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State of the Union 1991, 1/29/91 [OA 6029]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 29, 1991

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

The U.S. Capitol  
Washington, D.C.

9:09 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, and Mr. Speaker, and members of the United States Congress. I come to this House of the people to speak to you and all Americans, certain that we stand at a defining hour. Halfway around the world, we are engaged in a great struggle in the skies and on the seas and sands. We know why we're there. We are Americans -- part of something larger than ourselves. For two centuries, we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight, we lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity.

What is at stake is more than one small country; it is a big idea: a new world order, where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind -- peace and security, freedom, and the rule of law. Such is a world worthy of our struggle and worthy of our children's future. (Applause.)

The community of nations has resolutely gathered to condemn and repel lawless aggression. Saddam Hussein's unprovoked invasion -- his ruthless, systematic rape of a peaceful neighbor -- violated everything the community of nations holds dear. The world has said this aggression would not stand -- and it will not stand. (Applause.)

Together, we have resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism, and isolation that gives temptation to tyrants. The world has answered Saddam's invasion with 12 United Nations resolutions, starting with a demand for Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal and backed up by forces from 28 countries of six continents. With few exceptions, the world now stands as one.

The end of the Cold War has been a victory for all humanity. A year and a half ago, in Germany, I said that our goal was a Europe whole and free. Tonight, Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free -- and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible. (Applause.)

Our relationship to the Soviet Union is important, not only to us, but to the world. That relationship has helped to shape these and other historic changes. But like many other nations, we have been deeply concerned by the violence in the Baltics, and we have communicated that concern to the Soviet leadership.

The principle that has guided us is simple: Our objective is to help the Baltic peoples achieve their aspirations, not to punish the Soviet Union. (Applause.) In our recent discussions with the Soviet leadership, we have been given representations which, if fulfilled, would result in the withdrawal of some Soviet forces, a reopening of dialogue with the Republics, and a move away from violence.

We will watch carefully as the situation develops. And we will maintain our contact with the Soviet leadership to encourage

MORE

continued commitment to democratization and reform. (Applause.) If it is possible, I want to continue to build a lasting basis for U.S.-Soviet cooperation, for a more peaceful future for all mankind.

The triumph of democratic ideas in Eastern Europe and Latin America, and the continuing struggle for freedom elsewhere all around the world all confirm the wisdom of our nation's founders.

Tonight, we work to achieve another victory -- a victory over tyranny and savage aggression.

We in this Union enter the last decade of the 20th century thankful for our blessings, steadfast in our purpose, aware of our difficulties, and responsive to our duties at home and around the world.

For two centuries, America has served the world as an inspiring example of freedom and democracy. For generations, America has led the struggle to preserve and extend the blessings of liberty. And today, in a rapidly changing world, American leadership is indispensable. Americans know that leadership brings burdens and sacrifices. But we also know why the hopes of humanity turn to us. We are Americans: we have a unique responsibility to do the hard work of freedom. And when we do, freedom works. (Applause.)

The conviction and courage we see in the Persian Gulf today is simply the American character in action. The indomitable spirit that is contributing to this victory for world peace and justice is the same spirit that gives us the power and the potential to meet our toughest challenges at home.

We are resolute and resourceful. If we can selflessly confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away, then surely we can make this land all that it should be. If anyone tells you that America's best days are behind her, they're looking the wrong way. (Applause.)

Tonight, I come before this House and the American people with an appeal for renewal. This is not merely a call for new government initiatives; it is a call for new initiative in government, in our communities, and from every American -- to prepare for the next American century.

America has always led by example. So who among us will set this example? Which of our citizens will lead us in this next American century? Everyone who steps forward today -- to get one addict off drugs, to convince one troubled teenager not to give up on life, to comfort one AIDS patient, to help one hungry child.

We have within our reach the promise of a renewed America. We can find meaning and reward by serving some purpose higher than ourselves -- a shining purpose, the illumination of a thousand points of light. And it is expressed by all who know the irresistible force of a child's hand, of a friend who stands by you and stays there -- a volunteer's generous gesture, an idea that is simply right.

The problems before us may be different, but the key to solving them remains the same. It is the individual -- the individual who steps forward. And the state of our Union is the union of each of us, one to the other -- the sum of our friendships, marriages, families, and communities.

We all have something to give. So if you know how to read, find someone who can't. If you've got a hammer, find a nail. If you're not hungry, not lonely, not in trouble, seek out someone who is. Join the community of conscience. Do the hard work of freedom. And that will define the state of our Union. (Applause.)

Since the birth of our nation, "We the people" has been the source of our strength. What government can do alone is limited -- but the potential of the American people knows no limits.

We are a nation of rock-solid realism and clear-eyed idealism. We are Americans. We are the nation that believes in the future. We are the nation that can shape the future. And we've begun to do just that -- by strengthening the power and choice of individuals and families.

Together, these last two years, we've put dollars for child care directly in the hands of parents instead of bureaucracies. (Applause.) Unshackled the potential of Americans with disabilities. (Applause.) Applied the creativity of the marketplace in the service of the environment, for clean air; and made home ownership possible for more Americans. (Applause.)

The strength of a democracy is not in bureaucracy. It is in the people and their communities. In everything we do, let us unleash the potential of our most precious resource -- our citizens, our citizens themselves. We must return to families, communities, counties, cities, states, and institutions of every kind the power to chart their own destiny, and the freedom and opportunity provided by strong economic growth. And that's what America is all about. (Applause.)

I know tonight in some regions of our country, people are in genuine economic distress. And I hear them.

Earlier this month, Kathy Blackwell, of Massachusetts, wrote me about what can happen when the economy slows down, saying, "My heart is aching, and I think that you should know your people out here are hurting badly."

I understand. And I'm not unrealistic about the future. But there are reasons to be optimistic about our economy.

First, we don't have to fight double-digit inflation. Second, most industries won't have to make big cuts in production because they don't have big inventories piled up. And third, our exports are running solid and strong. In fact, American businesses are exporting at a record rate.

So let's put these times in perspective. Together, since 1981, we've created almost 20 million jobs, cut inflation in half, and cut interest rates in half.

And, yes, the largest peacetime economic expansion in history has been temporarily interrupted. But our economy is still over twice as large as our closest competitor.

We will get this recession behind us and return to growth soon. (Applause.) We will get on our way to a new record of expansion and achieve the competitive strength that will carry us into the next American century.

We should focus our efforts today on encouraging economic growth, investing in the future, and giving power and opportunity to the individual. (Applause.)

We must begin with control of federal spending. (Applause.) That's why I'm submitting a budget that holds the growth in spending to less than the rate of inflation. And that's why, amid all the sound and fury of last year's budget debate, we put into law new, enforceable spending caps -- so that future spending debates will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war. (Applause.)

Though controversial, the budget agreement finally put the federal government on a pay-as-you-go plan and cut the growth of debt by nearly \$500 billion. And that frees funds for saving and job-creating investment.

Now, let's do more. My budget again includes tax-free family savings accounts; penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home buyers -- (applause) -- and to increase jobs and

growth, a reduced tax for long-term capital gains. (Applause.)

I know there are differences among us -- (laughter) -- about the impact and the effects of a capital gains incentive. So tonight, I'm asking the congressional leaders and the Federal Reserve to cooperate with us in a study, led by Chairman Alan Greenspan, to sort out our technical differences so that we can avoid a return to unproductive partisan bickering. (Applause.)

But just as our efforts will bring economic growth now and in the future, they must also be matched by long-term investments for the next American century.

That requires a forward-looking plan of action -- and that's exactly what we will be sending to the Congress. We've prepared a detailed series of proposals that include:

A budget that promotes investment in America's future -- in children, education, infrastructure, space, and high technology;

legislation to achieve excellence in education -- building on the partnership forged with the 50 governors at the Education Summit, enabling parents to choose their children's schools and helping to make America number one in math and science; -- (applause) --

a blueprint for a new national highway system -- a critical investment in our transportation infrastructure; -- (applause) --

a research and development agenda that includes record levels of federal investment, and a permanent tax credit to strengthen private R&D and to create jobs; -- (applause) --

a comprehensive national energy strategy that calls for energy conservation and efficiency, increased development, and greater use of alternative fuels; -- (applause) --

a banking reform plan to bring America's financial system into the 21st century so that our banks remain safe and secure and can continue to make job-creating loans for our factories, our businesses and home-buyers.

You know, I do think there has been too much pessimism. Sound banks should be making sound loans now -- and interest rates should be lower, now. (Applause.)

In addition to these proposals, we must recognize that our economic strength depends on being competitive in world markets. We must continue to expand American exports. A successful Uruguay Round of world trade negotiations will create more real jobs and more real growth for all nations. You and I know that if the playing field is level, America's workers and farmers can out-work, out-produce anyone, anytime, anywhere. (Applause.)

And with a Mexican Free Trade Agreement and our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, we can help our partners strengthen their economies and move toward a free trade zone throughout this entire hemisphere. (Applause.)

The budget also includes a plan of action right here at home to put more power and opportunity in the hands of the individual. And that means new incentives to create jobs in our inner cities, by encouraging investment through enterprise zones. It also means tenant control and ownership of public housing. Freedom and the power to choose should not be the privilege of wealth. They are the birthright of every American. (Applause.)

Civil rights are also crucial to protecting equal opportunity. (Applause.) Every one of us has a responsibility to speak out against racism, bigotry, and hate. (Applause.) We will continue our vigorous enforcement of existing statutes, and I will

once again press the Congress to strengthen the laws against employment discrimination without resorting to the use of unfair preferences. (Applause.)

We're determined to protect another fundamental civil right -- freedom from crime and the fear that stalks our cities. The Attorney General will soon convene a crime summit of our nation's law enforcement officials. And to help us support them, we need tough crime control legislation, and we need it now. (Applause.)

And as we fight crime, we will fully implement our national strategy for combatting drug abuse. Recent data show that we are making progress, but much remains to be done. We will not rest until the day of the dealer is over, forever. (Applause.)

Good health care is every American's right and every American's responsibility. And so we are proposing an aggressive program of new prevention initiatives -- for infants, for children, for adults, and for the elderly -- to promote a healthier America and to help keep costs from spiralling. (Applause.)

It's time to give people more choice in government, by reviving the ideal of the citizen politician who comes not to stay, but to serve. And one of the reasons that there is so much support across this country for term limitations is that the American people are increasingly concerned about big-money influence in politics. So we must look beyond the next election, to the next generation. And the time has come to put the national interest above the special interest -- and totally eliminate political action committees. (Applause.)

And that would truly put more competition in elections, and more power in the hands of individuals. And where power cannot be put directly in the hands of the individual, it should be moved closer to the people -- away from Washington.

The federal government too often treats government programs as if they are of Washington, by Washington, and for Washington. Once established, federal programs seem to become immortal.

It's time for a more dynamic program life cycle: Some programs should increase. Some should decrease. Some should be terminated. And some should be consolidated and turned over to the states. (Applause.)

My budget includes a list of programs for potential turnover totalling more than \$20 billion. Working with Congress and the governors, I propose we select at least \$15 billion in such programs and turn them over to the states in a single consolidated grant -- fully funded -- for flexible management by the states. (Applause.)

The value -- the value of this turnover approach is straightforward. It allows the federal government to reduce overhead. It allows states to manage more flexibly and more efficiently. It moves power and decision-making closer to the people. And it reinforces a theme of this administration: appreciation and encouragement of the innovative powers of "States as Laboratories."

This nation was founded by leaders who understood that power belongs in the hands of people. And they planned for the future. And so must we -- here and all around the world.

As Americans, we know that there are times when we must step forward and accept our responsibility to lead the world away from the dark chaos of dictators, toward the brighter promise of a better day.

Almost 50 years ago we began a long struggle against aggressive totalitarianism. Now we face another defining hour for

America and the world.

There is no one more devoted, more committed to the hard work of freedom, than every soldier and sailor, every Marine, airman, and Coastguardsman -- every man and woman now serving in the Persian Gulf. (Applause.) Oh, how they deserve -- (applause) -- and what a fitting tribute to them.

You see -- what a wonderful, fitting tribute to them. Each of them has volunteered -- volunteered to provide for this nation's defense -- and now they bravely struggle, to earn for America, for the world, and for future generations, a just and lasting peace.

Our commitment to them must be equal to their commitment to their country. They are truly America's finest. (Applause.)

The war in the Gulf is not a war we wanted. We worked hard to avoid war. For more than five months we, along with the Arab League, the European Community, the United Nations, tried every diplomatic avenue. U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar; Presidents Gorbachev, Mitterrand, Ozal, Mubarak, and Bendjedid; Kings Fahd and Hassan; Prime Ministers Major and Andreotti -- just to name a few -- all worked for a solution. But time and again, Saddam Hussein flatly rejected the path of diplomacy and peace.

The world well knows how this conflict began and when: It began on August 2nd, when Saddam invaded and sacked a small, defenseless neighbor. And I am certain of how it will end. So that peace can prevail, we will prevail. (Applause.) Thank you.

Tonight, I am pleased to report that we are on course. Iraq's capacity to sustain war is being destroyed. Our investment, our training, our planning -- all are paying off. Time will not be Saddam's salvation.

Our purpose in the Persian Gulf remains constant: to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, to restore Kuwait's legitimate government, and to ensure the stability and security of this critical region.

Let me make clear what I mean by the region's stability and security. We do not seek the destruction of Iraq, its culture, or its people. Rather, we seek an Iraq that uses its great resources, not to destroy, not to serve the ambitions of a tyrant, but to build a better life for itself and its neighbors. We seek a Persian Gulf where conflict is no longer the rule, where the strong are neither tempted nor able to intimidate the weak.

Most Americans know instinctively why we are in the Gulf. They know we had to stop Saddam now, not later. They know that this brutal dictator will do anything; will use any weapon; will commit any outrage, no matter how many innocents suffer.

They know we must make sure that control of the world's oil resources does not fall into his hands, only to finance further aggression. They know that we need to build a new, enduring peace -- based not on arms races and confrontation, but on shared principles and the rule of law.

And we all realize that our responsibility to be the catalyst for peace in the region does not end with the successful conclusion of this war.

Democracy brings the undeniable value of thoughtful dissent -- and we've heard some dissenting voices here at home -- some, a handful, reckless -- most responsible. But the fact that all voices have the right to speak out is one of the reasons we've been united in purpose and principle for 200 years. (Applause.)

Our progress in this great struggle is the result of years of vigilance and a steadfast commitment to a strong defense. Now, with remarkable technological advances like the Patriot missile,

we can defend against ballistic missile attacks aimed at innocent civilians.

Looking forward, I have directed that the SDI program be refocused on providing protection from limited ballistic missile strikes -- whatever their source. (Applause.) Let us pursue an SDI program that can deal with any future threat to the United States, to our forces overseas, and to our friends and allies.

The quality of American technology, thanks to the American worker, has enabled us to successfully deal with difficult military conditions and help minimize precious loss of life. We have given our men and women the very best. And they deserve it. (Applause.)

We all have a special place in our hearts for the families of our men and women serving in the Gulf. They are represented here tonight by Mrs. Norman Schwarzkopf. (Applause.) We are all very grateful to General Schwarzkopf and to all those serving with him. And I might also recognize one who came with Mrs. Schwarzkopf -- Alma Powell, the wife of the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. (Applause.) And to the families, let me say our forces in the Gulf will not stay there one day longer than is necessary to complete their mission. (Applause.)

The courage and success of the RAF pilots, of the Kuwaiti, Saudi, French, the Canadians, the Italians, the pilots of Qatar and Bahrain -- all are proof that for the first time since World War II, the international community is united. The leadership of the United Nations, once only a hoped-for ideal, is now confirming its founders' vision. (Applause.)

I am heartened that we are not being asked to bear alone the financial burdens of this struggle. Last year, our friends and allies provided the bulk of the economic costs of Desert Shield. And now, having received commitments of over \$40 billion for the first three months of 1991, I am confident they will do no less as we move through Desert Storm. (Applause.)

But the world has to wonder what the dictator of Iraq is thinking. If he thinks that by targeting innocent civilians in Israel and Saudi Arabia, that he will gain advantage, he is dead wrong. (Applause.) If he thinks that he will advance his cause through tragic and despicable environmental terrorism, he is dead wrong. (Applause.) And if he thinks that by abusing the coalition prisoners of war he will benefit, he is dead wrong. (Applause.)

We will succeed in the Gulf. And when we do, the world community will have sent an enduring warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, who contemplates outlaw aggression.

The world can, therefore, seize this opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order, where brutality will go unrewarded and aggression will meet collective resistance.

Yes, the United States bears a major share of leadership in this effort. Among the nations of the world, only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up. We're the only nation on this Earth that could assemble the forces of peace. This is the burden of leadership and the strength that has made America the beacon of freedom in a searching world.

This nation has never found glory in war. Our people have never wanted to abandon the blessings of home and work for distant lands and deadly conflict. If we fight in anger, it is only because we have to fight at all. And all of us yearn for a world where we will never have to fight again.

Each of us will measure within ourselves the value of this great struggle. Any cost in lives -- any cost -- is beyond our power to measure. But the cost of closing our eyes to aggression is beyond mankind's power to imagine.

This we do know: Our cause is just. Our cause is moral. Our cause is right. (Applause.)

Let future generations understand the burden and the blessings of freedom. Let them say we stood where duty required us to stand.

Let them know that, together, we affirmed America and the world as a community of conscience.

The winds of change are with us now. The forces of freedom are together, united. We move toward the next century more confident than ever that we have the will at home and abroad to do what must be done, the hard work of freedom.

May God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

9:57 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON 91 JAN 25 PM 1:16  
JAN 25 P 2:21

January 25, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR PHILLIP BRADY

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY

Attached are the proposed insertions on Campaign Finance Reform and Civil Rights for the State of the Union Address.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/25 \_\_\_\_\_ 91

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: **JOHN S. GARDNER**  
**Special Assistant to the President**  
**and Assistant Staff Secretary**

Phil showed only p. 8 of the draft to Boyden; attached is Boyden's response.

Thanks.



## Proposed Statement on Civil Rights

Nothing can be more important than civil rights in providing equal opportunity for all Americans. We will continue our vigorous enforcement of existing statutes, and I will once again press the Congress to strengthen the laws against employment discrimination. Discrimination against the members of any group is intolerable, but quotas and preferences are as intolerable as other forms of discrimination.

The real battle for equal opportunity, however, will require us to go beyond eliminating discrimination and to take on crime and drugs and to break down barriers to education, job training, and entrepreneurship. Education and training are indispensable tools for those at the bottom of the economic ladder to be able to realize their dreams and contribute to America's ability to compete in the global marketplace.

That is why the package of empowerment legislation I propose to accomplish this is the most urgent portion of my civil rights agenda.

Proposed Statement on Campaign Finance Reform

This should be the year the Congress enacts serious and comprehensive campaign finance reform. This year -- not next -- is the time for us to act to curb special interest influence in the electoral process and by doing so, restore competition in elections. Elimination of special interest political action committees is an essential element of this reform. If these PACs can continue to favor House incumbents over challengers by the astounding ratio of 25-1, as they did in 1990, elections will cease to have much meaning. It's no wonder there is a growing sentiment across America for term limits. And there's much more that must be done.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE  
AND WIRE TRANSMISSION  
UNTIL 9:00 PM (EST)  
TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1991

THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

FACT SHEET

The President's 1991 State of the Union address discussed:

- A New World Order.
- Preparing for the Next American Century
- The War in the Gulf

The President explained that he came to speak to the Congress and all Americans "certain that we stand at a defining hour."

I. A NEW WORLD ORDER

A. Peace and the Rule of Law

The President declared that what is at stake in the Persian Gulf is more than just the independence of Kuwait. It is a new world order where diverse nations are brought together to give permanence to the universal aspirations of mankind:

- Peace and security;
- Freedom; and
- The rule of law.

The world has "resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism, and isolation" and is united in demanding Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. We are working to achieve victory over tyranny and lawless aggression. America has "a unique responsibility to do the hard work of freedom."

**B. Constructive Change**

The President noted that "the end of the Cold War has been a victory for all humanity...Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free -- and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible."

**C. U.S.-Soviet Relations**

The President stated that "our relationship with the Soviet Union is important, not only to us, but to the world." It has contributed to positive, historic change.

The President also noted that "like many other nations, we have been deeply concerned by the violence in the Baltics." The President stated that in discussions with the Soviet leadership "we have been given representations, which, if fulfilled, would result in the withdrawal of some Soviet forces, a reopening of dialogue with the Republics, and a move away from violence." We will watch carefully as the situation develops; we will also maintain our contacts with Soviet leaders to encourage democratization and reform.

**II. PREPARING FOR THE NEXT AMERICAN CENTURY**

The President asserted that the spirit that is winning a victory for world peace and justice in the Persian Gulf is "the same spirit that gives us the power and the potential to meet our toughest challenges at home." The President called for "new initiative in government, in our communities, and from every American, to prepare for the next American century."

The President encouraged all Americans to join the "community of conscience", asserting that "we have within our reach the promise of a renewed America." He said "we can find meaning and reward by serving some purpose higher than ourselves."

The President called for "strengthening the power and freedom of choice of individuals and families." He declared that "the strength of a democracy is not in bureaucracy," but "in the people and their communities." The President called for the unleashing of "the potential of our most precious resource -- our citizens." This should be done by returning to "families, communities, counties, cities, states, and institutions of every kind, the power to chart their own destiny."

**A. Encouraging Economic Growth**

The President explained that he understands the genuine economic distress experienced by many Americans. He offered three reasons to be optimistic about the economy:

- Inflation is low;
- Inventories are low; and
- Exports are strong.

The President expressed confidence that "we will get this recession behind us, and return to growth -- soon."

**Controlling Federal Spending and Enforcing the Budget Agreement**

The President declared that strong economic growth requires control of Federal spending. He will transmit a budget that holds the growth in spending to less than the rate of inflation.

The budget agreement put the Federal government on a pay-as-you-go plan and cut the growth of debt by nearly \$500 billion.

**Encouraging Savings and Investment**

The President explained that the budget agreement helped free private funds for savings and job-creating investment.

In addition, the President announced that his budget again includes:

- Tax-free family savings accounts;
- Penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home buyers; and
- A strengthened long-term capital gains incentive.

He also asked congressional leaders, the Administration, and the Federal Reserve to cooperate in a study, led by Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, to reach technical agreement on the budgetary and other economic effects of a strengthened capital gains incentive.

**B. Investing in the Future**

The President said that we must match incentives for economic growth today with long-term investments for the next American century.

**Budget Priorities**

The President indicated that his FY 1992 budget priorities will include promoting investments in children, education, infrastructure, space, and high technology.

**Strengthening Education**

The President will propose a new Educational Excellence Act which contains strategic initiatives to improve the learning achievement of all Americans and to restructure the nation's educational system. Initiatives in the Educational Excellence Act will:

- Stimulate fundamental reform and restructure our education system through promoting educational choice and alternative certification for teachers and principals.
- Promote local control and innovation in education by providing increased flexibility in funding at the Federal and state levels in exchange for enhanced accountability.
- Assist educators in their mission to improve student performance by: rewarding schools that demonstrate improved achievement among students; rewarding excellent teachers; and providing innovation in training school administrators.
- Provide incentives to school districts to design and implement innovative approaches to mathematics and science education; enhance the endowments of Historically Black Colleges and Universities; and contribute to improving literacy.

### Strengthening Transportation Infrastructure

The President believes a strong highway system is a critical investment for our economic success. He indicated that he would shortly outline the details of a new National Highway System managed in partnership with the States.

### Enhancing Research and Development

To strengthen our research and development capability and economic competitiveness the President will propose:

- A record Federal budget commitment to science and expanding the frontiers of knowledge, including basic research and making government research more available to the private sector for speedier commercialization;
- Increased support for generic or enabling technologies at the pre-competitive stage of R&D in such areas as high-performance computing, new energy technologies, and advanced manufacturing and materials; and
- Making permanent the R&E tax credit.

### Reducing Energy Vulnerability

The President will soon present a comprehensive National Energy Strategy that calls for energy conservation and efficiency, increased domestic energy development, and greater use of alternative fuels. The elements of the strategy are designed to:

- Foster economic growth through the availability of ample supplies of reasonably priced energy;
- Enhance energy security by reducing vulnerability to oil disruptions; and
- Increase research and development of a wide range of promising energy technologies.

### Providing Financial Security

The President said that we will continue to make sure banks are safe, sound, and able to provide adequate credit

for job-creating loans for factories, businesses, and homebuyers.

He stated that "sound banks should be making more sound loans, now -- and interest rates should be lower, now."

The Treasury will shortly unveil a plan to bring America's financial system into the 21st century. The elements of the plan are designed to:

- Continue to protect the deposits of America's workers and savers;
- Assure the safety, soundness, and competitiveness of our financial institutions;
- Create a regulatory system that is strong, simple, and streamlined; and
- Move toward a deposit insurance fund that is well capitalized with industry funds.

#### Expanding World Trade

The President called for an expansion of world trade, to create new opportunities for U.S. exports, which have grown by 23 percent over the past two years to nearly \$400 billion. His priorities include:

- Strengthening and expanding the world trading system through the swift and successful completion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations.
  - These negotiations aim to open markets worldwide, lower government subsidies and trade barriers that distort agricultural markets, and establish rules of fair play in areas vital to U.S. competitiveness -- such as services, agriculture, and high technology.
  - The lower trade barriers that would result from a successful Uruguay Round could increase world output by approximately \$5 trillion over the next ten years, and U.S. output by \$1 trillion.
- A U.S.- Mexico Free Trade Agreement (FTA), first endorsed by President Bush and Mexico's President Carlos Salinas de Gortari in June 1990.

- A comprehensive FTA would aim to eliminate barriers to trade in goods and services and investment between the United States and Mexico, as well as provide for the protection of intellectual property rights.
- It would free trade totalling \$59 billion between the two countries.
- The FTA might also include Canada, thus creating the world's largest market, with 360 million consumers and \$6 trillion in total output.

- Implementing the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, launched by President Bush last June.

- The President's initiative aims to spur economic growth and create jobs among the nations of the Western Hemisphere by removing barriers to trade and investment, and by reducing debt burdens.
- The initiative envisions the eventual development of a hemispheric zone of free trade.
- The United States has begun the process of opening markets to trade and investment with over a dozen countries in the region.
- The President will propose legislation to enable full implementation of the investment and debt reduction portions of the initiative.

- Export Promotion. The Administration will be taking quality and export programs to cities around the country, to make certain that more U.S. firms know the export potential of top quality goods and services.

C. Giving Power and Opportunity to the Individual

The President announced an action plan to "put more power and opportunity in the hands of the individual."

Creating Job Opportunities

The President called for new incentives to create jobs in our inner cities by encouraging investment through enterprise zones.

### Increasing Home Ownership

The President also called for increasing tenant ownership and control of public housing to help build the bonds of community in neighborhoods that need help.

### Fighting Discrimination

The President stated that "civil rights are also crucial to protecting equal opportunity." He called on all Americans to speak out against racism, bigotry, and hate.

The President indicated that "we will continue our vigorous enforcement of existing statutes," and promised to press the Congress again "to strengthen the laws against employment discrimination without resorting to the use of unfair preferences."

### Protecting People From Crime and Combatting Drug Abuse

The President described freedom from crime as a basic civil right and said that we must eradicate the fear that stalks our cities.

- He announced that the Attorney General will soon convene a Crime Summit of our nation's law enforcement officials.
- He called for prompt action on tough crime control legislation. The President will propose legislation that will include:
  - A meaningful Federal death penalty for the most heinous crimes with procedures to ensure its fair and colorblind application;
  - Habeas corpus reform to reduce unnecessarily repetitive appeals that clog the courts and delay justice;
  - Exclusionary rule reform to ensure that evidence gathered by law enforcement officials in a good faith belief that they are acting lawfully can be used to help courts establish the truth;
  - Provisions to strengthen Federal laws concerning the safety of women by modifying rules on the

admissibility of evidence in cases of sex crimes, enhancing penalties for the distribution of illegal drugs to pregnant women, increasing penalties for recidivist sex offenders, and offering greater protection for victims below the age of sixteen; and

- New authority to enhance international cooperation among law enforcement officials to combat international criminal activity, including international terrorism.

- The President noted that recent data shows we are making progress in reducing drug abuse, but that much remains to be done. The Administration will soon release the third edition of the National Drug Control Strategy.

This comprehensive strategy includes increased resources for drug prevention and education, treatment, law enforcement, and international initiatives.

#### Enhancing Good Health Through Prevention

The President stated that good health is every American's right and responsibility. He announced that he will propose an aggressive program of new prevention initiatives to promote a healthier America and to help control costs.

The initiatives are designed to make Americans of all ages healthier.

- Infant health will be improved through an initiative that targets cities with exceptionally high infant mortality rates;
- Children will benefit from large increases in immunization resources;
- Adults will benefit from new efforts to promote physical activity and reduce injury, reduce tobacco use, and implementation of a new program to detect breast and cervical cancer; and
- Elderly women will benefit from mammography services newly available to Medicare beneficiaries.

### Giving People More Choice in Government

The President urged "reviving the ideal of the citizen politician who comes not to stay, but to serve."

- He endorsed term limitations in order to reduce the influence of special interests.
- He also endorsed election reform -- total elimination of Political Action Committees -- as necessary to put more power in the hands of individuals.

### D. Moving Government Closer to the People

The President said that "where power cannot be put directly in the hands of the individual, it should be moved closer to the people -- away from Washington."

The President called for a more dynamic program life cycle.

- Some programs should increase;
- Some should decrease;
- Some should be terminated; and
- Some should be consolidated and turned over to the States.

The President's Budget includes a list of potential programs for turnover totalling more than \$20 billion. Working with the Governors and the Congress, the President proposed selecting at least \$15 billion in such programs and turning them over to the States in a single consolidated grant, fully funded, for flexible management by the States. This initiative will:

- Allow the Federal Government to reduce overhead;
- Allow States to manage more flexibly and efficiently;
- Move power and decision-making closer to the people; and
- Encourage the innovative power of "States as Laboratories."

### III. THE WAR IN THE GULF

#### A. The Heroism of Our Servicemen and Servicewomen

The President said that, in this defining hour for America and the world, "there is no one more devoted, more committed to the hard work of freedom than every soldier and sailor, every Marine, airman and Coastguardsman -- every man and woman now serving in the Persian Gulf." He stated that our commitment to them must match their commitment to their country.

#### B. We Are on Course

The President said that while we worked hard to avoid war, Saddam Hussein repeatedly rejected the path of diplomacy and peace. But we will prevail; we are on course. "Iraq's capacity to sustain war is being destroyed...Time will not be Saddam's salvation.

#### C. Objectives in the Gulf

The President reaffirmed our objectives:

- Drive Iraq from Kuwait. Iraq must comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions.
- Restore Kuwait's legitimate government. Kuwait will once again be free.
- Ensure stability and security in the Gulf region. It is our hope that Iraq will live as a peaceful and cooperative member of the family of nations.

The President stated that most Americans know instinctively why we are in the Gulf -- "we had to stop Saddam now, not later." The President noted the undeniable value of thoughtful dissent. The right to speak out "is one of the reasons we've been united in purpose and principle for 200 years."

#### D. Strategic Benefits of High Technology

The President observed that our progress in the Gulf is the result of using American technology and economic

strength to minimize the risk to human life. Our men and women have the best and deserve the best.

The President directed that the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program be refocused on providing protection from limited ballistic missile strikes -- from whatever their source.

E. The Unity of the International Community

The President observed that for the first time in the post-war era, the international community is united. It has an opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order -- where brutality goes unrewarded, and aggression meets collective resistance.

The President praised the courage and success of the pilots of the coalition countries and the leadership provided by the United Nations, an organization that is now confirming its founders' vision.

The President also commended our friends and allies who have provided the bulk of the financial costs of Desert Shield, and expressed confidence that they will similarly financially support Desert Storm.

F. U.S. Determination is Great

The President stated that Saddam will not benefit from targeting innocent civilians, from environmental terrorism, or by abusing POWs. We will succeed, and in the process send a powerful message to any dictator or despot who would follow Saddam's lead.

G. The Special Role of U.S. Leadership

The President stated that "the United States bears a major share of leadership" in the Gulf War effort. He noted that the burden of leadership is a "strength that has made America the beacon of freedom in a searching world."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 30, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER

SUBJECT: State of the Union Address: Themes

My discussions with virtually all the major executive departments and agencies regarding their ideas and suggestions for the President's State of the Union Address at the end of next month have yielded both much consensus and the expected interest from most departments in having particular programs or policies mentioned.

1. The virtue of a thematic approach.

There is consensus, at least in principle, on the value of a thematic rather than a programmatic approach. The programmatic approach easily cascades into a laundry list of particular programs. It may please some specific constituencies that they were mentioned, but it rarely inspires the listener or conveys a sense of direction.

2. Foreign Policy.

The situation with respect to foreign policy has changed dramatically since last January. Then, there was clear euphoria over the events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Soviet empire was crumbling and the Cold War ending, if not over.

Today, foreign policy discussions are understandably dominated by the situation in the Persian Gulf and the central question of whether Saddam Hussein will withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait by January 15. And, if he does not, what will follow.

Whatever transpires between January 15 and January 29 when the President is scheduled to deliver his State of the Union Address, the situation in the Persian Gulf will appropriately play a prominent part in the speech.

This is an opportunity to convey a tone of prudent decisiveness. The Vietnam experience is still a vivid memory in the minds of most adult Americans. They remember the loss of life, the unsatisfactory resolution, and the lack of decisiveness in concluding the conflict.

This is also an occasion to place events in the Middle East into a larger context of what has happened during the past two years and of the new world order the President is seeking to establish during this decade. It is worth recalling the positive developments of the past two years and the crucial role played by American leadership and resolve in the spread of democracy in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere, and in the unification of Germany.

In addition to the Persian Gulf situation, the other major foreign policy issue that merits attention in the foreign policy section of the speech is the U.S.-Soviet relationship in light of developments in the U.S.S.R.

The specifics of the foreign policy portion of the speech are best left to others. I raise it here simply to flag that given current conditions, there is a compelling case for a more prominent role for foreign policy in this year's State of the Union Address than in many past years.

3. Economic Policy.

Much has also changed with respect to the economy since last January. The National Bureau of Economic Research will have technically declared that we are in a recession by January 29. The economic data that will be released between now and the State of the Union will almost certainly not be encouraging.

Consumer confidence has plunged and remains low. Perhaps more than anything else, the portion of the speech dealing with the economy needs to convey confidence both in the short-term and the longer-term. It is important that the President convey that he is following economic developments closely, and that he remind Americans of the fundamental strength and resilience of the U.S. economy.

This is an opportunity for him to convey his conviction that we face a major economic challenge, not simply in restoring adequate levels of economic growth now, but also in competing internationally during the coming decade and beyond. Here he can outline the principles and policies that he feels are crucial to the U.S. achieving these two goals.

The dominant characteristic of the President's economic policies is an emphasis on growth (increasing the size of the economic pie) rather than on distributional issues (how to divide up the economic pie).

Growth depends on deploying resources efficiently, and this involves economic arrangements that are flexible,

*0: the country's concerned...*

*by his business, why it's by...*

*Q: how many CONFIDENT*

*of business, economy,*

*if business is out of control.*

*solid roots*

*! @ return economic outlook*

- ① Need higher growth
- ② become more competitive in global econ.

adaptable, and innovative. It means eschewing protectionism, resisting the allure of mandated benefits, and promoting genuine competition. This is a philosophy that we have successfully urged in the global marketplace of ideas over the last several decades. We not only need to preach it, but practice it.

But economic growth also requires that we have adequate resources to deploy efficiently and this means the need to make crucial investments in the future. These investments involve physical, intellectual (R&D), and human capital.

The economic portion of the speech dealing with the short-term will need to focus on fiscal and monetary policy:

- o **The Budget:** We are going to live within our means and restrain government spending, *cut wasteful spending*
- o **Tax Policy:** Either announce a package of tax measures to stimulate economic growth and deal with the recession through tax policy (This would include some or all of the following measures urged by Secretary Kemp: capital gains reduction, rolling back the Social Security payroll tax increase, increasing the personal exemption, and the Family Savings Plan, IRAs for first-time homebuyers, and enterprise zones)

or

Announce that the tax provisions in last year's Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act were the ransom to get the Democrats to agree to a deficit reduction package and that the President will hold the line on new taxes.

- o **Interest rates and monetary policy:** We are pursuing a fiscal policy consistent with a monetary policy that will bring interest rates down. Perhaps also mention the need for balance on the part of banking regulators in assuring safety and soundness while facilitating economic growth referencing the so-called credit crunch.

*Were  
hard on  
base in  
order -  
you can (Fed)  
base up.*

*See Houston  
alone - safety & soundness  
banking, and also  
provide adequate credit.*

**Jobs:** Convey that the President is confident that the economic slowdown we are experiencing will be relatively short and shallow and that the unemployment compensation system will effectively handle those who are unemployed.

The portion dealing with the longer-term can emphasize a series of needed investments and policy priorities:

RP's have "long term investments" - 4 -  
(class problem?)

[SHOOT HERE]  
RP will give us rough background - I did not (concern in side)

(will have policy)

will be policy

ess: I've done an entire section  
I've called

- Strengthening our financial system (Treasury banking reform proposals);
- o Strengthening our education system (Revised education excellence act; education reforms including math-science initiative; a partnership with governors on education goals; and a partnership of parents, students, teachers, and community leaders);
- o Strengthening our research and development capacity (Federal spending on R&D and federal commitment to enhancing commercialization of the results of federal research);
- o Reducing our energy vulnerability (referencing the National Energy Strategy);
- o Enhancing our transportation infrastructure (National Highway Program);
- o Expanding world trade (Commitment to successful Uruguay Round, Mexican Free Trade Agreement, export promotion effort).

4. Domestic Policy

Inside the beltway, and in much of the press, recent weeks have witnessed a steady stream of stories suggesting that the Administration has a limited (or little in the way of a) domestic agenda. The State of the Union provides a great opportunity to articulate successfully our agenda.

The President can point out the progress we have made by briefly noting some of the successes of the last two years (declines in drug use, legislation passed dealing with clean air, child care, immigration, Americans with Disabilities, the minimum wage, and agricultural programs) before turning to the remaining agenda.

Three themes, two of which are closely interrelated, form the core of our domestic policy agenda beyond the economic priorities outlined above.

a. Kinder, Gentler.

The phrase a kinder, gentler nation is favorably identified with the President. It is illustrated in our successfully focusing more resources (Medicaid, WIC, Head Start) on those with the greatest needs as well as enacting child care and the Americans with Disabilities legislation.

Kinder, gentler is also reflected in improving the health care of Americans. While we are not recommending an overhaul of the nation's health care system, we are advancing a series of prevention initiatives dealing with:

*America - Take care of yourself.*

- o infant immunization;
- o Smoking (including a smoking executive order);
- o Infant mortality;
- o Breast and cervical cancer.

We must reduce the amount of defensive medicine that is practiced in the U.S. if we are to bring down the spiraling costs of our health care system and will do so with a series of measures designed to reform our medical malpractice system.

We must also enact food safety legislation to help protect the safety of our food supply in a cost effective manner.

#### b. Opportunity and Empowerment

A related theme is that of opportunity and empowerment. The President has long championed civil rights, crime control, and replacing dependency with self-reliance. In advancing this part of his domestic agenda the President can observe that America has always been a land of opportunity where individuals have had rights and have also accepted responsibility.

We must protect those rights. Americans have a right not to suffer discrimination. They have a right to the protection of their persons and property.

This means removing drugs from our neighborhoods and drug dealers and criminals from our streets. It means protecting the civil rights of all our citizens.

Americans also have a right and a responsibility to chart their own destiny. We must remove barriers to individuals fulfilling their responsibilities. Our system today often puts bureaucrats in charge of making decisions that properly should be made by individuals.

✓ This means fostering a new system that operates not merely as a safety net, but instead as a ladder out of poverty. It means cutting through bureaucracy, taking the resources we are spending on a multitude of government programs and targeting them to those who need them most. It means focusing on

results. It means expressing genuine confidence in Americans to take responsibility and to seize the opportunities we will make available to them.

We will provide incentives to create jobs in our inner cities, and to assist public housing tenants in managing and even owning public housing. We will support the nationwide movement to enable parents to choose the schools their children will attend.

A series of measures will help empower Americans:

- o *We set off of what we need. How--*  
Comprehensive crime control legislation, and announce a **Summit Conference** with State and local officials to combat violent crime and drugs;
- o Enterprise zones (jobs);
- o Choice in education;
- o Tenant ownership of public housing (HOPE);
- o Civil rights legislation that does not enshrine quotas.

These measures can work to create an America where dependency is supplanted by opportunity. Where it is being tried it is working already.

#### c. A Sense of Stewardship

A third element in our domestic agenda embraces both the environment and service. Shortly after he came into office the President reminded Americans that this country was founded by individuals who had a powerful sense of the possibilities of this land, and who had an equally powerful sense of their responsibilities to posterity, as Thomas Jefferson said, unto the thousandth generation. It is captured by the term stewardship.

The founders recognized that we are stewards of this land and that we have a responsibility to it and to each other. As a nation we have taken several major steps forward to enhance our environment these past two years. The Clean Air Act and much other environmental legislation enacted during the past Congress has placed us on a new course.

While we do not have an environmental legislative agenda similar to the Clean Air Act we can reference:

- o Encouraging stewardship through voluntary recycling. Announce a federal recycling executive order that will show the federal government leading by example.
- o America the Beautiful
- o Encouraging tree planting to help meet our goal of planting 1 billion trees a year over the coming decade.

This would also be an appropriate section to include a reference to a sense of stewardship to others through service and all that Americans have done in creating a thousand points of light.

#### 5. Values

The values that run through the speech are freedom, growth, opportunity, and responsibility. They are the elements that make for a strong nation and strong families.

BA: 2 Strong nations and strong families are ones that provide their members with both roots and wings. Our roots and traditions remain strong. We have fashioned alliances and provided leadership that have produced stability and security in a troubled world. We have championed market-oriented economic arrangements that have brought prosperity to ourselves and others.

But we also need wings to take us to the next frontier. We must make a pattern of investments in our future. We must take responsibility for producing a kinder, gentler society. We must open wide the doors of opportunity and responsibility for all our citizens. And we must pass on to the next generation a better land.

#### Other Possibilities

Two other possible initiatives that focus on political institutional reform include:

1. Campaign finance reform; and
2. Term limitations for members of Congress.

Another rhetorical device that might be used is the concept of partnership. One possibility in this regard is to talk about a "New Partnership" with the states.

The elements of this "New Partnership" would include:

1. Crime

- o Convening a Crime Summit with state and local law enforcement officials. I have discussed this for sometime with the Attorney General. A good deal of planning has already been completed by the Department of Justice.

2. Education

- o Continuing the partnership established at Charlottesville and with the National Education Goals Panel.

3. Transportation Infrastructure

- o The new National Highway System. *(see doc)*

For Discussion  
12-31-90

1991 State of the Union  
Draft Outline

I. Introduction

- A. A challenging, exciting world. We are fortunate to live in these times.
- B. Proud to serve as President of this great country. We have a long and honorable tradition that includes a heritage of freedom, growth, and opportunity.
- C. We have important responsibilities around the world and at home. It is about those responsibilities that we all share that I want to talk tonight.

II. Foreign Policy

- A. Discussion of Gulf Situation
- B. Discussion of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations
- C. Other

III. Economic Policy

- A. Discussion of current state of the economy and the outlook.
- B. Face two major challenges:
  - 1. Restoring adequate levels of economic growth; and
  - 2. Competing internationally during the coming decade and beyond.
- C. Our economic policy built around concept of growth:
  - 1. Fiscal policy
    - o We will live within our means and restrain government spending. Will adhere to the spending restraints in the budget agreement.
    - o Tax policy to be decided.

2. Interest rates and credit

- o Pursuing a fiscal policy consistent with bringing interest rates down.
- o Need for balance on the part of banking regulators in assuring safety and soundness while facilitating economic growth and adequate credit.

3. Jobs

- o Economic slowdown expected to be relatively short and shallow. UI system will effectively assist those who are unemployed.

4. Growth depends on deploying resources efficiently, and this involves economic arrangements that are flexible, adaptable, and innovative. It means eschewing protectionism, resisting the allure of mandated benefits, and promoting genuine competition.

D. Growth and competitiveness also requires a series of needed investments in the future and policy priorities:

1. Strengthening our financial system (Treasury banking reform proposals).
2. Strengthening our education system (Revised educational excellence act; education reforms including math-science initiative; a partnership with governors on education goals);
3. Strengthening our research and development capacity (Federal spending on R&D and federal commitment to enhancing commercialization of the results of federal research);
4. Reducing our energy vulnerability (referencing the National Energy Strategy);
5. Enhancing our transportation infrastructure (National Highway Program);
6. Expanding world trade (Commitment to successful Uruguay Round, Mexican Free Trade Agreement, export promotion effort).

IV. Domestic Policy

A. Progress we have made in the past two years:

- o Declines in drug use, legislation passed dealing with clean air, child care, immigration, Americans with Disabilities, national service, minimum wage, and agricultural programs.

B. Kinder, Gentler.

1. Have successfully focused more resources (medicaid, WIC, Head Start) on those with the greatest needs.
2. Must improve the health care of Americans. Not recommending an overhaul of the nation's health care system, but are advancing a series of prevention initiatives dealing with:
  - Infant immunization
  - Smoking (including smoking executive order)
  - Infant mortality
  - Breast and cervical cancer
3. Must reduce amount of defensive medicine to help restrain health care costs and will do so with a series of measures to reform of medical malpractice system.
4. Must enact food safety legislation to help protect the safety of our food supply in a cost effective manner.

C. Opportunity and Empowerment

1. America a land of opportunity where individuals have had rights and accepted responsibility.
2. We must protect those rights. Americans have a right not to suffer discrimination. Have a right to the protection of their person and property.

This means removing drugs from our neighborhoods and drug dealers and criminals from our streets. It means protecting the civil rights of all our citizens.

3. Americans have a right and responsibility to chart their own destiny. Must remove barriers to individuals fulfilling their responsibilities. Our system today often puts bureaucrats in charge of making decisions that properly should be made by individuals.

This means fostering a new system that operates not merely as a safety net, but instead as a ladder out of poverty. It means cutting through bureaucracy, taking the resources we are spending on a multitude of government programs and targeting them on those who need them most.

4. We will provide incentives to create jobs in our inner cities, and to assist public housing tenants in managing and even owning public housing. We will support the nationwide movement to enable parents to choose the schools their children will attend.

5. A series of measures will help empower Americans:

- Comprehensive crime control legislation, and announce a Crime Summit Conference with state and local officials to combat violent crime and drugs.
- Enterprise zones (jobs);
- Choice in education;
- Tenant ownership of public housing (HOPE);
- Civil rights legislation that does not enshrine quotas.

These measures can work to create an American where dependency is supplanted by opportunity.

D. A Sense of Stewardship

1. Country founded by individuals who had a powerful sense of their responsibilities to posterity. We are stewards of this land and have a responsibility to it and to each other.
2. Have taken several major steps to enhance our environment these past two years. Clean Air Act and other environmental legislation has placed

us on a new course.

3. Encouraging stewardship through voluntary recycling. Announce a federal recycling executive order that shows the federal government leading by example.
4. **America the Beautiful**
5. Encouraging tree planting to help meet our goal of planting 1 billion trees a year over the coming decade.
6. This would be an appropriate section to include a reference to a sense of stewardship to others through service and all that Americans have done in creating a thousand points of light.

V. Values

- A. Freedom, growth, opportunity, responsibility are the elements that make for a strong nation and strong families.
- B. Strong nations and strong families are ones that provide their members with both roots and wings. Our roots and traditions remain strong. We have fashioned alliances and provided leadership that have produce stability and security in a troubled world. We have championed market-oriented economic arrangements that have brought prosperity to ourselves and others.
- C. But we also need wings to take us to the next frontier. We must make a pattern of investments in our future. We must take responsibility for producing a kinder, gentler society. We must open wide the doors of opportunity and responsibility for all our citizens. And we must pass on to the next generation a better land.

3 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION MATERIAL

EMPOWERMENT

NOTES:

I. "THE NEW INDEPENDENCE"

We must sell empowerment by appealing to the most basic of American values.

"Reliance on government is dependence--and what the people of our ghettos need is not greater dependence, but full independence."

--Robert F. Kennedy, 1966

A. Bush: "We know what works--freedom works." I've seen this line again and again. People like it, they remember it. Perhaps it should be restated.

1. Note: while advising Beth and me on our Massachusetts fundraiser, Ron Kaufman insisted that the people of that state wanted both change and order: a change from liberal policies that had obviously failed, yet order as an alternative to liberal chaos. The same might apply in selling empowerment.

The empowerment agenda is to dispersed to either portend the hatchet-fall of change, or summarize order unambiguously. One of the key principles that can be distilled from it, however, is choice/freedom.

2. Empowerment as "Freedom" and "Independence" is consistent with traditional conservative agenda: Weyrich talks about how this agenda has habitually been couched in negative terms--anti-communism, anti-big government, anti-egalitarianism. The common thread running through these "anti's," however, is this: pro-freedom, pro-individual freedom.

3. Applying free-marketplace ideas to social problems: Empowerment as the linkage of Jeffersonian democracy and Adam Smith's economic system. Again, we know what works--freedom works--in the marketplace as in society.

4. In simplifying the concept of empowerment we might stress the link between effort and reward. When the bureaucratic welfare state severs that link, it denies the most fundamental aspect of human nature.
- B. Americans believe in hard work: "A hand up, not a hand-out." (I will track down this source). Posit: the Work Ethic vs. The Entitlement Ethic.

Hand in hand with the work ethic is the belief in The American Dream, and faith that the ordinary American can achieve that dream.

Pink: "..idealism about human potential.."  
"..pragmatism about human nature.."

1. The ladder and the safety net: The safety net imagery is fine as long as it is, as Pink describes it, a "safety net that catches people when they fall, not that traps them forever in poverty.."

But how about that ladder--fit is with a hand-up, suggests showing people the way, and lets us talk about those "bottom rungs" and how central they are to our vision of opportunity. It has to do with hope.

2. Hope vs. despair: The American Dream vs. "the deep and dreamless sleep" (O Little Town of Bethlehem).
- C. THE NEW INDEPENDENCE IN THE CURRENT CULTURAL CONTEXT

Flip on any talk show and be assured that 80% of the topics will be some variation on the theme of "Dependency." You're either co-dependent, alcohol-dependent, food-addicted, sex-addicted, love-addicted, ad nauseum..and if you're not dependent, you're in denial. By describing the Old Paradigm system which fosters **dependence**, you've caught the public's attention--and you have their empathy. Watch them nod, here come the kleenex.

1. From passive recipients of bureaucracies, to active self-confident members of the economy and their communities. Turning victims of poverty into creators of their own destiny.
2. Kemp: the "pride and dignity of ownership."

Miscellaneous: also in tune with the popular culture, labeling the entrenched bureaucracies "The Untouchables."

- D. SHIP METAPHOR

When we think of immigrants coming to America, and the poor living in America, we can recognize that they are both "huddled masses yearning to breathe free..the homeless, tempest-tossed.." (Emma Lazarus, The New Colossus: Inscription for the Statue of Liberty, New York Harbor). The immigrants, however, had hope, a vision of the Statue of Liberty who promises: "I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Empowerment gives the individual both hope and vision, empowering him to be, like Conrad's Secret Sharer: "a free man, a proud swimmer striking out for a new destiny."

A ship is a vision of decisive forward motion. Hope fuels that motion, and without hope people become a ship adrift in a sea of despair. Empowerment lets people plot their own course, choose their own destiny.

Mario Cuomo once made the charge that Republicans believe that the wagon (America) won't make it to the frontier unless some our weak, our old and our young are left behind. This is the kind of remark that shuts us out of the Democrats' corner on the compassion market. How about turning this around and re-outfitting it for the ship metaphor: "We all want the same destination for that ship we call America, and we all refuse to leave anyone behind. The simple truth is with some policies, the safety net becomes a trap, in which some Americans must be constantly towed behind, drowning in perpetual poverty." (wasted human potential=dolphins caught in fishing nets)

Feulner: "The conservative agenda can never be brought to full flower simply by rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic called the federal bureaucracy." While the poor are drowning in its wake.

The poor languishing, locked in steerage. Some think the solution is to slip more money under the door. I think we should hand them the keys.

- D. Possible segue out of **battle** in the Gulf to domestic **battle** against poverty, despair, crime, and drugs.

## II. THE BUREAUCRATIC WELFARE STATE CRUMBLES ABROAD, BUT HOLDS FAST AT HOME.

Pink: "The recent events in Eastern Europe are sending America a message that it should already know."

Pink paraphrased: 'Where leaders are slow to learn, their citizens are quick to teach them.'

- A. The Great Irony: As the rest of the world is turning to freedom, liberating human potential, some here at home are still clutching to the old order, empowering bureaucracy and not the individual.
- B. In segue out of foreign affairs, and in principle: Empowerment, and what it means for America is essential if America is to continue its global leadership.
- C. \*!\*!\* Kemp talks about the similarities between Eastern European and Third World economies on one hand, and inner city poverty on the other. He goes on to delineate the two economies operating in the United States ----> By making this analogy, and describing the two American economies, we discredit Old Paradigm policies without even touching the "D" word or the "L" word. Americans know the enormous distinction between the energy of capitalist economies and the stasis of centralized/bureaucratized economies. They recognize that socialism has been decisively discredited. Making this analogy takes the first step towards both exposing the Welfare State for what it is while marking it "to be thrown out."

III. RECAPTURING THE COMPASSION MARKET: "PEOPLE DON'T CARE THAT YOU KNOW UNTIL THEY KNOW THAT YOU CARE" (KEMP)

- A. Kemp points out that Bob Kuttner of the New Republic wrote that polls continue to show that the voters trust Republicans more than Democrats to conduct foreign policy, manage the economy, hold down inflation, and resist higher taxes. Democrats still win out on the question of who **cares** more about the common American. Kuttner concludes that if the Republicans can ever capture this issue as well, the Democrats might as well go out of business.

- B. Acknowledge that, as Americans, we all can recognize the problems in society, and we all want to see things get better. Then set out our distinctive vision of how that is to be accomplished.

Pink: "I'm here as a representative of the Bush White House and as a Republican to tell you that we have just as much desire to end homelessness, improve education, lift up the underclass and realize the goals of most liberals. However,...I am also here to tell you that if we want to improve the lives of people, then we are going to have to go about solving them in a different way."

- C. One way of showing that we care is to point out that the Old Order, or the Old Dependency patronized the poor by treating them as if they were fundamentally different whereas The New

Independence recognizes in them the same dreams and aspirations of all Americans.

"And to those Americans who need help, those struggling to make ends meet--we're not going to tell them they need one more bureaucracy to show them how to run their lives. Those Americans share the same dreams and human potential of all Americans. But what they need is a hand-up, not just another handout."

EXCERPTS:

- 1) "A Conservative Vision for America's Future: Putting Faith on Agenda" --Paul Weyrich

"While the American people may no longer worship false idols, they have yet to be evangelized to the true faith. This is especially evident in the domain of policy, where liberalism remains competitive, perhaps even dominant. This remains so for three reasons. First liberals possess a coherent agenda, a vision which is a fertile source of policy initiatives. Second, liberalism is an elite movement and elites are able more easily to translate their ideas into policy. And third, the liberal movement rests on a network of discrete, readily mobilized constituencies which form strong grass roots coalitions."

"The liberals, even though they are temporarily discredited, are still putting forward new ideas (federal day care, homosexual rights, disarmament and the peace dividend) and conservatives have to do more than just say no to the conservative agenda.."

COMMUNICATION OF AGENDA MUST DELINIATE DIFFERENCES: "A new conservative agenda must be a catalyst both for good policy and for the rebuilding of a conservative movement. It is not sufficient..for conservatives to put forward good policy ideas. It is also necessary that those ideas create constructive polarization--that they highlight the difference between the conservative and liberal world view, build conservative constituencies and divide liberal ones and communicate a clear alternative vision to the public."

"A new conservative agenda must speak to the concerns Americans feel. And these are not the same concerns to which we have responded for two decades..In terms of the traditional indicators--the economic statistics, the world situation--the American people should be content and at ease. They should see the future as a 'golden age.' But they do not...ordinary Americans feel insecure about their present and their future. They worry that their children might be entrapped by drugs or that the schools will fail to

give them a decent education. They worry about crime and the emergence of an apparently permanent underclass. They worry that their children will be unable to live the American dream--own their homes or support their families adequately. They worry about declining economic productivity, and that tomorrow will be worse, not better than today."

"The unifying theme in these concerns is a sense of cultural breakdown, a loss of the moral standards and ideals of excellence that make society function..To be effective in this way, our agenda must root itself in the ideals and beliefs which Americans actually hold. America is strong and good because of the virtues which its people have historically lived and which they continue to live today."

"More and more, decision-making authority must be located at the lowest possible administrative level. Conservatives must try to focus policy on the neighborhood."

"We have traditionally championed the free market as both a force for prosperity and a moral imperative among free men..But we should also recognize that while a free market is preferable to other forms of economic organization, its benefits are not equally felt. Poverty, especially among working people, is the Achilles heel of the free market."

"Our goal must be to empower those who are in need to escape the culture of dependence and to become self-sufficient. The test of every benefit must be: does it offer the poor a real chance to escape welfare?"

"Among the new underclass, functional culture has collapsed. Traditional prohibitions against instant sensual gratification and crime have broken down. Traditional institutions--the family, the neighborhood, the church, the school--have lost their hold. Traditional culture has yielded to a culture of dependence. If we hope to combat the consolidation of the underclass, then our policies must foster a culture of responsibility, work and self-respect. To do this, we should link government assistance to behavior that fosters self-sufficiency."

"Martin Luther King was right when he described the family as the 'main educational agency of mankind.' The ability of parents to select the educational environment for their children is both a right and the cornerstone of educational excellence."

"No one is free if he lives in fear of crime..When Americans are denied this right, the sense of community and trust deteriorate; the culture suffers..We must ensure that Americans are secure in their person and property...We must ensure that justice--to the accused, to the victim, and to society--is served."

"The drug trade contributes to our rising crime rate. Half of all arrestees test positive for drug use..Drug use in the workplace leads to accidents and injuries (1987 Baltimore Amtrak disaster) and costs American business tens of billions of dollars annually due to lost productivity, increased absenteeism, workplace accidents, medical costs and theft...Moreover, drug abuse leads to dependence and undermines the cultural values of self-respect, personal responsibility and self-reliance."

"..our new conservative agenda can and must affirm the cultural values that make America work. It must speak to the concerns that Americans feel. It must rely on traditional virtues to solve our new problems...Most of all, by affirming traditional values and the common sense of mainstream Americans, our agenda will effectively polarize the political debate and expose the left-wing agenda as the product of a fringe element hostile to our culture and our civilization."

- 2) "The Beginning of The New Paradigm Society" (Pink's New Paradigm Manifesto)

CATCH THE GLOBAL WAVE: "The old order is crumbling; centralized bureaucratic structures, both public and private, are breaking up. Old political, economic, and social assumptions are giving way to the new desire--the new demand--for freedom and fulfillment that is sweeping the planet."

"The New Paradigm puts its faith in people: in their ability to learn and create and produce and adapt, provided they are given the freedom and the incentive to do so."

"Thus, guided by firm principles: devotion to individual freedom and human rights; a commitment to problem solving while retaining openness and decentralization--and rejection of crippling sentimental reliance on rigid statim (sic?) and failed techniques--we proclaim The New Paradigm Society."

"Our institutions are failing all of us as they fail the less fortunate. Centralized bureaucracies have proven themselves unable to translate our wealth and compassion into opportunity and a better life for every American."

"We believe that a rising tide lifts all boats." (Ship metaphor)

"..the 1990's will be different from the 1980's. Indeed, this year's events (1989 I assume) around the globe underscore that the 1990's will be radically different from the 1980's."

Pink quotes Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr., Pres of the Hudson Institute as saying recently: "...Americans will be less and less prone to be herded into unions, political parties or other group identities for the convenience of experimenting paternalists. They will make their own decisions with declining guidance from government at any level. Government that sees these citizens not as objects of therapy but as persons of innate dignity, will be relevant government. Government that measures its success by the scarcity, not the annual increase, of its dependent clients, can still be active government. Government that constantly searches for ways to attract, liberate and incentivize human talent will be successful government."

"We believe in freedom: social, intellectual, and economic. We believe that the benefits of freedom are tangible and indivisible."

"We believe that the creativity and energy that comes from freedom is the prime mover of human progress. We believe that innovation is better than reaction."

"We believe that decentralization is better than centralization. Decentralization, as we have learned, is a better strategy for dealing with a complex world."

"Modern technology disperses power."

"In this decade, Presidents Reagan and Bush have accelerated the collapse of totalitarianism. Now we have a chance to consolidate this great victory for all time. Our vision is not of an America as the policeman of the world, but of an America as a model...for people yearning to breathe free."

"The 1980's have been, in the words of the journalist Paul Gigot, the "Freedom Decade," in which the limits of the state were recognized...Meanwhile, here at home, an infinitely more benign structure, the Welfare State, reached its limits (even if this has not yet been as widely recognized)."

That surefire anti-intellectual approach: "Men and women of ideas, particularly in the academy, discuss the important questions more and more only among themselves."

"..the old paradigm grinds to a halt, shot through with the rust and corrosion of cynicism and opportunism."

"..we believe that economic growth and human fulfillment not only should, but must go hand in hand with social justice and a decent standard of living for all."

"If America is to be competitive, then every American--male or female, black or white, young or old, handicapped or disadvantaged--must have the opportunity to play a part."

"..the times and the challenge require bold action."

"Chronic social problems are proof that the old approaches, based on the old system, are producing new failures."

"What might be called the more-money solution has not, so far, worked...Neither has the more-bureaucracy solution."

"..the New Paradigm is characterized by increased choice; empowerment of the poor, the left out, and the written off; and increased personal responsibility."

"..centralized bureaucracies are collapsing of their own dead weight--in the Soviet bloc, in the Third World, and in the wretched islands of socialism and paternalism in America--most dramatically, the inner cities."

"poverty pimps"

"..but of enthusiasm for real solutions that work, as opposed to band-aids that fail to heal and in many cases make the would worse, in spite of billions and billions of dollars spent on treatment."

"..Americans and people everywhere cherish the right to choose."

"...the only power that people have is the power of an alternative--in other words, choice."

"The New Paradigm says this about poverty and welfare: we have learned in the past few decades of the great dangers of dependency. The solution that Mickey Kaus and others have suggested is a combination of self-help and compassion. For the truly needy, those that absolutely cannot help themselves, the New Paradigm Society pledges care and dignity. For everyone else, we are committed to replacing the current entitlement ethic with a new work ethic."

"Greater flexibility and greater choice are based on a greater faith in the ability of the individual to know his or her situation best....This optimism about human potential is another tenet of the New Paradigm."

"..the free market system offers the best long range prospects for almost all, but our mission is uplift, not thrift."

- 3) "The New Paradigm: Human Aspirations," Pink's speech to the Reason Foundation."

"The country is cynical about its capital. But that cynicism is not directed toward President Bush. The public's skepticism focuses on the centralized bureaucracies--the IRS, the Postal Service, the Pentagon, HUD, and of course, Congress. Voters distrust those institutions that lack accountability to the people they serve. The electorate distinguishes between those parts of the government that function and those that don't. Think of a machine that works and a squeaky wheel that needs grease. One hums quietly, the other fails noisily."

"There is a new energy, a force that has cracked the Berlin Wall, dismantled the Soviet Empire, freed Nelson Mandela, and democratized Nicaragua. This new vitality has redefined how the world works. It is bringing a new peaceful integration of the international economy, with the prospect of a better life for all humanity."

"The electricity of freedom and market forces around the world has jolted the status quo here at home."

"...most people agree on the goals this country should achieve; whether we are Democrats or Republicans, black or white, male or female, all of us want an educated young generation, a roof over every head, racial and sexual equality, and a clean environment."

Pink quotes Gingrich: "'If any private enterprise in America treated you the way you routinely get treated by government, you would put them out of business.'"

"The New Paradigm has five characteristics: First, governments are now subject to market forces in a way they haven't been before....A self-monitoring and self-correcting system leaves little room for the foolish social and economic experiments of the 60s and 70s. If you don't deal with reality, other people will!"

"Second, the New Paradigm is characterized by increasing individual choice....Up to now, bureaucrats have been the ones to decide what makes a good public school. President Bush believes that parents should have a say."

"Third, the New Paradigm is characterized by policies that empower people to make choices for themselves....Empowerment is the flip side of choice.."

"Fourth, the New Paradigm is characterized by decentralization...As Bob Samuelson recently wrote in Newsweek, Americans are not so much stingy as skeptical. This skepticism--this immunity to bureaucratic baloney is a healthy thing. It is the result of bitter experience, a cumulative learning process."

"Fifth, the New Paradigm implies an emphasis on what works."

"Representative (Polly) Williams has made us realize that the challenge we face is not Left vs. Right, but Up vs. Down."

"...think back to the challenge that Henry V had to overcome on St. Crispin's Day. Planning a victory against a foe that outnumbered him five to one, he said, 'All things are ready, if our minds be so.'"

- 4) Gingrich reading Pink's speech before the World Future Society into the Congressional Record:

"The Great Society, to pick one obvious example, has been continuing, if well-intentioned failure because it too was based on the false assumption that experts, wise bureaucrats in league with university professors and politicians, could somehow administer prosperity and equality from an office building somewhere."

"...we must come to see our own institutional rigidities, in a way analogous to the way the Eastern Europeans have come to see theirs."

"The guiding principle is accountability and feedback."

"...if you believe that we ought to judge our schools by how well they perform, not by how much money we spend on them--if you believe that those schools will improve if parents have a greater say in choosing the schools their children will attend--if you believe that the best child care is the one that responsible parents decide is best for themselves--if you believe in giving the poor a stake in their own futures, say through tenant management and ownership of public housing--if you believe, for that matter, that we should measure the success of our welfare programs by how many needy people pull themselves out of poverty--then perhaps, you too see the outlines of the New Paradigm as it emerges from the dawn."

"If we raise our taxes, the fact is we drive businesses and investors out of the country. We lead them to build their next factory in Mexico or Canada, Japan or Germany."

- 5) "Conservative in a New Age," Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.

"Let the record show that 1989 was the most significant year in the most important decade since World War II...let the record also show that the victory belongs to American conservatives."

"In dealing with Moscow, the 1980s also reversed a decade and a half of skittish self-doubt. We rebuilt our military arsenal, dared the Kremlin to keep technological pace, and kept our promise to our allies--doggedly ignoring massive protests--to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. We allowed talks with the Soviets to collapse, and refused to make new concessions simply to keep them at the bargaining table. We even dared brand the Soviet Union 'the Evil Empire,' established the National Endowment for Democracy to wage a global battle for public opinion, and dared challenge 'containment,' the very centerpiece of our own foreign policy, with a new vision: rolling back the Soviet Empire. The Reagan Doctrine."

\*\*\*\*"More than anything else, all of these momentous changes mean one thing for conservatives: We have to recognize that the world is dramatically different than the one we inherited from the Carter-era doomsayers a decade ago. And we have to act accordingly. This does not mean compromising in any way the principles in which conservatives believe--limited government, individual liberty, free enterprise, and peace through strength...But we have to recognize that we have a chance like none other since the New Deal to reshape the political landscape."

"..because of our success in rolling back communism, there is no longer much consensus on what constitutes a 'conservative foreign policy,' and in the public's mind foreign policy has receded in importance."

"The conservative agenda can never be brought to full flower simply be rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic called the federal bureaucracy. For the conservative revolution to take root firmly, we must empower Americans to run their own lives...As President Bush has said, the best anti-poverty program is a job--a real job in the private sector, with a real future."

"It's not enough anymore simply to discredit liberalism; in the new age, conservatives must show we can succeed where liberalism has failed."

"We intend to see that the 1990s are remembered as the decade of freedom--and of unprecedented opportunity for each and every American."

- 6) Beth's memo on "empowerment" meeting with Rep. Steve Bartlett (R-Dallas).
  - A. Remarks by Bartlett
  - B. Republican Research Committee's release: House Republicans target "Empowerment."
  - C. Task Force on Empowerment release: legislative measures to be studied, initiated.
  - D. Task Force on Empowerment release: QUOTES

E. Task Force on Empowerment release: excerpts from Dept. of Education Regional Strategy Meeting on Choice  
F. "The New Civil-Rights Era Begins With a Veto," L. Gordon Crovitz, Wall Street Journal  
G. "'Empowerment' is road to independence for Americans," Rep. Steve Bartlett, The Dallas Morning News.

- A. Bartlett says that if empowerment is seen only as an agenda for poor people, it will be seen as an "irrelevant little trick."

Bartlett suggests that for speeches, we combine traces of Goldwater '64 with Jesse Jackson's Operation Push. ^R

Big selling point: use phrase "for all income levels" (Bartlett says that then everyone will hear what they want to hear in that--the poor will hear "poor;" the elderly, "elderly;" the middle class, "middle class;" etc.).

- D. "The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all."  
--Abraham Lincoln, Message to Congress, Dec. 1861

"Our American answer to poverty is not to make the poor more secure in their poverty, but to reach down and help them lift themselves out of the rut of poverty and move with the large majority along the road of hope and prosperity."  
--Lyndon B. Johnson, August 1964

"The bigger a government grows, the smaller the people grow."  
--Sam Ervin

"Let us have the courage to speak the truth: Policies that increase dependency and break up families are not progressive, they're reactionary, even though they are invariably promoted, passed and carried out in the name of fairness, generosity, and compassion."  
--Reagan, August 1983

"Parents are knowledgeable and they won't make empty choices."  
--Parents, East Harlem School District, Oct. '89

"Mr. Chairman, we don't want more public housing. We want our own homes."

--South Bronx low-income housing resident, 1985 housing hearing.

- F. WHAT WORKS: "We decided to take risks and started the schools of choice program...We phased out programs that didn't work, phased in programs that did work."

--School Administrator

"Parents must actively participate in education decision-making; you can't leave it all up to the school to know your child's needs and interests."

--Parent

"Choice means freedom--freedom for parents to select the child's school; freedom for students to learn in a supportive environment; and freedom for teachers to meet the needs of their students.."

--Teacher/Parent

EVEN AS THE OLD SYSTEM DRAINS FUTURE HUMAN POTENTIAL, IT DRAINS CURRENT ECONOMIC POTENTIAL: "What is more expensive--educating our children successfully now, or welfare, drugs and jail later?"

--Community activist

"We can't continue to graduate kids who have to punch a picture of a hamburger because they can't read the word 'hamburger.'"

--Parent

- G. (Wall street Journal article):

"There's a growing consensus that whether it's public schools or vagrancy laws the most important word for civil rights is not 'quotas' but 'empowerment.'"

"Put it this way: Any vague bill is a quota bill."

"Economist Thomas Sowell recently found disparities in occupations at all times in all countries. Yet if this (Congressional Civil-Rights) bill becomes law, Korean groceries and black rap groups might have to swap employees."

"Whatever happened to domestic tranquility as a civil right?"

- H. "'The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present.' With these words, Abraham Lincoln led the nation into the revolutionary decade of the 1860s."

THE PROMISE OF THE 1960s HAS BEEN FAILED BY INCOMPETENT BUREAUCRACY AND LACK OF FAITH IN HUMAN POTENTIAL:

"The federal government will spend \$1.2 trillion this year, 10 times that spent in 1965. Even adjusting for inflation, we'll spend well over double the 1965 budget. Yet today one child in five lives in poverty, the same as in 1965. Housing for low-income people remains unsafe and segregated. Our educational system produces poorer student performance than it did 25 years ago. Too many stay on welfare because it doesn't pay to go to work. Many older Americans are forced to retire before they want to."

7) Latest "Empowerment" memo from Roger Porter (11/16/90)

"..I believe that power must always be kept close to the individual--close to the hands that raise the family and run the home..."

--Vice President Bush's Acceptance Speech, 8/16/88

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the people."

--U.S. Constitution, Amendment X

(Porter):

"Conservative policy-makers do not ignore human nature: they build with it, not against it."

"Certainly, the changes sweeping Europe, Central America and Asia all have a common thread: the yearning or will, to be free."

"All three--opportunity, liberty and responsibility--are preconditions of self-governance. And self-governance is the key to freedom."

"The liberal objective is to 'do what's best' for people--and liberals think they know what is best...The President is not out to shape society from on high, but to empower people to change their own lives."

"It has been costly not only in terms of wasted tax dollars but in the wasted lives of the very people who were supposed to benefit from the deals and great societies of the past."

George Bush: "'Volunteering is an act. It's an act of heroism on a grand scale.'"

--4/10/89

"George Bush designed his child care policy so that government empowers parents instead of trying to replace them."

--Invest in Our Children Fact Sheet, Oct '88

"The results of giving tenants control have been remarkable:

- \*More people pay their rent;
- \*Maintenance improves;
- \*Operating costs decline;
- \*Crime rates plummet;
- \*Employment goes up;
- \*Education receives a new boost--more kids stay in school and go to college where none had ever gone before."

--George Bush on the Homeless, Housing and Fair Housing Fact Sheet, Sept. 22, '88.

"Clint Bolick of the Landmark Legal Foundation relates a conversation he had with a public housing resident--and former Black Panther--in St. Louis about our tenant power initiative. She said 'the Democrats always say they want to help us. But when we ask for the keys to the place, they won't give them to us. They offer us more money instead. You Republicans, you give us the keys. I'm starting to like Republicans.'"

"Perhaps the real benefit is the renewal of opportunity--of the American dream--where before there was only dependence and despair."

EMPOWERMENT: "...draws on strong currents of American culture. In a battle of values pitting the individual against the bureaucratic state, we know which value the American people will support."

"We should not shrink from making bold proposals. Success is not defined by what we convince a liberal Congress, hostile to our philosophy, to enact. Success will be defined by the way this country is governed 10 years from now."

- 8) "'Empowerment' Becomes Part of Bushspeak as '92 Election Nears," Burt Solomon, National Journal

"Empowerment is expected to be a theme, if not the centerpiece, in next year's State of the Union message."

"Heritage Foundation domestic policy director Stuart Butler, one of the concept's intellectual authors, describes it as 'trusting ordinary people' rather than a paternalistic welfare state to make economic decisions."

"These ambiguities may prove useful to advocates of empowerment in the forthcoming debate. Most of its adherents are conservatives. But people of varying political hues see in empowerment--as they see in Bush--whatever they want."

9) MK's Empowerment memo of Empowerment breakfast with Kemp:

Kemp thinks that if we can list six or eight programs in a speech it will 'knock the socks off the liberals and their zero-sum mentality' as well as re-unify the Republicans under the pro-growth banner. Kemp thinks that the party is now split--not between the Bush and Reagan wings--but between the growth wing and the austerity wing.

Examples: "If you vote for George Bush in 1992, we will give you the opportunity to own you own unit (of public housing)."

"In the Bush Administration, we want one million new homeowners from the ranks of low-income Americans."

"We want to double the number of black, hispanic and asian owned business."

CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT: We must encourage as many Americans as we can to get involved in the economy. Unfortunately, the capital gains tax is a transaction tax on all those trying to get through the gate. We must lower the hoop--and in the process we will most likely expand the tax base. We must destroy the myth that capital gains tax cut=revenue losses.

ANECDOTE ON OVERREGULATION: Capital and labor based incentives. Kemp points to the case of Grace Capateo (?) cited in W.S. Journal, who saved her pennies and nickels to send her daughter to college. She save \$3,000, then was taken to court for violating AFDC rules (\$1000 asset limit) and fined \$15,000. However, she didn't have \$15,000 so they just took her \$3000. Kemp mentioned this in a speech and a GOP businessman in the audience offered to pay for the child's education..

Poor people aren't stupid, Kemp says, and if it's a better deal to stay a single welfare mother than it is to get married, get a job, or save money, then that's what you do.

10) Memo from Kemp: An Action Plan for Economic Empowerment of People (this is the nitty gritty of empowerment policies and proposals, I'll excerpt some, but for details look to document--#11 in Empowerment file)

"People with access to property, jobs and quality education have a stake in their community, more pride, and greater incentive for productive social behavior. More importantly, poor people with new and abundant economic opportunity have hope for the future--the single greatest weapon against poverty and despair."

"The Task Force believes that progress in ending poverty begins by rejecting the notion that wealth is static, that

fairness means redistributionism, and that poverty is perpetual."

WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW:

1. Evaluations of Existing Demonstration Projects
2. Recent Administration Accomplishments: The Administration has already accomplished a great deal in its first two years. For instance, the Congress enacted the President's child care proposal and HOPE proposal, and expanded Head Start. The President has promoted the idea that a successful life must include voluntary service to others. And the President's advocacy of educational choice has helped to spark a grassroots movement across the country. The recent budget agreement also included several initiatives to empower people, such as the Earned Income Tax Credit expansion (\$12 billion over five year), the Child Health Tax Credit (\$5 billion over five years), and funding for child care vouchers. All of these accomplishments are part of the Administration's effort to protect and enhance individual power.
3. Distributional Analysis and Services Integration

OPTIONS READY FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN THE FY92 BUDGET AND FOR USE IN THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS:

HOUSING: Fund HOPE: The President signed HOPE (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) legislation last month (Nov '90)..HOPE is a model empowerment initiative.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING: Promote Educational Choice:

- Chapter 1 scholarships
- Experimental metropolitan choice area
- Decentralization demonstration grants

Reintroduce Education Flexibility Legislation

Job Training in Public Housing

THE ECONOMY AND JOBS:

--Racial and sexual discrimination is an insidious barrier to opportunity. The Bush Administration will continue in its commitment to tear down these barriers wherever they exist.

Restore a Lower Tax Rate for Capital Gains

Create Enterprise Zones

Repeal the Social Security Earnings Test

Repeal Davis-Bacon

Target SBA Loans

- \*Cottage Capitalism Initiative
- \*Upward Bound for Disadvantaged Young People

Revamp the Public Employment Service

FAMILY:

Restore the Value of the Personal Exemption

EMPOWERING WELFARE RECIPIENTS:

Test Approaches to Make Welfare Transitional

The 11 million Americans--an all time high--who receive AFDC divide roughly into two groups. One will be on welfare for two years or less. The other group, half of the recipients at any time, is in the midst of a very

long period of receiving welfare--lasting eight years or longer. This latter group becomes dependent on public programs.

The welfare system must be transformed from one fostering dependence to a system providing transitional help that inevitably leads to work. The welfare system must be given a mission: to return people to independence.

Establish Social Policy Enterprise Zones

- 11) "Bush's 'new paradigm' stresses local power," Wash Times:

"'Our principles--conservative principles--were always right. And now the whole world can see that what's right also is what works,' Mr. Bush said."

"Mr. Bush said his objective is to return power to cities and states, saying he 'rejects the view that progress is measured in money spent and bureaucracies built.'"

- 12) "The Right Discovers The Poor," Broder

"'One of the main imperatives for conservatives,' (Feulner) told me, 'is to recapture the rhetoric of compassion.'"

- 13) "An Infusion of Vision," Newsweek

"..the animating idea (of empowerment) is an intriguing one: to bring marketplace solutions to the intractable problems of the poor."

"(the advocates of empowerment) see government as a necessary engine of change--not by more taxing and spending,, but by liberation marketplace forces and encouraging enterprise and self-reliance."

"Forcing the poor, especially mothers of young children, to work seems draconian and heartless to traditional liberals who have dubbed workfare proposals 'slave-fare.'"

"Politicians have little incentive to vote for antipoverty programs, especially ones opposed by powerful interest groups. Still, some of the new ideas, like school choice, do directly affect the middle class, who are increasingly worried about the state of American education."

- 14) Pink's memo for Engeleiter: The Small Business Administration and the Empowerment of the Poor:

"The flip-side of individual empowerment is a dispersal of bureaucratic control over individuals. Decision-making power is pushed downward and outward from the centralized authority. This decentralization is happening worldwide.

Bureaucracies are being broken up. Old political alliances, as well as cleavages, are dissolving. These phenomena go a long way toward explaining why President Bush is so extraordinarily popular, because the Bush Agenda is part of the cutting edge of this decentralizing impulse."

\*\*\*\*"The Bush Agenda resonates with the public because they see the reflection of its underlying principles everywhere around the world."

- 15) "NEO-NEO-ISM: Reflections on Hubble-ism, Rationalism, and the Pursuit of Excellence (After the Fiscal Follies)," Richard Darman:

THE BUDGET AGREEMENT:

"But let me not a few of the poor orphan's virtues:

\*It is the largest deficit reduction program ever enacted--with more than seven times the permanent level of savings as achieved in the largest previous reconciliation bill.

\*It represents the first comprehensive reform and restructuring of middle-class "entitlements"--farm, housing, student loan, veterans, postal, and Medicare programs--the largest portion of the budget, previously thought to be untouchable.

\*It establishes five-year caps on discretionary spending--limiting non-defense spending to growth at the inflation rate, reducing defense expenditures on an orderly basis, and shrinking total discretionary outlays from 10.7% of GNP in fiscal year '91 to about 7% in 1995.

\*It establishes the toughest enforcement system ever--extending the Gramm-Rudman sequester process and strengthening it with spending caps, mini-sequesters, and pay-as-you-go requirements.

\*It includes "credit reform"--for the first time requiring that subsidies and potential losses associated with credit programs be fully accounted for, up front, and made subject to the discretionary program caps--thus limiting the growth of one of the federal government's burgeoning areas of previously hidden liability.

\*It raises revenue--only 28% of total savings--by rounding out tax reform: flattening the "bubble" at 31%; reducing taxes for workers with income under \$20,000; raising the alternative minimum tax; and shifting the overall tax burden toward disincentives for consumption of alcohol, tobacco, gasoline, and luxuries.

\*And it is fair.

Perhaps most importantly, all of the program's five-year savings and reforms are now built into law--enacted on day one."

Darman quotes Tom Paine (disparagingly):

"'We have it our power to begin the world over again.'"

- 16) "Choice in Education," Raspberry: some illustrative anecdotes if you're interested.
- 17) "New White House battleground: domestic policy," Boston Globe

"In his Jan. 29 speech, Bush is expected to set out a domestic agenda that features economic revitalization, a national energy strategy and improved health care. If the Persian Gulf crisis has been successfully resolved by that time, Bush may also announce a blitz of congressional initiatives to deal with economic and social needs, the officials said."

Barney Frank: "'It does not make sense intellectually to pay off poor people today to forsake future generations.'"

- 18) Furse's memo: some suggest empowerment language for the SOU:

"..today, we are in danger of seeing an hereditary class emerge in America: a hereditary class not of privilege but of poverty. In America's inner cities, we face the grim reality of long term, persistent dependency as one generation of poverty begets another."

"In fighting poverty, empowerment means fostering a new system that operates not merely as a safety net, but instead as a ladder out of poverty."

- 19) "Verbal Judo":

"Empathy absorbs or redirects tension. You have to be able to step outside yourself and see things from the other person's point of view."

"(some) PRINCIPLES OF VERBAL JUDO:

- \*Redirect rather than resist
- \*Flexibility is strength. Rigidity is weakness.
- \*Respond to people, don't react."

"The Four Types of Appeal:

- \*Ethical: The professional presence projected which is seen and felt by others. Necessary and powerful in establishing credibility.
- \*Personal: Relating to or affecting a person. The second most powerful appeal. People act out of selfish interests, so show empathy.
- \*Practical: The use of off-beat strategies (humor, for example) that will gain compliance from others,

providing such strategies do not compromise your safety and integrity or break the law.

\*Rational: Appeals to reason and logic are the weakest because most people do not think rationally or logically in crisis situations. Only once people are calmed does this appeal have power."

"Paraphrasing:

\*You take control of the encounter

\*It creates empathy in the other person, who will believe you are trying to understand

\*It often makes the other modify his/her statements and become more reasonable

\*It generates a fair-play response. The other person is almost forced to respond to your effort to understand."

- 20) Kemp: "A Democratic Capitalist Manifesto and an Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Cities":

"Just imagine...since the dawn of history...all at once...in exactly the same year...within a few months of each other...from opposite sides of the Atlantic...two inspired men...one a professor of moral philosophy, the other the fiery architect and poet of American Independence...gave the world the twin pillars of free society--the moral and inalienable rights to political and economic freedom. Smith's The Wealth of Nations and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence were then and remain today the greatest charters of freedom ever written."

"From Yale Professor Paul Kennedy to French minister Jacques Attali, we hear of the 'decline of America.'...As a good and loyal socialist, Mr. Attali appears to have little understanding of Smith. He views political economy as essentially a zero-sum game, hence his emphasis on government welfare and redistribution of existing wealth, rather than the creation of new wealth by free people, free markets, free trade, and free democratic societies. Minister Attali's latest thesis merely transfers this zero-sum theory to politics. In his view, apparently there is only so much greatness to go around. Thus for Europe to gain, America must lose; and for America to prosper, Asia must suffer."

"Does he seriously believe America would be more important if it were the only wealthy nation in a world of mediocrity? Surely, America is better off as a prospering nation in a thriving international economy, just as a thriving global economy is a benefit to America."

"Since 1981, more than 21.5 million jobs have been created--more jobs than have been created in the last decade in all of Europe, Canada, and Japan combined. More than four

million new business enterprises, relatively low inflation, and higher standards of living for most of our people testify to the strength of the U.S. economy. And, according to the U.S. Treasury figures, federal income taxes paid by the top one percent of taxpayers has surged by over 80%."

"And the U.S. trade deficit, often cited as a sign of weakness, is in reality a symbol of capital flight from abroad seeking the thriving and profitable opportunities for new investment in the United States."

"President Gorbachev admitted that the cold war is over, but then suggested that it doesn't matter who won it. Well, with all due respect, it does matter--it matters a great deal who won and why. I hasten to add that our arms and missiles didn't win the cold war--it was the power of western ideas, the triumph of liberal democracy and free market economies over the stifling hand of communist and socialist economies and dictatorships...Isn't it incredible that in Moscow, more people are lining up at McDonalds than at Lenin's tomb! I was fascinated recently seeing on satellite TV, demonstrators carrying a banner in Red Square that read 'Workers of the world, we're sorry..We've seen the future, it doesn't work.'"

"I've been struck by how similar the problems of America's inner cities are to those of Eastern Europe and even Third World economies. Ironically, both are suffering from the same malady. The malady is socialism."

"Because, you see, in America we really have two economies. One economy--our mainstream economy--is democratic, capitalist, market-oriented, entrepreneurial, and incentivized for working families whether in labor or management. The mainstream economy rewards work, investment, savings, and productivity. Incentives abound for productive human, economic and social behavior."

"But there is another economy--a second economy--that is similar in respects to the Eastern Europe or Third World "socialist" economy...This economy has barriers to productive human and social activity and a virtual absence of economic rewards...In the U.S., government tax, regulatory, and entitlement programs, set-up out of a desire to help the poor, in reality have led to a counterproductive economy."

"I believe we're at a point in history when what we know about creating wealth and opportunity in America's inner cities can work not only in America, but in Eastern Europe; and not only in Europe, but in the Third World, and indeed, in the Soviet Union itself."

"..the key to wealth and prosperity is allowing people freedom--freedom to work, to save, freedom to own their own property and homes, to succeed, and yes, to fail, but try again. The ultimate cause of the wealth of nations, and indeed, the wealth of cities, is people."

"In what George Gilder, in his book, Microcosm, called the quantum age of the new technology, our greatest assets are not the wealth we see around us, but in the potential which is unseen in the economy of the human mind."

"As President Bush said in his inaugural address: 'We know what works--freedom works..We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.' The most important lesson of history is that the right policies lead to the right results."

"..taxing solely to raise revenues for the legitimate needs of the state, not to punish wealth and success [or] promote egalitarian ends."

- 21) Kemp to Heritage Foundation: "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Poverty in America and How to Combat It":

"Marxist-Leninists used to talk about their 'permanent revolution,' but as it turns out the only permanent revolution the world has ever seen is the American Revolution."

"Helping those left behind and left out is not only a moral imperative for our nation, I am convinced it is also a winning--indeed decisive--political strategy for bringing impoverished communities and low-income people and minorities into the ranks of the Party of Lincoln. Whether it's called bleeding heart conservatism, capitalism with a social conscience, or populist conservatism--it's the right thing to do, the right time to do it, and we're the right people to help lead it."

Lincoln: "'When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition: he knows that there is no fixed condition for his whole life.' A debate over how to increase the wealth and opportunities of the poor plays to the strengths of our Party's Lincoln wing--our most authentic roots."

"..most of all, if you really want to create poverty and dependency, weaken and in some cases destroy the link between effort and reward."

"The poor don't want paternalism, they want opportunity--they don't want the servitude of welfare, they want to get

jobs and private property. They don't want dependency, they want a new declaration of independence."

"Wealth is not what we've done, but what we have yet to do."

22) Kemp talks about HOPE at National Press Club:

"We believe in tearing down walls that come between people and their self-respect. We believe in tearing down walls that prevent people from exercising their potential, and most of all, we want to tear down the wall that separates those in poverty from those in prosperity."

"I believe that the ultimate scandal in America is the ideal that poor people should be treated as perpetually poor and that they should accept the conditions of poverty as a perpetual condition."

"I believe in this respect our new war on poverty shares the goals of the original war on poverty: a hand up, not a handout. We have learned something over the past 25 years. We know what works and we are beginning to know what doesn't work."

23) Kemp's Remarks at the 66th Annual Congress of Cities:

"..problems are opportunities disguised as insurmountable barriers."

"(John Gardner) says there are many contributing factors in the rise in civilization--accidents of resources, geographical considerations, military power. He says whatever other ingredients, civilizations rise to greatness when something happens to the human mind, to the spirit of men and women who love freedom and democracy."

Gardner: "'..there occurs at breathtaking moments in history an exhilarating burst of energy and motivation, of hope and zest and imagination, and a severing of the bonds that normally hold in check the full release of human possibilities. A door is opened and the caged eagle soars.'"

"(Gardner) says the most imaginative, the most progressive, the greatest leaders of all time are those who never cease to wonder how they can set free the potential, the possibility, of that caged eagle, the talent of a free people."

"In the eleventh or twelfth century the Talmudic philosopher, Maimonides, said, and I quote, 'the noblest charity is to prevent people from having to take charity.'"

"We measure the compassion of our society not by how many people need the assistance, but by how few people need the assistance."

"We are not targeting people; we are targeting opportunity."

"..cultivate a true renaissance, a rebirth of America's cities and towns."

"..you cannot create new employees without first creating new employers...Labor and capital are not enemies, they are allies in the war on poverty and we have got to stop dividing America...There should be no division between labor and capital. As Abraham Lincoln said, 'labor precedes capital,' and we need both labor and capital."

- 24) Gingrich's remarks at the Southern Republican Leadership Conference (3/30/90):

"..we have to be competitive and we have to be competitive on positive terms and positive ideas...It is hard, frankly, because the more the Democratic Party has ceased to be a majority, the more it has cheated in order to stay in power."

"I am going to suggest a very simple model. That there is a bureaucratic welfare state...It means that in your mind you have two standards of time. You have the time you use when you go into a private business, like your hardware store or a McDonald's or a Sears and you have the time you use when you walk into a government office. The first is in minutes, the second is in hours. There is a level of customer service you expect when you are paying for something in a private business and there is a level of customer service you expect when, as a taxpayer, you go to the government business. And they are different models. If any private business in America treated you the way you routinely get treated by government, you would put them out of business."

"And we have been asking groups, 'What is the most important basic American value?' Virtually, universally, it is three words: honest hard work. This is a country that isn't afraid to work."

"When we say to voters, 'Which of these three is most threatened? Entrepreneurial free enterprise, technological progress and innovation or basic American values?' They are virtually unanimous in saying the great struggle of the Nineties is a struggle over values."

"We must apply common sense focused on success and opportunities."

"..applying common sense is antithetical to a bureaucracy. The purpose of a bureaucracy is to establish a set of rules which must be implemented. That is the nature of bureaucracy."

JOKE: "And if you think I exaggerate, here is my simple test. And you tell me how close you think this is to the world we live in. If Thomas Edison had invented the electric light in the age of the bureaucratic welfare state and modern liberalism, it would have been described by Dan Rather in a news story which began: 'The candlemaking industry was threatened today.' And Ralph Nadar would issue a report that, 'Electricity can kill...And which companies will make money off the electric light. And the government should make sure we don't wire houses.'"

"(Vaclav Havel) said, 'Many people write words and many intellectuals write words. The greatness of your Founding Fathers was that they lived their words.'"

4 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: PAST STATE OF THE UNION EXCERPTS

- 1) FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, GEORGE WASHINGTON, New York City, January 8, 1790.

"..cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness, and wisdom."

"To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

- 2) FIFTH ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, GEORGE WASHINGTON, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 3, 1793.

"The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

- 3) SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, ABRAHAM LINCOLN WASHINGTON, DC December 1, 1862

Roy P. Basler held that "no American living at the time save Walt Whitman ever expressed so large a vision of the future of American democracy, the magnitude of its geographic and economic potentialities, and the infinitude of its social destiny in the quest for human liberty..."

"I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation by the chief magistrate of the nation. Nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I, in the conduct of public affairs. Yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect yourselves, in any undue earnestness I may seem to display."

"Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority

and national prosperity...Is it doubted that we here-- Congress and executive--can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united, and earnest appeal from us?"

"We can succeed only by concert. It is not 'can any of us imagine better?' but, 'can we all do better?'...The dogmas of the quiet past, are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise-- with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation...We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just--a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

4) ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION  
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, February 2, 1953

"..the free world cannot indefinitely remain in a posture of paralyzed tension, leaving forever to the aggressor the choice of time and place and means to cause greatest hurt to us at least cost to himself."

"..a new, positive foreign policy..."

"Our foreign policy must be clear, consistent, and confident. This means that it must be the product of genuine, continuous cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of this Government. It must be developed and directed in the spirit of true bipartisanship...The policy we embrace must be a coherent global policy."

"Our policy is dedicated to making the free world secure, will envision all peaceful methods and devices--except breaking faith with our friends."

"The policy we pursue will recognize the truth that no single country, even one so powerful as ours, alone defend the liberty of all nations... No wealth of aid could compensate for poverty of spirit. The heart of every free nation must be honestly dedicated to the preserving of its own independence and security."

"We must be strong in arms. We must be strong in the source

of all our armament, our productivity. We all--workers and farmers, foremen and financiers, technicians and builders--all must produce, produce more, and produce yet more... We must be strong, above all in the spiritual resources upon which all else depends. We must be devoted with all our heart to the values we defended. We must know that each these values and virtues applies with equal force at the ends of the earth and in our relations with our neighbor next door. We must know that freedom express itself with equal eloquence in the right of workers to strike in the nearby factory, and in the yearnings and sufferings of the peoples of Eastern Europe."

"As our heart summons our strength, our wisdom must direct it."

"In this spirit must we live and labor: confident of our strength, compassionate in our heart, clear in our mind."

5) ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION -  
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER January 7, 1954

"..the building of a stronger America. A nation whose every citizen has good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secure--that is what I mean by a stronger America".

"Toward this objective a real momentum has been developed during this Administration's first year in office. We mean to continue that momentum and to increase it. We mean to build a better future for this nation".

"A government can strive, as ours is striving, to maintain an economic system whose doors are open to enterprise and ambition--those personal qualities on which economic growth largely depends. But enterprise and ambition are qualities which no government can supply. Fortunately no American government need concern itself on this score; our people have these qualities in good measure".

"A government can sincerely strive for peace, as ours is striving, and ask its people to make sacrifices for the of peace. But no government can place peace in the hearts of foreign rulers".

6) ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION,  
Dwight Eisenhower, Jan. 6, 1955

"At the outset, I believe it would be well to remind ourselves of this great fundamental in our national life: our common belief this every human being is divinely endowed with dignity and worth and inalienable rights".

"It is of the utmost importance, that each of us

understanding the true nature of the struggle now taking place in the world. It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature of man. Either man is the creature whom the Psalmist described as 'a little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

"It is, therefore, a struggle which goes to the roots of the human spirit, and its shadow falls across the long sweep of man's destiny".

"In the past year, there has been progress justifying hope, both for continuing peace and for the ultimate rule of freedom and justice in the world. Free nations are collectively stronger than at any time in recent years."

"If...rulers understand that America's response to aggressive will be swift and decisive--that never shall we buy peace at the expense of honor or faith--they will be powerfully deterred from launching a military venture engulfing their own peoples and many others in disaster."

"It is the inalienable right of every person, from childhood on, to have access to knowledge. In our form of society, this right of the individual takes on a special meaning, for the education of all our citizens is imperative to the maintenance and invigoration of America's free institutions."

6) ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION - DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, January 10, 1957

"Particularly, in the past year, this tide has changed the pattern of attitudes and thinking among millions. The changes already accomplished foreshadowed a world transformed by the spirit of freedom. This is no faint and pious hope. The forces now at work in the minds and hearts of men will not be spent through many years. In the main, today's expression of nationalism are, in spirit, echoes of our forefathers' struggle for independence...This Republic cannot be aloof to these events heralding a new epoch in the affairs of mankind."

"Our pledged word, our enlightened self-interest, our character as a Nation commit us to a high role in world affairs: a role of vigorous leadership, ready strength, sympathetic understanding."

"Freedom has been defined as the opportunity for self-discipline."

"The cost of peace is something we must face boldly, fearlessly. Beyond money, it involves changed in attitudes, the renunciation of old prejudices, even the sacrifice of some seeming self-interest."

"But these people, whose economic strength is largely dependent on free and uninterrupted movement of oil from the Middle East, cannot prosper--indeed, their economies would be severely impaired--should that area be controlled by an enemy and the movement of oil be subject to its decisions."

"Thereby each of us can help establish a secure world order in which opportunity for freedom and justice will be more widespread, and in which the resources now dissipated on the armaments of war can be released for the life and growth of all humanity."

7) ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, January 7, 1960

"We must be ever alert that freedom does not wither through the careless amassing of restrictive controls or the lack of courage to deal boldly with the giant issue of the day."

"Every minute spent in irrelevant interbranch wrangling is precious time taken from the intelligent initiation and adoption of coherent policies for our national survival and progress...We seek a common goal--brighter opportunity for our own citizens and a world peace with justice for all."

"We realize that however much we repudiate the tenets of imperialistic Communism, it represents a gigantic enterprise grimly pursued by leaders who compel its subject to subordinate their freedom of action and spirit and personal desires for some hoped-for advantage in the future...The Communists can present an array of material accomplishments over the past fifteen years that lends a false persuasiveness to many of their glittering promises to the uncommitted peoples."

"But in our scale of values we place freedom first--our whole national existence and development have been geared to that basic concept and are responsible for the position of free world leadership to which we have succeeded. It is the highest prize that any nation can possess; it is one that Communism can never offer. And America's record of material accomplishment in freedom is written not only in the unparalleled prosperity of our own nation, but in the many billions we have devoted to the reconstruction of Free World economies wrecked by World War II and in the effective help of many more billions we have given in saving the independence of many others threatened by outside

domination. Assuredly we have the capacity for handling the problems in the new era of the world's history we are now entering."

"But we must use that capacity intelligently and tirelessly, regardless of personal sacrifice...The fissure that divides our political planet is deep and wide..We live, moreover, in a sea of semantic disorder in which old labels no longer faithfully describe...Police states are called 'people's democracies.' Armed conquest of free people is called 'liberation.'"

"We must make clear our peaceful intentions, our aspirations for a better world. So doing, we must use language to enlighten the mind, not as the instrument of the studied innuendo and distorter of truth....And we must live by what we say."

"As a nation we take pride that our own constitutional system, and the ideals which sustain it, have been long viewed as a fountainhead of freedom."

"So persuaded, we shall get on with the task before us. So dedicated, and with faith in the Almighty, humanity shall one day achieve the unity in freedom to which all men have aspired from the dawn of time."

8) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS REPORTING ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN, January 26, 1982.

"..a bold spirited initiative that I believe can change the face of American government and make it again the servant of the people."

"If we had not acted as we did, things would be far worse for all Americans than they are today."

"Together, after 50 years of taking power away from the hands of the people in their States and local communities, we have started returning power and resources to them."

NOTE: Reagan here begins six consecutive paragraphs with "Together."

"I can report to you tonight that in the near future the state of the Union and the economy will be better--much better--if we summon the strength to continue on the course that we've charted."

"First, we must understand what's happening at the moment to the economy."

"..our two highest budget priorities--a strong national defense to keep America free and at peace and a reliable

safety net of social programs for those who have contributed and those who are in need."

"And then there are the countless, quiet, everyday heroes of American life--parents who sacrifice long and hard so their children will know a better life than they've known; church and civic volunteers who help to feed, clothe, nurse, and teach the needy; millions who've made our nation and our nation's destiny so very special--unsung heroes who may not have realized their own dreams themselves but then who reinvest those dreams in their children. Don't let anyone tell you that America's best days are behind her, that the American spirit has been vanquished. We've seen it triumph too often in our lives to stop believing in it now."

- 9) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. January, 25, 1983.

"From coast to coast, on the job and in classrooms and laboratories, at new construction sites and in churches and community groups, neighbors are helping neighbors. And they've already begun the building, the research, the work, and the giving that will make our country great again."

"I believe this, because I believe in them--in the strength of their hearts and minds, in the commitment that each one of them brings to their daily lives, be they high or humble. The challenge for us in government is to worthy of them--to make government a help, not a hindrance to our people in the challenging but promising days ahead."

"If we do that, if we care what our children and what our children's children will say of us, if we want them one day to be thankful for what we did here in these temples of freedom, we will work together to make America better for our having been here--not just in this year or this decade but in the next century and beyond."

- 10) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS AN THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. January 25, 1984.

"The problems we're overcoming are not the heritage of just one person, party, or even one generation. It's just the tendency of government to grow, for practices and programs to become the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this Earth."

"We can ensure steady economic growth.  
We can develop America's next frontier.  
We can strengthen our traditional values.  
And we can build a meaningful peace to protect our loved ones..."

"But our most precious resources, our greatest hope for the future, are the minds and hearts of our people, especially our children. We can help them build tomorrow by strengthening our community of shared values. This must be our third great goal. For us, faith, work, family, neighborhood, freedom, and peace are not just words; they they're expressions of what America means, definitions of what makes us a good and loving people."

"...break the bondage of dependency."

"A lasting and meaningful peace is our fourth great goal. It is our highest aspiration. And our record is clear: Americans resort to force only when we must. We have never been aggressors. We have always struggled to defend freedom and democracy...We have no territorial ambitions. We occupy no countries. We build no walls to lock people in. Americans build the future."

"How can we not believe in the greatness of America? How can we not do what is right and needed to preserve this last best hope of man on Earth? After all our struggles to restor America, to revive confidence in our country, hope for our future, after all our hard-won victories earned through the patience and courage of every citizen, we cannot; must not, and will not turn back. We will finish our job. How could we do less? We're Americans."

"Carl Sandburg said, 'I see America not in the setting sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God...I see great days ahead for men and women of will and vision.'"

"I've never felt more strongly that America's best days and democracy's best days lie ahead. We're a powerful force for good. With faith and courage, we can perform great deeds and take freedom's next step. And we will. We will carry on the tradition of a good and worthy people who have brought light where there was darkness, warmth where there was cold, medicine where there was disease, food where there was hunger, and peace where there was only bloodshed."

"Let us be sure that those who come after will say of us in our time, that in our time we did everything that could be done. We finished the race; we kept them free; we kept the faith."

- 11) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. February 6, 1985.

"We're here to speak for millions in our inner cities who long for real jobs, safe neighborhoods, and schools that truly teach."

"...a second American Revolution of hope and opportunity.."

"This government will meet its responsibilities to help those in need. But policies that increase dependency, break up families, and destroy self-respect and are not progressive; they're reactionary. Despite our strides in civil rights, blacks, Hispanics, and all minorities will not have full and equal power until they have full economic power."

"We have repeatedly sought passage of enterprise zones to help those in the abandoned corners of our land find jobs, learn skills, and build better lives. This legislation is supported by a majority of you."

"Mr. Speaker, I know we agree that there must be no forgotten Americans. Let us place new dreams in a million hearts and create a new generation of entrepreneurs by passing enterprise zones this year. And, Tip, you could make this a birthday present."

"Our mission is to nourish and defend freedom and democracy, and to communicate these ideals everywhere we can. America's economic success is freedom's success; it can be repeated a hundred times in a hundred different nations."

12) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. February 4, 1986.

"History is no captive of some inevitable force. History is made by men and women of vision and courage."

"...Only by lifting the weights from the shoulders of all can people truly prosper and can peace among all nations be secure. Teddy Roosevelt said that a nation that does great work lives forever."

"..not by breaking faith with bedrock principles but by breaking free from failed policies."

"..to redefine government's role: not to control, not to demand or command, not to contain us.."

"..not by taking from those in need. As families take care of their own, government must provide shelter and nourishment for those who cannot provide for themselves. But we must revise or replace programs enacted in the name of compassion that degrade the moral worth of work, encourage family breakups, and drive entire communities into a bleak and heartless dependency."

(RE: LINE-ITEM VETO) "...I'll take the heat. This authority would not give me any monopoly power, but simply prevent spending measures from sneaking through that could not pass on their own merit."

"After hundreds of billions of dollars in poverty programs, the plight of the poor grows more painful. But the waste in dollars and cents pales before the most tragic loss: the sinful waste of human spirit and potential. We can ignore this terrible truth no longer. As Franklin Roosevelt warned 51 years ago, standing before this Chamber, he said, 'Welfare is a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit.' And we must now escape the spider's web of dependency."

"Let us speak of our deepest longing for the future: to leave our children a land that is free and just and a world at peace."

"The American dream is a song of hope that rings through the night winter air; vivid, tender music that warms our hearts when the least among us aspire to the greatest things: to venture a daring enterprise; to unearth new beauty in music, literature, and art; to discover a new universe inside a tiny silicon chip or a single human cell."

13) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. January 27, 1987.

"Our revolution is the first to say the people are the masters and any government is their servant. And you young people out there, don't ever forget that. Someday you could be in this room, but wherever you are, America is depending on you to reach your highest and be your best--because here in America, we the people are in charge."

"Just three words: We the people--those are the kids on Christmas Day looking out from a frozen sentry post on the 38th parallel in Korea or aboard an aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean. A million miles from home, but doing their duty."

"We the people--those are the warmhearted whose numbers we can't begin to count, who'll begin the day with a little prayer for hostages they will never know and MIA families they will never meet. Why? Because that's the way we are, this unique breed we call Americans."

"We the people--they're farmers on tough times, but who never stop feeding a hungry world. They're the volunteers at the hospital choking back their tears for the hundredth time, caring for a baby struggling for life because of a mother who used drugs. And you'll forgive me a special memory--it's a million mothers like Nelle Reagan who never knew a stranger or turned a hungry person away from her kitchen door."

"After hundreds of billions of dollars in poverty programs, the plight of the poor grows more painful. But the waste in dollars and cents pales before the most tragic loss: the sinful waste of human spirit and potential. We can ignore this terrible truth no longer. As Franklin Roosevelt warned 51 years ago, standing before this Chamber, he said, 'Welfare is a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit.' And we must now escape the spider's web of dependency."

"Let us speak of our deepest longing for the future: to leave our children a land that is free and just and a world at peace."

"The American dream is a song of hope that rings through the night winter air; vivid, tender music that warms our hearts when the least among us aspire to the greatest things: to venture a daring enterprise; to unearth new beauty in music, literature, and art; to discover a new universe inside a tiny silicon chip or a single human cell."

- 13) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. January 27, 1987.

"Our revolution is the first to say the people are the masters and any government is their servant. And you young people out there, don't ever forget that. Someday you could be in this room, but wherever you are, America is depending on you to reach your highest and be your best--because here in America, we the people are in charge."

"Just three words: We the people--those are the kids on Christmas Day looking out from a frozen sentry post on the 38th parallel in Korea or aboard an aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean. A million miles from home, but doing their duty."

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"We the people--they refute last week's television commentary downgrading our optimism and our idealism. They are the entrepreneurs, the builders, the pioneers, and a lot of regular folks--the true heroes of our land who make up the most uncommon nation of doers in history. You know they're Americans because their spirit is as big as the universe and their hearts are bigger than their spirits."

"We the people--starting the third century of a dream and standing up to some cynic who's trying to tell us we're not going to get any better."

- 14) ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION, REAGAN. January 25, 1988.

"..three simple words: 'We the People,' the revolutionary notion that the people grant government its rights, and not the other way around."

"Just as those who created this Republic pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, so, too, America's leaders today must pledge to each other that we will keep foremost in our hearts and minds not what is best for ourselves or for our party but what is best for America."

"We're for limited government, because we understand, as the Founding Fathers did, that is the best way of ensuring personal liberty and empowering the individual so that every American of every race and region shares fully in the flowering of American prosperity and freedom."

"With the best of intentions, government created a poverty trap that wreaks havoc on the very support system the poor need most to lift themselves out of poverty: the family. Dependency has become the one enduring heirloom, passed from one generation to the next, of too many fragmented families."

"Let's start making our welfare system the first rung on America's ladder of opportunity, a boost up from dependency, not a graveyard but a birthplace of hope."

7 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: OTHER IMPORTANT SPEECHES, NOT PRESIDENTIAL

- 1) RALPH WALDO EMERSON POINTS OUT THE DUTIES OF THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, August 31, 1837:

"This time, like all times is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it."

"Is it not the chief disgrace in the world, not to be a unit--not to be reckoned with one character--not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand, or the party, the section, to which we belong..."

- 2) LEARNED HAND, May 21, 1944:

"We have gathered here to affirm a faith, a faith in a common purpose, a common conviction, a common devotion."

"Some of us have chosen America as the land of our adoption; the rest have come from those who did the same. For this reason we have some right to consider ourselves a picked group, a group of those who had the courage to break from the past and brave the dangers and the loneliness of a strange land. What was the object that nerved us, or those who went before us, to this choice? We sought liberty: freedom from oppression, freedom from want, freedom to be ourselves."

HOW ABOUT SUBSTITUTING "BUREAUCRACY/PROGRAMS" FOR "LAWS/CONSTITUTION":

"Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it."

- 3) THE SINEWS OF PEACE, EX-PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL, March 5, 1946:

"..in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and

sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men...."

4) I HAVE A DREAM, MARTIN LUTHER KING, August 28, 1963:

HOW AMERICA IS FAILING ITS BLACKS, APPLY TO HOW ITS FAILING ITS POOR: "One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land."

OUR AGENDA INVITES THE DISEMPOWERED TO CASH IN: "In a sense we have come to our nation's Capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

(CHECK METAPHOR, CONT.): "It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked 'insufficient funds.' But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check--a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice."

CALL TO ACTION: "We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of Democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God's children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood."

"..their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone."

EMPOWERING PEOPLE TO DREAM, DREAM THE AMERICAN DREAM: "..I still have a dream.. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream."

CONSERVATIVE VISION OF A COLORBLIND SOCIETY: "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

"From every mountain-side  
Let freedom ring."

5) ANNUAL MESSAGES OF THE PRESIDENTS: MAJOR THEMES IN AMERICAN HISTORY, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.:

"He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.."

--The Constitution of the United States, Article II, Section 3.

"..these innocuous phrases (above) conferred on the American President what has become after vicissitudes, a basic tool in his management of Congress and a potent instrument of national leadership."

"The next Presidents kept up the standards of the Messages for a while: Jefferson through literary grace and philosophical force; Madison through intellectual cogency; Monroe through the direct promulgation of policy (as his celebrated Doctrine); John Quincy Adams through sweeping national vision; Jackson through bold executive initiative. But in time the Message became increasingly a perfunctory and bureaucratic document, made up of submissions from the executive departments lightly bound together by the passages of piety and self-congratulation."

"..Grant's support for the item veto (renewed by Arthur and again by Eisenhower).."

"Most of the time, as devices in the presidential management of Congress, they tended to employ the rhetoric of consensus, seeking to minimize differences, to mollify opposition and to court support. Abrasive issues were often swathed and submerged.."

"Yet, though sometimes in a muted and fitful way, major themes of American history nevertheless emerge in these texts: the security of the republic; the internal development of the continent; the place of ethnic minorities; the evolution of presidential power; and the significance of the experiment in democratic government."

"...(Franklin) Roosevelt set forth his Four Freedoms. Three years later, warning against the 'tragic errors of ostrich isolationism,' he called on the freedom-loving nations to join 'in a just and durable system of peace.'"

"'We seek,' said Kennedy, 'not the worldwide victory of one nation or system but a worldwide victory of men.'"

John Quincy Adams: "'..the exercise of delegated powers is a duty as sacred and indispensable as the usurpation of powers not granted is criminal and odious.'"

"'The Great Society,' said Johnson in his Second Message, 'asks not only how much, but how good; not only how to create wealth, but how to use it; not only how fast we are going but where we are headed.'"

"Polk wrote:... 'Any attempt to coerce the President to yield his sanction to measures which he cannot approve would be a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, palpable and flagrant, and if successful would break down the independence of the executive department and make the President, elected by the people and clothed by the Constitution with the power to defend their rights, the mere instrument of a majority of Congress.'"

THE COLD WAR DISSOLVES ABROAD, CAN WE MELT IT HERE AT HOME?  
..the cold war between the President and the Congress has remained a central (and wholesome) feature of American political history."

PRESIDENT AND HIS PEOPLE EXCHANGE SOU MESSAGES:

"The people through their representatives, their newspapers and their right of petition had to be free to send back their own state-of-the-union messages to the President."

"Truman's last Message stated the issue with quiet eloquence:

Let all of us pause now, think back, consider carefully the meaning of our national experience. Let us draw comfort from it and faith and confidence in our future as Americans. The Nation's business is never finished. The basic questions we have been dealing with, these eight years past, present themselves anew. That is the way of our society. Circumstances change and current questions take on different forms, new complications, year by year. But underneath the great issues remain the same--prosperity, welfare, human rights, effective democracy, and, above all, peace."

Kennedy:

"Now, in 1965, we begin a new quest for union. We seek the unity of man with the world he has built--with the knowledge that can save or destroy him--with the cities which can stimulate or stifle him--with the wealth and machines which can enrich or menace his spirit. We

seek to establish a harmony between man and society which will allow each of us to enlarge the meaning of his life and all of us to elevate the quality of our civilization."

- 6) REMARKS BY CHIEF OF STAFF GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU TO NATIONAL PRESS CLUB---This is a laundry list of what has been accomplished, and what we'd like to accomplish. Read not for style, but for policy outlines, details.

8 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: OTHER PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHES (NOT BUSH)

- 1) SAM ADAMS, Philadelphia, PA, 1 August 1776:

"We have no other alternative than independence."

"You are now the guardians of your own liberties. We may justly address you, as the decemviri did the Romans, and say: 'Nothing that we propose can pass into a law without your consent. Be yourselves, O Americans, the authors of those laws on which your happiness depends.'"

- 2) FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, GEORGE WASHINGTON. New York City, 30 April, 1789:

"..since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

- 3) FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THOMAS JEFFERSON. Washington, D.C., 4 March 1801:

"A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye..."

"If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or change its republican form (SUBSTITUTE: WHO WOULD WISH TO ADD YET MORE LAYERS TO THE BEHEMOTH OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT) let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

EMPOWERING INDIVIDUALS VS. EMPOWERING BUREAUCRATS:

"Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others?"

"..economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burthened.."

- 4) SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THOMAS JEFFERSON. Washington, D.C., 4 March, 1805:

"We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations as with individuals our interests soundly calculated will ever be fund inseparable from our moral duties, and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is trusted on its word when recourse is had to armaments and wars to bridle others."

- 5) GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Gettysburg, PA, 19 November 1863:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

RE S.O.U. AND OUR BRAVE SOLDIERS IN THE GULF: "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us....that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.."

- 6) SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Washington, D.C., 4 March, 1865.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

- 7) THE NEW NATIONALISM, THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Osawatomie, Kansas, 31 August, 1910:

"Our country--this great republic--means nothing unless is [sic] means the triumph of real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and, in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him."

T.R. QUOTES LINCOLN: "'I hold that while man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition, but to assist in ameliorating mankind.'"

"When I say I want a square deal for the poor man, I do not mean that I want a square deal for the man who remains poor because he has not the energy to work for himself."

"We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them."

- 8) A NEW DEAL, F.D.R. Chicago, IL, 2 July 1932.

NOTE: This speech marked Roosevelt's first use of the phrase "new deal," which he borrowed from Mark Twain's A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court.

"Let us look a little at the recent history and the simple economics, the kind of economics that you and I and the average man and woman talk."

"Let us use common sense and business sense."

"One word more: Out of every crisis, every tribulation, every disaster, mankind rises with some share of greater knowledge, of higher decency, of purer purpose."

THE VISION THING: "Republican leaders not only have failed in material things, they have failed in national vision, because in disaster they have held out no hope, they have pointed out no path for the people below to climb back to places of security and of safety in our American life."

"Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win in this crusade to restore America to its own people."

- 9) THE GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY, F.D.R. Washington, D.C., 12 April 1933:

"Common ideals and a community of interest, together with a spirit of cooperation, have led to the realization that the well-being of one nation depends in large measure upon the well-being of its neighbors."

- 10) DAY OF INFAMY, F.D.R. Washington, D.C., 8 December 1941:

"No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory."

"I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire."

- 11) FIRST INAUGURAL, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. Washington, D.C., 20 January 1953:

"Since this century's beginning, a time of tempest has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth. Masses of Asia have wakened to strike off shackles of the past. Great nations of Europe have waged their bloodiest wars. Thrones have toppled and their vast empires have disappeared. New nations have been born."

"In the swift rush of great events, we find ourselves groping to know the full sense and meaning of the times in which we live. In our quest of understanding, we beseech God's guidance. We summon all our knowledge of the past and we scan all signs of the future. We bring all our wit and will to meet the question: how far have we come in man's long pilgrimage from darkness toward light? Are we nearing the light--a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us?"

"At such a time in history, we, who are free, must proclaim anew our faith. This faith is the abiding creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed by eternal moral and natural laws."

WE ALL SHARE THE SAME DREAMS: "...we know that the virtues most cherished by free peoples--love of truth, pride of work, devotion to country--all are treasures equally precious in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted."

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ELECTED; THE LINK BETWEEN EFFORT AND REWARD: "This faith fuels our whole way of life. It decrees that we, the people, elect leaders not to rule but to serve. It asserts that we have the right to choice of our own work and to the reward of our own toil. It inspires the initiative that makes our productivity the wonder of the world. And it warns that any man who seeks to deny equality in all his brothers betrays the spirit of the free and invites the mockery of the tyrant."

"..a conscious renewal of faith in our country.."

THE NEW INTERDEPENDENCE: "We know..that we are linked to all free peoples not merely by a noble idea but by a simple need. No free people can for long cling to any privilege or enjoy any safety in economic solitude...This basic law of interdependence, so manifest in the commerce of peace, applies with thousand-fold intensity in the event of war."

"So are we persuaded by necessity and by belief that the strength of all free peoples lies in unity, their danger in discord."

U.S. LEADERSHIP: "...destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership...we Americans know and observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughtfully calculated goal and spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies."

"...we face the threat...with confidence and conviction."

"In pleading our just cause before the bar of history and in pressing our labor for world peace, we shall be guided by certain fixed principles.

(1) Abhorring war as a chosen way to balk the purposes of those who threaten us...For, as it must be the supreme purpose of all free men, so it must be the dedication of their leaders, to save humanity from preying upon itself.

(2) Realizing that common sense and common decency alike dictate the futility of appeasement, we shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of trading honor for security. For in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains.

(3) Knowing that only a United States that is strong and immensely productive can help defend freedom in our world...

(4) Honoring the identity and heritage of each nation of the world..

(5) Assessing realistically the needs and capacities of proven friends of freedom, we shall strive to help them to achieve their own security and well-being...

(6) Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace...For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples..

(7) Appreciating that economic need, military security, and political wisdom combine to suggest regional groupings of free peoples, we hope, within the framework of the United Nations..

(8) Conceiving the defense of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and indivisible, we hold all continents and peoples in equal regard and honor...

(9) Respecting the United Nations as the living sign of all people's hope for peace, we shall strive to make it not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force. And in our quest of honorable peace, we shall neither compromise, nor tire, nor ever cease..

By these rules of conduct, we hope to be known to all peoples.

By their observance, an earth of peace may become not a vision but a fact."

"..history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid."

"For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America."

"More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave."

- 12) THE NEW FRONTIER, ACCEPTANCE SPEECH, J.F.K. Los Angeles, CA, 15 July 1960:

NOTE: This is the first time Kennedy used the famous phrase "the new frontier"; this became the name for his program, and his circle of advisors became "New Frontiersmen." The New Frontier, in Kennedy's conception, was not a physical territory, but rather the outer reaches of personal commitment, where could be found "the opportunity for all of us to be of service to this great republic in difficult and dangerous times":

"..I think the American people expect more from us than cries of indignation and attack. The times are too grave, the challenge too urgent, and the stakes too high--to permit the customary passions of political debate. We are not here to curse the darkness, but to light the candle that can guide us through that darkness to a safe and sane future. As Winston Churchill said on taking office some twenty years ago: if we open a quarrel between the present and the past, we shall be in danger of losing the future."

THREE DECADES AGO, KENNEDY RECOGNIZED FEDERAL DECAY, WHY CAN'T WE RECOGNIZE IT NOW?

"There has also been a change--a slippage--in our intellectual and moral strength. Seven lean years of drouth [sic] and famine have withered the field of ideas. Blight has descended on our regulatory agencies--and a dry rot, beginning in Washington, is seeping into every corner of America...Too many Americans have lost their way, their will and their sense of historic purpose."

OLD PARADIGMERS: "Their pledge is a pledge to the status quo--and today there can be no status quo."

"For the problems are not all solved and the battles are not all won--and we stand today on the edge of a New Frontier--the frontier of the 1960s--a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils--a frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats."

"Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom promised our nation a new political and economic framework. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal promised security and succor to those in need. But the

New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises--it is a set of challenges."

LET US CALL UPON OUR COUNTRYMEN TO BE THE NEW FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF THE NEW INDEPENDENCE, JUST AS KENNEDY CALLED...  
"..I believe the times demand invention, innovation, imagination, decision. I am asking each of you to be new pioneers on that New Frontier."

"Are we willing to match the Russian sacrifice of the present for the future--or must we sacrifice our future in order to enjoy the present? That is the question of the New Frontier. That is the choice our nation must make....between national greatness and national decline--between the fresh air of progress and the stale, dank atmosphere of 'normalcy'--between determined dedication and a creeping mediocrity."

"All mankind waits upon our decision. A whole world looks to see what we will do. We cannot fail their trust, we cannot fail to try."

- 13) INAUGURAL ADDRESS, J.F.K. Washington, D.C. either 20 or 4 January 1961.

NOTE: This is a beautiful speech, you might want to read it in its entirety. Also, an editor's note: "Generally considered to be one of the handful of great inaugural addresses, this short speech reveals the heavy influence of Theodore Sorensen, JFK's chief speechwriter, in its biblical phraseology and its frequent use of contrapuntal clauses--'United there is little we cannot do..divided, there is little we can do'--a style derived from Lincoln's use of parallelism in his speeches."

"Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

"To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope.."

DIRECT APPEAL, VERY EFFECTIVE: "Can we forge against these enemies (tyranny, poverty, disease, and war) a grand a global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?"

"And so, my fellow Americans--ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country."

- 14) THE QUEST FOR PEACE, J.F.K. Address to the opening session of the U.N. General Assembly, New York City, 25 September 1961:

INTERDEPENDENCE: "For disarmament without checks is but a shadow--and a community without law is but a shell."

"But the great question which confronted this body in 1945 is still before us: whether man's cherished hopes for progress and peace are to be destroyed by terror and disruption, whether the 'foul winds of war' can be tamed in time to free the cooling winds of reason, and whether the pledges of our Charter are to be fulfilled or defied--pledges to secure peace, progress, human rights and world law."

"Terror is not a new weapon. Throughout history it has been used by those who could not prevail, either by persuasion or example. But inevitably they fail, either because men are not afraid to die for a life worth living, or because the terrorists themselves came to realize that free men cannot be frightened by threats, and that aggression would meet its own response."

- 15) A STEP TOWARD PEACE, J.F.K. Announcing a treaty banning atmospheric and oceanic testing of nuclear weapons, Washington, D.C., 26 July 1963:

"..the achievement of this goal is not a victory for one side--it is a victory for mankind."

"..it is an important first step--a step towards peace--a step towards reason--a step away from war."

"But now, for the first time in many years, the path of peace may be open. No one can be certain what the future will bring...But history and our own conscience will judge us harsher if we do not now make every effort to test our hopes by action, and this is the place to begin. According to the ancient Chinese proverb, 'A journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step.' My fellow Americans, let us take that first step. Let us, if we can, get back from the shadows of war and seek out the way of peace. And if that journey is one thousand miles, or even more, let history record that we, in this land at this time, took the first step."

- 16) SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, L.B.J Call for Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Washington, D.C., 5 August 1964:

"After consultation with the leaders of both parties in the Congress, I further announced a decision to ask the Congress for a Resolution expressing the unity and determination of

the United States in supporting freedom and in protecting peace in Southeast Asia."

"Our policy in Southeast Asia has been consistent and unchanged since 1954. I summarized in on June 2 in four simple propositions:

1. America keeps her word. Here as elsewhere, we must and shall honor our commitments.
2. The issue is the future of Southeast Asia as a whole. A threat to any nation in that region is a threat to all, and a threat to us.
3. Our purpose is peace. We have no military, political or territorial ambitions in the area.
4. This is not just a jungle war, but a struggle for freedom on every front of human activity."

- 17) THE PURSUIT OF PEACE, RICHARD NIXON. Televised, and radio-broadcast speech, written by Nixon himself, rejecting both North Vietnam's intransigence and the peace movement's call for a negotiated withdrawal. Washington, D.C., 3 November 1969:

"I believe that one of the reasons for the deep division about Vietnam is that many Americans have lost confidence in what their government has told them about our policy. The American people cannot and should not be asked to support a policy which involves the overriding issues of war and peace unless they know the truth about that policy."

"..there were some who urged that I end the war at once by ordering the immediate withdrawal of all American forces..From a political standpoint this would have been a popular and easy course to follow. After all, we became involved in the war while my predecessor was in office. I could blame the defeat which would be the result of my action and come out as peacemaker. Some put it to me quite bluntly: This was the only way to avoid allowing Johnson's war to become Nixon's war."

"But I had a greater obligation than to think only of the years of my administration and of the next election. I had to think of the effect of my decision on the next generation and on the future of peace and freedom in America and in the world."

"For the United States, this first defeat (i.e. withdrawal) in our nation's history would result in a collapse of confidence in American leadership, not only in Asia but throughout the world."

PARALLELS WITH CURRENT SITUATION:

"--A nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends.

--Our defeat and humiliation in South Vietnam without question would promote recklessness in the councils of those great powers who have not yet abandoned their goals of world conquest....Ultimately, this would cost more lives. It would not bring peace; it would bring more war."

--I can order an immediate, precipitate withdrawal...  
--Or we can persist in our search for a just peace through a negotiated settlement if possible, or through continued implementation of our plan for Vietnamization if necessary...

I have chosen this second course.

It is not the easy way.

It is the right way.

It is a plan which will end the war and serve the cause of peace--not just in Vietnam but in the Pacific and in the world."

"If a vocal minority, however fervent its cause, prevails over reason and the will of the majority, this nation has no future as a free society."

"I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny these days. But I feel it is appropriate to do so on this occasion."

"Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that."

- 18) THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION, RICHARD NIXON. This is a State of the Union speech. I list it here, however, because it is probably what the Governor was referring to as the NEW FEDERALISM SPEECH. Washington, D.C., 22 January 1971:

"The people of this nation are eager to get on with the quest for new greatness. They see challenges, and they are prepared to meet those challenges. It is for us here to open the doors that will set free again the real greatness of this nation--the genius of the American people."

"If we act boldly--if we seize this moment and achieve these goals--we can close the gap between promise and performance in American government. We can bring together the resources of this nation and the spirit of the American people."

"..let us also establish an effective work incentive and an effective work requirement. Let us provide the means by which more can help themselves. This shall be our goal. Let us generously help those who are not able to help themselves. But let us stop helping those who are able to help themselves but refuse to do so."

"As we approach our 200th anniversary in 1976, we remember that this nation launched itself as a loose confederation of separate states, without a workable central government. At that time, the mark of its leaders' vision was that they quickly saw the need to balance the separate powers of the states with a government of central powers.."

"For almost two centuries since--and dramatically in the 1930's--at those great turning points when the question has been between the states and the federal government, that question has been resolved in favor of a stronger central federal government."

"During this time the nation grew and the nation prospered. But one thing history tells us is that no great movement goes in the same direction forever. Nations change, they adapt, or they slowly die."

"The time has now come in America to reverse the flow of power and resources from the states and communities to Washington, and start power and resources flowing back from Washington to the states and communities and, more important, to the people all across America."

"Let's face it. Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels. They will not--and they should not--continue to tolerate the gap between promise and performance in government.

The fact is that we have made the federal government so strong it grows musclebound and the states and localities so weak they approach impotence."

#### DECENTRALIZED DECISION-MAKING WORKS BETTER IN AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX WORLD:

"If we put more power in more places, we can make government more creative in more places. That way we multiply the number of people with the ability to make things happen--and we can open the way to a new burst of creative energy throughout America."

"As everything seems to have grown bigger and more complex in America, as the forces that shape our lives seem to have grown more distant and more impersonal, a great feeling of frustration has crept across this land."

"Let us say to them (millions of frustrated young Americans) and let us say to all Americans, 'We hear you. We will give you a chance. We are going to give you a new chance to have more to say about the decisions that affect your future--a chance to participate in government--because we are going to provide more centers of power where what you do can make a difference that you can see and feel in your own life and the life of your whole community.'"

"The idea that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows best what is best for people everywhere and that you cannot trust local governments is really a contention that you cannot trust people to govern themselves. This notion is completely foreign to the American experience. Local government is the government closest to the people, it is most responsible to the individual person. It is people's government in a far more intimate way than the government in Washington can ever be."

"I have faith in people. I trust the judgement of people. Let us give the people of America a chance, a bigger voice in deciding for themselves those questions that so greatly affect their lives."

"One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln stood on a battlefield and spoke of a 'government of the people, by the people, for the people.' Too often since then, we have become a nation of the government, by the government, for the government."

"Change is hard. But without change there can be no progress. And for each of us the question then becomes, not 'Will change cause me inconvenience? but 'Will change bring progress for America?'...Giving up power is hard (how ironic, Dick). But I would urge all of you, as leaders of this country, to remember that the truly revered leaders in world history are those who gave power to people, and not those who took it away." } ☆

THE VISION THING: "Those men who met at Philadelphia left a great heritage because they had a vision--not only of what the nation was but of what it could become."

"HUDDLED MASSES YEARNING TO BREATHE FREE," OPEN DOOR TO IMMIGRANTS AND OPEN DOOR TO THE DISEMPOWERED:

"...America was founded as the land of the open door--as a haven for the oppressed, a land of opportunity, a place of refuge, of hope. When the first settlers opened the door of America three and a half centuries ago, they came to escape persecution and to find opportunity--and they left wide the door of welcome for others to follow..."

"For all Americans, with these changes I have proposed tonight we can open the door to a new era of opportunity. We can open the door to full and effective participation in the decisions that affect their lives. We can open the door to full and effective participation in the decisions that affect their lives. We can open the door to a new partnership among governments at all levels, between those governments and the people themselves. And by so doing, we can open wide the doors of human fulfillment for millions of people here in America now and in the years to come."

THE APPEAL--"THIS CAN BE THE CONGRESS":

"This can be the Congress that helped us end the longest war in the nation's history..

This can be the Congress that helped achieve an expanding economy...

This can be the Congress that reformed a welfare system that has robbed recipients of their dignity and robbed states and cities of their resources.....

But above all, what this Congress can be remembered for is opening the way to a new American revolution--a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people--in which government at all levels was refreshed and renewed and made truly responsive. This can be a revolution as profound, a far-reaching, as exciting as that first revolution almost 200 years ago..."

- 19) INAUGURAL ADDRESS, RONALD REAGAN. Washington, D.C., 20 January 1981:

"Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present."

"In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem."

"We are a nation that has a government--not the other way around."

"All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government."

"Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God. We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup."

ECONOMIC GRIDLOCK: "In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced our productivity."

- 20) REMARKS AT A CEREMONY COMMEMORATING THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NORMANDY INVASION, D-DAY, RONALD REAGAN. Pointe du Hoc, France, 6 June 1984:

"We're here to mark that day in history when the Allied armies joined in battle to reclaim this continent to liberty. For 4 long years, much of Europe had been under a terrible shadow. Free nations had fallen, Jews cried out in

the camps, millions cried out for liberation. Europe was enslaved, and the world prayed for its rescue. Here in Normandy the rescue began. Here the Allied stood and fought against tyranny in a giant undertaking unparalleled in human history."

SEE THE PRETTY DANGER, SMELL THE PRETTY DANGER, TASTE THE PRETTY DANGER:

"We stand on a lonely, windswept point on the northern shore of France. The air is soft, but 40 years ago at this moment, the air was dense with smoke and the cries of men, and the air was filled with the crack of rifle fire and the roar of the cannon."

"Soon, one by one, the Rangers pulled themselves over the top, and in seizing the firm land at the top of these cliffs, they began to seize back the continent of Europe. Two hundred and twenty-five came here. After 2 days of fighting, only 90 could still bear arms."

"These are the boys of Point de Hoc. These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champions who helped free a continent. These are the heroes who helped end a war. Gentlemen, I look at you and I think of the words of Stephen Spender's poem. You are men who in your 'lives fought for life...and left the vivid air signed with your honor.'"

"The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead or on the next. It was the deep knowledge--and pray God we have not lost it--that there is a profound, moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest."

"You all knew that some things are worth dying for. One's country is worth dying for, and democracy is worth dying for, because it's the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man."

'AT THIS MOMENT' TIME DIFFERENCES--CAN WE DO THIS WITH THE MIDDLE EAST?:

"The Americans who fought here that morning knew word of the invasion was spreading through the darkness back home. They fought--or felt in their hearts, though they couldn't know in fact, that in Georgia they were filling the churches at 4 a.m., in Kansas they were kneeling on their porches and praying, and in Philadelphia they were ringing the Liberty Bell."

"We in America have learned bitter lessons from two World Wars: It is better to be here ready to protect the peace, than to take blind shelter across the sea, rushing to respond only after freedom is lost. We've learned that

isolationism never was and never will be an acceptable response to tyrannical governments with an expansionist intent."

"Strengthened by their courage, heartened by their value [valor], and borne by their memory, let us continue to stand for the ideals for which they lived and died."

- 21) ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THE EXPLOSION OF THE SPACE SHUTTLE CHALLENGER, RONALD REAGAN. Televised from the Oval Office, 28 January 1986:

"The future doesn't belong to the fainthearted; it belongs to the brave. The Challenger crew was fulling us into the future, and we'll continue to follow them."

"We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them, this morning, as they prepared for their journey and waved goodbye and 'slipped the surly bonds of earth' to 'touch the face of God.'"

13 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: QUOTES FOR S.O.U.

- 1) "Voice of America: Ronald Reagan and the American Rhetorical Tradition" (article):

"Americans tend to respond more to what is said than to how it is said. And it is here that Ronald Reagan's genius lies. He conveys a message of native optimism and hope for the future which is deeply rooted in the American character and in American history."

R.R.: "Let me tell you something of the American character. You might think that with such a varied nation there couldn't be any one character, but in many fundamental ways there is...We're idealists...We're a compassionate people...We're an optimistic people. Like you, we inherited a vast land of endless skies, tall mountains, rich fields, and open prairies. It made us see the possibilities in everything. It made us hopeful. And we devised an economic system that rewarded individual efforts, that gave us good reason for hope."

"As early as 1964, in his famous speech for Barry Goldwater, he spoke of America's 'rendezvous with destiny'...."

"'Sometimes people call me an idealist,' Woodrow Wilson once said. 'That is why I know I am an American.'"

"..John Stuart Mill, who said: 'a state which dwarfs men...will find that with small men no great thin can really be accomplished.'"

"...Franklin Roosevelt, who told Congress in 1935, 'Continued dependence on relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole our relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit.'"

"'Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few,' Mr. Reagan has stressed. 'It is the universal right of all God's children.'"

"(Luigi Barzini said that)..America is 'alarmingly optimistic, compassionate, incredibly generous..It was a

spiritual wind that drove Americans irresistibly ahead from the beginning.'"

- 2) SACRIFICES MADE FOR THE NEW WORLD ORDER: "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it."  
--Thomas Paine
- 3) "The ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is now so well in motion that it will roll around the globe...for light and liberty go together."  
--Thomas Jefferson
- 4) "Think of your forefathers and of your posterity."  
--John Quincy Adams (1802)
- 5) ON EDUCATION: "Mind is the great leveler of all things."  
--Daniel Webster (1825)
- 6) "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right."  
--Abraham Lincoln (1865)
- 7) "Hold each other in true fellowship."  
--Henry Ward Beecher (1869)
- 8) "Peace upon any other basis than national independence...is fit only for slaves."  
--William Edgar Borah (1919)
- 9) "A new integrity of human life."  
--Frank Lloyd Wright (1939)
- 10) "Americans fight joyously in a just cause."  
--Harold L. Ickes (1941)
- 11) "We are going to win the war and we are going to win the peace that follows."  
--Franklin D. Roosevelt (1941)
- 12) "What we have done so far are but small building blocks in a huge pyramid to come."  
--John H. Glenn, Jr. (1962)
- 13) "We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another."  
--Richard M. Nixon (1969)
- 14) "...out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness."  
--Moses proclaims the Ten Commandments

- 15) "I see the ardor for liberty catching and spreading."  
--Dr. Richard Price, in London, hails the French Revolution (November 4, 1789)
- 16) "Events, which are the arguments of God, are stronger than words, which are the arguments of men."  
--"Beveridge the Brilliant" takes up the White Man's Burden (April 27, 1898)
- 17) "It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into a war."  
--President Wilson asks Congress to Declare war against Germany (April 2, 1917)
- 18) POSSIBLE PARALLELS WITH GULF SITUATION: "When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas."  
--General Eisenhower conquers London (June 12, 1945)
- 19) ENVIRO: "...Nature never did betray..The heart that loved her.."  
--William Wordsworth
- 20) ENVIRO: "..Content to breathe his native air.."  
--Alexander Pope: Ode on Solitude
- 21) ENVIRO: "Our Union is river, lake, ocean and sky.."  
--O.W. Holmes, Brother Jonathan's Lament for Sister Caroline
- 22) THE VISION THING: "A vision without a task is but a dream, a task without a vision is drudgery, a vision with a task is the hope of the world."  
--Inscription on a church in Sussex, England, 1730
- 23) "Opportunity doesn't necessarily knock on the door; it may be leaning against the wall waiting to be noticed."  
--anonymous aphorism
- 24) "To look up and not down,  
To look forward and not back,  
To look out and not in, and  
To lend a hand."  
--E.E. Hale: Ten Times One Is Ten, 1870
- 25) "Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times."  
--Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816.

- 26) "The Ship of Democracy..."  
--Grover Cleveland, in a letter to Wilson S. Bissell, February 15, 1894.
- 27) CONCILIATORY RETRO ON GULF DEBATE: "If our democracy is to flourish, it must have criticism; if our government is to function it must have dissent."  
--Henry Steele Commager, Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent, 1954.
- 28) EMPOWERMENT: "[The people] are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."  
--Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to James Madison, December 20, 1787.
- 29) EMPOWERMENT: "Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories."  
--Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Abbe Arnoud, July 19, 1789.
- 30) "A democracy is peaceloving. It does not like to go to war. It is slow to rise to provocation. When it has once been provoked to the point where it must grasp the sword, it does not easily forgive its adversary for having produced the situation...Democracy fights in anger--it fights for the very reason that it was forced to go to war."  
--George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900-1950, 1951.
- 31) "One has the right to be wrong in a democracy."  
--Claude Pepper, in the Congressional Record, May 27, 1946.
- 32) "The first requisite of a good citizen in this Republic of our is that he shall be able and willing to pull his weight."  
--Theodore Roosevelt, in a speech in New York City, November 11, 1902.
- 33) EMPOWERMENT: "All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy."  
--Alfred E. Smith, in a speech in Albany, New York, June 27, 1933.
- 34) \*\*\*\*EMPOWERMENT: "Destiny is not a matter of chance, it is a matter of choice; it is not a thing to be waited for, it is a thing to be achieved."  
--William Jennings Bryan, in a speech in Washington, D.C., February 22, 1899.

- 35) HOPE: "The longest day must have its close--the gloomiest night will wear on to a morning."  
--Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852.
- 36) "This day we fashion Destiny, our web of Fate we spin."  
--John Greenleaf Whittier, "The Crisis," 1848.
- 37) WE MUST THINK MORE ABOUT X, NOT Y: "If more politicians in this country were thinking about the next generation instead of the next election, it might be better for the United States and the world."  
--Claude Pepper, quoted in the Orlando Sentinel-Star, December 29, 1946.
- 38) "There are always two parties, the party of the Past and the party of the Future; the Establishment and the Movement."  
--Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Life and Letters in New England," Lectures and Biographical Sketches, 1883.
- 39) "A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman thinks of the next generation."  
--Attributed to James Freeman Clarke.
- 40) "My affections were first for my own country, and then, generally, for all mankind."  
--Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Thomas Law, January 15, 1811.
- 41) "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land."  
--Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, March 4, 1861.
- 42) "Patriotism is just loyalty to friends, people, families."  
--Robert Santos, quoted in Al Santoli, Everything We Had: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Thirty-three American Soldiers Who Fought It, 1981.
- 43) LITERACY: "Books are not lumps of lifeless paper but minds alive on the shelves."  
--Gilbert Highet
- 44) When asked his secret, Wayne Gretsky replied:  
"I skate to where the puck is going to be, not where it has been."
- 45) "The game is well worth the candle that may have to be burned far into the night. There is no feeling like the feeling of success."  
--J. Paul Getty

- 46) EDUCATION: "Every child is an artist. The problem is how to remain an artist once he grows up."  
--Pablo Picasso
- 47) FACTOID: In 1914, the first year income tax was collected, Americans paid an average per capita tax of 41 cents--and only one percent of the population was obligated to pay taxes at all.
- 48) EDUCATION: "A book must be the axe for the frozen sea inside us."  
--Franz Kafka, Letter to Oskar Pollak, January 27, 1904.
- 49) "The war will continue to be prosecuted with vigor, as the best means of securing peace."  
--James K. Polk, Second Annual Message to Congress, December 8, 1846.
- 50) \*\*\*\* "...let every man stand to his post, and...let posterity..find our skeleton and armor on the spot where duty required us to stand."  
--Millard Fillmore, Speech at Buffalo, N.Y., April 16, 1861.
- 51) "We accepted war for humanity. We can accept no terms of peace which shall not be in the interest of humanity."  
--William McKinley, At Cedar Rapids, IA, October 11, 1906.
- 52) "[war is a]..dramatic symbol of a thousand forms of duty."  
--Woodrow Wilson, Speech at Brooklyn, NY, May 11, 1914.
- 53) "We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny."  
--Franklin D. Roosevelt, Campaign address at Cleveland, Ohio, November 2, 1940.
- 54) "...victory required a mighty manifestation of the most ennobling of the virtues of man--faith, courage, fortitude, sacrifice!"  
--Dwight Eisenhower, Address in Ottawa, Canada, January 10, 1946.
- 55) "Out of rubble heaps, willing hand can rebuild a better city; but out of freedom lost can stem only generations of hate and bitter struggle an brutal oppression..."  
--Dwight Eisenhower, Address at Columbia University, March 23, 1950.
- 51) "Conquest is not in our principles; it is inconsistent with our government."

--Thomas Jefferson, To William Carmichael, August  
22, 1790.

52) ENVIRO: "Where the air is full of sunlight and the flag is  
full of stars."

--Henry Van Dyke, "America For Me."

53) ENVIRO: "..spacious skies...amber waves of grain...purple  
mountain majesties...fruited plain...sea to shining sea..."

--Katharine Lee Bates, "America the Beautiful."

(Lange/Grossman)  
January 14, 1991  
9:30 A.M.  
[ONION8.DOC]  
DRAFT EIGHT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE STATE OF THE UNION, 1991  
THE CAPITOL  
TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1991

*make State of  
Union speech  
an event  
that it  
should be*

I come to speak to you and our citizens in this House of the people, certain that we stand at a defining hour.

*state* This is Democracy's day. A day of reckoning, not simply for this government, but for the state of this Union -- and the community of nations.

We have been engaged in a great struggle in the skies, and on the seas and sands halfway around the world, with a purpose that is not itself remote.

We are Americans: **part of something larger than ourselves.**

For two centuries, we've done the hard work of freedom. And tonight, the world is facing down a threat to something we've sought for twenty generations. What is at stake is not one small country, it's a big idea: a new world order.

A world worthy of our struggle, and worthy of our children, that leaves the Cold War in the dust of history -- drawing together diverse nations in common cause, to fulfill the universal values of mankind: peace, security, and the rule of law.

A community of nations, resolutely gathered to condemn lawless aggression, as a denial of freedom, and an assault on mankind.

Saddam Hussein's unprovoked invasion -- his ruthless,

systematic rape of a peaceful neighbor -- violated everything the community of nations stands for.

But the world has resisted the trap of appeasement, cynicism, and isolation that tempts tyrants -- and met Saddam's invasion, united: with twelve United Nations resolutions; forces from 28 countries on five continents; and an unprecedented degree of international solidarity.

The end of the Cold War is a victory for all humanity. Our purpose now is to achieve a victory, not over another nation, but over war itself.

This is the hope of mankind. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Latin America, Asia, Africa -- all who struggle confirm the wisdom of our forefathers. From every corner of the world we've felt the force of a revolution that puts the people at the center, as the only true source of power -- which government exists to serve.

Democracy -- the revolution that came to stay -- came to life here. But make no mistake: our work is not done.

We are Americans. And the hopes of humanity turn to us, to fulfill democracy's promise -- and to do the hard work of freedom.

**We are Americans. Part of something larger than ourselves.**

---

The hard work, the courage, and the conviction we see in the Persian Gulf today is simply the American character in action. The indomitable American spirit that is winning this victory for

world peace and justice, is also the same spirit that gives us the power and the potential to meet our toughest challenges at home. Surely if we have the resourcefulness and the resolve, the cooperation and the strength in diversity, the deeply-rooted faith to confront evil for the sake of good in a land so far away, then surely we can dare to make our America all that it can and should be.

The future of American democracy is bright. America -- like every American -- must lead by example. And we are judged as much by what we do at home, as by any of our words and deeds abroad.

A great woman reminds me of that every day: my wife Barbara. She likes to say that "what happens in your house is more important than what happens in the White House." She's right.

*Too much  
substance*

So tonight, I come before this House, and the American people, with an appeal for change. Tonight will be more than a call for new government initiatives. It is a call for new initiative in government, in our communities, and from **every** American -- to get ready for the next American century.

||

We have within our reach the promise of a new and more ennobling age. An age with no dark corners, no forgotten places, no souls lost in the dreamless sleep of indifference, or the nightmare of despair.

We dare not hope for lesser things, or dream in shades of grey. For we are Americans -- a community of conscience. And if

*~~~~~*

anyone tells you America's best days are behind her, they're looking the wrong way.

Who will be the leaders of the next American century? Everyone who steps forward. Getting one addict off drugs. Convincing one troubled teenager not to give up on life. Comforting one AIDS patient. Teaching a farmer in Africa how to feed his village.

The problems may be different, but the key to all solutions remains the same -- leadership. And the state of the union, is the union of each of us, one to the other: the sum of our friendships, marriages, families, and communities.

This has been the source of our strength since the birth of this nation. Government's potential to solve problems alone will be limited -- but America's potential knows no limits.

To find meaning and reward by serving some purpose higher and broader than ourselves -- it is to know the irresistible force of a child's hand, of a friend who stands by you and stays there -- of an idea that is simply right.

Houses don't need to stand empty and abandoned, while people lack shelter. Businesses don't need to worry about shortages of people, while young men and women stand idle.

So if you've got a hammer, find a nail. If you know how to read, find someone who can't. If you're not hungry, not lonely, not in trouble -- seek out someone who is.

Join the community of conscience. Do the hard work of freedom. For there lies the state of our union.

We've always known that hand-wringing negativism never drew water from the ground -- but hard work will. We're a nation of rock-solid realism, and clear-eyed idealism.

We are Americans: Part of something larger than ourselves.

We are the nation that believes in the future.

---

Together, we have already begun to define it: by putting dollars for child care directly in the hands of parents, instead of bureaucrats. By unshackling the potential of Americans with disabilities. By applying the creativity of the marketplace in the service of the environment. By making affordable housing available to more Americans.

All of these legislative accomplishments of the past year represent government on a human scale: that puts power and freedom of choice at ground level -- with the individual, and the community. The strength of a democracy is not the bureaucracy. It is the people.

Right now, in some regions of our country, people are in genuine economic pain. I talk with them, see them, read their letters -- and I hear them. [ looking for a line or two from letters ].

But Americans never followed the false prophets of doom in the last decade, and I don't think they'll follow them now. I'm not about to paint some rosy scenario. But let me share with you some reasons for why I think the worst is behind us:

First, we don't have to drive enormous inflation out of the economy, the way we did the last time. Second, most industries don't have big inventories piled up, so they won't have to make big cuts in production. And third, exports are running solid and strong. In fact, American businesses are exporting at a record rate.

So let's put these hard times in perspective. Together, since 1981, we've created 22 million jobs, cut inflation in half, cut unemployment by half, and cut interest rates in half.

Yes, we're having some growing pains. But the most important reason we're going to make this downturn short and shallow is our agenda for the future -- an agenda whose centerpiece is economic growth.

The hard work now before us is to set the foundations for another record-breaking decade -- for competitive strength that will carry us into the next American century. We must focus our efforts on investing in the future, encouraging economic growth, and empowering the individual.

A first-class future needs first-class talent. That means an education system second to none. Our historic partnership with the governors of the 50 states has already galvanized a revolution in education. And I'll soon be offering proposals for reform from the ground up -- based on a fundamental partnership with parents, teachers, and community leaders. We can turn out the brightest and the best America's got to offer. And we will.

The future calls for first-class financial security. I know people worry about our banking system. We have and will continue to make sure our banks are safe, sound, and able to provide adequate credit. So I will soon submit banking reform proposals. No American should ever again fear for the security of their savings.

American technology and the American future go hand in hand. Let us strengthen our research and development capability -- commercialize the results of important federal research. And let our entrepreneurs do what they do best: create jobs.

Our future can never again be held hostage to foreign energy suppliers. We will, we must reduce our energy vulnerability once and for all. Therefore, I will soon be presenting a comprehensive National Energy Strategy.

Our forefathers built a future on mobility. Today is no different. We must invest in our transportation infrastructure -- and I will soon propose a new National Highway System. To keep America on the rise, let's keep her on the move.

Finally, at a time when exports are our strong suit, we should continue to expand world trade -- with a successful Uruguay Round, a Mexican Free Trade Agreement, and fulfillment of the vision of our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. When trade is free and fair, the America of the future can compete with anyone.

But these investments in the future will have to be matched by a comprehensive program for strong economic growth.

Last year, amid all the sound and the fury, we curbed the built-in growth of government spending, and put government on the pay-as-you-go plan -- so that future debates about spending the people's money will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war. ?

Along the way, we freed up nearly 500 billion dollars for job-creating private investment. This investment will be matched by our efforts to keep this economy growing strong.

[Items in growth package to come]

Putting more power in the hands of individuals, communities, and institutions must be the third part of our foundation for the next American century.

All Americans must have the power of an alternative. So let us break the bondage of dependency, and build the bonds of community in neighborhoods that most need help, and above all, need hope.

That means new incentives to create jobs in our inner cities, by encouraging investment through **enterprise zones**. It also means **tenant control and ownership** of public housing.

It means giving schools a reason to run better -- by allowing parents the power of **choice** in where to send their kids, so all have access to the best.

Freedom and the power to choose should not be the privilege of wealth. So tonight I ask the Congress to join me in drafting an **economic bill of rights**, for all Americans. [specifics to come]

Let us protect a fundamental civil right -- freedom from the crime and fear that stalks our cities. I will soon convene a

Crime Summit Conference, for action at street level. And from the Congress, we need tough crime control legislation. Let's finish the job.

The heart of our ability to compete in the next American century will depend on how well we enlist a large, untapped source of talent -- among the young and underskilled, who need training. The disadvantaged, whose lives can be turned to advantage. The older and more experienced who want to work, but are trapped by the social security caps on earnings.

Let no senseless racism or religious rivalry divide us. We must abolish all barriers, bias, inside tracks, two-tiered systems, glass ceilings, unfair breaks, and rungless ladders -- for all Americans, for good, forever. No one is unnecessary. We don't have a soul to waste or a minute to lose.

Finally, let us revive the ideal of the citizen politician who comes not to stay, but to serve. Washington, once a wilderness of swamps and fields, is now a wilderness of special interests. It's time for election reform.

Let's eliminate PACs -- and put the national interest over the special interests. Plan not for the next election, but the next generation.

We are Americans. Part of something larger than ourselves.

There are times when we must accept our responsibility to lead the world away from the dark chaos of dictators and

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lawlessness, toward the brighter promise of a better day for all God's children.

This is one such time: an hour of great struggle and greater hope -- a defining hour for America and all free nations.

And there is no one more devoted, more committed to the hard work of freedom, than every single soldier, sailor, airman, marine, and Coast Guardsman now engaged in the Persian Gulf.

Each of them has stepped forward freely, to provide for this nation's defense -- and now they struggle bravely, to earn for America, for the world, and for future generations a just and lasting peace.

They are truly America's finest. And our commitment to them must be the equal of their commitment to their country.

Our purpose in the Persian Gulf remains constant: to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, to restore Kuwait's legitimate government, to ensure the stability and security of the Gulf region, and to eliminate the threat of future aggression.

Most Americans know instinctively why we are in Kuwait. They know that we cannot leave the well-being of the world to the ruthless might-makes-right of dictators like Saddam.

They know our challenge is to secure a bright and prosperous future for the free world and the fledgling democracies. They know we must make sure that the lion's share of the world's oil resources don't finance the further aggressions of a tyrant. And they know that we cannot allow the dawn of a more stable world order to be cut short.

Democracy brings the undeniable value of thoughtful dissent -- and we have heard dissenting voices. They confirm the rights we love, and live by -- and by reason of those rights alone, we are united in purpose, and in principle.

The course of our struggle in the Gulf is well known to all. It was never expected to be easy, but it goes according to plan.

Our success in this great struggle is the result of years of preparedness. It is the cutting edge of American technology -- our research and development, our manufacturing, our quality control, our innovation -- that now allow us to engage in difficult and hostile conditions with minimum loss of life. Our men and women have the best. And they deserve it.

While I won't venture to predict how long this effort will take, I'm certain of how it will end. The world community is about to win its first collective victory for mankind. We will prevail, so that peace can prevail.

Tonight in the Gulf, the principles that have defined our history and will determine our future are at stake.

For the first time in the post-war era, the international community is united. The leadership of the United Nations, once a hoped-for ideal, has become real. Israel has shown heroic restraint in the face of Saddam's cynical attempts to divide and conquer.

And now the world has an opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a new world order -- where the ruthless resort to force goes unrewarded, and individual aggression meets collective

resistance. Where the division that was once an invitation to aggression is replaced by strength and unity.

If we succeed in the Gulf -- as I know we will -- the world community will have sent a stern and enduring warning to any dictator or despot, present or future, who contemplates outlaw aggression.

Saddam's first and final miscalculation was thinking that this conflict would be seen as Iraq against America. Indeed, as 26 nations from five continents are proving, it is Iraq against the world.

Yes, the United States bears a major share, not only of costs but of leadership in this effort. And that's how it should be. The United States is unique. Only the United States can bear this responsibility. Not Europe, not the Soviet Union, not Japan. We are the one nation on this earth that can assemble the forces of peace. Among the nations of the world only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up. So we must. And so we will.

This is the burden of leadership. America must lead, as we always have, and only we can.

This nation long ago ceased to find glory in war. It is a brutal business. We fight in anger, for the fact that we have to fight. And each of us will measure, among ourselves and within our souls, the losses of this great struggle.

Any cost in lives is beyond mankind's power to measure.

But this we know: Our cause is just. And the cost of turning our backs on freedom is beyond mankind's power to imagine.

Let future generations understand the burden and the blessing of freedom. And let them say, we stood where duty required us to stand.

When history looks back upon us, let 1991 be the year that we affirmed America as a community of conscience -- willing and able to do the hard work of freedom.

Let them say that together, we climbed the hill. We stood our ground. We did what had to be done.

The winds of change are with us now. The forces of freedom are united. Let us end this century more confident than ever, that we have the will -- at home and abroad -- to do what must be done.

May God bless the United States of America.

# # #

15 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: IRAQ/GULF

1) Current Biography, 1981:

"According to Patrick Seale of the London Observer, (September 28, 1980), 'In 1969 he added a law degree to his other honors by the simple expedient of turning up in the examination hall with a pistol in his belt and accompanied by four armed bodyguards. The examiners got the point.'"

"In the months that followed his accession to the Presidency, Hussein became the subject of a carefully orchestrated personality cult."

2) Gulf Strategy: January Themes and Messages--see for comprehensive list of talking points

3) MEMO ON CONGRESSIONAL FLOOR STATEMENTS, Jan. 12, 1991

a. Floor Statement by Rep. Stephen J. Solarz, Jan. 12, 1991

"I believe there are some fundamental differences between the situation in which we found ourselves in Vietnam then and the situation we confront in the Persian Gulf today.

In Vietnam, vital American interests were never at stake. In the Gulf they are.

In Vietnam, the cost in blood and treasure was out of all proportion to the expected benefits of a successful defense of South Vietnam.

In the Gulf, the enormous benefits of a successful effort to get Iraq out of Kuwait far exceed the price we will have to pay if force must be used.

We've heard a lot of talk in this debate about the need for patience.

We were patient when Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931.

We were patient when Italy attacked Ethiopia in 1936.

We were patient when Germany Blitzkrieged Poland in 1939.

We were patient when Germany overran France in 1940.

We were patient, Mr. Speaker, right up to December 7, 1941--

--when Japan attacked us at Pearl Harbor--by which time

Germany had conquered almost all of Europe and Japan controlled much of Asia.

The great lesson of our time is that when evil is on the march it must be confronted.

In the Persian Gulf, almost half a year after the brutal and unprovoked annexation of Kuwait, the time for patience has ended and the time for firmness has arrived.

Saddam Hussein represents a clear and present danger not only to the region but to the world.

He has gone to war twice in the last ten years....

Driven by a megalomaniacal lust for power, he is determined to dominate the entire Middle East.

And if he is not stopped now, we will only have to stop him later, under circumstances where he will be much more difficult and dangerous to contain...

And if we prevail, as surely we will, we will have prevented a brutal dictator from getting his hands on the economic jugular of the world.

We will have protected and stabilized the arab governments courageous enough to have opposed him....

And, perhaps most importantly of all, by demonstrating that aggression does not pay, and that the international community will uphold the sanctity of existing borders, we will have established a precedent which could lead to the creation of a new world order, governed by the rule of law rather than the law of the jungle, and in which nations shall not make war against other nations anymore."

b. Remarks by Sen. Joseph Lieberman, Jan. 11, 1991

"Now this sudden reversal of the world's fortunes reminds us of a sad and an old lesson, which runs throughout the course of human history: We humans are an imperfect species, capable of both great good, but also great evil. Saddam's fascistic tyranny, his brutal aggression are but the latest examples of the capacity of human beings to inflict pain on one another.

It's no easy thing to look into the eyes of men and women who are marching off to the drum beat of war. It's no easy thing to look into the eyes of their families gathered to see these soldiers off, all of them haunted by the ultimate question, 'Will I see my loved one again?'

More than 2,000 years ago, Herodotus said it; 'To have peace you must prepare for war.'

ON FAILURE OF SANCTIONS: ...five months of sanctions have given Saddam five months of time to pillage and rape Kuwait, to fortify his defenses, to endanger further the lives of American soldiers are there.

Five months later in Baghdad, restaurants and cafes and discos remain open. Car dealers continue to sell cars and high-rise apartments continue to rise. Starvation seems very far away in this land where the science of agriculture was in fact invented at the dawn of civilization.

No sanctions we impose can compare to the suffering the Iraqi people faced with their eight-year war with Iran, suffering which did nothing to dislodge Saddam from power or to change his course. How can we hope that a man who would kill his own people with poison gas will retreat because his people may have to stand in line for food?

Remember the words of Pericles more than 2,000 years ago, responding to the demands of the Spartans for peace at any price, at the price of compromise, particularly. He said.. 'There is one principle which I hold to through everything: if you give way, you will instantly have to meet some greater demand,'..

(quoting Eisenhower): 'Eagerness to avoid war can produce outright or implicit agreement that injustices and wrongs of the present shall be perpetuated into the future...We must not participate in any such false agreement. Thereby, we would outrage our own conscience. In the eyes of those who suffer injustice, we would become partners with their oppressors. In the judgement of history, we would have sold out the freedom of men for the potage of false peace. We would assure future conflict.'

President Franklin Roosevelt said, 'There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations, except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardizes either the immediate or the future security of every nation, large or small. It is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the maintenance of international morality be restored.'

A victory by Saddam Hussein is a victory of anarchy over order, of war over peace, of brutality over liberty, of immorality over morality...

Victory for Saddam will embolden all who share his thirst for power and disregard for civil conduct. The defeat of Saddam will restore international morality and enhance prospects for a generation of civilized relations, peaceful relations, among the nations of the world."

c. Rep. Les Aspin, Jan. 12, 1991:

"If the United States is to be credible in the post-cold-war world, if the United Nations is to be a useful vehicle for collective security, then we cannot shrink from the use of force. A future aggressor can ignore the next UN deadline if we ignore this one."

d. Sen. John Warner, Jan. 11, 1991:

"As CIA Director Webster stated in his letter to the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee dated January 10th of this year, 'Our judgment remains that even if sanctions continue to be enforced for an additional six to twelve months, economic hardship alone is unlikely to compel Saddam Hussein to retreat from Kuwait or cause regime-threatening popular discontent in Iraq.'"

e. Rep. Robert Michel, Jan. 10, 1991

"Patience and delay can be virtues when they help bring about military or diplomatic goals. But when patience and delay become foreign policy goals in themselves...they're no longer virtues.

Patience at any price is not a policy; it's a cop-out

Let no one in this chamber or anyone else lecture me on the horrors of war.

If Saddam convinces his neighbors he can survive this crisis, he'll become something more than a former hit man with delusions of grandeur. He'll be someone who has triumphed over a worldwide coalition. And if you seriously think that..that wouldn't be a sinister event in the history of the 20th century, I think you're fooling yourself."

4) DOE TALKING POINTS FOR ADMIRAL WATKINS

"Everybody has been hurt by the crisis in the Middle East because oil is an essential fuel for the global economy --World uses nearly 64 million barrels every day"

"Now, let me make a few comments about our response here in the U.S.

--We've managed to increase our production of oil by over 200,000 barrels a day

--And we've reduced our consumption about 5% from the same period last year

--Stocks of crude oil, gasoline, diesel, heating oil--these are all at the normal range

--Refineries are running at normal levels for this time of year"

"Worldwide, consumption is also down--about 2.5 percent according to preliminary estimates--while supplies are back to pre-invasion levels"

"Global strategic stocks now stand at over one billion barrels"

"What I'm telling you is that--

1. World oil supplies are fully adequate today
2. World demand is dropping
3. Strategic reserves are fully ready to be used as needed"

"The crude is there--the product stocks are there--and the market will work--if people don't panic."

"Whatever happens in the Middle East--

--Oil will flow--it did after August 2

--Tankers will move through the gulf--they did all during the Iraq-Iran war

--Also, at any given moment, there is six weeks of oil on the water and right now, most experts agree, there is a great deal more oil on the water--in effect, in 'floating storage'

--And strategic stocks are ready for..should there be a need"

- 5) "SPEAK FROM THE GUT" MEMO FROM J.P. JOHNSON OF NGS  
(suggested language for SOU):

"I also come to you as a person who has been in combat: that most personal and terrifying of all human experiences. I have known the ravages of war. As a very young man my plane was shot down over the Pacific. I saw my friends and comrades make the ultimate sacrifice for their country and peace."

"I have noticed over the years that many men who have fought in combat rarely talk about their war experiences. And I know why. It's not that combat veterans are modest. Instead, it's the memory of our friends and comrades who gave their lives beside us which makes talking about combat so emotional."

"I hold the experiences of combat in a secret place in my heart. It's not something I want to talk about. But I will say that every time I have a birthday, my thoughts go to the memory of my friends who made the ultimate sacrifice when our plane was shot down. My thoughts go back to those who were wounded beside me. What would their lives have been like? These thoughts and questions haunt all of us who have been in the midst of battle."

"I do know..that the cause was just. And now I understand the burden of those who sent us into battle."

"When my plane was shot down in the Pacific so many years ago, I believe that I was spared to be a servant of peace, not war. Much of my public life, from my time as United Nations' Ambassador to my eight years as Vice President, has been focused on the arena of international diplomacy. I believe that this prepared me to exhaust all avenues of diplomacy since August 2, in order to bring world pressure on Saddam Hussein and bring about his withdrawal without resorting to military action."

"But it was not enough that Saddam terrorize his own people and plunder his own land. He cast his eye on a small country on his borders and invaded Kuwait. Left unchecked the tyrant's greed has no boundaries. Left unchecked, where will he strike next? What would he do, with the tyrant's lust for riches, if he is allowed to develop nuclear weapons?"

"Isn't this the time for the world community to take a stand?"

"My heart breaks when I think of the suffering of the people of Kuwait. Their suffering, sacrifice and death. But I am inspired by their courage. Did you know that when our hostages returned from Kuwait they reported that not one Kuwaiti--under penalty of torture and death--turned in an American to Saddam? Yet many of these noble people died to protect our citizens who were hiding for months in their land."

"These numerous stories of heroism which have been told in recent weeks make clear not only what we are fighting for, but who we are fighting with."

"Tonight I come to you, the American people, who live in a land made free by the sacrifice of my generation and others going back two hundred years. I ask each American to support me in this dark hour. But I ask each of you to also support the court of world opinion, which has said that the noble people of Kuwait must be freed from the heel of this evil tyrant."

6) Carolyn's memo: PAZ quote

"...I will never see an argument for liberty in murder. I know of nothing more servile, more cowardly, more obtuse than a terrorist."

"Never mistake the tyrant for the liberator."

7) NEWS SUMMARY

"The Persian Gulf crisis has dealt a serious blow to the world economy, reducing the growth of global output in 1990

by 0.3 percent, the U.N. department of international economic and social affairs said."

8) GULF POLICY THEMES, Revised 12/14/90:

"--Saddam is a ruthless despot who has attacked two neighbors without warning. He is harboring terrorists and he is systematically exterminating the sovereign nation of Kuwait.

--Saddam's resources are imposing. He commands the world's sixth largest army, uses chemical weapons--even against his own people, deploys ballistic missiles, develops biological weapons and seeks nuclear weapons. If he is not stopped now, if his aggressive designs are not frustrated and contained, he will threaten all of us later--at which point we will all pay a higher price.

--Saddam seeks to dominate a politically volatile region, with great potential for conflict. His aggression imperils the world's oil lifelines, threatening recession and depression here and abroad, hitting hardest those fledgling democracies least able to cope with Saddam's aggression...

--Morally, we must act so that international law, not international outlaws governs the post-Cold War world.

--Politically, we must stand for American leadership, not because no one else can do the job."

9) SEC. BAKER'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, Dec. 5, 1990:

"As we wait, Saddam will continue torturing Kuwait, killing it as a nation.

As we wait, he will continue manipulating hostages, attempting to break the coalition.

As we wait he will continue to fortify Kuwait, to build chemical and biological weapons, and to acquire a nuclear weapons capability.

As we wait, he expects other issues to deflect our attention, weaken our resolve, and dissolve the international coalition.

As we wait, the burden of Saddam's crime weighs heavier on the world."

10) VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE'S ADDRESS TO SETON HALL UNIVERSITY, November 29, 1990:

"Our finest schools have kept firmly in mind what Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great eighteenth century British man of letters, termed the 'supreme end of education: expert discernment in all things--the power to tell the good from

the bad, the genuine from the counterfeit, and to prefer the good and the genuine to the bad and the counterfeit."

"(Saddam Hussein's)..goal is to dominate the Persian Gulf region and use its vast wealth to become the greatest Arab hero of modern times, the leader of a new Arab superpower. To that end, he spent some fifty billion dollars on arms imports during the 1980's alone."

"..the prospect of Saddam Hussein strutting across the world stage at the head of a malevolent global power, armed to the teeth with weapons of mass destruction, and controlling a large portion of the world's energy supplies, is something no sane person would welcome."

"With the end of the Cold War, the chances of a Soviet-American clash in any Third World conflict, including the Middle East, have greatly diminished. Unfortunately, so have the traditional restraints that the superpowers used to impose on their regional clients. As a result, unless the U.N. Charter's rules about using force are not reaffirmed and defended fairly quickly, we face the dangerous prospect of a new, post-Cold War world that is actually more anarchic, and more violence-prone, than the world which preceded it."

"Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is the first crisis of the post-Cold War world. One way or another, it is bound to set a precedent--either on behalf of greater world order or on behalf of greater chaos."

"As President Bush told American troops in Saudi Arabia during Thanksgiving, 'Each day that passes brings Saddam one day closer to realizing his goal of a nuclear weapons arsenal...And we do know this for sure: He has never possessed a weapon that he didn't use.'"

11) DRAFT OP-ED, PERSIAN GULF

"First, it is important to avoid attempts to force a false choice between pragmatism and principle. America's ideals, far from being mutually exclusive, are in fact threads of the same cloth."

"(Saddam Hussein's)..cynical disregard for international norms and the rule of law must not themselves be rewarded with cynicism."

"America must lead, as we always have, and only can."

- 12) "Famed unit called to duty again," USA Today, November 9, 1990:

"The Big Red One has once again been called to duty in a faraway land...the 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) of Fort Riley, Kan.--has been linked to U.S. wars and military campaigns since early in the 20th century...Its motto: 'No mission too difficult, no sacrifice too great, duty first.'"

- 13) TOM CLANCY: "Something Worth Going to War For," Los Angeles Times, November 7, 1990:

"America has had the luxury throughout its history of not having its national existence directly threatened by a foreign enemy. Yet we have gone to war. Why?"

"The United States of America is not a piece of dirt stretching mainly from the Atlantic to the Pacific. More than anything else, America is a set of principles, and the historical fact is that those principles have not only served us well, but have also become a magnet for the rest of the world, a large chunk of which decided to change course last year. Those principles are not merely aesthetic ideas..."

"We have settled on (those principles) not because they are pretty; we settled on them because they are the only things that work. If you have trouble believing that, ask a Pole."

"Integrity is the most respected of virtues for the simple reason that integrity means acting on principle, not for advantage. As it is with individuals, so it is with nations. Principle is what gives life meaning."

"It has been a principle of American foreign policy for a very long time that to tolerate aggression invites more aggression. We punish thieves not to restore what they have stolen, but to keep them from stealing again, and to deter others from stealing. What is true for criminally inclined individuals is equally true of countries, with the added dimension that nation-state-sized criminals can steal and kill on a vast scale."

"...war is not discouraged by running away from it any more than criminals are discouraged by the absence of police. Those people must be confronted sooner or later, and sooner is better. The dictum is clear: All that is required for the triumph of evil is for good men to stand by and do nothing."

"To assume that Iraq will go no further makes Neville Chamberlain seem a perceptive realist."

- 14) PRESIDENT BUSH: "Aggression in The Gulf: A Partnership of Nations," Delivered to the U.N. General Assembly, October 1, 1990:

"We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire, give way to a new era of peace and competition and freedom. The revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe. That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit cannot be locked up forever."

"We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals--the power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed. This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed, as a center for international collective security."

\*\*\*\*\*"Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. And once again, the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again, the world awoke to face the guns of August....But this time, the world was ready. The United Nations Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent."

"Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throwback to another era, a dark relic from a dark time."

"It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order, and a long era of peace."

"And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations. The year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium."

"I see a world of open borders, open trade and, most importantly, open minds, a world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people..."

"We've shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, just as its founders hoped that it would."

- 15) "Iraq Torture Chamber is Reported in Kuwait," Los Angeles Times, October 5, 1990:

"...the Iraqi occupiers have set out on a course of systematic execution, torture, disappearances and looting on a grand scale--'the transplantation of an entire nation,' one diplomat called it."

"Eyewitnesses said that at one Kuwait city hospital alone, the mutilated bodies of about 230 victims have been delivered from the complex since Iraq invaded Aug. 2."

"...summary executions and torture by Iraqi authorities in a campaign to crush the Kuwaiti resistance movement."

"(Iraq's 1st deputy prime minister, Taha Yassin Ramadan replied to questioning on human rights abuses by saying): 'Kuwait is none of your affair...And we will cut off the leg of anybody who should enter Kuwait illegally.'" (so go cut off your own leg, ya bozo!)

"..the Amnesty International report only scratched the surface, according to what eyewitnesses and reliable sources told The Times."

"The 230 bodies that have been received at Amiri Hospital from the Bibi Saleh Center all bore evidence of torture--'missing fingers and noses, lacerated ears and scorched eyeballs,' as one source put it."

"The torture and executions are but a small part of Iraq's overall submission and 'requisition' campaign in Kuwait, which has now been stripped so bare that the entire medical system has ground to a halt and such huge items as newspaper printing presses, power-plant generators, brick-factory machinery, traffic lights, telephone poles and even computer complexes have been dismantled and transported to Iraq."

"...newly installed Iraqi authorities at Kuwait's only home for the elderly requisitioned special jellies reserved only for cancer patients to serve as dessert at a party for Iraq's visiting health minister."

(one source said): "'My office had a good view of the highway north, and day after day the road had been packed with trucks heading toward Iraq filled to the brim with generators, transformers, power poles, traffic lights, bulk salt, marble, cement, cigarettes, pig iron, steel, vehicles, rice, and well, you name it...'"

- 16) "The Barbarities of Hussein," U.S. News and World Report, October 1, 1990:

"On the sixth day of their invasion, Iraqi soldiers reportedly entered the Adan Hospital in Fahaheel looking for hospital equipment to steal. They unplugged the oxygen to the incubators supporting 22 premature babies and made off with the incubators. All 22 children died."

"The next day, at the same hospital, Iraqi troops brought in a badly injured captain and soldier for treatment. When told both men had died, the troops accused hospital employees of killing them and shot five on the spot. Two days later, the Iraqis cut off water to the hospital."

"At the intensive-care unit of the Mubarak hospital, Iraqis reportedly cut off the oxygen and IV drip supporting the 75-year-old mother of a Kuwaiti cabinet minister. 'They just let her die,' said one witness."

"Some 80 Kuwaitis were kicked out of a dialysis facility at another hospital."

"In a bizarre incident, witnesses said Iraqi soldiers settled near Kuwait's national zoo, expelled the zoo keepers and left the animals without food and water for over three days. They then left the animals out of their cages and 'started having fun shooting and killing them.' A lion managed to escape and ran to a nearby neighborhood where it bit an 11-year-old girl on the shoulder. She could not get proper treatment, developed a secondary infection and died a few days later."

"'The worst crime of all,' as Justice Robert Jackson said at Nuremberg, is to plot and wage aggression upon innocent people."

- 17) PRESIDENT BUSH: "The Persian Gulf; The Deficit Problem," Delivered before a Joint Session of Congress, Sept. 11, 1990:

"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."

"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."

"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 world leadership and domestic strength are mutual and reinforcing; a woven piece, as strongly bound as Old Glory."

13 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: IN HIS OWN WORDS: EXCERPTS FROM BUSH PRESS  
CONFERENCES, INTERVIEWS

- 1) REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN PRESS AVAILABILITY, Belle Haven Country Club, Alexandria, VA, October 31, 1990:

Q: Is this situation being used as a pretext for a confrontation?

THE PRESIDENT: No, there's no pretext...you don't need any pretext, you just do what's right. I am concerned about the lives of Americans held against their will. So are the American people. When you see the United Nations act in concert, the United Nations is concerned. So it's not-- there's no pretext involved...

THE PRESIDENT: The Kuwaiti Embassy is being starved. The people out there are not being resupplied. The American Flag is flying over the Kuwaiti Embassy, and our people inside are being starved by a brutal dictator. And do you think I'm concerned about it? You're darn right I am. And what I'm going to do about it? Let's just wait and see. Because I have had it with that kind of treatment of Americans. And I know others feel that way. I know Margaret Thatcher feels that way about the Brits. I think the whole world feels outraged by this. So of course I'm concerned. As each day goes by and these Americans are isolated, cut off from supplies, who wouldn't be concerned? The American people are concerned...

THE PRESIDENT: ..I am for civil rights and I am strongly opposed to quotas...It's not fair to black Americans, it's not fair to Hispanic Americans, it's not fair to Asian Americans...I will push for civil rights legislation that removes discrimination in the workplace, but I will not accept quotas. That message has to get through loud and clear, because there's been a lot of demagoguery on the other side of that now...

- 2) REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN PRESS AVAILABILITY UPON ARRIVAL, The South Lawn, October 31, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think even the most cynical would ever suggest that a President would play politics with the lives of American kids halfway around the world. So, I'm

sad if you've seen reports like that. I haven't, and I think it is the ultimate of cynicism and indecency.

THE PRESIDENT: There's no compromise. There is no compromise with this aggression. And the allies are together on this. The Arab countries, Soviet Union, France--all of us are together on this. And every time somebody sends an emissary, that gives Saddam Hussein a little bit of hope that there might be some way that he can stop short of doing what he must do: get out of Kuwait unconditionally, free those people that are being held against their will, and have the legitimate government restored...

- 3) PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT, World Center Marriott, Orlando, FL, November 1, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: Iraq's brutality against innocent civilians will not be permitted to stand. And Saddam Hussein's violations of international law will not stand. His aggression against Kuwait will not stand...

...I am not trying to sound the tocsin of war...

...the sand is running through the glass...

THE PRESIDENT: Because there is no flexibility in our position. There is no compromise. There is no conditionality. My position--and I think it strongly represents the coalition partners' position--is he must comply.

THE PRESIDENT: I see many similarities by the way the Iraqi forces behaved in Kuwait and the Death's Head regiments behaved in Poland.

- 4) PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT AND DEFENSE SECRETARY RICHARD CHENEY, The Briefing Room, November 8, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: ...I ordered the deployment of U.S. military forces to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf to deter further Iraqi aggression and to protect our interests in the region...

Before the invasion in August, we had succeeded in the struggle for freedom in Eastern Europe and we'd hopefully begun a new era that offered the promise of peace. Following the invasion, I stated that if history had taught us any lesson, it was that we must resist aggression or it would destroy freedom..

The world community also must prevent an individual clearly bent on regional domination from establishing a chokehold on the world's economic lifeline. We're seeing global economic stability and growth already at risk as, each day, countries

around the world pay dearly for Saddam Hussein's aggression...

From the very beginning, we and our coalition partners have shared common political goals: the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, protection of the lives of citizens held hostage by Iraq both in Kuwait and Iraq, and restoration of security and stability in the Persian Gulf region...

But right now Kuwait is struggling for survival. And along with many other nations, we've been called upon to help. The consequences of our not doing so would be incalculable because Iraq's aggression is not just a challenge to the security of Kuwait and other Gulf nations, but to the better world that we all have hoped to build in the wake of the Cold War. And therefore, we and our allies cannot and will not shirk our responsibilities. The state of Kuwait must be restored or no nation will be safe and the promising future we anticipate will indeed be jeopardized...

Let me conclude with a word to the young American GIs deployed in the Gulf. We are proud of each and every one of you. I know you miss your loved ones and want to know when you'll be coming home. We won't leave you there any longer than necessary. I want every single soldier out of there as soon as possible. And we're all grateful for your continued sacrifice and your commitment...

Q: ..isn't oil part of the American national interest?  
Isn't that a main reason we're there?

THE PRESIDENT: It is a part of it, but it is not the main reason, or I'd say, a main reason. The main reason we're there is to set back aggression, to see that aggression is unrewarded...

THE PRESIDENT: It worries me very much. As do the lives of those who have been forced into hiding by his brutality and his violation of international law. Of course, it concerns me deeply. And I've spoken about that, the dismantling of Kuwait and the systematic brutality that is exercised against the citizens of Kuwait. And as each day goes by it's worse...

5) REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN PRESS AVAILABILITY, Ambassador's Residence, Paris, France, November 21, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: ..Americans are in there, in an embassy that is supposed to be sacrosanct. The people are being--the attempt by Saddam Hussein to starve them out in face of a United Nations resolution that calls for replenishment is getting nothing but hatred, more hatred for Saddam Hussein around the world, because other people see our embassy in

this beleaguered state and say, well, what will happen to my embassy tomorrow?

There's a precedent here that transcends the Gulf. And so in terms of how people look at the problem, there's a universal condemnation of what he is doing...

THE PRESIDENT: "It's Thanksgiving, and gosh, we have a lot to be thankful for at this time of year--this particular year, too. And so I will be trying s best I can right from the heart to express my thanks to the young men and women that are serving over there. It is a time for prayer. It is a time when we all thank God for our blessings. And I will try through this visit, perhaps only symbolically, to tell every single man and woman over there that we thank them and we thank God for the blessings that we have, and that we are going to prevail. They're not there on a mission impossible..

The very fact that they are there in these numbers offers the best chance for a peaceful resolution to this crisis. And I'll be telling them that and I'll be saying, thank you, thank you from this grateful heart. And I know I speak for all the American people on this one. I don't care where they're coming from resolutions, or whether the President is moving to slow, or whether he's moving to fast, I think--if I do nothing else, I will convey to them the heartfelt thanks of the American people at this very special time of year for Americans.

6) REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK IN PRESS AVAILABILITY, Itihahdia Palace, Cairo, Egypt, November 23, 1990:

PRESIDENT MUBARAK: But let no one be in doubt that the status quo of occupation and repression is totally unacceptable to us and in the entire world. It is a threat to peace and security everywhere and a grave violation of the rule of law. It undermines the very foundation of our modern civilization. Hence, the Iraqi invasion must be reversed and Kuwait be liberated. No tactics will divert us from our objective. No act of defiance will weaken our resolve or shake our determination...

We stand here together at the crucial moment in the history of our region and the whole world. That moment has great risks, but it equally hods great promises and offers tremendous opportunities...

PRESIDENT BUSH: There should not be any linkage. Saddam Hussein should not be able to hide behind the difficulty in one area so he can continue his aggression and brutality and torture in another...

PRESIDENT BUSH: ..But if the question is why our outrage against Saddam Hussein today when we had tried to improve relations [in the past]--he hadn't invaded Kuwait. He hadn't raped, pillaged and plundered the people in Kuwait and the city of Kuwait itself. He hadn't violated this fundamental norm of international behavior. And indeed, other countries have tried to improve relations with him. And ours was one of them. I've said to you before, given what he's done now, maybe that is something we shouldn't have undertaken..

Q: How do you envisage this new world?

THE PRESIDENT: Once we set back this aggression, and once it is clear that the security and the stability of the Gulf are enhanced by whatever arrangements are set into place once that this invading dictator gets out of Kuwait, then I think that it's clear we're going to have an opportunity given the diversity of the coalition to work more closely together. And part of that, I want to see a solution to the question of the West Bank, for example. But I think if we work cooperatively as are--with our common sites [sic] set--this aggressor will not succeed--it opens up all kinds of possibilities for a new world order...We're already seeing that world order means world...

7) INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT BY DAVID FROST, The Residence, December 17, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: Done a lot and a lot's left to do. I think that we've made some big strides--passed the most historic clean air bill in history. We've established national education goals. We're waging a national battle against narcotics. And then on the international scene, why, we're in a complicated but extraordinarily important leadership role, standing up to aggression. We see our own hemisphere here totally democratic except for one visible exception, Cuba.

THE PRESIDENT: We're in a slowdown economically in this country, if not recession. In some areas we're clearly in recession. And this concerns me because people are hurting. And that means we've got to see this economy turn around. It's not something government can do, but it will turn around...

THE PRESIDENT: What's at stake is world order. And there's a tremendous opportunity, but that opportunity will be lost if we don't succeed in implementing these U.N. resolutions without concession, implementing them to a tee. And that's my objective, and we are going to prevail...

THE PRESIDENT: (In Kuwait) The goods and services are nil. They've taken the gold and the TV sets, everything. And taken them to Baghdad and selling them or using them by

these brutal officers and men that have literally raped this country...

...we've got to care. We've got to care. And the U.S. has an obligation to lead."

THE PRESIDENT: And now there's a few countries that are trying to have us accept a revisionistic view of history, saying Saudi Arabia wasn't threatened. It was threatened. And unless the United Nations had come together and all of us had moved forces down there, I am convinced that he would have tried to take over Dhahran and the oil fields in Saudi Arabia...What are these tanks doing going south, when the man says he's withdrawing from Kuwait? The man is not to be trusted on his word, unfortunately.

...I wouldn't telegraph a punch...

Q: ...is the status quo ante enough?

THE PRESIDENT: No, it is not. And we have said that, and there will have to be some international order established to guarantee against future adventurism by him to see that he does what the U.N. says in terms of these--reparation in making whole those that he has brutalized. And thirdly, there will have to be some safeguards that this quest for a nuclear weapon and the further development of chemical weapons, which he has already used against his people, and biological will stop in its tracks. I think the world will be united in that. So the status quo ante, I've said this before and I'll repeat it here, is unacceptable.

THE PRESIDENT: (the brutality in Kuwait) is so outrageous that the world, when they get into Kuwait and when they start interviewing these people, will see that it is unprecedented in modern times...

THE PRESIDENT: I think he (Saddam) rules by the sword. I think he governs by fear and intimidation...(he is seen) as brutal and a bully and one that has to be checked...

We keep hearing, David, that people are reluctant to bring him bad tidings. The old adage about shooting the messenger. Maybe we need a little more of that in the Oval Office because I get them all the time.

THE PRESIDENT: I would simply say to the American people what I've been saying. I want a peaceful resolution to this question. However, it cannot be done with compromise to him. It cannot be done by looking the other way in the face of this terror and brutality...

Because of the revitalization of the peacekeeping function of the United Nations, and because nations--disparate nations--came together and were successful against this

outrageous 1990 brutality and rape--international rape--we have a chance to live in a more peaceful world. So that would be my message over these holidays..

THE PRESIDENT: It is the fact that you have seen major changes in Eastern Europe. We've seen relations with the Soviet Union totally change...Can you imagine what it would be like if we were back 20 years ago and this aggression had come up an the Saudis and the Soviets had taken a different view in this Middle East question?

But the new world order I'm talking about comes because the two so-called superpowers are working more closely together, democracy is on the march, totalitarianism is waning. And the United Nations has been reinvigorated...I just think that we have an enormous opportunity for a more peaceful world..

But it won't happen--it won't happen if we give one single inch to placate the aggressor, the dictator, the rapist of Kuwait. It won't happen if we compromise when you have such a clear case of good versus evil. We have such a clear moral case. The world sees it as a clear moral case, have come together, taken collective action at the United Nations, and we cannot stop one inch short of successful resolution..

THE PRESIDENT: Standing up against this aggression, no price is too heavy to pay for it because we have the promise now of a much more peaceful world and we have the threat if this aggression is rewarded of a worse price to pay tomorrow. It is that clear in my mind. It is that clear--that if we don't check this aggression and if the United Nations fails and all of us therefore, it would follow, fail in our responsibilities, the price tag tomorrow will be far greater than the price tag today....

Nothing of this moral importance since World War II has faced the rest of the world...

It is a question of good and evil. It's a question of morality versus immorality...

THE PRESIDENT: But I'll say this to those, particularly in my country, who are concerned, this will not be anther Vietnam. If force is used, the generals' hands will not be tied behind them. This concept of, well, you can do only so much but not more--that, as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, is unacceptable to me...

I would much rather err on the side of saving life than I would of saving a little money--not a lot of money--and risking life. I owe it to every parent. I owe it to every

husband or wife, to every child whose dad might be there to minimize the risk to that soldier, sailor, Marine or airman.

THE PRESIDENT: (In progress) --the torturing of a handicapped child; the shooting of a young boy in front of his parents. The rape of women dragged out of the home and repeatedly taped and then brought into the hospitals as basket cases. The tying of those that are being tortured to ceiling fans so they turn and turn. The killing of a Kuwaiti and leaving him hanging...from a crane and so others will see him. Electric shocks to the private parts of men and women. Broken glass inserted in--jabbed into people. I mean, it is primeval. It is almost impossible to rationalize this behavior with the fact that this is 1990. And I'm afraid I'd get very emotional if I described more of it. The hitting on...the bottom of the feet so a 15-year-old kid can't walk. The passing out of leaflets and then for that you're tortured so you can't even talk or move....It's a deliberate wiping them out...Pulling out the fingernails and putting a device on the fingers to squeeze so the pain is just so intense it can't be stood. This is minor compared to what they're doing..

THE PRESIDENT: Well what I'm going to do about it is to propose next year certain broad--a broad approach to economic matters that will, I think, enhance growth. But I believe that the last thing we ought to do about it is have a lot of spending programs aimed to--quote--'put Americans back to work'--unquote. These short-range government spending answers have historically proved counterproductive, and I will not embrace them. And if they send them down from Capitol Hill...I will veto them because we don't need that. I happen to believe, and I think most economists believe that the recession will be mild and that the whole country will come out of it in not too many months from now. But I have no plans to spend a lot of new federal dollars in order to accelerate recovery..

THE PRESIDENT: ...this here's the underlying point to the international markets. The United States will be borrowing \$492 billion less in the international markets because of the budget agreement. And it is enforceable. So I think..I still believe it was the right thing to do. God knows I've taken some political grief from it. But that's unimportant if we've contributed to the soundness of the U.S. economy. And I think we have that with the agreement...

...I was really, I'd say, forced to accept a tax increase which I, like a kid taking castor oil for me--I don't like that.

Q: Isn't there..a real dialectical conflict--that between a "kinder, gentler America" and "no more taxes," aren't the two mutually contradictory?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It's only mutually contradictory if you think government is the be all and end all. If we could really get control of government spending, which is taking a significant percentage of our GNP, the kindest and gentlest answer would be an economy so vigorous that everybody, instead of having to reach out for a welfare check, would have a job in the private sector with the attendant dignity, the dignity that would go with that...

If you believe, however, as some of the political left in this country does--and I think it's been a little bit of a thesis of the Democratic Party--that we need to spend more in order to enhance the lives of American people, then you might say that there's a conflict..

We're not taxing the American people too little, we continue to spend too much on some categories. But if we can get the growth restored and hold the line so we don't just go spend, spend, spend on some new wonderful idea of a program, then I think you will have additional funds that you can put into these really worthwhile programs..

Q: In terms of no more taxes, in terms of I'd like to have more money to do more things and so on, isn't there only one obvious solution which is a peace dividend, I mean, to really attack defense spending?

THE PRESIDENT: A dividend is when you take earnings and spread it around. That's what I used to think of as a dividend. I'm not an economist, but I studied economics at Yale University and I was in business. When I thought of a dividend I thought, hey, you made a profit and, therefore, you ought to pay that out to your shareholders. We are in a big deficit. We are not in a dividend-paying mode if you use the traditional definition of a dividend.

Q: Prudent.

THE PRESIDENT: Prudent, yes. I like that. I like it as I deal with the economy. I like it as I deal with the Middle East. I owe prudence to the parents...I owe prudence to the families of these kids over there in the Gulf..

Q: So far in your presidency what--in terms of restoring or destroying your faith in human nature, what have been the outstanding experiences?

THE PRESIDENT: ...I am convinced that the dedication and the motivation of the troops and of their parents is really at an all-time high in our history. I think it's--I'd call it patriotic, but I'd call it principally-motivated. So that one is a current lesson...

I worry about the inequities in our system. A lot of people hurting. And this is the down side. This is what troubles me that when people can't make ends meet or they can't buy homes and you have people out on the streets. I see an

unfulfilled agenda about this kinder and gentler nation of ours. I am lifted up by this concept that they used to kid about, but I feel so strongly about this points of light concept...

De Toqueville found it unique, one American's willingness to help another. And that's alive, and it's strong and it's inspiring..

I worry about the disintegration of family. I worry about a kid that doesn't grow up in a home and have the love of a father and a mother. I worry about it because--maybe it's because I've been so privileged and so blessed, but I think a stable home--a mother that will read to the kid at night or a dad that will take him to a ball game or do the same on reading. I think that's a good, stabilizing thing for our great country. I think it's a fundamental value--family, faith. And I worry about a slight erosion around the edges of some of this. No so much around the edges on family, incidentally...

I am gratefully that we still remain one nation under God, and I'm not worried that our faith--all kinds of different denominations--is being diminished, because I think that is still a great strength..

And I guess I'd end on a high--I've never been more confident about America, about our people, or about the need for America to fulfill a disproportionate role of leadership in the world. For democracy, for freedom, for right against wrong. We are unique. We are uniquely positioned to do more than anyone else to help others achieve these objectives.

8) PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE PRESIDENT WITH REGIONAL REPORTERS, Room 450, OEOB, December 18, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: But this is not the average disturbance, you might say, that calls for the average deployment of force. This is pushing it up to the edge of the envelope...

THE PRESIDENT: ...we have an all-volunteer army. We have great opportunity in this army. We have the finest kids--the best trained, the best motivated, the high achievers...This is an all-volunteer Army, they're not draft dodging. Remember Vietnam and the allegation, which I think had a lot of truth to it. But the kid that got disproportionately there was the guy that couldn't get the exemption and came out of the lower rungs of society. This is different...The morale is good, and they're motivated, and they're well educated, and they're dedicated, and--if you'll excuse an old-fashioned reference--they're patriotic..

- 9) REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT UPON DEPARTURE TO CAMP DAVID, The South Lawn, December 27, 1990:

THE PRESIDENT: The world community has called on him to [get out of Kuwait]. It's enshrined now in international law as represented by the Security Council...

No compromise on anything. That's the problem. Everybody wants you to compromise. There is not going to be a compromise with this man. That would be the worst signal to send to the people around the world that are together...

- 10) REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT UPON DEPARTURE FOR CAMP DAVID, The South Lawn, January 4, 1991:

THE PRESIDENT: ..one of the reasons I don't want it to drag on, one of the reasons, is because of the adverse effect it is having not just on the United States economy, but on the economies of the Third World, on the economies of the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, on the economies of our friends in South America. This is universal..

And on my recent trip to South America I heard it over and over again. Vaclav Havel told me of a cost to his country of \$1.5 billion. I've heard indirectly from President Diouf of Senegal, and those that are concerned about the hardships that are being endured by the countries in Africa ought to hear what he has to say about what Saddam Hussein has done to his country by this adventure..

And so, this economic effect is worldwide and yes, it does adversely affect the economy of the United States. I think it makes this decline, economic slowdown, the recession that exists in some parts of this country much more serious. And so, that would argue for a rapid conclusion to the deal..

- 11) PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT, The Briefing Room, January 9, 1990 (announcing failure of Baker-Aziz talks):

THE PRESIDENT: The record shows that whether the diplomacy is initiated by the United States, the United Nations, the Arab League or the European Community, the results are the same, unfortunately. The conclusion is clear: Saddam Hussein continues to reject a diplomatic solution...

..now, as it's been before, the choice of peace or war is really Saddam Hussein's to make..

..this was a total stiff arm. This was a total rebuff..

THE PRESIDENT: ..we oppose linkage. The coalition opposes linkage. And the argument with Saddam Hussein is about Kuwait. It is about the invasion of Kuwait, the liquidation

of a member of the United Nations, a member of the Arab League..

THE PRESIDENT: The letter was not rude. The letter was direct. And the letter did exactly what I think is necessary at this stage..

But to refuse to even pass a letter along seems to me to be just one more manifestation of the stonewalling that has taken place. We gave him 15 dates for the Secretary of State to meet with him. And he's off meeting with Mr. A and Mr. B and Mr. C and has no time for that...

So the letter was proper--I've been around the diplomatic track for a long time--the letter was proper, it was direct, and it was what I think would have been helpful to him to show him the resolve of the rest of the world--certainly of the coalition..

THE PRESIDENT: ...this is not Iraq against the United States. It is Iraq against the rest of the world. It is the United Nations that passed 12 resolutions, not the United States. It is the General Assembly of the United Nations--a 100-plus countries standing solidly against the dictator. And therefore, it doesn't need to be a bilateral negotiation here. We tried that. And we were stiff-armed by an intransigent foreign secretary...

..nothing I saw today--nothing--leads me to believe that this man is going to be reasonable...(but) we ought to keep trying right down to the wire..

THE PRESIDENT: ..what would a mission of Jim Baker have been? It might have been to convince this man that he is up against an immovable force. He's up against a situation under which there will be no compromise; and there will be none..

Q: So the entire hope for peace then rests on Saddam backing off from his--

THE PRESIDENT: And it has since August 2nd--exactly. Because this aggression is not going to stand. And there's an awful lot at stake in terms of the new world order that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of human life in Kuwait that it doesn't stand. And there's a lot at stake in terms of how the coalition looks at this that it doesn't stand. So it won't.

Q: ..what are your obligations to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT: We have friends all over the world. We have friends in this coalition. And I'm determined that the United States will fill our obligations there. Clearly, if a friend in that area was attacked, wantonly attacked for no cause whatsoever, not only the United States, but I think

many people around the world would view that as a flagrant provocation..

- 12) PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT, The Briefing Room, January 12, 1991 (after Congress vote supporting U.N. resolutions):

THE PRESIDENT: This action by the Congress unmistakably demonstrates the United States' commitment to the international demand for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. This clear expression of the Congress represents the last, best chance for peace..

As a democracy we've debated this issue openly and in good faith. And as President I have held extensive consultation with the Congress. We've now closed ranks behind a clear signal of our determination and our resolve to implement the United Nations resolutions. Those who may have mistaken our democratic process as a sign of weakness now see the strength of democracy..

Throughout our history we've been resolute in our support of justice, freedom, and human dignity. The current situation in the Persian Gulf demands no less of us and of the international community. We did not plan for war, nor do we seek war. But if conflict is thrust upon us we are ready and we are determined...Unfortunately, Iraq has thus far turned a deaf ear to the voices of peace and reason..

Let there be no mistake: Peace is everyone's goal. Peace is in everyone's prayers. But it is for Iraq to decide..

THE PRESIDENT: It isn't a question of winning or losing. It's a question of his getting out of Kuwait rapidly without concession..

Q: Sir, can you explain why sooner is better than later?

THE PRESIDENT: ..that's been a major part of the debate on the Hill. And I think it is very important that he knows that the United States and the United Nations are credible. I don't want to see further economic damage done to Third World economies or to this economy. I don't want to see further devastation done to Kuwait...

Q: I wondered if you watched [the debate] and what effect it had on you.

THE PRESIDENT: The compassion and the concern, the angst of these members, whether they agreed with me or not, came through loud and clear.

And so I guess I shared the emotion. I want peace. I want to see a peaceful resolution. And I could identify with those, whether they were on the side of the administration or the other--with those who were really making fervent

appeals for peace. But I think it was historic. I think it was conducted in the best--showing the best of the United States Congress at work. And I keep feeling that it was historic because what it did and how it endorsed the President's action to fulfill this resolution...

But I didn't sense--you know, when you win a vote on something you work hard for, sometimes there's a sense of exhilaration and joy..I didn't sense that at all here. I was grateful to the members that took the lead in supporting the positions that I'm identified with. I could empathize with those who didn't vote for us. So I guess my emotion was somber itself...

THE PRESIDENT: I simply want to avoid what is known as linkage. And I think the American people more clearly see now what I mean by linkage because they watched the Aziz press conference where the whole question was shifting--trying to shift the onus away from the aggression and brutality against Kuwait and move it over and try to put the blame on Israel or try to shift the onus to the Palestinian question...

THE PRESIDENT: So the coalition is together. The United Nations is strongly together. I think the vote in the United States Congress today shows that the United States' position is strongly firmed up by what happened in Congress today and by what appears to be the will of the American people. And that's in keeping with..my will and how I feel about this.

10 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: CIVIL RIGHTS/EMPOWERMENT

I. ANECDOTES

A. EGO BROWN (excerpts from Clint Bolick's Unfinished Business)

"Ego Brown never fancied himself a crusader, and surely he never pictured himself at the forefront of a burgeoning debate over the future direction of civil rights in America. But he is both.

On top of that, he's a darned good shoeshine artist.

Ego Brown had the courage and determination to make a federal case about shoeshining, or more specifically, about the enforcement of an 84-year-old law that prevented him from shining shoes on the streets of the nation's capital. His lawsuit against Mayor Marion Barry and the District of Columbia government was the opening salvo in the battle to make 'economic liberty' the civil rights issue of the 1990s."

"As a youngster, Brown shined shoes for pocket money. But then he noticed it was nearly impossible to find a convenient shoeshine in the District.

Brown quit his government job and started shining shoes at a barber shop near Howard University. Before long, he had perfected his technique and was ready to 'spread the shine.' Clad in his trademark tuxedo, Brown used his flamboyant personality to lure customers to his outdoor stand. His long-range goal was to one day operate stands on street corners throughout the city and beyond."

EGO EMPOWERS OTHERS WHILE EMPOWERING SELF: "Business went so well that Brown soon opened additional stands. \*\*\*\*He staffed them with enterprising homeless individuals, to whom Brown provided a second chance at life in the form of a daily shower, a set of clothes, and training in the Ego shoeshine method. 'I used to see these people begging for money, and I'd dig into my pockets to help them,' he told me. 'But one day, I realized I could help them more by giving them an opportunity, a chance to lift themselves by their own bootstraps.'\*\*\*\*\*

"But Ego Brown's dream soon disintegrated into a nightmare. The police shut down his stands, citing a 1905 law that forbade shoeshine stands on public streets. That law was

one of many passed during the Jim Crow era to prevent blacks from attaining economic self-sufficiency through their own businesses. Despite the law's sordid origins, and despite the abundance of other vendors on the District's streets selling everything from hot dogs to photo opportunities with cardboard Ronald Reagans, the government chose to enforce the law and thereby destroy Ego Brown's enterprise."

"..no one from the civil rights establishment rose to Brown's defense...An NAACP Legal Defense Fund lawyer dismissed the lawsuit as a relic of the 19th century. An activist lawyer from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission declared that shining shoes was not a dignified job, that Ego Brown would have more dignity on welfare."

**B. MARK ANTHONY NEVELS**

"..in Kansas City, the parents of Mark Anthony Nevels, a black youngster coming of school age, were preparing to enroll him in kindergarten. Fortunately for the Nevels family, the Weeks Elementary School just across the street had recently been converted to a high-quality 'magnet' school, and there was plenty of space.

Plenty of space, that is, except for blacks.

Under the terms of a court-imposed desegregation order, the new magnet schools in Kansas City were required to conform to a rigid racial quota, allowing admission to three black students for every two whites who chose to attend. If whites elected not to attend, blacks were refused admission."

"In the case of Weeks Elementary School, there was room for 22 kindergarten students. But only four white children enrolled, and thus only six black children could be admitted. As a result, 12 seats were held empty, despite a waiting list of 86 black youngsters including little Mark Anthony Nevels. Mark would be bused past his neighborhood school to an inferior school, solely on account of his skin color."

"The magnet school's racial quota initially was vigorously defended by the establishment's civil rights lawyer representing the plaintiff class in the desegregation case...Eventually, he altered his view...after months of intense criticism from black community groups."

"This..spectacle is especially remarkable considering that the entire desegregation era commenced 35 years ago in Brown v. Board of Education with the Supreme Court striking down a policy that bused black students past their neighborhood schools solely because of skin color. Have we traveled so far only to end up in precisely the place we started?"

C. ALFRED SANTOS

"Alfredo Santos is a born-again capitalist...[during a visit to Mexico City] Santos discovered the pesero--small vans carrying passengers along fixed routes for a flat fee. The service was popular efficient, and, by all appearances, profitable."

"Santos, then a taxicab driver, decided to import the idea to Houston, calling the pesero by its American name-- 'jitney.' Using his taxicab during off-duty hours, Santos inaugurated a jitney route in a poor, predominantly Hispanic neighborhood in which public bus service was inadequate and many people couldn't afford cars. Santos offered his service for a flat fee of one dollar, with pickup and discharge of passengers anywhere along the five-mile route."

"Advertising his service with Spanish-language flyers, Santos quickly developed a booming business, and other off-duty cab drivers soon followed his lead. The jitney was cheaper than a taxicab and much more convenient than a bus, and passengers were delighted to have a transportation option."

"Everyone seemed to benefit. But that didn't deter the city's cab inspectors, who threatened to fine Santos for violation the Houston Anti-Jitney Law of 1924. It seems that in the early 1920s, the streetcar industry mounted a highly successful nationwide campaign to eradicate the jitneys, their main source of competition. Sixty-five years later, the streetcar industry was long-since defunct, but the laws remained. And so Santos had to shut down his thriving business."

"Santos tried unsuccessfully to have the law overturned through the legislative process. When those attempts failed, he turned to the courts, but it remains to be seen whether the judiciary will come to the aid of this man who exemplifies the American entrepreneurial spirit."

D. DEMOND CRAWFORD

"Demond Crawford, like many youngsters throughout America, was having trouble in school. His mother, Mary Amaya, was concerned; she decided to have her son tested."

"Mrs. Amaya contacted the local public school district, which sent her a list of available tests, including the I.Q. test. But written across the bottom page were words that shocked Mrs. Amaya: your son may not take the I.Q. test because he is black."

"Outraged, Mrs. Amaya contacted the NAACP for help in challenging this pernicious racial classification. But the

NAACP officials not only refused to help Mrs. Amaya, they told her they were responsible for the adoption of the racial policy."

"The school district offered a solution: since Demond is half black and half Hispanic, Mrs. Amaya could reclassify him from black to Hispanic, and he could take the test. Mrs. Amaya refused. She would not play games with her son's heritage to satisfy some social engineering bureaucrat."

"In her lawsuit against the state, Mrs. Amaya takes no position on whether I.Q. tests are good or bad, or whether or not they discriminate against blacks; nor does she contend that the state has an obligation to provide I.Q. tests to anyone. She argues merely that if the state provides I.Q. tests, it must make them available without regard to race. A fairly modest argument, much like the ones civil rights groups used to make with some frequency."

"The Crawford case illustrates why equality under the law is so important to individual empowerment--and how far we have strayed from that objective."

## II. OLDIES BUT GOODIES

### A. POLLY WILLIAMS

"..a state assemblywoman from a black district in Milwaukee was school choice's most potent champion in 1990...Fed up with inadequate funding and an entrenched school bureaucracy, state Rep. Annette Polly Williams sponsored a first-of-its-kind voucher plan that sent 400 poor children to private schools with state money."

"..the 53-year-old Williams has sided with Bush in arguing that competition is exactly the jolt needed to improve public schools...'There's a belief among the bureaucrats in the public school system that as long as you're poor, you're not expected to achieve,' said Williams, a Democrat who has represented her district for the past decade."

--Associated Press, December 14, 1990

"Williams proposed a modest school-voucher program, approved by the Wisconsin Legislature, that gave 1,000 poor inner-city students \$2,500 vouchers they could use to attend private schools."

### B. KIMI GRAY

"Miss Gray, dozens of other Kenil-worth-Parkside residents and advocates of resident-managed complexes stubbornly fought with the D.C. and federal governments for 10 years to get the ownership of the 464-unit Northeast complex

transferred to the tenants. On Friday, they finally succeeded."

"At a ceremony on the apartment grounds, Jack Kemp...and D.C. Mayor Marion Barry signed the papers officially marking the sale of the complex--for \$1--to the Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corp."

"The tenants adopted as their motto 'Dreams do come true.'"

"The speakers also frequently noted that as recently as 1981 the sprawling complex...was plagued by drug dealers, violence, a lack of services, and decaying and vandalized buildings....Today the dealers are gone, many of the buildings are renovated, and the resident management corporation plans to sponsor a variety of programs and services, including employment training and counseling, housekeeping training and a small co-op store."

--Washington Times, October 1, 1990.

"Is she a Republican tool? She curses and says the people with the luxury to think so are not forced to live in public housing. 'If I'm being used, then I like it,' she said. 'I'm using them too. We're using each other.'"

"Ms. Gray's place in Republican iconography has upset some who support the concept of tenant management--an idea that arose on the political left. They worry about it is [sic] being used as a ploy to justify ending Government support for new low-income housing. 'A fraud, a snare, a delusion' is what Florence Roisman, a staff attorney with the National Housing Law Project, calls Mr. Kemp's plans."

"Is she unique? 'There's a Kimi Gray in every..public housing development in America,' said Ms. Gray. 'Let's just hope she's not as obese as I am.'"

"Where do her political loyalties reside? She has a stock way of explaining that she is loyal to whoever will further her cause."

"Ms. Gray's improbably path to prominence began with a number of backward steps. She had her first child at the age of 14, and had borne five by the time she was 19. When her marriage fell apart, Ms. Gray and her children turned to welfare. In 1966, at the age of 21, she secured an apartment at Kenilworth, the low-rise complex of 37 buildings that became her life's work."

"The secret to her success, Ms. Gray said, is 'residents being in control of their own destiny.'"

\*\*\*\*"And why does Ms. Gray want to own her own home? The question catches her in a rare moment of surprise, as though the answer should be self-evident, and she said:

'I want help on my taxes. I want to leave something to my children. I want to own some brick. That's the American dream, isn't it?'"

--The New York Times, July 13, 1990

### III. EXCERPTS

"..calls for sweeping reform to [REDACTED] .."

--Charles Murray

"..the transformation [REDACTED]"

--ibid.

"..Perhaps inevitably at such a point, when white guilt was at its most acute, some whites not only cried 'mea culpa' for the sins of their race but decided to stop treating blacks as people like everyone else and instead grant them moral exemption."

--ibid.

"Each of these three trends in the evolution of civil rights--toward regulation of private behavior, preferential legislation for groups, and double standards for whites and blacks--was latently poisonous. During the 1970s, the poison began to set...Schemes for aggressive, court-ordered school busing infuriated white parents. Quota-based affirmative action plans for hiring new employees alienated blue-collar workers. White students in the nation's universities watched their black counterparts being admitted with lower test scores and special dispensations. By the 1980s, we had achieved the worst possible world, in which whites were resentful, a self-righteous civil rights rhetoric had lost its moral energy, and blacks themselves, especially low-income blacks, were losing ground."

--Clint Bolick

Thomas Paine: "'We must return to first principles..and think, as if we were the first men that thought.'"

"'Paine also boldly declared that 'We have the power to begin the world over again.' The 'power' Paine referred to, of course, was not the coercive apparatus of the state, but rather the power of the ideas of liberty.'"

--ibid.

"Those who set the agenda enjoy an 'enormous advantage,' argues Nathan Glazer, since they 'are seen as moral, and a

moral advantage in politics, being on the side of right, is worth a good deal."

--ibid.

"Abstract invocations of a 'color-blind society' ring hollow unless accompanied by a demonstrated commitment to make good on the promise of civil rights for all Americans."

--ibid.

"One advantage of this empowerment strategy is that it by definition expands opportunities, as opposed to contemporary civil rights policies that merely redistribute rights."

--ibid.

"Once again, Tom Paine's words are instructive: 'Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation with us, the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.'"

--ibid.

"That those who would claim the mantle of civil rights would find themselves anywhere other than marching shoulder to shoulder with Ego Brown and Mark Anthony Nevels suggests that the civil rights movement has somewhere taken a wrong turn."

"America has fought at least three wars to defend and preserve that precious consensus (on what civil rights mean). The American Revolution, to establish the civil rights of the colonists; the Civil War, to extend those rights to all Americans; and World War II, to protect those rights against totalitarianism.

[REDACTED]

"Civil rights--the rights individuals retain when they leave a state of nature and form civil societies--consist of all the pre-existing natural rights save one: the right to judge one's own actions."

"(Martin Luther) King firmly aligned himself with 'what is best in the American dream' and dedicated himself to the goal of 'bringing our nation back to the great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.' For King, the Declaration established 'that there are certain basic rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the state,' a characteristic that distinguishes America 'from systems of government which make the state an end within itself.'"

"Traditionally, the civil rights movement sought to restrict the power of government; following the Civil War, the abolitionists used their political power to that end. But the civil rights leadership elite during the 1960s flexed its newfound political muscle in different ways, delivering tangible benefits to its perceived constituency."

"..the 200-year quest for universal rights was reduced to the status of a special interest lobby; its dynamic leadership transformed itself into an establishment seeking to perpetuate its existence and to expand its power."

"As Friedrich Hayek explains, 'From the fact that people are very different it follows that, if we treat them equally, the result must be inequality in their actual position, and that the only way to place them in an equal position would be to treat them differently.' Equal outcomes thus require 'discriminatory coercion,' which violates both equal treatment and individual liberty. Concludes Hayek, 'Equality before the law and material equality are therefore not only different but are in conflict with each other; and we can achieve either the one or the other, but not both at the same time.'"

".. [REDACTED]

"Charles Murray has ably documented that the growth of the welfare state has led to a decline in socio-economic advances for minorities and the poor. Rather, those who successfully entered the economic mainstream traditionally did so either through labor, entrepreneurship, education, or a combination of those."

January 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO DAVID DEMAREST  
MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH DEMAREST, SUNUNU, DARMAN, PORTER

I. Governor on Gulf:

- A. We won't know until a week from Sunday what the final content and context of the remarks will be regarding the Gulf crisis. Suggests:

-A 30-40 minute remarks, 50% domestic, 50% Gulf. We can then cut where need be given how situation develops.

- B. Need for 2 or 3 alternate sections on the Gulf [action]. Rationale, of course, remains constant.

II. Governor on domestic agenda:

A. EMPOWERMENT

1. The name game: not "empowerment," can use the word "power" (e.g. repower, power to the people) or can use a different name entirely. Darman later expressed comfort with Gingrich's tag: "The New Domestic Order" (v. New World Order).
2. Gov. suggests two or three paragraphs, prefaced by the language of 210 years ago drawing the line between original American ideals and the current ideals of empowerment.
3. What we've done, what we've yet to do. Past Presidents have spoken of the need to reverse the flow of power to Washington back out to the states. We've done some of that, and here's what we're going to do (proposals).

a. DEPARTURE: We don't propose to do this with massive federal cutbacks (We might even increase federal spending in certain areas if need be). The point is that past efforts toward a new federalism have often been seen as mere budget cutting gimmicks...we're showing we're ready to put our money where our mouth is.

B. REFORMS

- campaign financing
- term limitation
- balanced budget

III. Governor's thoughts on style, approach.

- A. There will not be much detail in here. Most of the detail should be encompassed by the fact sheet to be prepared.
- B. Be as upbeat as possible, especially about the economy. (Darman: but be realistic, Americans must know he knows their difficulty and feels for them). Jobs as test for economy?
  1. Note that our growth agenda aims not to merely solve our short-term problems, but to secure greater prosperity for the future.
    - a. Darman: We should recognize prior line of growth, we should point out how the Gulf situation interrupted that line. We shall further research this line of reasoning.
- C. There should be two compassionate sections---one on jobs, one on Gulf. For latter section: look to the President's past 10 or 12 press conferences, see how he touches upon these subjects in his own words.
- D. Would like a first rough draft by **MONDAY EVENING.**

IV. DEMAREST'S COMMENTS, POST-MEETING

- 1) To Lange: you might think of a couple of questions you have for Darman (on policy), see if he'd be receptive to meet for discussion.
- 2) Dave on empowerment: it's not just giving power back, it's when people take initiative, responsibility. Some cataclysmic events in history have initiated trends that have disempowered people--clearly we're against this, BUT: we are not reactionary, we don't want to turn the clock back to something old, we want to turn it ahead to something new.

Note: steer clear of "the welfare state."
- 3) Call Boskin, investigate relationship between Gulf crisis and economic downturn.

- 4) On Gulf: bracket language about specific developments in situation there as [ACTION]. Then a section about why we're there...
- stated goals
  - pitch about atrocities
  - we're not in this alone
  - burden sharing
  - ..etc..
- a. look to document Dave gave us for overall guidance on language in this section...also see McGroarty's 4 pages on same subject.
- 5) Dave wants to see draft by sometime **MONDAY MORNING** so as to leave time for discussion, changes.

9 January 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK LANGE

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: TODAY'S MEETING WITH PORTER, DEMAREST

NOTE: Porter says that virtually all the powers that be agree we should go thematic.

ECONOMY

1. We should express confidence and optimism, but we need evidence to back it up. (e.g. exports strong, low inventory costs--need to explain in laymen's terms).
- 2) **GROWTH.** RP: We can't have what we need as a country and have slow growth.
  - a. we have to have higher growth
  - b. we have to become more competitive in the world economy.
- 3) ML: Let's put recession into historical perspective, showing hey--it's not all that bad. Suggestion of using very simple graphics to show comparison. Just a blip on the screen.
- 4) Pay attention to Bush's Houston speech.
- 5) RP: Democrats are still going to come at us on the "fairness" issue. Suggests using that construct:
  - a. some think we must divide the pie, redistribute what we have.
  - b. we think we must build more bakeries.
- 6) RP: Senses that we will be well received if we come out strong against protectionism (Japan, etc.).
- 7) **BUDGET.** Latest polling data suggests that people think the best thing we can do to ease the recession is to CUT WASTEFUL GOVERNMENT SPENDING.
- 8) Interest rates and monetary policy--see Houston language.
- 9) JOBS: no proposals currently to change policy.
- 10) NOTE: SOU fact sheet on the way. There might be a large booklet on Education goals, we don't know yet if it'll be ready by SOU.

- 11) ML: idea of holding up the documents of specifics in administration's proposals---shows: here's the beef.  
JAG: also takes the steam out of the cynical: it's just rhetoric, nothing's going to change.
- 12) POTUS may be signing several executive orders on SOU day. Shows action, command, decision. Also shows what he can do without Congress.
- 13) **DOMESTIC POLICY.**
  - a. RP and ML like it. JAG thinks it sticks like "I've fallen and I can't get up" in the indiscriminate flypaper of postmodernity.
  - b. Prevention Initiatives (government out of your lives, into your lungs).
  - c. Opportunity and Empowerment: Rights, Safety, Right/Responsibility to chart one's own destiny.
  - d. CRIME CONTROL: big wedge issue for us, "We got half of what we needed. P.S. We might have a summit conference on crime.
- 14) SENSE OF STEWARDSHIP, enviro.
- 15) **VALUES.**
  - freedom
  - growth
  - opportunity
  - responsibility
  - celebrate past but beware of complacency
  - a. suggests "roots and wings." ML likes. JAG is reminded of the jabberwocky.
- 16) "New Partnership" with the states?
- 17) HUMAN INTEREST: anecdotes, letters; shows the President understands.
- 18) POSTERITY: The Founding Fathers were clearly concerned with posterity, what they were leaving for the generations to come. It is powerful to talk about what we're trying to do for posterity, this works with the New Independence as well as with the New World Order.
- 19) **\*\*Later, Dave, aside:**
  - doesn't like "roots and wings" (neither does JAG)
  - must reduce RP's technocratic language to laymen's terms. Make it sing, letters, anecdotes.



600 Water Street, S.W., NBU 7-7  
Washington, D.C. 20024

telephone: (202) 484-7170  
telex: 4990821MANSY

fax: (202) 488-0754

copy  
written  
researcher  
FYI  
MS

January 31, 1991

NOTE FOR DAVID DEMEREST  
Office of Communications  
The White House

The speech was super! Ignore the bad news bears at the networks and keep going. The content was strong and the tone was the right one.

An idea for an insertion into "on the road" versions of the speech -- at the point where trade and competitiveness comes up -- occurred to me as I watched. There's more to this than reducing trade barriers, as you well know. Hence, there's a natural opportunity in speeches around the country to add a "here's what you can do" element -- aiming it squarely at the thousands of manufacturers and intermediaries who are "infrequent exporters", i.e., they are in the game, but only export around a quarter of a million a year each. They, perhaps more than big business, have the potential to significantly increase exports. So for what it's worth, here are some words.

"We are going to do everything in our power to reduce foreign trade barriers and eliminate subsidies that limit America's ability to compete effectively in world markets. But what government does for trade is the least of it -- our effectiveness in world markets depends primarily on the foreign sales of American businesses. America's success in exporting depends on firms of all sizes -- selling to all sorts of markets -- and taking advantage of the opportunities for trade we already have.

- o Our biggest single foreign market isn't Europe or Japan -- it's Canada -- where we have already negotiated a free trade agreement that's full of opportunity.
  - Every American business that knows it has a good product should be trying to make a sale in Canada -- and then using what they've learned about exporting to move into other markets.
- o In to markets to the South, where special arrangements with the Caribbean already make that area attractive, and where we are now working toward a free trade agreement with Mexico.
- o To Europe -- where it has been proven, time and again, that consumers want to buy American products -- and where sales by U.S. firms earned us a major positive trade balance last year.
  - Those exports sales are more than just numbers -- exports mean jobs. Every billion dollars in exports means 20,000 jobs for American workers.
- o And finally to Asia -- another land of opportunity for America's exporters. U.S.

firms are already succeeding in Asia -- selling airplanes and telecommunications equipment to Japan, wheat and fertilizers to China, and electrical machinery and computers to Singapore. There is room to multiply our exports to Asia many times over.

Lots of American businesses are already active in the export game. Our best estimates show that -- between manufacturers, wholesalers, and trading companies -- roughly a hundred thousand U.S. firms are involved in exporting American products. Yet only a few have more than a toe in the water.

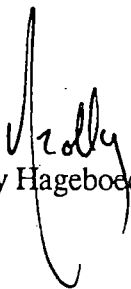
There are tens of thousands of firms -- roughly 75% of our exporters -- for whom exporting is a sideline -- a secondary business. Well let me tell you -- if each of these firms would take that business seriously -- and work themselves up to the point of making a shipment a week, instead of a shipment a month -- the United States would have a trade surplus -- rather than a \$65 billion trade deficit.

So I'll do all I can to open more markets for American business. I'll toss that football -- but you have to run with it. American business has to put our trade opportunities to work."

\*\*\*

Commerce (probably USFCS) and Census can verify/update figures cited above -- and they also have the kind of stories -- perhaps on a state-by-state basis -- that make good one-liners about how Company X has penetrated Market Y with manufactured goods, agricultural commodities and a range of services from banking to construction. SBA's another place to check for export success stories.

Enough. Happy New Year! Say "hi" to Sarah.



Molly Hageboeck