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JC

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 *had poured into Kuwait, and*

DAYS, 120,000 IRAQI TROOPS WITH 850 TANKS ~~OCCUPIED THE~~
moved south to threaten Saudi Arabia. From Iraq annexed 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~~

annexed it

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 ^{that} ~~[THIS]~~ DISTANT DESERT AND ON DISTANT SEAS,
SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE FORCES OF MORE THAN TWENTY OTHER
NATIONS.

JC

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

P

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. \ \ \ \

DD

IN THE TRYING CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE GULF, THE MORALE OF OUR SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN IS EXCELLENT. IN THE FACE OF DANGER, THEY ARE ^{well-trained,} BRAVE AND DEDICATED.

P

A SOLDIER, ^{P.F.C.} ~~((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."

DD

PUBLIC AFFS -
SERIOUS INCIDENTS,
CRIMES -
CLEAR
CAROLYN
PIPER

((Full out letter))

LET ME JUST SAY, WADE, AMERICA IS PROUD OF YOU. \\
~~[AMERICA IS]~~ ^{And} 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]~~ ^{the} ~~[SALUTE TO THE]~~
~~[MILITARY LEADERS WITH US TONIGHT -- THE FIRST-CLASS]~~
^{chairman} ~~[PROFESSIONALS]~~ OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, ~~[ON BEHALF~~
~~OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE]~~ GENERAL POWELL, ^{the} 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 our forces and their mission.} 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. \\\

indent >>

5 times in as many weeks.

They have been endorsed 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 ^{pleased} ~~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. ^{let me} ~~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.~~ \ \ \

NSC

A NEW PARTNERSHIP OF NATIONS HAS BEGUN.

9

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. //

9

9

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, ^{could} **[WILL]** SHAPE THE FUTURE FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

NSC

new world we seek

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.

NSC

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 ^{dominated by one} 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.

NSC

stet

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

ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, ~~SADDAM HUSSEIN~~ ^{the leader of Iraq} MUST LEARN THIS
FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH. \\\

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

^{Armed} ~~AMERICAN~~ FORCES ^{from countries spanning four continents} ~~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.

P FINALLY, THE U.N. 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.\\\

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 ^{blackmailed.} TERRORIZED.\\\

NSC

nsc
 [AFTER ALL,] WE ARE NOW IN SIGHT OF A UNITED NATIONS
 THAT ^{performs as} [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 ^{Mideast waters,} [TO ENFORCE THE]
 [SANCTIONS.] THEY HAVE ALREADY ^{challenged} [STOPPED] MORE THAN SEVEN
 HUNDRED SHIPS TO ENFORCE THE SANCTIONS. [MORE THAN
 SEVEN HUNDRED SHIPS.] THREE ^{regional} [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.

strict
milk
 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.

*check
 word
 "stopped"*

At home, BUT THE MATERIAL COST OF ^{*our*} 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
our share and more DO TO HELP CARRY THAT LOAD; [WE INSIST] OTHERS ^{*should*} DO THEIR
as well. SHARE stet

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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
PLEGGED TO PROVIDE [^{*our deployed*} 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 ~~PRODUCTION CAPACITY~~ ^{energy sources} 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
 CONVINC[E] ^{Iraq} SADDAM HUSSEIN 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} [SO] LET IT BE CLEAR: WE WILL NOT LET THIS AGGRESSION BY
IRAQ STAND. \\\

Keep this paragraph w/ changes

JHS
NSC

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, ^{Ballistic}
 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 *[THE] CONGRESS,* *together we* 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 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 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. 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. 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 ~~X~~ TIME FOR A
PROGRAM THAT IS CREDIBLE. ~~ENFORCEABLE AND WITHOUT~~
~~LOOPHOLES]~~ \\ \\ *and real.*

← stet
except
for parts
crossed
out in
black.

*** 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. \ \ \

I HOPE ^{we can work out a} ~~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 ^{cannot get me a budget, then} ~~FAILS TO FULFILL ITS~~ 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.

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.

#

Clean

Empty classes
NSC

Remove

to Clerk

2) Copy Disc + Backup

Disc to pen

1) Copy Backup

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. 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 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 TWENTY OTHER
NATIONS.

**THEY ARE SOME OF THE FINEST MEN AND WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. AND THEY'RE DOING ONE TERRIFIC 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 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, WELL-TRAINED AND DEDICATED.

A SOLDIER, P.F.C. 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. ((PULL OUT LETTER)) 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.\\
AND GRATEFUL TO EVERY SOLDIER, SAILOR, MARINE AND
AIRMAN SERVING THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE PERSIAN
GULF.\\\

I ALSO WANT TO THANK THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT
CHIEFS OF STAFF, GENERAL POWELL, THE CHIEFS, OUR
COMMANDER IN THE PERSIAN GULF, GENERAL SCHWARTZKOPF,
AND 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 FOR OUR FORCES AND THEIR
MISSION.

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.

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. THEY HAVE BEEN ENDORSED BY THE U.N. 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.\\\

AS YOU KNOW, I'VE JUST RETURNED FROM A VERY PRODUCTIVE MEETING WITH SOVIET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. 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 U.N. ACTION AGAINST AGGRESSION.

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, 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 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.\\\

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.\\ \\\

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 DOMINATED BY ONE SO RUTHLESS. 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, THE LEADER OF IRAQ MUST LEARN
THIS FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH.\\ \\

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 U.N. 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.\\\

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 BLACKMAILED.\\\

WE ARE NOW IN SIGHT OF A UNITED NATIONS THAT PERFORMS AS 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 MIDEAST WATERS. THEY HAVE ALREADY INTERCEPTED MORE THAN SEVEN HUNDRED 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.

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. WE ARE PREPARED TO DO OUR SHARE AND MORE TO HELP CARRY THAT LOAD; WE INSIST OTHERS DO THEIR SHARE AS WELL.\

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 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 -- 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 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. 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 ENERGY SOURCES 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 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.\\\

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, WITH OTHERS, IS 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.\\\

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 CONGRESS, TOGETHER WE 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 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.\\ \\ **

**SECOND: THE CONGRESS SHOULD, THIS MONTH, 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 RISK 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.

FOURTH: THE CONGRESS SHOULD, THIS MONTH, ENACT A FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM TO REDUCE THE PROJECTED DEBT AND DEFICITS BY \$500 BILLION -- THAT IS, BY HALF A TRILLION DOLLARS.\\ \\ 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.

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 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.
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. IT IS 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 THE DAYS OF PUNISHING
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.

**BUT NOW IT IS 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.

IF THE CONGRESS CANNOT GET ME A BUDGET , THEN
AMERICANS WILL HAVE TO FACE A TOUGH, MANDATED
SEQUESTER.

I AM HOPEFUL, IN FACT I AM CONFIDENT, THE CONGRESS WILL DO WHAT IT SHOULD. I CAN ASSURE 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 -- 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.

#

THE COMMUNIQUE WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV MAKES MENTION OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE EMBARGO IS SO EFFECTIVE THAT THE 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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM

To: DAVE DEMAREST
JIM CICCONI

From: MARK DAVIS

Re: Joint Session

I received a call from David Mack, d.a.s. for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, too late to incorporate into draft four. Mack suggested an insert along these lines:

"Our operations in the Persian Gulf were a response to the request for help from Saudi Arabia; a call to come to their defense.

"To the Arab peoples, I say: we have no aggressive intent, nor have we come to stay."

He said that such a comment would be useful to circulate in the Arab press.

(A personal note: Whatever your judgment of the insert, the phrase "we have not come to stay" seems to me to work very well.)

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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.

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.

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~~Keep~~
"Partnership of
Nations" - D

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.

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.

Schmitts -
Kopf -
Not HERE -

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.\\

Keep
[drawing of a pencil]

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 ~~STRONG~~ STRONG.** \\\ 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.

Spectacular

*amazing
GOES HERE*

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.**\\\

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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;**

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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:

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DZ -
Sexual
ANECDOTES

ONE
EXAMP 2

TOUCH
ON IT

GRATUITOUS/
Women in the shower list -
Parker to Now

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

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Davis
September 4, 1990
Title: Y
Draft: Three

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 ^{ADS} Armed Forces
struggle in a distant desert and on distant seas to protect the
rule of law. We gather as an Iraqi aggressor ^{MISSED HIS} suppresses peaceful
~~Arab neighbors~~ ^{Arab neighbors} whose country he has ruthlessly invaded — an
~~AND HELPLESS~~ ^{AND HELPLESS} ~~NEIGHBOR,~~ ^{NEIGHBOR,} ~~AND THEN WITHDREW~~
Iraqi President who, in violation of law and decency, holds
~~FROM AN INDIGNANT WORLD BEHIND A CIRCLE OF INNOCENTS,~~
innocent people hostage; an Iraqi dictator who, if left
~~NOW THIS AGGRESSOR~~
unchecked, would hold the global economy hostage to his expanding
control of oil; ~~AND WHO,~~ ^{AND WHO} if not restrained, might extend his
reign of terror with chemical weapons, as he has done before. |||

My purpose tonight is to clarify what is at stake -- and
what we, ~~together,~~ ^{PEOPLES} must do to protect civilized interests in the
world, and economic ~~growth~~ ^{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} BUT ~~ONE~~ SOMETHING ELSE IS CLEAR: ~~WE~~ WILL
NOT BE TERRORIZED. |||
~~We are all rightly concerned. But we cannot allow ourselves~~
~~-- or the world -- to be terrorized. |||~~

It is important that we stand firm, and that we stand
together.\\ So I am sure we all agree: If there ever were a time

PRESENT TENSE

this aggressor
he will the words
If left unchecked
wreck, etc.

*let me
to thank
you all*

to put country before self, and patriotism before party, **that time is now.** \\\ ~~So 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 their comfortable 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. \\\ \\\ [~~Our thanks, too, go to the sons of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, and Syria, who stand with our fighting forces in the sands of Saudi Arabia.~~] *Keep*

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 United States Armed Forces over the past few weeks has been **nothing short of heroic.** \\\

I have spoken with some of our men and women stationed in the Gulf. 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. *BUT WE CAN TAKE HOPE FROM THIS.*

While
 And while the community of civilized nations is united, the man whose actions so offend the global community still shows no respect for international norms, *And he* Saddam Hussein started out as a terrorist. *And he is still a terrorist.* He misled his Arab brethren, brutalized a peaceful and helpless neighbor, and then withdrew from an indignant world to hide behind a circle of innocents. *BECAUSE TAKE HOPE*

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 Marrakesh, 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.**\\\

are clear and determined

???

remain⁴ed

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

(Gulf)???

The situation we face is what some have termed the first crisis of the post-Cold War era. ~~The way we~~ ^{THE WAY WE RESPOND} and the community of nations ^{WILL SHAPE THE} manage this crisis may well determine the pattern ~~of international affairs for decades to come.~~ ^{WORLD WILL LIVE FOR DECADES TO COME}

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

First, ~~we~~ ^{lessening} should not allow the ~~reduced~~ ^{A GREATER} threat of superpower conflict to be replaced by an ~~increased~~ ^{from local} threat of regional ~~violence and lesser-power terrorism.~~ ^{bullies AND the terrorist they bankroll.}

Second, ~~I~~ ^{a post Cold War world} in the context of ~~reduced~~ ^(JUST THE OPPOSITE.) superpower tension, the responsibility of the United States to protect our cherished values is not ~~in any way~~ diminished. We are the world's number one economic and military power. Our responsibility is ~~both~~ evident, ~~and~~ inescapable.

Third, ~~our~~ ^{need for} efforts to protect rules 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 reduce the likelihood of unilateral aggression, and ~~the need for unilateral corrective~~ ^{REDUCE THE CHANCES AMERICA WILL HAVE TO} ~~action.~~ ^{ACT ALONE.}

ACT ALONE.

((Helsinki-Gorbachev to come))

Finally, we remember

~~Fourth~~, the lesson learned at horrendous cost half-a-century ago ~~must guide us in dealing with aggression~~: Rather than wait in ~~the~~ naive hope for ~~aggressors somehow to restrain themselves~~, *that* it is *will lose their appetite for conquest* far better for the defenders of civilized values to act **early, quickly, decisively and in concert.**\\\

In the face of the Iraqi aggression, we have so acted. We have done so hand-in-hand with the world community and the Security Council of the United Nations.

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.**\\\

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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 ~~to~~ *before we* achieve our objectives. That depends, to some extent, on Iraq. *Chosen the right course, now we must keep*

~~America started down the wrong path, and~~ *America* ~~Having started down the correct path, America must~~ *stay the* ~~it.~~ *to it.*

~~course~~. I know we will.

And I pray anyone who
~~Let no one doubt~~ our resolve.\\\] STET

Out of these troubled times, a ~~new world order will emerge.~~ ^{new order for the nations of the world can emerge.}
 With the course we have charted, we can not only reverse Iraqi aggression. We can also establish a cooperative precedent -- making the post-Cold War era [more free] ^{????} from the threat of terror; stronger in the pursuit of justice; more secure in the quest for peace.

There will, of course, be costs. Precious lives have already been sacrificed. Additional lives will be lost if military conflict breaks out. Even if it doesn't, the economic costs will be steep.

But we must avoid the greatest cost of all -- the cost of doing nothing. No one doubts that left unchallenged, Saddam Hussein could dictate the world price of oil. No one doubts he would advance his ambitions by weapons of mass destruction. But this is not 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. If we do not respond to this first provocation; if we do not repel it; we will send a signal to a half-dozen despots around the world. That signal would be a green light to aggression.\\\

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

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**.

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But financial responsibility should **begin** at home. 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 their 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 -- **NOW.**\\\

(NOT ~~BEFORE~~ AFTER ELECTION DAY, OR NEXT YEAR - BUT NOW.)

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

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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.\\ (BOLD) So for those who care about fairness -- and I am one -- I say: Don't hold America back. **LET AMERICA WORK** ~~Let this economy grow~~\\\

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 ^{could flare} ~~can~~ ^{up} ~~flair~~ into ^{a wider} ~~global~~ conflict. Surely that is now clear. American interests are far-reaching, ^{AND TIGHTLY BOUND} ~~interdependence~~ has increased. ^{TO THE FATES OF OTHER NATIONS} ~~The consequences of regional instability can be global.~~ ^{SOBERLY} This is no time to trifle with our ability to protect America's vital interests.\\\

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.))

~~[[When the oil embargo was ^{imposed} ~~imposed~~ in the early 1970's, the United States ^{imported} ~~imported~~ ((number)) million barrels of oil per day. This year, before the Iraqi invasion, U.S. imports had risen to ((number)) million barrels a day. We ^{have} ~~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 -- 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 soldiers 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 program~~ ^{DEFICIT CUTS} that ~~is~~ ^{are} 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 program

*** It 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* **it 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 compromise~~ *offer compromise* that should, at last, bring us together, I hope to persuade you of its merit in this ~~coming~~ week. \\\

Last we must

WE MUST BRING US ~~that should, at last, bring us together,~~ I hope to persuade you of its merit in this ~~coming~~ 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.** And now: **It is time to produce.** \\\

offer compromise

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. ^{as it always been, is} [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.]

I am hopeful. At this very moment, the sons and daughters of America stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the pathless wastes 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.\\\

~~((Anecdote about troops))~~

~~At this moment, our hopes and prayers are with them, each and every one of them, as another day dawns in the Persian Gulf.~~

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

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Davis
September 4, 1990
Title: Y
Draft: Three

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
struggle in a distant desert and on distant seas to protect the
rule of law. We gather as an Iraqi aggressor ^{MISLEADS HIS ARAB} suppresses peaceful
~~return,~~ ^{DETRIMENT,} ~~Arab neighbors whose country he has ruthlessly invaded~~ ^{DRUTALIZES A PEACEFUL AND HELPLESS NEIGHBOR,} ~~an~~
~~Iraqi President who, in violation of law and decency, holds~~ ^{AND THEN WITHDRAWS FROM AN INDIGNANT WORLD TO HIDE}
~~innocent people hostage; an Iraqi dictator who, if left~~ ^{BEHIND A CIRCLE OF INNOCENTS.}
~~unchecked, would hold the global economy hostage to his expanding~~ ^{THIS AGGRESSOR}
control of oil, ^{AND HE'S NOT} ~~and who, if not restrained, might extend his~~ ^{HE} ~~reign of terror with chemical weapons, as he has done before.~~ ^{WELL}

My purpose tonight is to clarify what is at stake -- and
what we, **together**, must do to protect civilized ^{PEOPLES} ~~interests in the~~
~~world,~~ and economic ^{STRENGTH} ~~growth 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.\\ LBUT SOMETHING ELSE IS CLEAR: AMERICA WILL NOT
BE TERRORIZED.

~~We are all rightly concerned. But we cannot allow ourselves~~
~~or the world to be terrorized.~~

It is important that we stand **firm**, and that we stand
together.\\ 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.** \\\ ~~So let me thank you all,~~ **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 their comfortable 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.** \\\ \\\ Our thanks, too, go to the sons of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, and Syria, who stand with our fighting forces in the sands of Saudi Arabia.

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 United States Armed Forces over the past few weeks has been **nothing short of heroic.** \\\

I have spoken with some of our men and women stationed in the Gulf. 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 ~~THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY~~ 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 Marrakesh, 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.**\\\

UNWAVERING

Our objectives are clear and ~~unchanging~~: Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait completely, unconditionally, restoring the legitimate government of Kuwait.\\ The security and stability of Saudi Arabia 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 and the community of nations manage this crisis may well determine the pattern of international affairs for decades to come.~~ **THE WAY WE RESPOND WILL SHAPE THE WAY THE WORLD LIVES FOR DECADES TO COME.**

So it is important that we stay true to certain principles:
 First, ~~We~~ ^{lessening} should not allow the ~~reduced~~ ^{a greater} threat of superpower ^{LOCAL} conflict to be replaced by an ~~increased~~ ^{from bullies} threat of regional violence and ~~lesser-power terrorism~~. ^{AND THE TERRORIST THEY BANKROLL}

~~Second,~~ ^{A POST-COLD WAR WORLD} in the context of ~~reduced superpower tension~~, the responsibility of the United States to protect our cherished values is not ~~in any way~~ ^{JUST THE OPPOSITE} diminished. ~~We~~ are the world's number one economic and military power. Our responsibility is ~~evident,~~ ^{obvious} inescapable.

~~Third,~~ ^{THIRD} our efforts to protect rules 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 reduce the likelihood of unilateral aggression, and ~~the need for unilateral corrective~~ **REDUCE THE NEED FOR AMERICA TO ACT ALONE** action.

((Helsinki-Gorbachev to come))

Finally, WE REMEMBER

~~Fourth~~, the lesson learned at horrendous cost half-a-century ago ~~must guide us in dealing with aggression~~: Rather than wait in ~~the~~

naive hope for aggressors ~~somehow to restrain themselves~~, it is **that WILL LOSE THEIR APPETITE FOR CONQUEST**

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AMERICA CHOOSE THE RIGHT COURSE; NOW WE MUST KEEP TO IT
~~Having started down the correct path, America must stay the~~
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Let no one doubt our resolve.\\\

Out of these troubled times, a new ~~world order will emerge~~
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There will, of course, be costs. Precious lives have already been sacrificed. Additional lives will be lost if military conflict breaks out. Even if it doesn't, the economic costs will be steep.

But we must avoid the greatest cost of all -- the cost of doing nothing. No one doubts that left unchallenged, Saddam Hussein could dictate the world price of oil. No one doubts he would advance his ambitions by weapons of mass destruction. But this is not 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. If we do not respond to this first provocation; if we do not repel it; we will send a signal to a half-dozen despots around the world. That signal would be a green light to aggression.\\\

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I have already taken the personal risk demanded of me, and so have others. OF COURSE, THIS PLAN WILL NOT FULLY SATISFY ANY OF US. BUT IT WILL DO THE JOB THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE. AGAIN, THAT JOB MUST BE DONE NOW. ~~The plan I offer tonight is a further compromise that should, at last, bring us together. I hope to persuade you of its merit in this coming week. \\\~~

THE PLAN I OFFER TONIGHT IS A COMPROMISE.
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 SO LET ~~US~~ COME TOGETHER THIS WEEK.

produce. \\\

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 (AMERICA'S DESTINY HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO LEAD) most intractable problems at home,

I am hopeful. At this very moment, the sons and daughters of America stand shoulder-to-shoulder in the pathless wastes 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.\\\

~~((Anecdote about troops))~~

~~At this moment, our hopes and prayers are with them, each and every one of them, as another day dawns in the Persian Gulf~~

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

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