outlaw. His brazen aggression cannot be allowed to stand.\\\

When small nations become the souvenirs of tyrants; when innocents are held hostage; when world commerce and diplomacy are assaulted at gunpoint, America will not be an idle observer. America will act.\\\

Our objectives are clear and resolute: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, unconditionally, restoring the legitimate government of Kuwait.\\ The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured.\\ The risk of future terrorist aggression must be reduced.\\ And we're going to defend American citizens and American interests abroad.\\\

The situation we face is what some have termed the first crisis of the post-Cold War era. The way we respond will shape the way the world will live for decades to come.

So it is important that we stay true to certain principles:

We should not allow the lessening chance of superpower conflict to be replaced by a greater threat from local bullies and the terrorists they bankroll.

In the context of a post-Cold War world, the responsibility of the United States to protect our cherished values is not diminished. Just the opposite. We are the world's number one economic and military power. Our responsibility is evident, inescapable.

Our efforts to protect the rule of law and decency must, where possible, be cooperative -- exercised in concert with other responsible nations in the international community. An effective system of cooperative action -- economic sanctions, enforcement and financial burden-sharing -- can make unilateral aggression unlikely, and unilateral corrective action, unnecessary.

Finally, we remember the lesson learned at horrendous cost half-a-century ago: Rather than wait in the naive hope that aggressors will lose their appetite for conquest, it is far better for the defenders of civilized values to act in concert - - early and decisively.\\\

Hand-in-hand with the world community and the Security Council of the United Nations, we've done just that.\\\

Our stand can do much more than reverse the Iraqi aggression. Out of these troubled times, a new world order can emerge. We can establish an historic precedent of cooperation - - making the post-Cold War era freer from the threat of terror;

stronger in the pursuit of justice; more secure in the quest for peace.

And it is this vision I shared with President Gorbachev two days ago in Helsinki. He told me that the Soviet Union was ((withdrawing its remaining 133 advisors from Iraq in protest)), the latest bold stroke of his bold new thinking. But even before that, when the Soviet Union joined with us in the United Nations, then I knew: **The Cold War is over.**\\\

But like a receding tide, the ebbing of the Cold War has revealed a forgotten landscape, a landscape of ancient animosities and ambitions. **That is why America must lead.**\\

That said, I know there are some who will question America's staying power. I do not know how long it may take for internationally mandated sanctions to work. And I cannot know whether Saddam Hussein will be so unwise as to compound his provocation. But I can assure you:

America must support the rule of law. **And we will.**\\\

America -- and the international community -- must defend innocent countries against aggression. **And we will.**\\\

America must protect her vital interests. **And we will.**\\\

**And one thing more\\ . . . America will never give in to blackmail.**\\\

I cannot say how long American troops may have to stay in the Gulf before we achieve our objectives. That depends, to some extent, on Iraq.

But we must avoid the greatest cost of all -- the cost of hesitation and indecision. Left unchallenged, Saddam Hussein could dictate the world price of oil. No one doubts he would advance these ambitions by weapons of mass destruction. But this is not, in the long run, about oil or one's man's ambition: This is the first assault on the post-Cold War world, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose; if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination; it would be a signal to a half-dozen despots around the world. Let us tell the world tonight: A green light to aggression is a signal America will never send.\\\

So even as we try to keep the costs of Operation Desert Shield to a reasonable minimum, American resolve will be kept at a premium.\\\

There is, of course, a heavy price: The risk to American lives. Precious lives have already been lost. More lives will be lost if military conflict breaks out. Even if it doesn't, there are economic costs -- steep costs.

The price of oil is already up. This will take its toll on the economy. But it need not throw us into deep recession.

After all, we are working with oil-producing countries to replace lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti production. Their help, with the option of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, if necessary, can keep oil prices from rising to levels that would hurt the economy. In fact, oil prices may, in time, start coming down.

Our military deployment also costs money. We have developed a plan to share this expense -- and the cost of other nation's economic burdens -- among those allies who have the ability to finance our collective action. So I have dispatched top Cabinet officials to tell our allies this: **At the very most, we encourage collective action; at the very least we expect a sharing of the collective burden.\ \ \**

But financial responsibility should begin at home. In order for America to lead, America must be strong and vital, able to respond to any kind of challenge. On the surface, a crisis in the Persian Gulf and a troubling budget deficit seem to have little in common. But America's world leadership and domestic strength are not separate domains; they are mutual and reinforcing; they are a woven piece, as firmly bound as Old Glory.

The effects of higher oil prices, slower growth, and higher defense costs will only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. It was already worse than it should have been -- at a projected \$232 billion for the coming year. **This, too, cannot stand.\ \ \**

**The Congress should act this very month -- before the next fiscal year begins -- to get our economic affairs in order. If anyone needs another reason to act, the Iraqi situation should help focus the mind. We are more vulnerable economically than we should ever be. American must never again enter a crisis -- economic or military -- with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of federal debt.\ \ \**

It is up to us to straighten this out -- not after election day, or next year, but NOW.\\

Most Americans are fed up with endless turf battles between the Congress and the Administration over economic policy. It is time for us to pull together -- and get the job done right.\\

For the job to get done, five things have to happen.

First: The Congress should, this month, enact tax measures that propel growth -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity, and competitiveness for the long term. Specifically, I ask you to extend incentives for research and experimentation; expand the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establish tax-deferred Family Savings Accounts; create incentives for the development of Enterprise Zones; and yes, reduce the tax rate for capital gains.\\

I know that a minority in the Congress likes to say that a capital gains rate cut looks unfair on some tax expert's distribution table. But let me say what's unfair for most Americans: Recession is unfair.\\ The loss of a job is unfair.\\ So for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back.\\

Second: The Congress should, this month, enact a prudent five-year defense program -- one that reflects both improved East-West relations, and the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict, so vividly brought home to us by Iraq. The defense budget can decline in real terms, even after

including the costs of our Persian Gulf deployment. Over five years, defense outlays can be reduced below the baseline by ((dollar amount)) billion. But beyond that, one crosses a line that threatens a vital margin of safety. Given my Constitutional obligation as Commander-in-Chief, that is a line I cannot cross.\\\

The world is still a dangerous place, where regional instability can flare up into a wider conflict. Surely that is now clear. American interests are far-reaching, and tightly bound to the fates of other nations. This is no time to trifle with our ability to protect America's vital interests, wherever they may be.\\\

Third: The Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation -- so we can cut our dependence on foreign oil. These measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, and to accelerate the development of Alaskan energy resources. ((Other measures to come.))

Fourth: The Congress should, this month, enact a five-year program to reduce the projected deficits and debt by \$500 billion -- yes, you heard that right -- by half-a-trillion dollars. If Congress presents me with an acceptable program by the end of this month, America will avoid the clumsy meat-ax approach called the "sequester" -- deep across-the-board cuts that would undermine our forces in Saudi Arabia, and inflict needless pain at home.

I also ask that Congress present this comprehensive, five-year deficit reduction program to me as a single legislative package -- with associated measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. The American people are tired of phony deficit reduction, tired of the promise-now, save-later-plan. Enough is enough. It's time for a deficit reduction plan that is not cynical, but credible.\\\

Fifth, and finally: The combination of these legislative actions should allow the Federal Reserve to ease interest rates - - in a setting of economic growth, without greater inflation. I have discussed my proposals in detail with the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan. He assures me that if Congress promptly enacts the program I am recommending tonight, he will then ((insert to come.))\\\

In addition to discussing this program with the Fed Chairman, I have today provided it, in detail, to the members of the Budget Summit negotiating group.

Our deficit reduction program must meet a few basics:

**\*\*\* It must be responsible:** So our plan includes the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependency on foreign oil.\\\

**\*\*\*** About one-third of our savings can come from defense, one-third from domestic spending programs, and one-third from revenue measures. So that no group of programs or people escapes responsibility, or bears the burden alone, it must be fair.

**\*\*\* In order that it reaches beyond the visible parts of the budget and begins to control the government's expanding credit programs and hidden liabilities, it must be comprehensive.\\\**

**\*\*\* And our deficit reduction plan must be in the spirit of reform: So our program reforms the budget process to provide some of the tools that have allowed many governors to keep state budgets under control -- like "pay-as-you-go" requirements and the line-item veto.\\\**

**\*\*\* Our plan must be enforceable.**

**\*\*\* And, to the extent that it includes new revenues measures -- which it does -- it must not threaten economic growth by raising income tax rates.\\\ I know there are some who are anxious to raise income-tax rates. But that is one path we must not head down again.\\\**

To the Congressional members of the Budget summit, you remember my first call for negotiations many months ago. The negotiations have already dragged on weeks and months too long. I have already taken the personal risk demanded of me, and so have others. The plan I offer tonight is a further effort to bring us together this week.\\\

Of course, this plan will not fully satisfy any of us. But it will do the job that needs to be done. Once again, that job must be done now.\\\

I hope the Summit leaders will agree to my plan. But with or without their agreement, I ask both Houses of Congress to

allow ((a straight-up-and-down vote)) on my comprehensive package -- no later than September 28th.\\\

If the Congress fails to enact this compromise package, Americans will have to face sequester, a greater risk of recession and greater military risks abroad. If, on the other hand, the Congress responds favorably, we will, at last, have put ourselves on the right course.

I'm sure you agree, these are challenging times, at home and abroad. Challenges that seem separate, but will set the course of our common destiny. America's destiny is to be a leader. Whether it is living up to our global duties, or tackling the most intractable problems at home, America's destiny has always been to lead.

I am hopeful. Once again, American men have stepped forward to do their duty. They have shared a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. And in the 1990s, when some of our soldiers, our sailors, our "airmen", our Marines leave for active duty, isn't it a testament to who we are, that they hear these departing words from their loved ones: "Mom, we are proud of you."\\\

At this very moment, the sons and daughters of America stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the pathless dunes of the desert with the sons of Arabia, the sons of Europe, the sons of many lands. If they can come together under such adversity, surely we who are so fortunate, so comfortable, can come together to fulfill our responsibility here.\\\

Thank you, and may God bless our brave men and women in the Middle East, every one.

#

#

#

MARK IS MARKED UP

① CROSS COMMENTS

Davis  
September 4, 1990  
Title: Y  
Draft: Four

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
9 p.m., TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1990

Mister President, Mister Speaker, Members of the Congress,  
distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you:

We gather here while brave young members of <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ Armed Forces  
stand in harm's way -- in a distant desert and on distant seas to  
protect the rule of law. We gather in the aftermath of an  
outrageous and callous act -- Iraqi aggression in the Persian  
Gulf.

My purpose tonight is to clarify what is at stake -- and  
what we, together, must do to defend civilized peoples around the  
world, and economic strength here at home.

Make no mistake: Peace is at risk.\\ Lives are at risk.\\  
The global economy is at risk.\\ Indeed, the shape of a new  
world order is at risk.\\

*America will lead.*

But something else is clear: America\\ will\\ not\\ be\\  
terrorized.\\

~~So~~ I am sure we all agree: If there ever were a time to put  
country before self, and patriotism before party, that time is  
now.\\

<sup>So</sup> Let me thank you all, Republicans and Democrats, for the  
bipartisan support you have shown in the face of terrorist  
aggression.

*Today*

*(or "once again,  
we are all  
reminded by even  
that")*

2

We are all reminded that there are far greater risks and sacrifices than any we are called to make in Washington. I recently read of a Marine Master Sergeant from Oceanside, California, a self-described "old war horse" who served in Vietnam. But this same seasoned veteran is also a single father who says that the toughest moment in a Marine's life is leaving his kids behind. Such partings, in his words, are "like opening up your chest and pulling out your heart." \\

So when we stop to think that these valiant men and women in our Armed Services volunteered to be ready at a moment's notice, to leave familiar posts and careers, their spouses, their children, to put themselves on the front-line half-way around the world, then we know who keeps America great.\\ They do.\\

Let us also return a salute to the military leaders with us tonight -- the first-class professionals of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Powell, Chiefs, what a magnificent job you have done.\\ The response of the men and women of the United States Armed Forces over the past few weeks has been nothing short of heroic.\\

In the face of danger, they are brave. In trying circumstances, their morale is excellent. Helping to keep the world free from ~~future~~ aggression, they make us all proud.\\

I wish I could say their work is done. But we all know it isn't.

3  
*begin his apprenticeship*

Saddam Hussein started out as a terrorist. And he is still *vocation today*  
a terrorist. But we can take hope from this: ~~The world has~~ *in*  
united against him. *STILL*  
*terrorism* [THIS IS NOT IRAQ AGAINST AMERICA. IT IS IRAQ  
AGAINST THE WORLD.]

It is a testament to his isolation that the United Nations Security Council has passed five resolutions opposing his actions, without a single dissenting vote. And now Arab soldiers from Damascus to Cairo, from Mecca to Marrakech, and nations as diverse as Norway and Bangladesh, have stood up in defiance to his aggression.

In the world community, the man is an outlaw. His brazen aggression cannot be allowed to stand.\\

When small nations become the souvenirs of tyrants; when innocents are held hostage; when world commerce and diplomacy are assaulted at gunpoint, America will not be an idle observer. America will act.\\

Our objectives are clear and resolute: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, unconditionally, restoring the legitimate government of Kuwait.\\ The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured.\\ The risk of future terrorist aggression must be reduced.\\ And we're going to defend American citizens and American ~~interests~~ *STET* interests abroad.\\

The situation we face is what some have termed the first crisis of the post-Cold War era. The way we respond will shape the way the world will live for decades to come.

So it is important that we stay true to certain principles:

We should not allow the lessening chance of superpower conflict to be replaced by a greater threat from local bullies and the terrorists they bankroll.\\

In the context of a post-Cold War world, the responsibility of the United States to protect our cherished values is not diminished. Just the opposite. We are the world's number one economic and military power. Our responsibility is evident, inescapable.

Our efforts to protect the rule of law and decency must, where possible, be cooperative -- exercised in concert with other responsible nations *in the international community*. An effective system of cooperative action -- economic sanctions, enforcement and financial burden-sharing -- can make unilateral aggression unlikely, and unilateral corrective action, unnecessary.

Finally, we remember the lesson learned at horrendous cost half-a-century ago: Rather than wait in the naive hope that aggressors will lose their appetite for conquest, it is far better for the defenders of civilized values to act in concert - - *early* ~~and~~ decisively.\\

Hand-in-hand with the world community and the Security Council of the United Nations, we've done just that.\\

*However,*  
Our stand can do much more than reverse the Iraqi aggression. Out of these troubled times, a new world order can emerge. We can establish an historic precedent of cooperation - - ~~making the post-Cold War era~~ freer from the threat of terror;

*The coming CRA  
(save "Colo War" for later)*

stronger in the pursuit of justice; more secure in the quest for peace.

And it is this vision I shared with President Gorbachev two days ago in Helsinki. He told me that the Soviet Union was ((withdrawing its remaining 133 advisors from Iraq in protest)), the latest bold stroke of his bold new thinking. But even before that, when the Soviet Union joined with us in the United Nations, then I knew ~~the~~ **The Cold War is over.**\\\

But like a receding tide, the ebbing of the Cold War has revealed a forgotten landscape, a landscape of ancient animosities and ambitions. **That is why America must lead.**\\

That said, I know there are some who will question America's staying power. I do not know how long it may take for internationally mandated sanctions to work. And I cannot know whether Saddam Hussein will be so unwise as to compound his provocation. But I can assure you:

**America must support the rule of law. And we will.**\\\

**America -- and the international community -- must defend innocent countries against aggression. And we will.**\\\

**America must protect her vital interests. And we will.**\\\

**And one thing more\\ . . . America will never give in to blackmail.**\\\

I cannot say how long American troops may have to stay in the Gulf before we achieve our objectives. That depends, to some extent, on Iraq.

ITD  
DOK  
SADDAM

But we must avoid the greatest cost of all -- the cost of hesitation and indecision. Left unchallenged, Saddam Hussein could dictate the world price of oil. No one doubts he would advance these ambitions by weapons of mass destruction. But this is not, in the long run, about oil or one's man's ambition: This is the first assault on the post-Cold War world, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose; if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination; it would be a signal to a half-dozen despots <sup>only</sup> around the world. Let us tell the world tonight: ~~A green light~~ <sup>The signal</sup> to aggression is a signal America will never send.\\\

*SECRET* ?

*America will send to aggressors is a ~~clear~~*

So even as we try to keep the costs of Operation Desert Shield to a reasonable minimum, American resolve will be kept at a premium.\\\

There is, of course, a heavy price: The risk to American lives. Precious lives have already been lost. More lives will be lost if military conflict breaks out. Even if it doesn't, there are economic costs -- steep costs.

The price of oil is already up. This will take its toll on the economy. But it need not throw us into deep recession.

After all, we are working with oil-producing countries to replace lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti production. Their help, with the option of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, if necessary, can keep oil prices from rising to levels that would hurt the economy. In fact, oil prices may, in time, start coming down.

Our military deployment also costs money. We have developed a plan to share this expense -- and the cost of other nation's economic burdens -- among those allies who have the ability to finance our collective action. So I have dispatched top Cabinet officials to tell ~~our~~ <sup>FRIENDLY NATIONS [OR SAYING: Amalun to our allies, etc.]</sup> allies this: At the very most, we encourage collective action; at the very least we expect a sharing of the collective burden.\\\

But financial responsibility should begin at home. In order for America to lead, America must be strong and vital, able to respond to any kind of challenge. On the surface, a crisis in the Persian Gulf and a troubling budget deficit seem to have little in common. But America's world leadership and domestic strength are not separate domains; they are mutual and reinforcing; they are a woven piece, as <sup>tightly</sup> ~~firmly~~ bound as Old Glory.

The effects of higher oil prices, slower growth, and higher defense costs will only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. It was already worse than it should have been -- at a projected \$232 billion for the coming year. This, too, cannot stand.\\\

The Congress should act this very month -- before the next fiscal year begins -- to get our economic affairs in order. If anyone needs another reason to act, the Iraqi situation should help focus the mind. We are more vulnerable economically than we should ever be. America must never again enter a crisis -- economic or military -- with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of federal debt.\\\

It is up to us to straighten this out -- not after election day, or next year, but NOW.\\

Most Americans are fed up with endless turf battles between the Congress and the Administration over economic policy. It is time for us to pull together -- and get the job done right.\\

For the job to get done, five things have to happen.

First: The Congress should, this month, enact tax measures that propel growth -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity, and competitiveness for the long term. Specifically, I ask you to extend incentives for research and experimentation; expand the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establish tax-deferred Family Savings Accounts; create incentives for the development of Enterprise Zones; and yes, reduce the tax rate for capital gains.\\

I know that a minority in the Congress likes to say that a capital gains rate cut looks unfair on some tax expert's distribution table. But let me say what's unfair for most Americans: Recession is unfair.\\ The loss of a job is unfair.\\ So for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back.\\

Second: The Congress should, this month, enact a prudent five-year defense program -- one that reflects both improved East-West relations, and the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict, so vividly brought home to us by Iraq. The defense budget can decline in real terms, even after

including the costs of our Persian Gulf deployment. Over five years, defense outlays can be reduced below the baseline by ((dollar amount)) billion. But beyond that, one crosses a line that threatens a vital margin of safety. Given my Constitutional obligation as Commander-in-Chief, that is a line I cannot ~~cross~~ <sup>--and</sup> ~~will not~~ cross.\\\

The world is still a dangerous place, where regional instability can flare up into a wider conflict. Surely that is now clear. American interests are far-reaching, and <sup>firmly</sup> ~~tightly~~ bound to the fates of other nations. This is no time to trifle with our ability to protect America's vital interests, wherever they may be.\\\

Third: The Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation -- so we can cut our dependence on foreign oil. These measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, and to accelerate the development of Alaskan energy resources. ((Other measures to come.))

Fourth: The Congress should, this month, enact a five-year program to reduce the projected deficits and debt by \$500 billion -- yes, you heard that right -- by half-a-trillion dollars. If Congress presents me with an acceptable program by the end of this month, America will avoid the clumsy meat-ax approach called the "sequester" -- deep across-the-board cuts that would undermine our forces in Saudi Arabia, and inflict needless pain at home.

I also ask that Congress present this comprehensive, five-year deficit reduction program to me as a single legislative package -- with associated measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. The American people are tired of phony deficit reduction, tired of the promise-now, save-later-plan. Enough is enough. It's time for a deficit reduction plan that is not cynical, but credible.\\\

Fifth, and finally: The combination of these legislative actions should allow the Federal Reserve to ease interest rates -- in a setting of economic growth, without greater inflation. I have discussed my proposals in detail with the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan. He assures me that if Congress promptly enacts the program I am recommending tonight, he will then ((insert to come.))\\\

In addition to discussing this program with the Fed Chairman, I have today provided it, in detail, to the members of the Budget Summit negotiating group.

Our deficit reduction program must meet a few basics:

\*\*\* It must be responsible: So our plan includes the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependency on foreign oil.\\\

\*\*\* About one-third of our savings can come from defense, one-third from domestic spending programs, and one-third from revenue measures. So that no group of programs or people escapes responsibility, or bears the burden alone, it must be fair.

\*\*\* In order that it reaches beyond the visible parts of the budget and begins to control the government's expanding credit programs and hidden liabilities, it must be comprehensive.\\\

\*\*\* And our deficit reduction plan must be in the spirit of reform: So our program reforms the budget process to provide some of the tools that have allowed many governors to keep state budgets under control -- like "pay-as-you-go" requirements and the line-item veto.\\\

\*\*\* Our plan must be enforceable.

\*\*\* And, to the extent that it includes new revenues measures -- which it does -- it must not threaten economic growth by raising income tax rates.\\\ I know there are some who are anxious to raise income-tax rates. But that is one path we must not head down again.\\\

To the Congressional members of the Budget summit, you remember my first call for negotiations many months ago. The negotiations have already dragged on weeks and months too long. I have already taken the <sup>personal</sup> ~~personal~~ risk demanded of me, and so have others. The plan I offer tonight is a further effort to bring us together this week.\\\

Of course, this plan will not fully satisfy any of us. But it will do the job that needs to be done. Once again, that job must be done now.\\\

I hope the Summit leaders will agree to my plan. But with or without their agreement, I ask both Houses of Congress to

allow ((a straight-up-and-down vote)) on <sup>plus</sup> my comprehensive package -- no later than September 28th.\\\

If the Congress fails to enact this compromise package, Americans will have to face sequester, a greater risk of recession and greater military risks abroad. If, on the other hand, the Congress responds favorably, we will, at last, have put ourselves on the ~~right~~ course of *connection*.

I'm sure you agree, these are challenging times, at home and abroad. Challenges that seem separate, but will set the course of our common destiny. ~~America's destiny is to be a leader.~~ Whether it is living up to our global duties, or tackling the most intractable problems at home, America's destiny has always been to lead.

I am hopeful. Once again, American <sup>S</sup> ~~men~~ have stepped forward to do their duty. They have shared a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. And <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>Liberal</sup> the 1990s, when some of our soldiers, our sailors, our "airmen", our Marines leave for active duty, isn't it a testament to who we are, ~~that~~ they hear these departing words ~~from their~~ loved ones:

*27ET*  
 "Mom, we are proud of you."\\\ *for the Deputy words they hear from*

At this very moment, the sons and daughters of America stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the pathless dunes of the desert with the sons of Arabia, the sons of Europe, the sons of many lands. If they can come together under such adversity, surely we who are so fortunate, so comfortable, can come together to fulfill our responsibility here.\\\

Thank you, and may God bless our brave men and women in the Middle East, every one.

#

#

#

What about  
Saddam's own  
words? Shouldn't  
we use them?  
Can we shorten  
some of the  
sentences?

Sumner

Davis  
Title: Joint2  
Draft: Three

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
9 p.m., SEPTEMBER 11, 1990

Mister President, Mister Speaker, Members of the Congress,  
distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you.

We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as <sup>significant</sup> ~~terrible~~ as they are tragic. Following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi Army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait, in the early morning hours of August 2<sup>nd</sup>. Within three weeks, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks occupied the country. ~~They~~ <sup>then</sup> Iraq annexed Kuwait, while <sup>and moved its tank columns</sup> moving ~~(hundreds)~~ of tanks south toward Saudi Arabia. <sup>The world was</sup> ~~All nations are~~ appalled by widespread accounts of Iraqi soldiers looting Kuwaiti property and attacking Kuwaiti citizens. All of this done to a country that is a <sup>member</sup> of the United Nations and the Arab League; the same Kuwait that Iraq recognized almost thirty years ago, <sup>all done to</sup> the same Kuwait that generously supported Iraq during its eight-year struggle with Iran.

<sup>at this moment,</sup>  
~~As we meet~~ brave service men and women stand watch in this distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with ~~the~~ forces of ~~what will soon be~~ <sup>five</sup> twenty ~~six~~ other nations.

The courage of these men and women from around the world is testament to the world's response to an outrage. <sup>Standing with them</sup> Among ~~them~~ are

some of the finest men and women of the United States of America.\\

When we stop to think that these valiant Americans volunteered to be ready at a moment's notice, to leave <sup>their</sup> familiar ~~posts and careers~~ <sup>jobs</sup>, their spouses, their children, to ~~join~~ <sup>join</sup> the troops ~~themselves~~ on the front-line half-way around the world, then we know who keeps America strong.\\ They do.\\

And isn't it a testament to who we are, that as some board ships and planes bound for the Persian Gulf, they may hear these departing words: Mom, ~~we're~~ <sup>we're</sup> proud of you.\\

<sup>Even these</sup> In trying circumstances, the morale of our servicemen and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they are brave. ~~and dedicated~~ <sup>and dedicated</sup>

A soldier ((rank)) by the name of Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in ((Saudi Arabia)), wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hopes for peace. But Wade also writes: "I am proud of my country and its firm stand against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my Army and its men . . . I am proud to serve my country."

Let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you.\\ America is grateful to every soldier, sailor, Marine and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf.\\

Let us also return a salute to the military leaders with us tonight -- the first-class professionals of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On behalf of the American people, General Powell, Chiefs, what a magnificent job you are doing.\\

~~scribble~~

does not work

I wish I could say their work is done. But we all know it isn't.

~~So~~ If ever there was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, that time is now.\\\ Let me thank ~~you~~ *and especially you in this chamber* all Americans -- Democrats, Republicans, and Independents alike -- for your support.

But that support will be even more important in the days to come. <sup>R</sup> So tonight, I want to talk to you about what is at stake, ~~and~~ <sup>gold</sup> what we must do together <sup>maintain our</sup> to defend civilized values around the world, and economic strength at home. For more than two hundred years, we have been one people, with a broad set of *principles* ~~interests~~ served by both our foreign and domestic policies. That remains unchanged. ~~So tonight~~, let me begin with our international relations.

America and the world must defend common vital interests.  
And we will.\\\

America and the world must support the rule of law. And we will.\\\

America and the world must stand up to aggression. And we will.\\\

And one more thing -- we will never, ever give in to blackmail.\\\

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar:

\*\*\* Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition.\\\

\*\*\* Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored.\\\

\*\*\* The security and stability of the Persian Gulf must be assured.\\\

\*\*\* American citizens abroad must be protected.\\\

And tonight, let me add that we are in sight of a United Nations that plays the role envisioned by its founders. For this we owe much to <sup>the outstanding leadership of</sup> Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, <sup>And this, I</sup> believe, <sup>can be the</sup> <sup>tool as we work to</sup> <sup>an effective,</sup> ~~is the greatest goal of all, the establishment of a~~ new world order.

These <sup>concerns</sup> goals are not ours alone. <sup>MOST</sup> ~~Many~~ countries share our concern for principle. Many countries have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. ~~And~~ <sup>our</sup> all share ~~a~~ heartfelt concern for their men, women, and children held hostage. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq ~~against~~ the world.\\\

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. I am thankful that he has courageously <sup>moved forward</sup> ~~departed~~ from the past, so that we might work together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, ~~we issued a~~ <sup>our</sup> joint statement, <sup>affirmed</sup> ~~an announcement~~ to the world of our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace.

<sup>our</sup> ~~It's~~ message could not be more clear: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their neighbors."

*more*

*awkward*

*working together*

Clearly, no longer can a dictator like Saddam Hussein count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted action against aggression. No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be sabotaged by the Cold War.\\ \\

When the Soviet Union joined with us in the United Nations <sup>U.N.</sup> to condemn the aggression of a former ally, then I knew that at long last, we could put forty-five years of history behind us.

*letter sent 11/21*

At long last:\\ \\ The Cold War is over.\\ \\

*Then I knew*

*And* A new partnership of nations has begun. *We must take advantage of this opportunity to make the post-Cold War world free from terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.* We stand ~~today~~ <sup>today</sup> at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to establish an historic precedent of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, a new world order can emerge -- making the post-Cold War era freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. One in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony.

*quest for peace. Together we can shape a world where East and West, North and South, we can all prosper and live in peace.*

~~A hundred generations have searched for this illusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor.~~ *But, that* today <sup>quite</sup> ~~very~~ a new world is struggling to be born. A world <sup>we</sup> ~~have~~ known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak.

This is the vision I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He, and other leaders, understand that how we manage this crisis today, will shape the future for generations to come.

The test we face is great -- and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the post-Cold War world, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose, if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination, it would be a signal to a half-dozen despots around the world. Let us tell the world tonight: A green light to aggression is a signal we will never send.\\\\\\

*This world will not let aggression when we say*

Vital issues of principle are at stake. Saddam Hussein is literally trying to wipe a country off the face of the earth.

*We*  
~~do~~ do not exaggerate.\\\\\\

Nor do I exaggerate when I say: Saddam will fail.\\\\\\

*Hussein*      *This very moment he*

Vital economic interests are at risk as well. Iraq itself controls some ten percent of the world's proven oil reserves.

Iraq plus Kuwait controls twice that. An Iraq permitted to swallow Kuwait would have the economic and military power.

*It would have*

*expanded its*  
~~well as the~~ arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors -- ~~neighbors who~~ *and* control the lion's share of the world's ~~resources~~ *oil* reserves.

We cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by so ruthless and unprincipled a power. And we won't.\\\\\\

Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership. In the face of tyranny, let no one

*staying power*

doubt American credibility and reliability.\\\ We will stand by our friends.\\\

Like a receding tide, the ebbing of the Cold War has revealed a forgotten landscape, a landscape of ancient animosities and ambitions. We should not, we cannot, allow the reduced possibility of superpower conflict to be replaced by a new threat from local bullies and the terrorists they bankroll. With power must come obligation and responsibility.

*Read this out loud?*

One way or the other, Saddam Hussein must learn this fundamental truth.\\\

From the outset, acting hand-in-hand with others, we have sought to fashion the broadest possible international response to Iraq's aggression. The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented.

American forces, and those of a host of nations, are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and if need be, to defend against attack. Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from ((twenty-six)) nations, stand shoulder-to-shoulder, resolute against Saddam's territorial ambitions.

And in the arena of diplomacy, we can now point to five ((unanimous)) United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemn Iraq's aggression, call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, ~~and~~ <sup>and rejected this cynical attempt to annex that land.</sup> the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government. The United Nations has also emphatically rejected Iraq's cynical and self-serving attempt to annex Kuwait. Finally, the U.N. has demanded the release of all foreign

nationals held hostage against their will, in contravention not only of international but of human decency itself. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said it all: "We do not bargain over hostages. We will not stoop to the level of using human beings as bargaining (chips). Ever."\\\

Of course, our hearts ache for the hostages and their families. But our policy cannot change. America and the world will not be terrorized.\\\

The United Nations is backing up its words with action. The Security Council has imposed mandatory economic sanctions on Iraq, designed to force Iraq to relinquish the spoils of its illegal conquest. The Security Council has also taken the decisive step of authorizing the use of all means necessary to ensure compliance with these sanctions.

*#Admiral*  
 Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are today patrolling to enforce the sanctions. Arab leaders I spoke with just yesterday have told me that these sanctions are working. ~~Now it's Iraq's turn~~ <sup>is</sup> to feel <sup>'s</sup> the heat.\\\

We continue to hope that Iraq's leaders will recalculate just what their aggression has cost them. They are cut off from world trade. Unable to sell their oil. And only a tiny fraction of goods gets through.

But the <sup>material</sup> cost of leadership can be steep as well. That's why Secretary of State Baker and Secretary of the Treasury Brady have met with many world leaders to underscore that burden of this collective effort must be shared. In particular, it is essential

*Gold* (Do we want to equate cost of leadership with money?)

*poorer*

that countries complying with sanctions be compensated to prevent severe economic hardship. ~~We are prepared to do our fair share;~~ *help carry that load*  
~~we insist others do the same.~~ *their share* \\

~~I am pleased to report that~~ *most of* the response of our friends and allies has been good. The leaders of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates have pledged to provide those supplying troops with all the food and fuel they need, and to defray our military costs. Generous assistance will also be provided to stalwart front-line nations, such as Turkey and Egypt.

I am also heartened to report that this international response extends to the needs of many ~~refugees~~. *most victims of this conflict* For our part, we have contributed \$28 million for ~~relief~~ *refugee* efforts. This is but a ~~small~~ portion of what is needed. I commend, in particular, Saudi Arabia, ~~the Japanese~~ and several European nations who have joined us in this humanitarian effort.

There is also an energy-related cost to be borne as well. We are hard at work with oil-producing nations to replace lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti output. More than half of what was lost has already been made up. If producers, including the United States, continue steps to expand oil and gas production, we can stabilize prices. *guarantee against hardship* Additionally, we and several of our allies always have the option to extract oil from our strategic petroleum reserves, if conditions warrant. Finally, as I have pointed out before, reasonable conservation efforts are essential, and let no one even contemplate profiteering from this crisis. |||

*We recognize we must maximize conservation to set the size of our needs as small as possible. And then to take advantage of our capacity to produce across the board - coal, natural gas, hydro, nuclear*

*more on conservation*  
*Our failure to do that thing has made us more dependent on foreign oil than we*

I cannot predict just how long it will take to convince Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. ~~Although our policy is in place,~~ <sup>will</sup> sanctions ~~may~~ take time to have their intended effect. ~~We will continue to review all options with our allies,~~ <sup>and let it be clear</sup> ~~if events suggest the need, then we will look at additional options.~~ What is certain is that we will not let this aggression by Iraq stand.\\\

Our interest, and our involvement, in the Gulf, is not transitory. ~~Both our~~ <sup>That</sup> interest and ~~our~~ involvement pre-dated Saddam Hussein's aggression, and both will survive it. Long <sup>all</sup> after our troops come home, and ~~I~~ <sup>we all</sup> hope it's soon, ~~I can foresee a~~ <sup>there will be</sup> lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf <sup>that</sup> ~~to~~ deter future aggression, to help our friends in their own self-defense, and to curb the proliferation of chemical, biological, missile and above all, nuclear technologies.\\\

Let me also make clear that the United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our quarrel is with Iraq's dictator, and ~~with~~ <sup>To send that message I have</sup> his aggression. ~~That is why I accepted~~ <sup>his</sup> invitation to address the people of Iraq. The message ~~will be~~ <sup>is</sup> simple, and it is a message conveyed by ~~much~~ <sup>most</sup> of the world: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait. Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. The use of force by Iraq to achieve its ambitions is unacceptable. No one in Iraq should doubt our determination, our resolve, or our ability to translate these words into fact. This is not a threat or a boast, just the truth.\\\

~~I also want to use this occasion to say some things to the~~ <sup>about</sup>  
~~American people.~~ Our ability to function effectively as a great  
 power abroad <sup>it</sup> depends directly upon how we conduct ourselves here  
 at home. Our economy, our armed forces, our energy dependence,  
 and our cohesion will all determine whether we are in a position  
 to help our friends and stand up to our foes.

~~In order~~ <sup>for</sup> for America to lead, America must be strong and  
 vital. Our world leadership and domestic strength are not  
 separate domains -- they are mutual and reinforcing; they are a  
 woven piece, as strongly bound as Old Glory.

We must get our economic house in order at home if we are to  
 have the capacity to promote international order abroad. To  
 provide that capacity we must address our budget deficit now --  
 not after election day, or next year, but now. \\ It is time we  
 pull together -- and get the job done right.

The effects of higher oil prices, slower growth and higher  
 defense costs will only make our fiscal deficit problem worse.  
 It was already worse than it should have been -- at a projected  
 \$232 billion for the coming year. This, too, cannot stand. \\ \\

The Congress should act this very month -- ~~before the next~~  
~~fiscal year begins~~ -- to get our economic affairs in order. If  
 anyone needs an additional reason to act, the Iraqi situation can  
 help focus the mind. We are more vulnerable economically than we  
 ever should be. Americans must never again enter any crisis --  
 economic or military -- with an excessive dependence on foreign  
 oil and an excessive burden of Federal debt. \\ \\ \\

Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles between ~~the~~ <sup>a divided</sup> Congress and the Administration over economic policy. It is time for us to pull together -- and get the job done right. It is up to us to straighten this out. The job for the Congress has four basic parts.

First: The Congress should, this month, enact growth-oriented tax measures -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity and competitiveness for the longer term. Specifically, the Congress should extend incentives for research and experimentation; expand the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establish tax-deferred family savings accounts; create incentives for the creation of enterprise zones; and, yes, reduce the tax rate for capital gains.\\ \\ \\

I know a minority in the Congress likes to say that a capital-gains rate cut looks unfair on some tax expert's distribution table. But let me say what's unfair for most Americans: recession is unfair.\\ The loss of a job is unfair.\\ The loss of American competitiveness is unfair.\\ So, for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back. Don't hold Americans back. ~~Let this economy~~ grow.\\ \\

Second: The Congress should, this month, enact a prudent multi-year defense program -- one that reflects both the improvement in East-West relations, and the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict, as represented most vividly

now by Iraq. Even with Iraq, the defense budget can decline in real terms. I am prepared to accept that. But there is a point where cutting defense would threaten a vital margin of safety. Given my Constitutional obligation as Commander-in-Chief, that is something I can never accept.\\\

The world is still dangerous. Surely that is now clear. Stability is not secure. American interests are far-reaching. Inter-dependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to trifle with America's capacity to protect her vital interests.

Third: The Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation -- in order to reduce dependence on foreign oil. This measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, and to accelerate the development of Alaskan energy resources, without damage to wildlife. ((INSERT TO COME FROM DARMAN: new measures, including tax measures.))

*clean air  
? conservation*

When the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970's, the United States imported ((number)) million barrels of oil per day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to ((number)) barrels per day. We had moved in the wrong direction. Now we must act to correct that trend -- so that our vulnerability does not increase again.

Fourth: The Congress should, this month, enact a five-year program to reduce the projected deficits and debt by \$500 billion -- that is, by half a trillion dollars.\\\ If Congress presents

me with a satisfactory program by the end of the month, that would be in time to avoid the clumsy axe of "sequester" -- deep across-the-board cuts that would otherwise threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption.

But to be satisfactory, a deficit program must have these characteristics:

\*\*\* It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil.

\*\* It must be balanced. All should contribute, but the burden of contributions should not be excessive to any one group of programs or people.

\*\*\* It should reach beyond the visible parts of the budget and begin to control the government's expanding credit programs and hidden liabilities.

\*\*\* It ~~should~~ <sup>must</sup> reform the budget process, and further: The Congress should present the comprehensive five-year deficit reduction program to me as a single legislative package -- with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. The American people are tired of phoney deficit reduction on the promise-now, save-later-plan. Enough is enough. It is a time for a program that is credible and real.\\\

\*\*\* Finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward higher income tax rates. That is one path we should not head down again.\\\

To the Congressional members of the Budget Summit, I say: I first called for negotiations many months ago. The negotiations have already dragged on too long. I have put several specific budget plans on the table. I have compromised, and compromised again. Some others have, as well, and I appreciate that.

**But now it is time to produce.\\\**

I hope the Congressional leaders will agree on a responsible plan. But with or without agreement, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a **straight up-or-down vote** on a <sup>complete</sup> \$500 billion deficit reduction package -- **not later than September 28.**

If the Congress fails to fulfill its responsibility, Americans will then have to face sequester <sup>and the</sup> increased risk of recession, ~~and perhaps increased military risks~~ abroad. If, on the other hand, the Congress responds favorably, we will at last, have put ourselves on the right course here at home.

I am hopeful that, in this context, the Congress will do what it should.

In the <sup>end</sup> ~~final~~ analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies where we govern only with the consent of the governed. And free people in a free society are bound to have their differences. <sup>But</sup> Americans *have always* ~~traditionally~~ come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with

Arabs, Europeans, Asians and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That is why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun.

If they can come together under such adversity; if old adversaries like the Soviet Union and the United States can work in common cause; then surely we who are so fortunate to be in this great chamber -- Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives -- can come together to fulfill our responsibilities here.\\\

Thank you, good night, and God bless America.

#

#

#

~~It is up to us to straighten this out -- NOW.~~  
[Applause]

~~[Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles between the Congress and the Administration over economic policy -- battles that produce nothing. It is time for us to pull together -- and get the job done right.]~~

Let me tell you what that job is. It has five basic parts.

*We*

First: ~~The Congress~~ should, this month, enact growth-oriented tax measures -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity, and competitiveness for the longer term.

~~Specifically, the Congress should extend incentives for research and experimentation; expand the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establish tax-deferred Family Savings Accounts; create incentives for the development of Enterprise Zones; and, yes, reduce the tax rate for capital gains.~~ [Partial Applause]

~~One such measure already has the support of bipartisan majorities in both the House and Senate: the capital gains rate cut. And it is time we put our investment and job-creating power to work.~~  
I know that a minority in the Congress likes to say that a capital gains rate cut looks unfair on some tax expert's distribution table. But let me say what's unfair for most Americans. Recession is unfair. The loss of a job is unfair. The loss of American competitiveness is unfair. So for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back. Don't hold Americans back. ~~Let this economy grow!~~ [Applause]

*we*

Second: ~~The Congress~~ should, this month, enact a prudent five-year defense program -- one that reflects both the improvement in East-West relations, and the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict, as represented most vividly now by Iraq. Even with Iraq, the defense budget can decline in real terms. ~~Over five years, defense outlays can be reduced below the baseline by \$ billion.~~

But beyond that, one crosses a line that threatens ~~a vital~~ our nation's margin of safety. Given my Constitutional obligation as Commander-in-Chief, that is a line I cannot cross.

*certain point,*

The world is still dangerous. Surely that is now clear. Stability is not secure. American interests are far-reaching. Interdependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to ~~waffle with~~ America's capacity to protect her vital interests.

*reduce*

11 meg @ 98-3576

~~I also want to use this occasion to say some things to the American people.~~ Our ability to function effectively as a great power abroad depends ~~directly~~ upon how we conduct ourselves here at home. Our economy, our armed forces, our energy dependence, and our cohesion ~~will~~ all determine whether we <sup>can</sup> ~~are in a~~ position ~~to~~ help our friends and stand up to our foes.

~~In order for~~ <sup>For</sup> America to lead, America must be strong and vital. Our world leadership and domestic strength are not uncoupled, separate domains -- they are mutual and reinforcing; they are a woven <sup>fabric</sup> ~~piece~~, as strongly bound as Old Glory.

~~We must get our economic house in order at home if we are to have the capacity to promote international order abroad.~~ To <sup>revitalize</sup> ~~provide that~~ capacity we must address our budget deficit now -- not after election day, or next year, but now. \ \ It is time we pull together -- and get the job done right.

~~The effects of~~ <sup>what we</sup> higher oil prices, <sup>would</sup> slower growth and higher defense costs ~~will~~ only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. ~~That deficit~~ <sup>is</sup> was already <sup>greater</sup> ~~more~~ than it should have been -- ~~a~~ projected \$232 billion for the coming year. <sup>It must; it will be reduced</sup> ~~This, too, cannot stand.~~ \ \ \

The Congress <sup>must</sup> ~~should~~ act this very month -- before the next fiscal year begins -- <sup>to get</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>these</sup> economic affairs in order. <sup>house</sup> ~~to~~

~~anyone needs an additional reason to act,~~ <sup>to realize</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~Iraqi~~ <sup>help</sup> situation ~~is~~ ~~are~~ more vulnerable economically than we ever should be. Americans must never again enter any crisis -- economic or military -- with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of Federal debt. \ \ \ \

Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles between ~~the~~ Congress and the Administration over <sup>budget matters</sup> economic policy. It is <sup>high</sup> time ~~for~~ <sup>we</sup> us <sup>to</sup> pull <sup>it</sup> together -- and get the job done right. It is up us to straighten this out. <sup>P</sup> ~~the job~~ <sup>this job</sup> ~~has~~ has four basic parts.

First: The Congress should, this month, <sup>enact</sup> enact growth-oriented tax measures -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity and competitiveness for the longer term. <sup>these measures, including extending</sup> Specifically, ~~the congress~~ ~~should~~ ~~enact~~ incentives for research and experimentation; expand ~~the~~ the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establish tax-deferred family savings accounts; create incentives for the creation of enterprise zones; and, yes, reduce the tax rate for capital gains. \\\

I know a minority in the Congress likes to say that a capital-gains rate cut looks unfair on some tax expert's distribution table. But let me say what's unfair for most Americans: recession is unfair. \\ The loss of a job is unfair. \\ The loss of American competitiveness is unfair. \\ So, for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back. ~~Don't hold Americans back. Let this economy grow. \\~~

Redo

Second: The Congress should, this month, <sup>enact</sup> enact a prudent multi-year defense program -- one that reflects <sup>not only</sup> ~~both~~ the improvement in East-West relations, <sup>but our</sup> ~~and~~ the continuing risks of <sup>broader</sup> ~~outlaw~~ action and regional conflict, <sup>as</sup> ~~represented~~ <sup>broader response to deal with</sup> most vividly

*our obligations in the Gulf.*  
*and we are*  
*have some reduction to go beyond such levels*

Even with that, ~~the~~ defense budget can ~~do it~~ in real terms. ~~I~~ ~~am~~ prepared to accept that. But ~~there is a point~~ where cutting defense ~~would~~ threaten ~~a~~ vital margin of safety ~~is~~ Given my Constitutional obligation as Commander-in-Chief, that is something I can ~~never~~ accept ~~it~~

The world is still dangerous. Surely that is now clear. Stability is not secure. American interests are far-reaching. Inter-dependence has increased. The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to trifle with America's capacity to protect her vital interests. ///

Third: The Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation -- in order to reduce dependence on foreign oil. This measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, *fuel switching,* and to accelerate the development of Alaskan energy resources, without damage to wildlife. ((~~INSERT TO COME FROM DARMAN: new measures, including tax measures.~~))

*? clean air ? conservation*

When the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970's, the United States imported ((number)) million barrels of oil per day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to ((number)) barrels per day. We had moved in the wrong direction. Now we must act to correct that trend -- so that our vulnerability does not increase again.

Fourth: The Congress should, this month, enact a five-year program to reduce the projected deficits and debt by \$500 billion -- that is, by half a trillion dollars.\\\ If Congress presents

me with a satisfactory program by the end of the month, that would be in time to avoid the clumsy axe of "sequester" -- deep across-the-board cuts that would otherwise threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption.

*At the very least that budget*  
~~But to be satisfactory, a deficit~~ program must have these

characteristics:

\*\*\* It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil.

\*\* It must be <sup>fair</sup> ~~balanced~~. All should contribute, but the burden of contributions should not be excessive to any one group of programs or people.

\*\*\* *must address the growth of government's hidden liabilities*  
 ( It should ~~reach beyond the visible parts of the budget~~ and begin to control the government's expanding credit programs and hidden liabilities. )

\*\*\* *must* It ~~should~~ reform the budget process, and further: <sup>it</sup> ~~the~~ Congress should present the comprehensive five-year deficit reduction program to me as a single legislative package -- with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. ~~The American~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~People~~ ~~are~~ tired of phoney deficit reduction ~~or~~ ~~the~~ promise-now, save-later-plan<sup>s</sup>. Enough is enough. It is a time for a program that is credible, <sup>enforceable</sup> and real.\\\

\*\*\* Finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward higher income tax rates. That is one path we should not head down again.\\\

I have been pleased with recent progress, although  
it has not always seemed so much. Let me remind you  
15

To the Congressional members of the Budget Summit, I say: I first called for negotiations many months ago. The negotiations have already dragged on too long. I have put several specific budget plans on the table. I have compromised, and compromised again. Some others have, as well, and I appreciate that.

But now it is time to produce.\\ \\ \\

I hope the Congressional leaders will agree on a responsible plan. But with or without agreement, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a straight up-or-down vote on a \$500 billion deficit reduction package -- not later than September 28.

If the Congress fails to fulfill its responsibility, Americans will then have to face sequester, increased risk of recession, and perhaps increased <sup>international tension</sup> military risks abroad. If, on the other hand, the Congress responds favorably, we will at last, have put ourselves on the right course here at home.

<sup>I am in fact confident</sup>  
I am hopeful that, in this context, the Congress will do what it should.

In the final analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies where we govern only with the consent of the governed. And, <sup>although</sup> free people in a free society are bound to have their differences, Americans traditionally come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with

Arabs, Europeans, Asians and Africans in defense of principle and the dream of a new world order. That is why they sweat and toil in the sand and the heat and the sun.

If they can come together under such adversity; if old adversaries like the Soviet Union and the United States can work in common cause; then surely we who are so fortunate to be in this great chamber -- Democrats, Republicans, liberals, conservatives -- can come together to fulfill our responsibilities here.\\\

Thank you, good night, and God bless America.

# # #

30 SEP 11 AM 11:30

Ciccconi

From Haass

Davis  
Title: Joint2  
Draft: Three



JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
SEP 11, 1990

Members of the Congress,  
distinguished guests, fellow Americans, thank you.

We gather tonight, witness to events in the Persian Gulf as terrible as they are tragic. Following negotiations and promises by Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein not to use force, a powerful Iraqi Army invaded its trusting and much weaker neighbor, Kuwait, in the early morning hours of August 2. Within three <sup>days</sup> ~~weeks~~, 120,000 Iraqi troops with 850 tanks occupied the country. Then Iraq annexed Kuwait, while moving <sup>more</sup> ~~hundreds~~ of tanks south toward Saudi Arabia. <sup>Peoples everywhere</sup> ~~All nations~~ are appalled by widespread accounts of Iraqi soldiers looting Kuwaiti property and attacking Kuwaiti citizens. All of this done to a country that is a member of the United Nations and the Arab League; the same Kuwait that Iraq recognized almost thirty years ago, the same Kuwait that generously supported Iraq during its eight-year struggle with Iran.

As we meet, brave service men and women stand watch in this distant desert and on distant seas, side by side with the forces of what will soon be twenty-six other nations.

The courage of these men and women from around the world is testament to the world's response to an outrage. Among them are

**some of the finest men and women of the United States of America.\\\**

**When we stop to think that these valiant Americans volunteered to be ready at a moment's notice, to leave familiar posts and careers, their spouses, their children, to put themselves on the front-line half-way around the world, then we know who keeps America strong.\\ They do.\\ \\ \\**

**And isn't it a testament to who we are, that as some board ships and planes bound for the Persian Gulf, they may hear these departing words: Mom, we're proud of you.\\ \\ \\**

**In trying circumstances, the morale of our servicemen and women is excellent. In the face of danger, they are brave.**

**A soldier ((rank)) by the name of Wade Merritt of Knoxville, Tennessee, now stationed in ((Saudi Arabia)), wrote his parents of his worries, his love of family, and his hopes for peace. But Wade also writes: "I am proud of my country and its firm stand against inhumane aggression. I am proud of my Army and its men . . . I am proud to serve my country."**

**Let me just say, Wade, America is proud of you.\\ America is grateful to every soldier, sailor, Marine and airman serving the cause of peace in the Persian Gulf.\\ \\**

**Let us also return a salute to the military leaders with us tonight -- the first-class professionals of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On behalf of the American people, General Powell, Chiefs, what a magnificent job you are doing.\\ \\**

I wish I could say their work is done. But we all know it isn't.

So if ever there was a time to put country before self and patriotism before party, that time is now.\\\ Let me thank you, all Americans -- Democrats, Republicans, and Independents alike - - for your support.

But that support will be even more important in the days to come. So tonight, I want to talk to you about what is at stake, and what we must do together to defend civilized values around the world, and economic strength at home. For more than two hundred years, we have been one people, with a broad set of interests served by both our foreign and domestic policies. That remains unchanged. So tonight, let me begin with our international relations.

America and the world must defend common vital interests.  
And we will.\\\

America and the world must support the rule of law. And we will.\\\

America and the world must stand up to aggression. And we will.\\\

And one more thing -- we will never, ever give in to blackmail.\\\

Our objectives in the Persian Gulf are clear, our goals defined and familiar:

\*\*\* Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, immediately, and without condition.\\\

\*\*\* Kuwait's legitimate government **must be restored.**\\\

\*\*\* The security and stability of the Persian Gulf **must be assured.**\\\

\*\*\* American citizens abroad **must be protected.**\\\

*fifth goal of a*

And tonight, let me add that we are in sight of a <sup>United</sup> Nations that plays the role envisioned by its founders. For this we owe much to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar. And this, I believe, is the greatest goal of all, the establishment of a new world order. *What we must do is harness the momentum*

These goals are not ours alone. Many countries share our concern for principle. Many countries have a stake in the stability of the Persian Gulf. And all share a heartfelt concern for their men, women, and children held hostage. This is not, as Saddam Hussein would have it, the United States against Iraq. It is Iraq against the world.\\\

As you know, I've just returned from a very productive meeting with Soviet President Gorbachev. I am thankful that he has courageously departed from the past, so that we might work together to build a new relationship. In Helsinki, we issued a joint statement, an announcement to the world of our shared resolve to counter Iraq's threat to peace.

Its message could not be more clear: "We are united in the belief that Iraq's aggression must not be tolerated. No peaceful international order is possible if larger states can devour their <sup>smaller</sup> neighbors."

*grows out of the international cooperation that has characterized this crisis, and build the foundation of true collective security for the entire world.*

Clearly, no longer can a dictator like Saddam Hussein count on East-West confrontation to stymie concerted action against aggression. No longer will the machinery of the United Nations be sabotaged by the Cold War.\\\

When the Soviet Union joined with us in the United Nations to condemn the aggression of a former ally, then I knew that at long last, we could put forty-five years of history behind us. At long last:\\ The Cold War is over.\\\

A new partnership of nations has begun.

We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, as grave as it is, also offers a rare opportunity to establish an historic precedent of cooperation. Out of these troubled times, a new world order can emerge -- making the post-Cold War era freer from the threat of <sup>violence,</sup> ~~terror,~~ stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. One in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony.

A hundred generations have searched for this <sup>e✓</sup> elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. But today a new world is struggling to be born. A world very different from the one we have known. A world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle. A world in which nations recognize the shared responsibility for freedom and justice. A world where the strong respect the rights of the weak.

This is the vision I shared with President Gorbachev in Helsinki. He, and other leaders, understand that how we manage this crisis today, will shape the future for <sup>decades</sup> ~~generations~~ to come.

The test we face is great -- and so are the stakes. This is the first assault on the post-Cold War world, the first test of our mettle. Had we not responded to this first provocation with clarity of purpose; if we do not continue to demonstrate our determination; it would be a signal ~~to a half-dozen despots~~ <sup>heard</sup> around the world. Let us tell the world tonight: A green light to aggression is a signal we will never send.\\ \\ \\

Vital issues of principle are at stake. Saddam Hussein is literally trying to wipe a country off the face of the earth. I do not exaggerate.\\ \\

Nor do I exaggerate when I say: Saddam will fail.\\ \\

Vital economic interests are at risk as well. Iraq itself controls some ten percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Iraq plus Kuwait controls twice that. An Iraq permitted to swallow Kuwait would have the economic and military power, as well as the arrogance, to intimidate and coerce its neighbors -- neighbors who control the lion's share of the world's remaining oil reserves. We cannot permit a resource so vital to be dominated by so ruthless and unprincipled a power. And we won't.\\ \\

Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership. In the face of tyranny, let no one

doubt American credibility and reliability.\\\ We will stand by our friends.\\\

Like a receding tide, the ebbing of the Cold War has revealed a forgotten landscape, a landscape of ancient animosities and ambitions. We should not, we cannot, allow the reduced possibility of superpower conflict to be replaced by a new threat from local bullies and the terrorists they bankroll. With power must come obligation and responsibility.

One way or the other, Saddam Hussein must learn this fundamental truth.\\\

From the outset, acting hand-in-hand with others, we have sought to fashion the broadest possible international response to Iraq's aggression. The level of world cooperation and condemnation of Iraq is unprecedented.

American forces, and those of a host of nations, are there at the request of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to deter and, if need be, to defend against attack. Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabs and non-Arabs, soldiers from ~~forty-two nations~~ <sup>four continents</sup>, stand shoulder-to-shoulder, resolute against Saddam's territorial ambitions.

And in the arena of diplomacy, we can now point to five ~~unanimous~~ United Nations Security Council resolutions that condemn Iraq's aggression, call for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal, and the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government. The United Nations has also emphatically rejected Iraq's cynical and self-serving attempt to annex Kuwait. Finally, the U.N. has demanded the release of all foreign

nationals held hostage against their will, in contravention not only of international <sup>law</sup> but of human decency itself. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said it all: "We do not bargain over hostages. We will not stoop to the level of using human beings as bargaining (chips). Ever."\\\

Of course, our hearts ache for the hostages and their families. But our policy cannot change. America and the world will not be <sup>intimidated</sup> terrorized.\\\

The United Nations is backing up its words with action. The Security Council has imposed mandatory economic sanctions on Iraq, designed to force Iraq to relinquish the spoils of its illegal conquest. The Security Council has also taken the decisive step of authorizing the use of all means necessary to ensure compliance with these sanctions.

Together with our friends and allies, ships of the United States Navy are today patrolling <sup>the high seas</sup> to enforce the sanctions. Arab leaders I spoke with just yesterday have told me that these sanctions are working. Now it's Iraq's turn to feel the heat.\\\

We continue to hope that Iraq's leaders will recalculate just what their aggression has cost them. They are cut off from world trade. Unable to sell their oil. And only a tiny fraction of goods gets through.

But the cost of leadership can be steep as well. That's why Secretary of State Baker and Secretary of the Treasury Brady have met with many world leaders to underscore that <sup>the</sup> burden of this collective effort must be shared. In particular, it is essential

that countries complying with sanctions be compensated to prevent severe economic hardship. We are prepared to do our fair share; we insist others do the same.\\

I am pleased to report that the response of our friends and allies has been good. The leaders of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates have pledged to provide those supplying troops with all the food and fuel they need, and to <sup>help</sup> defray our military costs. Generous assistance will also be provided to stalwart front-line nations, such as Turkey and Egypt.

I am also heartened to report that this international response extends to the needs of many refugees. For our part, we have contributed \$28 million for relief efforts. This is but a small portion of what is needed. I commend, in particular, Saudi Arabia, the Japanese and several European nations who have joined us in this humanitarian effort.

There is also an energy-related cost to be borne as well. We are hard at work with oil-producing nations to replace lost Iraqi and Kuwaiti output. More than half of what was lost has already been made up. If producers, including the United States, continue steps to expand oil and gas production, we can stabilize prices. Additionally, we and several of our allies always have the option to extract oil from our strategic petroleum reserves, ~~if conditions warrant.~~ Finally, as I have pointed out before, reasonable conservation efforts are essential, and let no one even contemplate profiteering from this crisis.\\\

I cannot predict just how long it will take to convince Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. Although our policy is in place, sanctions may take time to have their intended effect. If events suggest the need, then we will look at additional options. What is certain is that we will not let this aggression by Iraq stand.\\\

Our interest, and our involvement, in the Gulf, is not transitory. Both our interest and our involvement pre-dated Saddam Hussein's aggression, and both will survive it. Long after our troops come home, and I hope it's soon, I can foresee a lasting role for the United States in assisting the <sup>Countries</sup> nations of the Persian Gulf; a role to deter future aggression, to help our friends in their own self-defense, and to curb the proliferation of chemical, biological, missile and above all, nuclear technologies.\\\

Let me also make clear that the United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. Our quarrel is with Iraq's dictator, and with his aggression. That is why I accepted an invitation to address the people of Iraq. The message will be simple, and it is a message conveyed by much of the world: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait. Iraq will not be permitted to annex Kuwait. The use of force by Iraq to achieve its ambitions is unacceptable. No one in Iraq should doubt our determination, our resolve, or our ability to translate these words into fact. This is not a threat or a boast, just the truth.\\\

I also want to use this occasion to say some things to the American people. Our ability to function effectively as a great power abroad depends directly upon how we conduct ourselves here at home. Our economy, our armed forces, our energy dependence, and our cohesion will all determine whether we are in a position to help our friends and stand up to our foes.

In order for America to lead, America must be strong and vital. Our world leadership and domestic strength are not separate domains -- they are mutual and reinforcing; they are a woven piece, as strongly bound as Old Glory.

We must get our economic house in order at home if we are to have the capacity to promote international order abroad. To provide that capacity we must address our budget deficit now -- not after election day, or next year, but now.\\ It is time we pull together -- and get the job done right.

make bold

The effects of higher oil prices, slower growth and higher defense costs will only make our fiscal deficit problem worse. It was already worse than it should have been -- at a projected \$232 billion for the coming year. This, too, cannot stand.\\

The Congress should act this very month -- before the next fiscal year begins -- to get our economic affairs in order. If anyone needs an additional reason to act, the Iraqi situation can help focus the mind. We are more vulnerable economically than we ever should be. Americans must never again enter any crisis -- economic or military -- with an excessive dependence on foreign oil and an excessive burden of Federal debt.\\

Most Americans are sick and tired of endless battles between the Congress and the Administration over economic policy. It is time for us to pull together -- and get the job done right. It is up to us to straighten this out. The job for the Congress has four basic parts.

First: The Congress should, this month, enact growth-oriented tax measures -- to help avoid recession in the short term; and to increase savings, investment, productivity and competitiveness for the longer term. Specifically, the Congress should extend incentives for research and experimentation; expand the use of IRAs for new homeowners; establish tax-deferred family savings accounts; create incentives for the creation of enterprise zones; and, yes, reduce the tax rate for capital gains.\\\

I know a minority in the Congress likes to say that a capital-gains rate cut looks unfair on some tax expert's distribution table. But let me say what's unfair for most Americans: recession is unfair.\\ The loss of a job is unfair.\\ The loss of American competitiveness is unfair.\\ So, for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back. Don't hold Americans back. Let this economy grow.\\\

Second: The Congress should, this month, enact a prudent multi-year defense program -- one that reflects both the improvement in East-West relations, and the continuing risks of outlaw action and regional conflict, as represented most vividly

13  
*the current crisis,*

now by Iraq. Even with ~~the~~ the defense budget can decline in real terms. I am prepared to accept that. But there is a point where cutting defense would threaten a vital margin of safety. Given my Constitutional obligation as Commander-in-Chief, that is something I can never accept.\\\

The world is still dangerous. Surely that is now clear. Stability is not secure. American interests are far-reaching. ~~Inter-dependence has increased.~~ The consequences of regional instability can be global. This is no time to ~~trifle~~ <sup>take risks</sup> with America's capacity to protect her vital interests. \*

Third: The Congress should, this month, enact measures to increase domestic energy production and energy conservation -- in order to reduce dependence on foreign oil. This measures should include my proposals to increase incentives for domestic oil and gas exploration, and to accelerate the development of Alaskan energy resources, without damage to wildlife. ((INSERT TO COME FROM DARMAN: new measures, including tax measures.))

When the oil embargo was imposed in the early 1970's, the United States imported ((number)) million barrels of oil per day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to ((number)) barrels per day. We had moved in the wrong direction. Now we must act to correct that trend -- so that our vulnerability does not increase again.

Fourth: The Congress should, this month, enact a five-year program to reduce the projected deficits and debt by \$500 billion -- that is, by half a trillion dollars.\\\ If Congress presents

me with a satisfactory program by the end of the month, that would be in time to avoid the clumsy axe of "sequester" -- deep across-the-board cuts that would otherwise threaten our military capacity and risk substantial domestic disruption.

But to be satisfactory, a deficit program must have these characteristics:

\*\*\* It must include the measures I've recommended to increase economic growth and reduce dependence on foreign oil.

\*\* It must be balanced. All should contribute, but the burden of contributions should not be excessive to any one group of programs or people.

\*\*\* It should reach beyond the visible parts of the budget and begin to control the government's expanding credit programs and hidden liabilities.

\*\*\* It should reform the budget process, and further: The Congress should present the comprehensive five-year deficit reduction program to me as a single legislative package -- with measures to assure that it can be fully enforced. ~~The American people are tired of phoney deficit reduction on the promise now, save-later-plan.~~ Enough is enough. It is a time for a program that is credible and real.\\\

\*\*\* Finally, to the extent that the deficit reduction program includes new revenue measures, it must avoid any measure that would threaten economic growth or turn us back toward higher income tax rates. That is one path we should not head down again.\\\

30:  
bad  
tone

To the Congressional members of the Budget Summit, I say: I first called for negotiations many months ago. The negotiations have already dragged on too long. I have put several specific budget plans on the table. I have compromised, and compromised again. Some others have, as well, and I appreciate that.

**But now it is time to produce.\\\**

I hope the Congressional leaders will agree on a responsible plan. But with or without agreement, I ask both Houses of the Congress to allow a **straight up-or-down vote** on a \$500 billion deficit reduction package -- **not later than September 28.**

If <sup>we</sup> ~~the Congress~~ fails to fulfill ~~its~~ responsibility, Americans will then have to face sequester, increased risk of recession, and perhaps increased military risks abroad. If, on the other hand, the Congress responds favorably, we will at last, have put ourselves on the right course here at home.

I am hopeful that, in this context, the Congress will do what it should.

In the final analysis, our ability to meet our responsibilities abroad depends upon political will and consensus at home. This is never easy in democracies where we govern only with the consent of the governed. And free people in a free society are bound to have their differences. Americans traditionally come together in times of adversity and challenge.

Once again, Americans have stepped forward to share a tearful goodbye with their families before leaving for a strange and distant shore. At this very moment, they serve together with