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**Folder Title:**  
Ace Hardware - Denver, Colorado 10/26/92 [OA 8485]

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THANK YOU ROGER PETERSON. (CHAIRMAN RICHARD LASKOWSKI, DAVID HODNICK -- EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT.) YOU KNOW, HARDWARE STORES ARE VIEWED AS THE TYPICAL SMALL BUSINESS -- THE FOUNDATION OF OUR ECONOMY. AND WHEN YOU TALK HARDWARE -- ACE IS THE PLACE. SO IT'S A REAL HONOR TO BE HERE.

NOW, MY FRIENDS OVER THERE IN THE NATIONAL MEDIA, WANT TO KNOW EXACTLY WHY I STOPPED BY YOUR CONVENTION. THE TRUTH IS -- I NEED A FEW TOOLS. YOU SEE, I'VE GOT SOME WORK TO DO AROUND MY HOUSE -- AND I DON'T PLAN ON MOVING -- FOR ANOTHER FOUR YEARS.//

ONE WEEK FROM TOMORROW, AMERICAN VOTERS WILL CHOOSE A PRESIDENT. BUT IN MANY WAYS -- WE WILL CHOOSE A FUTURE.

I BELIEVE THIS ELECTION COMES DOWN TO THREE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS. WHO HAS THE VISION FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE? WHO HAS THE ROADMAP TO GET US TO THAT FUTURE? AND WHO CAN YOU TRUST -- WHEN WE HIT THOSE UNEXPECTED BUMPS IN THE ROAD?

LET'S BEGIN BY TALKING THE QUESTION OF PHILOSOPHY -- WHOSE VISION MAKES MORE SENSE TO YOU?

MY OPPONENTS SAY THIS ELECTION IS ABOUT CHANGE, AND I AGREE. BUT BEING IN FAVOR OF CHANGE IS LIKE BEING IN FAVOR OF BREATHING. THE REAL QUESTION IS NOT WHO IS FOR CHANGE, BUT WHOSE CHANGE WILL MAKE YOUR LIFE BETTER?

A PHILOSOPHER ONCE OBSERVED THAT THOSE WHO CANNOT REMEMBER THE PAST ARE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT IT. SO LET'S SEE WHERE WE'VE BEEN OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS. WE WON A 50-YEAR COLD WAR BECAUSE WE STOOD UP FOR IDEALS. COMMUNISM VERSUS FREEDOM -- AND FREEDOM FINISHED FIRST.

THE COLD WAR DEFINED US FOR HALF A CENTURY, IN WAYS LARGE AND SMALL. IT CLAIMED LITERALLY MILLIONS OF LIVES -- AND CRUSHED THE SPIRIT OF MILLIONS OF OTHERS. HERE IN AMERICA, THE COLD WAR DEFINED US - - FINANCIALLY, ECONOMICALLY -- EVEN PSYCHOLOGICALLY.

MY KIDS GREW UP CRAWLING UNDER DESKS  
IN "DUCK AND COVER" DRILLS. IN THE 60'S  
DURING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, WE STOOD  
ON THE BRINK OF ARMAGEDDON. IN THE 80'S,  
FAMILIES HUDDLED TOGETHER IN FEAR TO WATCH  
A TV MOVIE CALLED -- "THE DAY AFTER."  
ALWAYS, THE SHADOW OF THE COLD WAR  
LINGERED RIGHT OUTSIDE OUR WINDOWS.

YOU TALK CHANGE -- WELL, ALL THAT HAS  
CHANGED -- WITH OUR LEADERSHIP. BECAUSE  
OF THAT CHANGE, OUR CHILDREN GO TO SLEEP  
TONIGHT -- WITHOUT THE FEAR OF NUCLEAR  
WAR. WE SHOULD BE PROUD THAT WE HAVE THIS  
GIFT TO THEM.//

BUT IF WE WERE THE COLD WAR VICTORS,  
WE HAVE YET TO RECEIVE THE SPOILS. THERE  
IS LITTLE CELEBRATION IN AMERICA TODAY,  
INSTEAD A NAGGING ANXIETY. A FEELING THAT  
IT'S TIME TO TURN OUR ATTENTION TO  
CHALLENGES AT HOME -- TO CREATING NEW  
INDUSTRIES, BETTER SCHOOLS, AND AFFORDABLE  
HEALTH CARE.

WHOSE PHILOSOPHY SHOULD WE FOLLOW TO  
GET THERE?

WELL, WE'VE SEEN IN RECENT YEARS NOT THE POWER OF A TANK OR A GUN, BUT THE POWER OF A SIMPLE IDEA -- AN IDEA CALLED FREEDOM.

IN ASIA, EASTERN EUROPE, SOUTH AMERICA, MEXICO -- PEOPLE ARE COMING TO UNDERSTAND THAT GOVERNMENT IS NEITHER SUPERIOR OR SAVIOR -- IT IS THEIR SERVANT.

IN THE MIDST OF A WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN -- OUR FREE-MARKET ECONOMY REMAINS AFLOAT, WHILE MANY NATIONS ARE DROWNING. WE ARE GROWING FASTER THAN JAPAN, FASTER THAN GERMANY, FASTER THAN

CANADA.

BUT HERE'S THE IRONY. AT THE VERY  
MOMENT WHEN THE REST OF THE WORLD IS  
MOVING OUR WAY --MY OPPONENT, GOVERNOR  
CLINTON, WANTS US TO MOVE THEIR WAY.

GOVERNOR CLINTON SAYS HE IS QUOTE --  
"DIFFERENT" -- THAN THE OLD TAX-AND-SPEND  
LIBERALS. BUT IF YOU LOOK AT THE DETAILS  
OF WHAT HE OFFERS, YOU SEE \$150 BILLION IN  
NEW TAXES -- MORE THAN MONDALE AND DUKAKIS  
COMBINED. YOU SEE AT LEAST \$220 BILLION  
IN NEW SPENDING -- JUST TO BEGIN TO PAY  
FOR ALL HIS PROMISES.

WITH EACH PROGRAM GOVERNOR CLINTON PUTS FORTH, YOU SEE A PHILOSOPHY WHERE BUREAUCRATS IN WASHINGTON CARVE OUT THE EXACT SAME PROGRAMS -- TO TRY AND SOLVE PROBLEMS FACING PEOPLE IN DENVER, DALLAS OR DOVER, DELAWARE.

I BELIEVE AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THAT THESE OLD LIBERAL SOLUTIONS ARE NOT RIGHT FOR OUR NEW POST-WAR ERA. IT DOESN'T MAKE SENSE THAT HARDWARE STORE OWNERS WILL SOMEHOW GET RICHER, BY GIVING MORE OF YOUR MONEY TO THE I.R.S. IT DOESN'T MAKE SENSE THAT WE'LL GET THE DEFICIT DOWN -- BY GIVING GOVERNMENT MORE MONEY TO SPEND. AND AT A TIME WHEN EVERY ORGANIZATION IS DECENTRALIZING POWER -- WHY TURN BACK TO A CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY IN WASHINGTON?

AND YET, SAYING THAT IS NOT ENOUGH.  
BECAUSE THIS NATION HAS REAL PROBLEMS.  
OUR CHILDREN WON'T BE ABLE TO COMPETE --  
UNLESS OUR SCHOOLS ARE LITERALLY  
REINVENTED. THE COST OF HEALTH CARE IS  
SKYROCKETING -- WE HAVE TO GET IT DOWN.  
SO GOVERNMENT CAN'T JUST KEEP THE TANKS  
RUNNING, GOVERNMENT MUST HELP PEOPLE.

DURING THIS CAMPAIGN, MANY HAVE SOUGHT  
TO PORTRAY THE CHOICE BETWEEN A -- QUOTE  
"ACTIVIST" GOVERNMENT AND A "TRICKLE-DOWN"  
APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT. BUT THAT IS  
WRONG. THE REAL CHOICE IS NOT BETWEEN  
ACTIVISM AND PASSIVITY.

THE REAL CHOICE IS BETWEEN A LIBERAL, ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT THAT SEEKS TO IMPOSE SOLUTIONS ON INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR -- AND A CONSERVATIVE, ACTIVIST GOVERNMENT THAT GIVES INDIVIDUALS, BUSINESSES AND FAMILIES THE MEANS TO MAKE THEIR OWN CHOICES -- THROUGH COMPETITION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

WE KNOW ONE SIZE DOES NOT FIT ALL. WE KNOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE INDIVIDUALS - - EACH WITH THEIR OWN NEEDS AND SKILLS AND DREAMS. SO, OUR ACTIVIST APPROACH GIVES MORE POWER TO INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES AND BUSINESSES -- SO YOU CAN CHOOSE WHAT IS BEST.

LET ME GIVE YOU A COUPLE OF SPECIFIC  
EXAMPLES. START WITH EDUCATION.

GOVERNOR CLINTON WORKED WITH ME WHEN  
WE SET SIX NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS -- FOR  
THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY. HE DESERVES  
CREDIT FOR THAT.

BUT IF ELECTED PRESIDENT, GOVERNOR CLINTON WANTS TO POUR MORE MONEY INTO THE SAME FAILED EDUCATION SYSTEM. A SYSTEM WHERE FUNDS ARE CONTROLLED TIGHTLY BY CENTRAL BUREAUCRACIES. WHERE POWERFUL TEACHERS UNIONS BLOCK REAL REFORM, WHERE WE SPEND AS MUCH PER PUPIL AS ANY NATION BUT SWITZERLAND, BUT DON'T GET AN ADEQUATE RETURN ON OUR INVESTMENT.

BUT IF THE SYSTEM IS BROKEN --  
TINKERING WON'T DO. SO I WANT TO USE  
COMPETITION TO IMPROVE OUR SCHOOLS. I  
WANT TO PROVIDE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR  
ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, SO  
THAT EVERY PARENT -- RICH AND POOR ALIKE -  
- CAN CHOOSE THE BEST SCHOOLS FOR THEIR  
KIDS -- PUBLIC, PRIVATE, OR RELIGIOUS.

YOU SEE THE SAME THING IN HEALTH CARE. GOVERNOR CLINTON HAS OFFERED THREE PLANS IN THIS CAMPAIGN. ONE SAID TO ALL OF YOU -- EITHER OFFER CARE ON YOUR OWN, OR PAY A NEW PAYROLL TAX -- AT LEAST 7 PERCENT. MANY EXPERTS SAID IT WAS A BACKDOOR WAY TO GET THE GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN RUNNING HEALTH CARE.

NOW GOVERNOR CLINTON OFFERS A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT PLAN, BUT HE STILL WANTS TO CONTROL THE PRICE OF HEALTH CARE -- BY SETTING UP A BIG BOARD IN WASHINGTON -- NOT UNLIKE WHAT THE GOVERNMENT TRIED TO DO WITH GASOLINE IN THE 70'S.

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I SAY -- WE DON'T NEED TO SOCK YOU  
WITH A NEW TAX, WE DON'T WANT TO TELL YOU  
WHAT DOCTOR TO SEE, AND WE DON'T NEED TO  
INFLICT YOU WITH ANY MORE MANDATES FROM  
WASHINGTON.//

HOW ABOUT TAX INCENTIVES FOR SMALL BUSINESSES, SO THAT YOU CAN AFFORD TO BUY HEALTH CARE ON YOUR OWN. OR LET SMALL BUSINESSES POOL COVERAGE, SO YOU CAN GET THE SAME PRICE BREAKS AS THE AT&T'S AND IBM'S. GOVERNMENT CAN'T CONTROL PRICES BY FIAT, BUT COMPETITION CAN BRING PRICES DOWN. AND FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE TOO POOR TO PAY TAXES -- WE WILL GIVE VOUCHERS, SO THAT THEY CAN CHOOSE THE CARE THAT BEST SUITS THEM.

FREEDOM. POWER -- CHOICE FOR PEOPLE. YOU SEE THIS PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCE IN EVERY AREA.

I TRUST YOU TO CHOOSE THE BEST CHILD CARE FOR YOUR KIDS -- MY OPPONENT TRUSTS GOVERNMENT.

I TRUST YOU, WITH THE RIGHT INCENTIVES, TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO GIVE YOUR EMPLOYEES PARENTAL LEAVE -- MY OPPONENT SAYS GOVERNMENT SHOULD TELL YOU HOW.

I TRUST ENTREPRENEURS TO PLACE THEIR BETS ON THE GROWTH INDUSTRIES OF THE FUTURE -- MY OPPONENT THINKS GOVERNMENT CAN DO AS GOOD AS JOB, IF NOT BETTER. GOVERNOR CLINTON TALKS ABOUT GOVERNMENT "INVESTING" YOUR MONEY. I TALK ABOUT CUTTING CAPITAL GAINS AND INVESTMENT TAX ALLOWANCES, BECAUSE YOU KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH YOUR MONEY -- BETTER THAN ANY BUREAUCRAT.

GOVERNOR CLINTON SAYS WE NEED PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS IN WASHINGTON, OR WE WON'T GET ANYTHING DONE. I TRUST AMERICANS JUDGEMENT SO MUCH, THAT I WANT TO LIMIT THE TERMS OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- AND GIVE GOVERNMENT BACK TO THE PEOPLE.

YOU SEE, THERE IS A CONSERVATIVE AGENDA FOR HELPING PEOPLE. IT IS AN ACTIVIST AGENDA -- THAT EMPOWERS PEOPLE NOT BUREAUCRACIES. IT GIVES PEOPLE POWER TO MAKE THEIR OWN CHOICES, CONTROL THEIR OWN LIVES, AND CREATE THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

AND I BELIEVE THAT EVEN IN THESE  
CHALLENGING TIMES -- THESE IDEAS MAKE MORE  
SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- THAN THE  
SIREN SONG OF HIGHER TAXES, MORE SPENDING,  
AND BIGGER GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON.//

(SLIGHT PAUSE)

NOW, IT ALL SOUNDS GREAT -- BUT HOW DO  
YOU TRANSLATE WORDS INTO ACTION? AFTER  
ALL, PEOPLE ARE SICK OF GRIDLOCK -- THEY  
WANT TO TURN WASHINGTON INTO A "BICKER  
FREE" ZONE.

WELL, MANY OF THE IDEAS I'VE TALKED ABOUT ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY. IN CHILD CARE -- FOR EXAMPLE -- WE SUCCEEDED IN PASSING LEGISLATION TO ALLOW PARENTS TO CHOOSE THEIR KIDS CARE, WHETHER IT'S A GOVERNMENT AGENCY, OR A CHURCH DOWN THE STREET.

BUT WITH A NEW CONGRESS -- AND 150 NEW MEMBERS -- WE HAVE A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY, TO PUSH THIS AGENDA EVEN FURTHER, TO RENEW AMERICA.

IN SEPTEMBER, I LAID OUT MY AGENDA FOR AMERICAN RENEWAL. IT'S A COMPREHENSIVE, INTEGRATED APPROACH TO FIXING OUR SCHOOLS, REFORMING HEALTH CARE, RIGHTSIZING GOVERNMENT AND CREATING -- HERE IN AMERICA -- THE WORLD'S FIRST TEN TRILLION DOLLAR ECONOMY.

MY AGENDA INCLUDES 13 FIRST-YEAR PRIORITIES, BUT THREE DWARF ALL OTHERS. FIRST -- AMERICA NEEDS JOBS. NOT TWO YEARS FROM NOW, NOT NEXT FALL, WE NEED THEM TODAY.//

I UNDERSTAND WHAT IT TAKES TO CREATE  
JOBS, BECAUSE I BUILT A BUSINESS MYSELF.  
GOVERNOR CLINTON WANTS YOU TO SEND MORE OF  
YOUR MONEY TO WASHINGTON, AND THE  
GOVERNMENT WILL INVEST IT FOR YOU. I  
SAY -- LET'S CUT OUT THE MIDDLE-MAN.

WE'LL PUT TOGETHER A PACKAGE TO GIVE YOU INCENTIVES TO GROW, TO FURTHER CUT GOVERNMENT RED-TAPE AND MAKE MORE CREDIT AVAILABLE. RIGHT NOW, WE HAVE \$150 BILLION IN MONEY TO BUILD NEW HIGHWAYS. WE'LL MAKE SURE THAT MONEY GETS TO THE STATES IMMEDIATELY --- GET THOSE STEAMROLLERS MOVING QUICKLY, SO THAT YOUR CUSTOMERS WILL HAVE MORE MONEY IN THEIR POCKETS.

WHILE WE'RE STRENGTHENING OUR BUSINESS, WE'LL OPEN NEW FOREIGN MARKETS FOR OUR PRODUCTS, BY WINNING CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF OUR FREE TRADE TREATY WITH CANADA AND MEXICO. THIS IS THE BOTTOM LINE: MORE TRADE CREATES MORE HIGH-PAYING JOBS -- FOR ALL AMERICANS.//

OUR IMMEDIATE THIRD PRIORITY, HEALTH CARE. I ALREADY MENTIONED SOME OF MY IDEAS, BUT THE NEED FOR ACTION IS URGENT. WE SIMPLY CANNOT CONTROL THE DEFICIT, WE SIMPLY CANNOT MAKE OUR COMPANIES EVEN MORE COMPETITIVE, UNTIL MAKE HEALTH CARE MORE AFFORDABLE AND MORE ACCESSIBLE -- FOR YOU AND ALL YOUR WORKERS.//

Friday  
October 23, 1992 (7:00 p.m.)  
DRAFT #5  
AMC

"THE CHOICE:  
PHILOSOPHY, POLICY, CHARACTER"

Ladies and gentlemen:

One week from tomorrow, you and millions of others like you will once again contribute to the greatest and most noble political experiment in history: democracy in America. The ballot you cast will have far-reaching consequences. And no choice will have greater consequences than the choice you make for President of this great land. That decision will affect your life and the life of this country -- as well as its place in the world -- far into the future.

Before casting your ballot, I believe you should ask -- and answer -- three fundamental questions.

First, the question of philosophy: Who has the right vision for America's future?

Second, the question of policy: Who has the most effective agenda for governing, for getting the job done?

Third, the question of character: Who can be entrusted with the responsibility of leading America to that future?

Philosophy, policy, character -- at heart, that's what this election is all about.

I want to discuss these questions with you because as we approach election day, you need to re-examine the three men running for President -- not for what they say as candidates -- but for

what they will do as President. Leading the polls is one thing ... leading the country is another. So before you cast your ballot, ask yourself: Do I agree with this man's philosophy? Are his policies right for the country? And, finally, does he have what it takes -- the integrity, the honesty, the character -- to be President?

### Philosophy

I'll begin with philosophy.

My opponents say this election is about change. They're right: We are living through some of the greatest changes in history, for America and for the world.

Let's start with the single greatest change of the last four years -- indeed, the greatest change of this generation: The end of the Cold War. The Soviet Empire crumbled, and Soviet Communism vanished. The Communist threat around which international and American politics revolved for almost half a century has disappeared.

The fight against communism shaped America's role in the world, but it also shaped American life right here at home -- economically, politically, even psychologically. And so the Cold War's end has brought profound changes domestically as well as internationally.

We won the contest with communism -- and now we wonder whether we can win the competition of global capitalism. We have lifted the burden of our defense and radically reduced the military budget -- and now our defense industries must convert to civilian

production. In short, we have ended the Cold War, and the American people look to collect the dividends of peace -- new jobs, new businesses, more competitive schools, more affordable health care, new opportunities here at home.

So let's be clear about one thing: To say this election is about change versus no change is a false choice. We all want change. That's not the question. The real question is: What kind of change? Which direction? At what risk?

Philosophically, my opponents argue that with such great changes sweeping the world and America, so much has changed that we can throw out the philosophy that got us here.

But let's think about that for a minute.

We won the Cold War because we protected individual initiative and choice and understood that government was a servant of the people, neither their superior nor their savior. It would be tragic if that key lesson of our Cold War victory were lost here at home at the precise moment in history when the American dream is most vibrant and alive beyond our shores.

To be a conservative in this changed world means to renew the vitality of what has always made America greatest: individual initiative. It means to give individuals and families, not bureaucrats and politicians, the wherewithal and opportunity to determine their future.

There is a conservative agenda for helping people. It is an activist agenda that empowers people to make their own choices, control their own lives, create their own destiny.

During this campaign, some have sought to portray the choice as "activist" government versus a "trickle down" or "~~laissez faire~~" approach to government. That too is a false choice. The real choice is not between activism and passivity.

The real choice is between a ~~paternalistic, monopolistic~~ government that seeks to impose solutions on individuals, families, and the private sector and an activist government that gives individuals and families the means to make their own choices -- choices created through competition and economic opportunity. ~~The paternalistic and monopolistic approach, whether it's on health care or education, mandates government solutions where one size fits all and every foot is pinched in the process.~~

We know one size does not fit all. We know the American people are individuals -- each with their own needs and skills and dreams. So, our activist approach empowers individuals, families, and businesses so they can choose what's best for them.

In education, I want to provide scholarships for elementary and high school students so all parents -- rich or poor -- can choose the school -- public, private, or religious -- that they think can best teach their child.

In health care, we want to ensure access to quality care for all Americans -- especially those who are uninsured today or struggling with high costs. That's why I've proposed tax credits and tax deductions that will improve access to care for over 90 million Americans. With this extra help, families can make their own choices for quality care in a revamped competitive system that

high-bruffs

concrete

will lower costs.

Ours is a philosophy that empowers individuals. That's the prescription for real growth and renewal. Simply increasing government spending and expanding the public sector -- raising taxes but calling it "investment" -- is just a re-packaged recipe for stagnation and stagflation.

Boiled down to essentials, Governor Clinton believes government knows best. That's why he trusts government first.

I trust the people. You are the best judge of what job training program you need, of what school your children should go to, and of what health care your family needs. That's why I believe in a government that serves the people -- not tells them what to do -- and gives them the means directly to make choices among competitive options -- public or private.

### Policy

That brings me to policy. Candidates make promises. Presidents must deliver. A philosophy of governing needs to be turned into a plan of action that works.

My plan of action is my Agenda for American Renewal -- a comprehensive and integrated approach to creating jobs and educating our children, cutting health care costs, reducing the deficit, reforming government, and opening markets and converting defense industries to civilian production.

In my Agenda, I outlined the priorities I want to achieve in the first year of my second term -- ranging from an economic growth package and health care reform to term limits and a Balanced Budget Amendment.

Here are three I want to push through in my first 100 days.

First, job creation and economic growth. We will have a legislative package to jump-start the economic recovery and accelerate our transition to post-Cold War prosperity. I will consolidate my tax, deregulatory, and credit proposals to stimulate small business and provide investment incentives with my initiatives to provide job training to workers displaced by today's changes. As part of this package, I will introduce measures to make it easier for states to spend the \$150 billion in infrastructure funds designated in the National Transportation Act. We will stimulate jobs by accelerating spending of the monies we've already designated for infrastructure renewal.

Second, affordable and available health care. My health care proposal controls costs and dramatically reforms the health system, while making health care insurance available to all Americans. For small companies, we will pool insurance to cut costs and increase pressures for competitive reform. We can cap skyrocketing malpractice premiums which drive up doctors' fees.

Third, opening new markets abroad for new jobs at home. We will push through North American Free Trade Agreement to open the whole continent so our workers can compete and win.

Immediately after I push through these legislative initiatives, I intend to move on the rest of my agenda:

Reforming our educational and legal systems. Our children won't be able to compete unless we change our schools, and our businesses won't be able to compete unless we care for each other

more and sue each other less.

Reducing the deficit. I will also pursue a package that builds on our short-term measures to keep the deficit from dragging down long-term growth. This package will contain specific deficit reduction initiatives -- including a Balanced Budget Amendment, a line item veto, caps on growth of mandatory programs (other than social security), and a check-off system to allow the taxpayers to put pressure on the Congress to cut the deficit.

Restoring hope to our inner cities. I will send to the Congress a legislative package that offers a comprehensive solution to save our inner cities, including proposals for dealing with crimes, treating the inner city drug problem, cultivating business, and promoting welfare reform. This will include proposals such as Enterprise Zones and other provisions for stimulating small business in the inner cities.

Expanding free trade. With NAFTA completed, I'll move to expand trading authority so we can open even more markets to American products -- and thereby create American jobs.

Finally, reforming politics and government. Voters across the country want to see fundamental reform in both the Executive and Legislative branches. I have a plan to get the job done. This package will consolidate and reorganize the Executive Branch to align it with post-Cold War realities. This package will include: a one-third cut in White House and Congressional staffs; a 5% pay cut for the highest paid government employees; abolishment of PACs subsidized by corporations, unions, and trade associations; and

term limits for Congress.

A critical part of government reorganization will be reorganizing the government to catalyze defense conversion. Building on our defense conversion plan, I will form a Defense Conversion Council of relevant cabinet secretaries to implement and expand our efforts to help the defense industry convert defense resources to civilian production and defense jobs to civilian jobs. The Council will be supported in its work by an Advisory Task Force composed of representatives from industry and the Congress.

We've already established the basis for this work through special job training funds we've allocated and through the efforts we've made to re-direct our weapons labs to civilian research. We will build on these efforts. My plan is to create in my next budget submission a "Fund for Future Generations." The Fund would provide seed monies to help defense sector and civilian firms form joint partnerships and use the knowledge we've gained from building the world's most advanced weapons to make our economy stronger. It will translate our military edge into export and economic advantage.

As the popular support for Ross Perot has made clear, there is strong desire for a new coalition in America -- a coalition to overcome Congressional gridlock and get the job done. With shifts in party alignment and loyalty, with the rise of new and competing constituencies, and with 150 new members of Congress, we'll need to work together in new and different ways to get the job done. We'll need to create new alliances in Washington between the

Presidency and the Congress, between the federal government and state and local governments, and between the private sector and the public sector.

In the last four years, we've worked to put together new coalitions internationally to end the Cold War, to bring freedom and democracy to Eastern Europe and Eurasia, to get Arabs and Israelis to talk peace, and to defeat Iraqi aggression.

In short, we re-made the world. In my next term, I am determined to ~~re-make~~ <sup>renew</sup> America. Here's how I'll do it.

I plan to use the time from November 4 through the convening of the new Congress to meet with all the new members of Congress, and to shape my six-part legislative package in a way that will ensure swift passage through the Congress.

I'll seek agreement with Congressional leaders to establish a schedule and a workplan. And I'll suggest we form a Steering Group or ~~Ad Hoc Committee~~ that can help ride herd over some of the relevant committees to ensure that our legislative packages don't get bogged down. An activist conservative Administration that cares -- working with a new Congress revitalized with 150 new members -- is the way to break the gridlock without breaking the bank.

But not all our policies will depend on Congress. Already, we're working with 1700 communities to push through our America 2000 education reform. We've granted ten welfare reform waivers to innovative state programs to assist them in moving people from welfare to work. But there's more we can do. I plan to meet in

December with governors and mayors to see how best to move ahead with the Agenda.

I realize I have gone into some detail here. But the American people have asked of the Presidential candidates an honest and unequivocal question: How will you govern the country?

They deserve an honest and unequivocal answer.

Bill Clinton won't tell you this, but we all know where he's headed: He wants to raise taxes by \$150 billion and increase spending by \$220 billion -- all the while claiming he won't have to raise taxes on the middle-class. His plan fails two simple tests. First, the numbers don't add up. He'd end up taxing the middle class. Second, his plan defies common sense. You can't grow the economy by raising taxes and you can't cut the deficit by increasing spending.

And that has forced Governor Clinton to do something really rare for a candidate: He's already defaulted on an election year promise.

In June, he said he would present a legislative package to the Congress before the election, or as his press secretary spun it, "the idea is to show that if Governor Clinton was elected, he would have a mandate to take to Congress in the first 100 days and get things rolling." But five months later, we haven't seen a thing.

Well, by now, I'm sure you know why he can't fulfill that promise. He'd have to tell the truth: His plan won't work.

And we can't afford to find that out.

Come November third, the American people will have heard

enough talk. It'll be high time for action. That's why today I issue this challenge to the new Congress the American people will elect next Tuesday: My action plan will be on the table the day you walk in the door. Act in the first 100 days to pass my first three priorities and then move on to the next to revive confidence in the economy, restore the peoples' faith in their government, and renew their hope in America. The American people have heard enough excuses. They want action. Well, I've got the plan -- and I will deliver. That is my commitment to you.

### Character

That's why character is most important of all because the character of the Presidency is the character of the President. And character, in the end, is what gets the job done. For the Presidency is a unique institution. It's not a group of individuals like Congress or the Supreme Court. It's just one human being. That's what you're left with when you peel away the speeches, and the position papers, and the advisers: one man. A man who must make difficult and often painful decisions, decisions that can change the world, decisions that can lead to war, decisions that can cost lives.

Character touches the very core of the Presidency because in the end it is the essential element to every decision that any President makes. I remember President Ford's humility and his willingness to put the interests of healing the nation above any personal gain. I remember President Reagan's undying optimism - - an optimism that helped renew pride in America after an

administration of stagflation and malaise.

Character is critical because it affects not only how you make decisions, but also how you deal with the consequences. I've made my mistakes, but I've owned up to them. I've learned from them and I've moved on. I've seen as President that you have to level with the American people and you have to level with yourself. You have to reach deep inside and draw on all your experience, all your integrity, all your judgment to do what is right.

That's the only way you can deal with the really gut-wrenching decisions that a President has to make: the decisions as Commander-in-Chief.

It is easy in the aftermath of Desert Storm's stunning success to portray the decision to go to war as an easy one, but we all know it was not. It was not a uniformly popular decision. The Democratic Congress had spent much of the fall parading so-called experts -- people like Admiral Crowe -- before the American people, experts who said we'd get into "another Vietnam." They said a war would kill any hope for peace in the Middle East. Nor was the vote in the Congress overwhelming, and many said let's give sanctions more time. But I made the decision to go to war because I knew it was right -- not because it was popular.

But that's what's so critical in a President and what makes being a President so different from being a governor, or a senator, or a businessman: The President alone is the Commander-in-Chief. And as such, he can determine the fate of the country. If you're a Governor or Senator you can make a decision that turns out to be

a mistake, but you can almost always recover from it. B u t when you are Commander-in-Chief, your decisions can put America at risk -- and can risk the lives of our young men and women.

I remember well the cold, rainy February day at Camp David when the ground war to liberate Kuwait began. And how fervently I hoped and prayed our plans would work and our young men and women would return home, victorious and alive. That is an awesome responsibility, one that few can -- or should -- have to carry. It is a responsibility I believe I have fulfilled with honor and duty and, above all, integrity.

#### Your Responsibility

But on November 3rd, you, too, have a critical responsibility. You -- not a pundit or a poll -- have the responsibility of choosing the next President of the United States. It's a responsibility the Constitution gives you only every four years.

So, please, ask yourself the three questions.

First, philosophy: Who has the right vision for America's future? The man who wants to expand the American Dream, or the man who dreams of expanding the American government?

Second, policy: Who has the most realistic agenda for governing and getting the job done? The man with the experience to take your mandate for change and deliver real change, or the man who promises everything to everyone and can't decide what to decide?

Third, character: Who can be entrusted with the responsibility of leading America to that future? The man who's

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

# WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: URGENT ←  
IMMEDIATE  
PRIORITY  
ROUTINE

RELEASER: J. Rosen  
DTG: 261243Z OCT 92

MESSAGE NO. 25 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASS PAGES 11  
FROM JENNIFER GROSSMAN 7752 111.5  
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)  
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION FACT-CHECK

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>BILLINGS, MT.</u>	<u>CHRISTINA MARTIN</u>	<u>SPEECHWRITING</u>	
	<u>STEVE PROVOST</u>		

REMARKS:  
DELIVER IMMEDIATELY

PLS FAX TO JENNIFER GROSSMAN - 11/2/92  
FROM: C. MARTINI

17750  
\*ALS DELIVER BY  
7:30 AM EST

— UNCLAS —

Sunday  
October 25, 1992 (11:30 p.m.)  
DRAFT #1  
AMC

Audience: ACE hardware  
owners, small biz.  
types, dealers  
vendors.  
2500 in audience

other acts: DAVID HOONICK,  
EXEC. V.P.  
RICHARD LASKOWSKI  
CHM. OF THE BOARD.

"THE CHOICE:  
PHILOSOPHY, POLICY, CHARACTER" N:AM  
(ACE HARDWARE SEMI-ANNUAL CONVENTION + EXHIBIT)

MR. ROGER PETERSON, PRES + CEO OF ACE HARDWARE.

Thank you ( A ) -- it's great to be at the Ace Hardware  
Exhibit.

Annual Convention. I know most Americans are getting tired of all these  
political commercials. So I admit, I got a little nervous --  
when I realized I was scheduled to appear before an audience of  
potential voters -- who are experts in the use of hammers and

crowbars. // But I'm told all the tools are in the exhibits, so I  
feel safer. *Suggested alternative: "I was just remembering how -- a couple  
years back, when I was delivering the State of the Union, I was  
trying to find a metaphor to urge Americans to volunteer --  
one week from tomorrow, American voters will choose a help each other.*

President. But in many ways -- we will choose a future. *I said: "if you've  
got a hammer,  
find a nail."  
I'm glad I've  
finally found  
an  
audience  
who  
knows what  
I'm talking  
about.*

I believe this election comes down to three fundamental  
questions. Who has the vision for America's future? Who has the  
roadmap to get us to that future? And who can you trust -- when  
we hit those unexpected bumps in the road?

Let's begin by talking the question of philosophy -- whose  
vision makes more sense to you?  
My opponents say this election is about change, and I agree.  
But being in favor of change is like being in favor of breathing.  
The real question is not who is for change, but whose change will  
make your life better?

An American philosopher once observed that those who ~~do not~~  
*cannot*  
~~learn from history~~ *condemned* are bound to repeat it. So let's see where  
we've been over the past four years. We won a 50-year Cold War

opponent

joke is  
imitating.  
I don't  
get it.

from  
history,  
pro-antistat,  
anti-democracy.

2

because we stood up for ideals. Communism versus freedom -- and freedom finished first.

The Cold War defined us for half a century, in ways large and small. It claimed literally millions of lives -- and crushed the spirit of millions of others.

But it had subtler impacts -- even here at home. My kids grew up crawling under desks in "Duck and Cover" drills. In the 60's during the Cuban Missile crisis, we stood on the brink of Armageddon. In the 80's, families huddled together in fear to watch ~~a made-for-TV movie called~~ -- "The Day After."

You want change -- well, all that has changed. Today, because of that change, our children go to sleep without the fear of nuclear war.

But if we were the Cold War victors, we have yet to receive the spoils. There is no celebration in America today, instead a nagging anxiety. A feeling that it's time to turn our attention to challenges at home -- to creating new industries, better schools, and affordable health care.

Whose philosophy should we follow to get there?

Well, we've seen in recent years not the power of a tank or a gun, but the power of a simple idea -- called freedom.

In Asia, Eastern Europe, South America, Mexico -- people are coming to understand that government is neither their superior or their savior -- but their servant.

In the midst of a worldwide economic slowdown -- our free-market economy remains afloat, while many nations are drowning.

3

We are growing faster than Japan, faster than Germany, faster than Canada. Even in tough times -- freedom works.

But here's the irony. At the very moment when the rest of the world is moving our way -- Governor Clinton wants us to move their way.

Governor Clinton says he is different than the old tax-and-spend liberals. But if you look at the details of what he offers, you see \$150 billion in new taxes -- more than Mondale and Dukakis combined. You see at least \$220 billion in new spending -- just to begin to pay for all his promises.

With each program Governor Clinton puts forth, you see a philosophy where bureaucrats in Washington carve out the exact same solution to problems facing people in Denver, Dallas or Dover, Delaware.

I believe Americans understand that these solutions are not right for our time. It doesn't make sense that you will somehow get richer, by giving more of your money to the IRS. And by the token, it doesn't make sense, that the way we'll get the deficit down -- is by giving government more money to spend.

And yet, I hear another refrain. This nation has problems. Our children can't compete because they can't read and write. The cost of health care is skyrocketing. So government can't just keep the tanks running, government has to help people.

But the choice is not between a big government that hinders all enterprise, or an ambivalent government -- that ignores every problem. There is another way.

4

We can use government to give power to individuals, families and businesses, so that you can choose the best course for your life. That is what I offer -- to renew America.

Let me give you a couple of specific examples. Start with education.

Governor Clinton worked with me when we set six national education goals -- for the first time in history. He deserves credit for that.

But if elected President, Governor Clinton wants to <sup>JUST</sup> pour ~~some~~ money into the same failed education system. A system where funds are controlled tightly by central bureaucracies. Where powerful teachers unions block real reform, where we spend as much per pupil as any nation but Switzerland, but don't get an adequate return on our investment.

I say if the system is broke -- tinkering won't do. So, I want to use competition to improve our schools. I want to provide scholarships for elementary and high school students, so that every parent -- rich and poor -- can choose the best schools for their kids -- public, private, or religious.

You see the same thing in health care. Governor Clinton has offered three plans in this campaign. One said to those of you in small business -- either you offer care on your own, or you cough up a new payroll tax -- at least 7 percent. Many experts said it was a backdoor way to get the government involved in running health care.

Now Governor Clinton offers a slightly different plan, but he still wants to control the price of health care -- by setting up a big board in Washington -- not unlike what the government tried to do with gaslines in the 70's. I say -- we don't need to sock you with a new tax, and if you remember gas lines, we don't need the same thing happening at doctors offices.

Here's another way.

How about tax incentives for small businesses, so that you can afford health care? Or letting small businesses pool coverage, so you can get the same price breaks as the AT&T's and IBM's. Government can't control prices by mandate, but competition can bring prices down. And for people who are too poor to pay taxes? We can give vouchers, so that they can choose the care that best serves them.

You see this philosophical difference in every area.

I trust you to choose the best child care for your kids -- my opponents trust government.

I trust entrepreneurs to place their bets on the growth industries of the future -- my opponents think government can do as good as job, if not better.

I trust Americans enough to limit the terms of members of Congress -- Governor Clinton says we need professional politicians in Washington -- or we won't get anything done.

You see, there is a conservative agenda for helping people

It is an activist agenda, that empowers people not government. I

*He will say  
my PDRS  
Trusts  
people  
have you  
right  
not to say  
let*

*rapidity  
by Americans are for terms limits,  
he trusts their judgement*

6

gives people power to make their own choices, control their own lives, and create their own destiny.

And I believe that even in these challenging times -- these ideas make more sense to the American people -- than the siren *clique* song of higher taxes, more spending, and bigger government.//

(slight pause)

Now, it all sounds great -- but how do you translate words into action? After all, people are sick of gridlock -- they want to turn Washington into a "bicker free" zone.

I get the message -- so do the new members of Congress -- up to 150 people of both political parties -- who'll be swept into office next week. We can negotiate missile treaties with the Russians, if we can get ancient enemies to talk peace in the Middle East -- we can get people in Washington to sit down and fix some of our problems at home.

I'm not going to wait until January to put these ideas into action. I'm not going to wait for a new Congress to be sworn in, because America demands more urgency. <sup>?</sup> *Jaw* So as soon as the election is over, I'll have my action plan ready.

*Sound like manifesto*

I'll meet with leaders of the old Congress, and the members of the new. We'll establish a schedule and a workplan. Instead of relying on endless congressional hearings and committees, we'll create steering groups -- to expedite the process. We'll set deadlines for decisions, and we'll meet them.

What will we be our priorities? Well, in September, I laid out my Agenda for American Renewal. It's a comprehensive, integrated approach to fixing our schools, reforming health care,

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making government work and creating -- here in America -- the world's first ten trillion<sup>DOLLAR</sup> economy.

My agenda includes 13 first-year priorities, but three dwarf all others. First -- America needs jobs. Not two years from now, not next fall, we need them today.

I understand what it takes to create jobs, because I built a business myself. We'll put together a package to give you incentives to grow, to further cut government red-tape and to make credit available. Right now, we have \$150 million in money to build new highways. We'll make sure that money gets to the states immediately --- get those steamrollers moving quickly, so that your customers have more money in their pockets.

While we're strengthening our business, we'll open new foreign markets for our products, by winning Congressional approval of our trade treaty with Canada and Mexico. Because trade creates jobs.// our third priority, health care. I already mentioned some of my ideas, but action is urgent. We simply cannot control the deficit, we simply cannot make our companies even more competitive, until we reform our health care system.

Once these priorities are achieved, we'll move on the rest of the agenda.

We'll reform our education and legal system. Our children won't be able to compete unless we reinvent our schools, and our society will be drained of precious resources, unless we start suing each other, less and caring for each other more.

8

Then we will reduce the deficit. Here's what it will take. We need a Balanced Budget Amendment.// We need a line item veto.// We need to cap the growth of mandatory programs, except social security.// And we need a check-off system -- to allow taxpayers like you to earmark up to ten percent of your taxes -- to be used for nothing but to get the debt off our children's shoulders.

We must restore hope to our inner cities. So I will work with the new Congress to get tougher crime laws, to <sup>fight</sup> treat the drug problem, to reform the welfare system, and attract and keep business -- all using the principle of putting faith and power not in bureaucracies, but in real people.

We'll further expand free trade -- using our stature as the world's number one superpower -- to reach trade agreements with countries in Europe and Asia.

And perhaps most important, we'll reform and "rightsize" government in step with the times.

We'll cut White House staff by a third -- and ask Congress to match our action. We'll take five percent off the salary of the <sup>most</sup> best-paid federal employees. We'll abolish political action committees, limit the terms of members of Congress -- and give government back to the people.

A critical part of this reorganization will be to help our defense industry adjust to a peacetime economy. Immediately following the election, I'll assemble a Defense Conversion

9

Council. It will include every important cabinet agency and work closely with members of Congress.

We're already directing more weapons research to civilian use and re-training military personnel. But my next budget will include a "Fund For Future Generations" -- which will help businesses from the defense and civilian sectors form partnerships to create new industries -- and translate our military strength -- into export and economic advantage.

It's an ambitious agenda, but it can be accomplished. And if we meet resistance, we'll go beyond Washington. Already, our American 2,000 education reform effort involves parents, teachers and business leaders in over 1,700 communities. This will be a model for other efforts. America's desire for positive change requires building new coalitions, and taking advantage of grass roots power -- and we will.

What about Governor Clinton? Well, in June, he promised to present his 100 day plan even before the election. It's eight days away, and no plan has been sighted.

I suspect Governor Clinton has promised too much and his new Congressional friends are eager to raise the ante even higher. So the result will be either much higher spending and taxes, a much bigger deficit, or continued gridlock.

My agenda can break the gridlock, without breaking the bank. It is ambitious, but is doable. With it, we can start to make progress on our fundamental challenges, and match <sup>OUR</sup> the <sup>WITH</sup> peace of

10

~~CONSTITUTIONAL~~  
~~mind in the world, with peace of mind right here at home.~~//

(pause)

Finally, a word about character.

But Horace Greeley once said that character is the only thing that endures. I think that's especially true in the Presidency. Character matters not just because of the plans you make, but the crises you never foresee.

I'm friends with a bass fisherman named Ray Scott -- maybe some of you have heard of him. He joined me on the campaign trail a few days ago, and described character rather simply. He said it was acting alone the way you would act with a million people watching.

*(Character is who you are when no one is watching.)*

As President, you're never more alone than at times of crisis, and while nobody may be watching in the Oval Office, millions will feel the impact of your judgement.

It is easy in the aftermath of Desert Storm to portray the decision to go to war as an easy one, but it was not uniformly popular. The Democratic Congress had spent much of the fall parading experts who said we'd get into "another Vietnam." They said a war would kill any hope for peace in the Middle East.

And the vote in the Congress was not overwhelming, many said let's give sanctions more time. But I made the decision to go to war because I knew it was right -- not because I knew it was popular.

I remember well the cold, rainy February day at Camp David when the ground war to liberate Kuwait began. And how fervently

I prayed that our plans would work and our young men and women would return home, victorious and alive. This is an awesome responsibility to ask our young men and women to knock early on death's dark door. It is a responsibility I believe I have fulfilled with honor and duty and, above all, integrity.

But that is your call -- on November 3rd. Then the polls and the pundits don't matter anymore -- it's all up to the people.

When you enter that voting booth, please ask yourself three common sense questions: Who has the right vision for America's future? Who can get us from here to there? And which candidate has the character -- who would you trust in a crisis?

Ideas. Action. Character. I believe I have demonstrated all three -- so I ask for your support on November 3rd.

Thank you and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

Sunday  
October 25, 1992 (11:30 p.m.)  
DRAFT #1  
AMC

**"THE CHOICE:  
PHILOSOPHY, POLICY, CHARACTER"**

Thank you ( ) -- it's great to be at the Ace Hardware Convention. I know most Americans are getting tired of all these political commercials. So I admit, I got a little nervous -- when I realized I was scheduled to appear before an audience of potential voters -- who are experts in the use of hammers and crowbars.// But I'm told all the tools are in the exhibits, so I feel safer.

One week from tomorrow, American voters will choose a President. But in many ways -- we will choose a future.

I believe this election comes down to three fundamental questions. Who has the vision for America's future? Who has the roadmap to get us to that future? And who can you trust -- when we hit those unexpected bumps in the road?

Let's begin by talking the question of philosophy -- whose vision makes more sense to you?

My opponents say this election is about change, and I agree. But being in favor of change is like being in favor of breathing. The real question is not who is for change, but whose change will make your life better?

An American philosopher once observed that those who do not learn from history are bound to repeat it. So let's see where we've been over the past four years. We won a 50-year Cold War

because we stood up for ideals. Communism versus freedom -- and freedom finished first.

The Cold War defined us for half a century, in ways large and small. It claimed literally millions of lives -- and crushed the spirit of millions of others.

But it had subtler impacts -- even here at home. My kids grew up crawling under desks in "Duck and Cover" drills. In the 60's during the Cuban Missile crisis, we stood on the brink of Armageddon. In the 80's, families huddled together in fear to watch a made-for-TV movie called -- "The Day After."

You want change -- well, all that has changed. Today, because of that change, our children go to sleep without the fear of nuclear war.

But if we were the Cold War victors, we have yet to receive the spoils. There is no celebration in America today, instead a nagging anxiety. A feeling that it's time to turn our attention to challenges at home -- to creating new industries, better schools, and affordable health care.

Whose philosophy should we follow to get there?

Well, we've seen in recent years not the power of a tank or a gun, but the power of a simple idea -- called freedom.

In Asia, Eastern Europe, South America, Mexico -- people are coming to understand that government is neither their superior or their savior -- but their servant.

In the midst of a worldwide economic slowdown -- our free-market economy remains afloat, while many nations are drowning.

We are growing faster than Japan, faster than Germany, faster than Canada. Even in tough times -- freedom works.

But here's the irony. At the very moment when the rest of the world is moving our way -- Governor Clinton wants us to move their way.

Governor Clinton says he is different than the old tax-and-spend liberals. But if you look at the details of what he offers, you see \$150 billion in new taxes -- more than Mondale and Dukakis combined. You see at least \$220 billion in new spending -- just to begin to pay for all his promises.

With each program Governor Clinton puts forth, you see a philosophy where bureaucrats in Washington carve out the exact same solution to problems facing people in Denver, Dallas or Dover, Delaware.

I believe Americans understand that these solutions are not right for our time. It doesn't make sense that you will somehow get richer, by giving more of your money to the IRS. And by the token, it doesn't make sense, that the way we'll get the deficit down -- is by giving government more money to spend.

And yet, I hear another refrain. This nation has problems. Our children can't compete because they can't read and write. The cost of health care is skyrocketing. So government can't just keep the tanks running, government has to help people.

But the choice is not between a big government that hinders all enterprise, or an ambivalent government -- that ignores every problem. There is another way.

We can use government to give power to individuals, families and businesses, so that you can choose the best course for your life. That is what I offer -- to renew America.

Let me give you a couple of specific examples. Start with education.

Governor Clinton worked with me when we set six national education goals -- for the first time in history. He deserves credit for that.

But if elected President, Governor Clinton wants to pour some money into the same failed education system. A system where funds are controlled tightly by central bureaucracies. Where powerful teachers unions block real reform, where we spend as much per pupil as any nation but Switzerland, but don't get an adequate return on our investment.

I say if the system is broke -- tinkering won't do. So, I want to use competition to improve our schools. I want to provide scholarships for elementary and high school students, so that every parent -- rich and poor -- can choose the best schools for their kids -- public, private, or religious.

You see the same thing in health care. Governor Clinton has offered three plans in this campaign. One said to those of you in small business -- either you offer care on your own, or you cough up a new payroll tax -- at least 7 percent. Many experts said it was a backdoor way to get the government involved in running health care.

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Here's another way.

How about tax incentives for small businesses, so that you can afford health care? Or letting small businesses pool coverage, so you can get the same price breaks as the AT&T's and IBM's. Government can't control prices by mandate, but competition can bring prices down. And for people who are too poor to pay taxes? We can give vouchers, so that they can choose the care that best serves them.

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You see, there is a conservative agenda for helping people. It is an activist agenda, that empowers people not government. I

gives people power to make their own choices, control their own lives, and create their own destiny.

And I believe that even in these challenging times -- these ideas make more sense to the American people -- than the siren song of higher taxes, more spending, and bigger government.//

(slight pause)

Now, it all sounds great -- but how do you translate words into action? After all, people are sick of gridlock -- they want to turn Washington into a "bicker free" zone.

I get the message -- so do the new members of Congress -- up to 150 people of both political parties-- who'll be swept into office next week. We can negotiate missile treaties with the Russians, if we can get ancient enemies to talk peace in the Middle East -- we can get people in Washington to sit down and fix some of our problems at home.

I'm not going to wait until January to put these ideas into action. I'm not going to wait for a new Congress to be sworn in, because America demands more urgency. So as soon as the election is over, I'll have my action plan ready.

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mind in the world, with peace of mind right here at home.//

(pause)

Finally, a word about character.

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Ideas. Action. Character. I believe I have demonstrated all three -- so I ask for your support on November 3rd.

Thank you and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

Thank you Roger Peterson. (Chairman Richard Laskowski, David Hodnick -- Executive Vice President.) You know, hardware stores are viewed as the typical small business -- the foundation of our economy. And when you talk hardware -- Ace is the place. So it's a real honor to be here.

Now, my friends over there in the national media, want to know exactly why I stopped by your convention. The truth is -- I need a few tools. You see, I've got some work to do around my house -- and I don't plan on moving -- for another four years.//

One week from tomorrow, American voters will choose a President. But in many ways -- we will choose a future.

I believe this election comes down to three fundamental questions. Who has the vision for America's future? Who has the roadmap to get us to that future? And who can you trust -- when we hit those unexpected bumps in the road?

Let's begin by talking the question of philosophy -- whose vision makes more sense to you?

My opponents say this election is about change, and I agree. But being in favor of change is like being in favor of breathing. The real question is not who is for change, but whose change will make your life better?

A philosopher once observed that those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. So let's see where we've been over the past four years. We won a 50-year Cold War because we stood up for ideals. Communism versus freedom -- and freedom finished first.

The Cold War defined us for half a century, in ways large and small. It claimed literally millions of lives -- and crushed the spirit of millions of others. Here in America, the Cold War defined us -- financially, economically -- even psychologically.

My kids grew up crawling under desks in "Duck and Cover" drills. In the 60's during the Cuban Missile crisis, we stood on the brink of Armageddon. In the 80's, families huddled together in fear to watch a TV movie called -- "The Day After." Always, the shadow of the Cold War lingered right outside our windows.

You talk change -- well, all that has changed -- with our leadership. Because of that change, our children go to sleep tonight -- without the fear of nuclear war. We should be proud that we have this gift to them.//

But if we were the Cold War victors, we have yet to receive the spoils. There is little celebration in America today, instead a nagging anxiety. A feeling that it's time to turn our attention to challenges at home -- to creating new industries, better schools, and affordable health care.

Whose philosophy should we follow to get there?

Well, we've seen in recent years not the power of a tank or a gun, but the power of a simple idea -- an idea called freedom.

In Asia, Eastern Europe, South America, Mexico -- people are coming to understand that government is neither superior or savior -- it is their servant.

In the midst of a worldwide economic slowdown -- our free-market economy remains afloat, while many nations are drowning.

We are growing faster than Japan, faster than Germany, faster than Canada.

But here's the irony. At the very moment when the rest of the world is moving our way --my opponent, Governor Clinton, wants us to move their way.

Governor Clinton says he is quote -- "different" -- than the old tax-and-spend liberals. But if you look at the details of what he offers, you see \$150 billion in new taxes -- more than Mondale and Dukakis combined. You see at least \$220 billion in new spending -- just to begin to pay for all his promises.

With each program Governor Clinton puts forth, you see a philosophy where bureaucrats in Washington carve out the exact same programs -- to try and solve problems facing people in Denver, Dallas or Dover, Delaware.

I believe Americans understand that these old liberal solutions are not right for our new post-war era. It doesn't make sense that hardware store owners will somehow get richer, by giving more of your money to the IRS. It doesn't make sense that we'll get the deficit down -- by giving government more money to spend. And at a time when every organization is decentralizing power -- why turn back to a central bureaucracy in Washington?

And yet, saying that is not enough. Because this nation has real problems. Our children won't be able to compete -- unless our schools are literally reinvented. The cost of health care is skyrocketing -- we have to get it down. So government can't just keep the tanks running, government must help people.

During this campaign, many have sought to portray the choice between a -- quote "activist" government and a "trickle-down" approach to government. But that is wrong. The real choice is not between activism and passivity.

The real choice is between a liberal, activist government that seeks to impose solutions on individuals, families and the private sector -- and a conservative, activist government that gives individuals, businesses and families the means to make their own choices -- through competition and economic opportunity.

We know one size does not fit all. We know the American people are individuals -- each with their own needs and skills and dreams. So, our activist approach gives more power to individuals, families and businesses -- so you can choose what is best.

Let me give you a couple of specific examples. Start with education.

Governor Clinton worked with me when we set six national education goals -- for the first time in history. He deserves credit for that.

But if elected President, Governor Clinton wants to pour more money into the same failed education system. A system where funds are controlled tightly by central bureaucracies. Where powerful teachers unions block real reform, where we spend as much per pupil as any nation but Switzerland, but don't get an adequate return on our investment.

But if the system is broken -- tinkering won't do. So I want to use competition to improve our schools. I want to provide scholarships for elementary and high school students, so that every parent -- rich and poor alike -- can choose the best schools for their kids -- public, private, or religious.

You see the same thing in health care. Governor Clinton has offered three plans in this campaign. One said to all of you -- either offer care on your own, or pay a new payroll tax -- at least 7 percent. Many experts said it was a backdoor way to get the government directly involved in running health care.

Now Governor Clinton offers a slightly different plan, but he still wants to control the price of health care -- by setting up a big board in Washington -- not unlike what the government tried to do with gasoline in the 70's.

I say -- we don't need to sock you with a new tax, we don't want to tell you what doctor to see, and we don't need to inflict you with any more mandates from Washington.//

How about tax incentives for small businesses, so that you can afford to buy health care on your own. Or let small businesses pool coverage, so you can get the same price breaks as the AT&T's and IBM's. Government can't control prices by fiat, but competition can bring prices down. And for people who are too poor to pay taxes -- we will give vouchers, so that they can choose the care that best suits them.

Freedom. Power -- choice for people. You see this philosophical difference in every area.

I trust you to choose the best child care for your kids -- my opponent trusts government.

I trust you, with the right incentives, to figure out how to give your employees parental leave -- my opponent says government should tell you how.

I trust entrepreneurs to place their bets on the growth industries of the future -- my opponent thinks government can do as good as job, if not better. Governor Clinton talks about government "investing" your money. I talk about cutting capital gains and investment tax allowances, because you know what to do with your money -- better than any bureaucrat.

Governor Clinton says we need professional politicians in Washington, or we won't get anything done. I trust Americans judgement so much, that I want to limit the terms of members of Congress -- and give government back to the people.

You see, there is a conservative agenda for helping people. It is an activist agenda -- that empowers people not bureaucracies. It gives people power to make their own choices, control their own lives, and create their own destinies.

And I believe that even in these challenging times -- these ideas make more sense to the American people -- than the siren song of higher taxes, more spending, and bigger government in Washington.//

(slight pause)

Now, it all sounds great -- but how do you translate words into action? After all, people are sick of gridlock -- they want to turn Washington into a "bicker free" zone.

Well, many of the ideas I've talked about are already underway. In child care -- for example -- we succeeded in passing legislation to allow parents to choose their kids care, whether it's a government agency, or a church down the street.

But with a new Congress -- and 150 new members -- we have a historic opportunity, to push this agenda even further, to renew America.

In September, I laid out my Agenda for American Renewal. It's a comprehensive, integrated approach to fixing our schools, reforming health care, rightsizing government and creating -- here in America -- the world's first ten trillion dollar economy.

My agenda includes 13 first-year priorities, but three dwarf all others. First -- America needs jobs. Not two years from now, not next fall, we need them today..//

I understand what it takes to create jobs, because I built a business myself. Governor Clinton wants you to send more of your money to Washington, and the government will invest it for you. I say -- let's cut out the middle-man.

We'll put together a package to give you incentives to grow, to further cut government red-tape and make more credit available. Right now, we have \$150 billion in money to build new highways. We'll make sure that money gets to the states immediately --- get those steamrollers moving quickly, so that your customers will have more money in their pockets.

While we're strengthening our business, we'll open new foreign markets for our products, by winning Congressional

approval of our free trade treaty with Canada and Mexico. This is the bottom line: More trade creates more high-paying jobs -- for all Americans.//

Our immediate third priority, health care. I already mentioned some of my ideas, but the need for action is urgent. We simply cannot control the deficit, we simply cannot make our companies even more competitive, until make health care more affordable and more accessible -- for you and all your workers.//

As we are working on these priorities, we'll be working on otehrs.

We'll take new steps to reform our education and legal system. Our children won't be able to compete unless we reinvent our schools, and our society will be drained of precious resources, unless we start suing each other less and caring for each other more.

Then we will reduce the deficit. Not by raising taxes, but by cutting spending. We need a Balanced Budget Amendment.// We need a line item veto.// We need to cap the growth of mandatory programs, except Social Security.// And we need a check-off on your tax return -- so you can earmark up to ten percent of your taxes --to be used for nothing but to get the debt off our children's shoulders.

We must restore hope to our inner cities. So I will work with the new Congress to get tougher crime laws, to fight the drug problem, to reform the welfare system, and to attract and

keep business -- all using this principle of putting faith and power not in bureaucracies, but in real people.

We'll further expand free trade -- using our stature as the world's number one superpower -- to reach new trade agreements with countries in Europe and Asia.

And perhaps most important, we'll reform and "rightsize" government -- subject it to the same discipline as every other large organization in America.

We'll cut the White House staff by a third -- and look to Congress to match our action. We'll take five percent off the salary of the best-paid federal employees. We'll abolish political action committees, limit the terms of members of Congress -- and give government back to the people.

A critical part of this reorganization will be to help our defense industry adjust to a peacetime economy. Immediately following the election, I'll assemble a Defense Conversion Council. It will include every necessary cabinet agency and work closely with key members of Congress.

We're already directing more weapons research to civilian use and re-training military personnel. To support this effort, I plan to create in my next budget submission a "Fund For Future Generations." The fund would provide seed monies to help defense sector and civilian firms form joint partnerships, to use the knowledge we've gained from building weapons -- to building a stronger economy.

That is my immediate agenda -- and it builds on the foundation we have laid the last four years. It is what I have been talking about on the campaign trail -- and what I will fight for in my second term.

But I believe each candidate owes you more than his agenda - - but what specifically he will do to get it done.

As the support for Ross Perot has made clear, there is a strong desire for a new coalition in America -- to overcome gridlock and get the job done. With 150 new members of Congress -- from both parties -- we will move quickly to respond to your demands.

I plan to use the time from November 4th through convening of the new Congress to meet with all the new members of Congress, and to shape my legislative package in a way that will guarantee swift passage.

A committee has been called a cul-de-sac -- down which ideas are lured and strangled to death. And if this is true, than the modern Congress has become a giant subdivision --good ideas go in -- never to come out again.

So we'll seek agreement with Congressinonal leaders to form suggest we form a Steering Group that can help ride herd over Congress, to make sure our legislative package doesn't get bogged down. We'll set deadlines for decisions, and we'll meet them. We can mobilize for war. We can mobilize for Hurricanes. Let's mobilize for our economy -- and get this country moving again.//)

And if we need to, we'll go beyond Washington. Already, our American 2,000 education reform effort involves parents, teachers and business leaders in over 1,700 communities. This will be a model for other efforts. America's desire for positive change requires building new coalitions, and taking advantage of grass roots power -- and we will.

Now, that's my action plan, but what about Governor Clinton? Well, in June, he promised to present his 100 day plan even before the election. It's eight days away, and no plan has been sighted.

Here's why -- Governor Clinton's plan doesn't add up. Governor Clinton has promised too much -- and his new Congressional friends want to raise the ante even higher. The result will be much higher spending and taxes, and a much bigger deficit, or continued gridlock in Washington.

My agenda can break the gridlock, without breaking the bank.  
It is ambitious, but is doable. With it, we can start to make progress on our fundamental challenges, and match the peace of mind in the world, with peace of mind right here at home.//

(pause)

Finally, a word about character.

Horace Greeley once said that character is the only thing that endures. I think that's especially true in the Presidency. Character matters not just because of the plans you make, but the crises you never foresee.

A friend of mine says character is real simple. He says it is acting alone the way you would act with a million people watching.

As President, you're never more alone than at times of crisis, and while nobody may be watching in the Oval Office, millions will feel the impact of your judgement.

It is easy in the aftermath of Desert Storm to portray the decision to go to war as an easy one, but it was not uniformly popular. The Democratic Congress had spent much of the fall parading experts who said we'd get into "another Vietnam." They said a war would kill any hope for peace in the Middle East.

And the vote in the Congress was not overwhelming -- many said let's give sanctions more time. But I made the decision to go to war because I knew it was right -- not because I knew it was popular.

I remember well the cold, rainy February day at Camp David when the ground war to liberate Kuwait began. And how fervently I prayed that our plans would work and our young men and women would return home, victorious and alive. This is an awesome responsibility to ask our young men and women to knock early on death's dark door. It is a responsibility I believe I have fulfilled with honor and duty and, above all, integrity.

But that is your call -- on November 3rd. Then the polls and the pundits don't matter anymore -- it's all up to the people.

When you enter that voting booth, please ask yourself three common sense questions: Who has the right vision for America's future? Who can get us from here to there? And which candidate has the character -- who would you trust in a crisis?

Ideas. Action. Character. I believe I have demonstrated all three -- so I ask for your support on November 3rd.

Thank you and God bless the United States of America.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE IMMEDIATE  
PRIORITY  
ROUTINE

RELEASER: Jimmy Sheet  
DTG: 25 21 32 Oct 92

MESSAGE NO. 111 CLASSIFICATION UNCLASS PAGES 13  
FROM NIX/BUNTON 7750 111.5  
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)  
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION DENVER/DES MOINES COLOR

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>AF-1</u>	<u>CHRISTINA MARTIN</u>		
	<u>STEVE PROVOST</u>		

REMARKS: ED IS WEARING HIS BOOTS TODAY!  
MICHELE HAS BRACES. AND I WON THE  
THE TRICK-SHOT-NERF-HOOP COMPETITION IN THE  
OFFICE. THE END. PS- WE'RE GOING HOME NOW. JENN  
IS EN ROUTE D.C. WILL BE HOME IN A COUPLE HOURS.  
WE'RE GONNA WIN!

October 25, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: MICHELE NIX ~~MAN~~

SUBJECT: DENVER

JOKE -- RE ACE

- I'll make a deal with you. I tell you about my Agenda for American Renewal. You tell me how I can stop my bathroom faucet from making drippy noises all night. //
- I heard you guys are experts at home improvement, so I came to ask your help to Clean the House. //
- We're renovating the White House this year. Barbara sent me over here to get a three-quarter inch bit. //
- You all know I live in a pretty old house, so I'd better stock up on some new tools for the next four years.//
- Ross Perot likes to say "Measure twice -- cut once." He's all tape and no saw. //

CHARACTER

"What you are stands over you the while, and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say to the contrary.

-- Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1876

"No change of circumstances can repair a defect of character.

-- Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1844, in essay entitled "Character."

"Sincerity is impossible, unless it pervade the whole being, and the pretence of it saps the very foundation of character."

-- James Russell Lowell, 1855

"Society does not nominally estimate men by their talents -- but really feels and knows them by their characters."

-- Henry David Thoreau, 1842

2  
 "I hope I shall always possess firmness and virtue enough to maintain (what I consider the most enviable of all titles) the character of an "Honest Man."

-- George Washington, in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, 1788

"Decency -- generosity -- cooperation -- assistance in trouble -- devotion to duty; these are the things that are of greater value than surface appearances and customs."

-- Eisenhower, letter to Mamie Eisenhower, June 11, 1943

"It is fair to ask whether people who have demonstrated they cannot be trusted to safeguard the wealth and resources of the American people should be trusted to safeguard the national security."

-- Norman Cousins, 1987

"A little integrity is better than any career."

-- Emerson, 1860, essay entitled "Behavior" -- I know, harsh.

#### CHANGE

- "The art of progress is to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order."  
-- Alfred North Whitehead
- "America was a beginning . . . not a consummation."  
-- Woodrow Wilson
- Re change -- that it's not the change, it's the direction of the change, their way is to look inward, our way is to look forward: When asked his secret, Wayne Gretsky replied: "I skate to where the puck is going to be, not where it has been."
- Never swap horses crossing a stream.  
-- popular saying, c. 1840.
- "Paths are made by walking."  
-- old Spanish proverb, suggest contexts of America forging its way toward better days by pulling together, uniting and moving forward.

#### JOKE ABOUT POLITICIANS TALKING

- Al Gore was in Albuquerque, New Mexico last week at a hot air balloon festival. //// He filled up 600 balloons. /// [This is Ed's joke for New Mexico. Could be applicable here.] Especially with Clinton having been in Colorado last week.

3:  
  
LINE ABOUT DEMOCRACY/VOTING

"The people are the only sure reliance for the preservation of liberty."

-- Thomas Jefferson in a letter to James Madison,  
December 20, 1787.

"I believe in Democracy because it releases the energies of every human being."

-- Woodrow Wilson, September 4, 1912.

"If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost.

-- Aristotle

## GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENCY ANECDOTE

From POTUS Enid, OK speech, September 17, 1992: "Last year, Americans expended 5.3 billion hours just to keep up with federal regulations. That's just like watching every pro football game on television back-to-back for the next 12 million -- 268,000 years. That's not including playoffs."

possible quotes:

All thoughtful men agree that the present aspect of society is portentous of great changes. The only question is, whether they will be for the better or worse ... **Looking Backward** was written in the belief that the Golden Age lies before us and not behind us, and is far away. Our children will surely see it, and we too, who are already men and women if we deserve it by our faith and by our works.

Edward Bellamy, in the postscript to *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*, 1888.

Weep not that the world changes -- did it keep a stable, changeless state, it were cause indeed to weep.

William Cullen Bryant 1824

Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of of the human mind. As that becomes 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 in a letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816.

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.

Lincoln, second message to Congress, 12/1/1862

10/26/92

Siller

It's not true that the Republican Party secretly doctored photos of Ross Perot at his barber's showing him with a ponytail.

Ever get the feeling Ross is missing a microchip in his MacIntosh?

With Ross's crew cut, part of the crew bailed out.

Maybe he ought to hire private detectives to investigate his barber.

Ross may have spent too much time under the hood...lost some oxygen.

I'm not sure whether Ross got under the hood or behind the exhaust pipe.

I think Ross may have bungee-jumped without a cord.

(GORE)

Senator Greenjeans's ideas are a bit strange. He may have sprung a leak in his ozone layer.

(CLINTON)

Governor Clinton wants to hunt down your wallets and hang them as trophies over his fireplace.

Governor Clinton has said he loathes anything in uniform. And he wants to be Commander-in-Chief. With that attitude, (his record) he couldn't command Captain Kangaroo.

(DENVER...ACE HARDWARE CONVENTION)

If you have any spare tools, we're planning to break into Ross Perot's barber shop and steal his cowlick secrets. (follicle)

Get the feeling Ross's PH balance is unbalanced?

Governor Clinton ought to come to Denver where it's legal to experience a "Rocky Mountain High".

Governor Clinton has been on all sides on every issue. John Madden doesn't have enough chalk to diagram Clinton's moves.

(WILL MADDEN BE AT CONVENTION? HE'S ACE'S COMMERCIAL SPOKESMAN.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Denver, Colorado)

For Immediate Release

October 26, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO ACE HARDWARE CONVENTION

Colorado Convention Center  
Denver, Colorado

10:55 A.M. MST

THE PRESIDENT: What a great welcome. (Applause.) Thank you very, very much. Thank you all. (Applause.) That was just first-class. Roger -- please be seated -- and, Roger, thank you. My heavens. What a wonderful -- I'm kind of glad I'm running against Clinton instead of this guy, I'll tell you. (Laughter and applause.)

No, but when he was citing those values and what you all stand for about hard work, it really resonates. And I'm very grateful to Roger Peterson. I want to thank your chairman, who just met me, greeted us out there in the hall -- Richard Laskowski; say to your executive vice president, David Hodnick -- thank him for, I'm sure, a lot of the arrangements in all of this. And I am just really pleased to be here.

I was accompanied here today by one of Colorado's congressmen, Congressman Dan Schaefer, doing a great job for our country in the Congress. And also with Terry Considine, a great friend, who I'm convinced is going to be the next senator from here. So we brought a little political clout to this nonpolitical meeting. (Applause.)

And somewhere over here also is one of the unique characters in the whole United States Senate, a legend not only in this time, but I expect will live forever as a great down-to-earth American. I'm talking about Wyoming's Al Simpson, who is here -- one of the great, great U.S. senators. (Applause.)

And so I'm delighted to be here. And, you know, hardware stores are viewed -- I listed carefully to Roger, but I knew it -- hardware stores are viewed as the typical small business, literally the foundation of our economy. And when you talk hardware -- okay, I've heard it -- Ace is the place. (Applause.) So put it down this way: I'm the guy that honored and I'm the one that's very, very pleased to share a few minutes here with you and to salute those men and women who really are the backbone of small business in this country.

I would say that my friends over there in the national media -- we've got a little bit of a thing going here, because I like holding up a bumper sticker. It says "Annoy the Media; Re-elect Bush." (Applause.) And I say it with total good humor, but great conviction, I might add. (Laughter.) So I'm sure some of them want to know why I stopped by this convention. And the truth is -- I need a few tools. You see -- (laughter) -- I've got some work to do around my house, and I don't plan moving out for another four years. (Applause.)

MORE

Oh, heavens. But now let me just try to put things in perspective. One week from tomorrow -- it's hard to believe that one week from tomorrow American voters are going to choose a President -- not just the President of the United States, but really the leader of the entire world, given the demise of international communism. In many ways we're going to be choosing a future. And I believe that this election comes down to three fundamental questions. Who has the vision for America's future? Who has the road map to get us to that future? And then, fundamentally, who can you trust -- when we hit those unexpected bumps, those crises that lie ahead, inevitably?

Let's begin by talking the question of philosophy -- whose vision makes more sense to you. My opponents say that this election is about change, and I agree. But being in favor of change is like being in favor of breathing. The real question is not who is for change, but whose change will make life better for all Americans.

And a philosopher once observed that "those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." And so let's see where we've been over the past four years. We won a 50-year Cold War because we stood up for ideals. Communism versus freedom -- (applause) -- freedom finished first. (Applause.)

You know, the Cold War was defined for half a century, in ways large and small. It claimed literally millions of lives -- and crushed the spirit of millions of others. And here in America, the Cold War defined us -- financially, economically, even psychologically.

And my kids -- and many of you out here -- grew up crawling under desks in these "duck and cover" drills. In the '60s during the Cuban Missile crisis, we stood on the brink of Armageddon. In the '80s, families huddled together in fear to watch a TV movie called, "The Day After." And always, the shadow of the Cold War lingered right outside our windows.

You talk change -- well, all that has changed with our leadership. And because of that change, our children go to sleep tonight without that same fear of nuclear war. And we should be proud that we gave this gift to them. (Applause.) But if we were the Cold War victors, we have yet to receive the spoils. There's little celebration in America today, instead a nagging anxiety. A feeling that it's time to turn our attention to challenges at home -- to creating new industries, and better schools, and affordable health care. And whose philosophy should we follow to get there?

Well, we've seen in recent years the power of a tank or a gun, but the power of a simple idea is what we've really seen -- an idea called freedom. In Asia, in Eastern Europe, South America, Mexico -- people are coming to understand that government is neither superior nor savior -- it is and must be their savior -- their servant.

And in the midst of a worldwide economic slowdown -- our free-market economy remains afloat, while many nations are drowning. We are growing faster than Japan, faster than Germany, faster than Canada. But here's the irony. At the very moment when the rest of the world is moving our way, my opponent, Governor Clinton, wants us to move their way.

Governor Clinton says he is -- quote -- "different" than the old tax-and-spend liberals. But if you look at the details of what he offers, you see \$150 billion in new taxes -- more than Mondale and Dukakis combined. And you see at least \$220 billion already in new spending -- just to begin to pay for all the promises.

MORE

With each program Governor Clinton puts forth, you see a philosophy where bureaucrats in Washington or some entrenched members of Congress carve out the exact same programs -- to try and solve problems facing people in Denver, and Dallas, or Dover, or Delaware. And I believe Americans understand that these old liberal solutions are not right for our new postwar era.

It does not make sense that hardware store owners will somehow get richer by giving more of your money to the IRS. (Applause.) And it doesn't make sense that we will get this terrible deficit down by giving more money to the government to spend. At a time when every organization is decentralizing power, why turn back to a central bureaucracy in Washington? (Applause.)

And yet, saying that is not enough, because, of course, we have real problems. Our children won't be able to compete unless our schools are literally reinvented. The cost of health care is skyrocketing. We have to get it down. And so government can't just keep the tanks running, government must help people.

During this campaign, many have sought to portray the choice between a -- quote -- "activist" government and a trickle-down approach to government. But that is wrong. The real choice is not between activism and passivity. The real choice is between a liberal, activist government that seeks to impose solutions on individuals, families and the private sector -- and a conservative, activist government that gives individuals, businesses and families the means to make their own choices through competition and economic opportunity. (Applause.)

We know one size does not fit all. We know the American people are individuals -- each with their own needs and skills and, yes, dreams. And so our activist approach gives more power to individuals, families and businesses -- so you can choose what is best.

Let me give you just a couple of specific examples here. Start with education. Governor Clinton worked with me -- and I give him great credit for this -- when we set six national education goals -- the very first time in history that the governors came together with the President to set these national education goals. And as I say, Governor Clinton deserves credit for that.

But if elected President, Governor Clinton wants to pour more money into the same failed education system -- a system where funds are controlled tightly by central bureaucracies; where powerful teachers unions block real reform; and where we spend as much per pupil as any nation but Switzerland -- but don't get an adequate return on our investment.

But if the system is broken, tinkering around the margins won't do the job. And so I want to use competition to improve our schools. I want to provide scholarships for elementary and high school students so that every parent, rich and poor alike, can choose the best schools for their kids -- public, private, or religious. (Applause.) Give the parents a choice. And competition will make all these schools better. (Applause.)

This same principle -- you live by this principle in your work. You see the same thing in health care. Governor Clinton has offered three plans in this campaign. One said to all of you, either offer care -- small businesses, remember -- either offer care on your own or pay a new payroll tax -- at least seven percent. Many experts said it was a back-door way to government directly involved in running health care.

MORE

And now he offers a slightly different plan, but he still wants to control the price of health care by setting up a gigantic board in Washington -- not unlike what the government tried to do with gasoline in the 1970s.

And I say we don't need to sock you with a new tax, and we don't want to tell you what doctor to see, and we don't need to inflict you with any more mandates from Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

How about tax incentives for small businesses, so that you can afford to buy health care on your own. Or let small businesses pool coverage, to get the advantage, so you can get the same price breaks as the AT&Ts and IBMs. Government can't control prices by fiat, but competition can bring prices down. And for people who are too poor to pay taxes -- we will give vouchers -- the poorest of the poor will receive vouchers so that they can choose the care that best suits them.

Freedom. Power -- choice for people. You see this philosophical difference in every area. I trust you to choose the best child care for your kids. My opponent says trusts the government. I trust you, with the right incentives, to figure out how to give your employees parental leave -- my opponent says government should tell you how to do that. I favor parental leave. I do not favor more mandates on small business. (Applause.)

I trust entrepreneurs to place their bets on the growth industries of the future -- you've got a big difference here -- my opponent thinks government can do as good as job, if not better.

Governor Clinton talks about government -- and here's the word he used -- "investing" your money. I talk about cutting capital gains taxes, investment tax allowances to small business, because you know what to do with your money -- better than any bureaucrat. A big difference between government investment and investment in the private sector. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton says we need professional politicians in Washington, who won't get anything done. I trust Americans' judgement so much that I want to limit the terms of members of Congress -- and give the government back to the people. (Applause.) The republic has been able to survive with the presidents having limited terms; I'd like to try it out on some of these old geezers in Congress -- wouldn't hurt them a damn bit. (Applause.)

You see -- here's my point -- there's a conservative agenda for helping people. It's an activist agenda -- that empowers people not the bureaucracies. It gives people power to make their own choices, control their own lives, create their own destinies.

And I believe that even in these challenging times these ideas make more sense to the American people than the siren song of higher taxes, more spending, bigger government in Washington. Now, it all sounds great -- but how do you translate words into action? After all, people are sick and tired of gridlock and they want to turn Washington into a "bicker free" zone.

Well, many of the ideas that I've talked about are already underway. In child care, for example, we succeeded in passing legislation that literally allows parents to choose their kids' care, whether it's a government agency or a church down the street.

But with a new Congress -- and it's going to be new not just in the sense of reforming, a new Congress is going to have 150 new members maybe; certainly over 100 -- we have a historic opportunity, to push this agenda even further, literally to renew America.

- 2 -

In September, I laid out what we call an Agenda for American Renewal. It's a comprehensive, integrated approach to fixing our schools, reforming health care, right-sizing government and creating here in America the world's first \$10 trillion economy. My agenda includes 13 first-year priorities, but three really dwarf all others.

First -- America needs jobs. Not two years from now, not next fall, we need them today. I understand what it takes to create jobs. I built a business myself -- small business -- met a payroll. And I have a big difference here because Governor Clinton wants you to send more of your money to Washington, remember, to invest, and say the government will invest it for you. And I say, let's cut out the middle man. We don't need that. (Applause.) We'll put together a package to give you incentives to grow, to further cut -- and I've got to do well on this one in the next four years; we've made some progress -- but further cut red tape and regulation, and make more credit available.

Right now, we have \$150 billion -- one of the things we did get passed in the last Congress, Senator Simpson and Congressman Schaefer taking lead roles in this -- \$150 billion in money for highways. We'll make sure that that money gets to the states just as soon as possible -- and get those steamrollers moving quickly, so that your customers will have more money in their pockets.

While we're strengthening -- while we're strengthening our business, we must -- and I will -- open new markets for our products by winning congressional approval of our free trade treaty with Canada and Mexico. (Applause.) This is the bottom line: More trade creates more American high-paying jobs -- jobs for all Americans. It is exports that have saved us in this global slowdown, global recession. And is exports that are going to lead the way out of this with jobs for American manufacturers and American services.

Our immediate third priority is health care. And I already mentioned some of the ideas, but the need for action is urgent. And we simply cannot control the deficit, we can't make our companies even more competitive, until make health care more affordable and more accessible for you and all that work with you. (Applause.)

As we are working on these priorities, we're going to be working on others. We'll take new steps to reform our education and legal system. Our children will not be able to compete unless we reinvent -- literally reinvent our schools -- K through 12. And our society will be drained of precious resources unless we start suing each other less and caring for each other more. (Applause.)

It is a crying shame that these crazy lawsuits have gotten out of control. I have tried for three years to get the Congress to move on tort reform and on limiting some of these outrageous claims. Because when a doctor can't deliver a baby for fear of being sued or has to run the price of your health care up to protect against a suit; or when a Little League coach won't dare coach; or when a guy driving along the highway sees an accident on the side and says, well, I better not stop because somebody might sue me if I move the body here -- move this poor guy off the road -- we've got to do something -- stand up to these trial lawyers, and get these lawsuits under control. (Applause.)

My plan includes reducing the deficit, not by raising taxes, but by getting control of spending. And we need a balanced budget amendment. We need a line-item veto. And we need to cap -- (applause) -- and we need to cap the growth -- the growth of these mandatory programs, except Social Security. And we need a check-off on your tax return, so you, the taxpayer, can earmark up to 10

MORE

percent of your taxes to be used for nothing but to get the debt off our children's shoulders. (Applause.)

Some of you are from urban America, and to you I say we must restore hope to our inner cities. And so I will work with the new Congress to get tougher crime laws, to fight the drug problem, to reform the welfare system, and to attract and keep business -- all using this principle of putting faith and power not in bureaucracies, but in real people.

And we'll further -- we will further expand free trade -- using our stature as world's number one superpower -- to reach new trade agreements with countries in Europe and Asia.

And perhaps most important, we'll reform and right-size the government -- subject it to the same discipline as every other large organization in America. And we'll cut the White House staff by a third -- and look to Congress to match our action. (Applause.) And until we get all these things under control, we'll -- at the outset we will take five percent off the salary of the best-paid federal employees. Unfortunately, that includes the President, too, but I'll do my share. And we will abolish these political action committees -- get rid of them. (Applause.) We will limit the term members of Congress -- (applause) -- we will limit the terms of members of Congress and we will try in every way to give the government back to the people. (Applause.)

I know some of you come from communities that have been heavily impacted by defense cuts. And one of the great things about our performance in the Cold War -- yours and ours -- has been that we've been able to cut back on some defense. But a critical part of this reorganization will be to help our defense industry adjust now to a peacetime economy. Immediately following the election, I will assemble a defense conversion council. And it will include every necessary Cabinet agency and work closely with key members of the United States Congress.

And we're already directing more weapons research in our great labs -- our great national labs -- to civilian use and retraining military personnel. And to support this plan, this effort, I plan to create in my next budget submission a fund for future generations. And that fund would provide seed monies to help defense sector and civilian firms form joint partnerships to use the knowledge we've gained from building weapons to building a stronger economy.

And that is my immediate agenda -- and it builds on the foundation that we have laid for the last four years. It's what I've been talking about on the campaign trail -- and what I will fight for in my second term.

But I believe each candidate owes you more than his agenda, but what specifically will he do to get it done. As the support for Ross Perot has made clear, there is a strong desire for a new coalition in America -- to overcome gridlock, to get the job done. And with 150 new members of Congress from both parties, we will move quickly to respond to the demands of the people.

And I plan to use the time from November 4th through convening of the new Congress to meet with all the new members of Congress, regardless of party, and to shape a legislative package in a way that will guarantee swift passage. (Applause.)

You know, the best time to move is when you're reelected. No more elections ahead. No worry about the future politics. Just get the people's business done and do it fast. (Applause.)

A committee has been called a cul-de-sac -- down which ideas are lured and strangled to death. And if this is true, then the modern Congress has become a giant subdivision -- (laughter) -- good ideas go in and they never come out again. (Laughter and applause.) And so we will seek agreement with the congressional leaders to form a steering group that can help ride herd over Congress, to make sure our legislative package does not get bogged down. And we'll set deadlines for decisions, and we'll meet them. And we can mobilize for war. We can mobilize for hurricanes. Let's mobilize for our economy -- and get this country moving again. (Applause.)

And if we need to, we'll go beyond Washington. Already, our American 2,000 education reform effort involves parents, teachers and business leaders in over 1,700 communities. And this will be a model for other efforts. America's desire for positive change requires building new coalitions, taking advantage of grassroots power -- and we will.

Now, that's the action plan. But what about Governor Clinton? Well, in June, he promised to present his 100-day plan even before the election. It's eight days away -- we have not had a sighting yet. (Laughter.) No plan has been sighted.

And here's why: His plan simply does not add up. He's promised too much. And his new congressional friends want to raise the ante even higher. The result will be much higher spending and taxes and a much bigger deficit, or continued gridlock in Washington.

And my agenda can break the gridlock without breaking the bank. And it is ambitious, but is doable. And with it we can start to make progress on our fundamental challenges and match the peace of mind in the world, with the peace of mind right here at home.

Finally, a word about character. In the final analysis, it is my view that this election is going to be decided on character and trust. Horace Greeley -- I mentioned this in the debate out in Michigan -- Horace Greeley once said that character is the only thing that endures. And I think that's especially true in the presidency. Character matters, not just because of the plans you make, but the crises that you never foresee. A friend of mine says character is real simple. He says it's acting alone the way you would act with a million people watching.

And as President, you're never more alone than at times of crisis. And while nobody may be watching in the Oval Office, millions, literally millions, will feel the impact of your judgment.

And it is easy in the aftermath of Desert Storm to portray the decision to go to war as an easy one, but it was not. And it was not uniformly popular. And the Democratic Congress had spent much of the fall parading experts up there, if you'll remember, to Capitol Hill, who said we'd get into -- quote -- "another Vietnam." And the thing that hurt the most or that made me think the most was the horrible tales of the numbers of body bags that we would be responsible for if we made a commitment to send somebody else's son, somebody else's daughter to war. The critics said a war would kill any hope for peace in the Middle East.

And the vote in the Congress -- it was a cliffhanger; not overwhelming. And many said, let's give sanctions more time. But I made a decision to go to war because I knew it was right, not because I knew it was popular.

And I remember well the cold, rainy February day at Camp David when ground war to liberate Kuwait began, and how fervently I

prayed that our plans would work and our young men and women would return home, victorious and alive. This is an awesome responsibility to ask our young people to knock early on death's door. And it is a responsibility I have tried to fulfill with honor and duty and, above all, honesty, integrity to the American people. But that's your call. (Applause.)

That's the wonderful thing about this system. And, yes, I confess it's been an ugly year. But that's the wonderful thing, because it is your call on November 3rd. Then the polls and all these deadly talking heads we see on these Sunday television shows, each getting \$500 bucks to tell us what we think -- it doesn't matter anymore. They don't matter anymore. It's up to the American people.

And when you enter that voting booth, ask yourself three common sense questions: Who has the right vision for America's future? Who can get us from here to there? And which character has the character? And who would you trust with your family or with the United States of America in a crisis?

Ideas. Action. Character. I have tried very hard to demonstrate all three. So I came out here to Ace to ask for your support on November 3rd. (Applause.)

Thank you and may God bless -- (applause) -- may God bless our great country, the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

11:33 A.M. MST