

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

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

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: McGroarty, Dan, Files
Subseries: Subject File, 1988-1993

OA/ID Number: 13887
Folder ID Number: 13887-003

Folder Title:
[Speeches and Backup Material] [n.d.]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	18	29	1	3

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Hanns Kuttner to Dan McGroarty and Stephanie Blessie, re: Urban League Speech -- August 9. (6 pp.)	07/25/89	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Speeches and Backup Material] N.D.

Date Closed: 12/9/2004	OA/ID Number: 08677
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	

MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
--	--

CURRENT NEWS SUPPLEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

AIR FORCE AF/CC* 4E-925 (1)	(New List 9 January 1989)	
AIR FORCE AF/CVAZ 5D-544 (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/IG 4E-1076 (1)	OSD ASD/C (A) 3E-843 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/CVAE SGT HAYNES 4E-949 (3)	AIR FORCE SAF/LL 4D-923 (1)	OSD ASD/C 3E-822 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/DP 4E-211 (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/LLR 5D-934 (1)	OSD ASD/C31 3E-172 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/DW-CC BOLLING AFB (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/OS 4E-874 (2)	OSD ASD/FM&P 3E-759 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/IN 4A-932 (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/OSX* 5C-858 (1)	OSD ASD/HA 3E-346 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/INFP BD-936 (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/PA* 4D-922 (11)	OSD ASD/LA* 3E-966 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/JA 4E-112 (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/AGL 4E-964 (1)	OSD ASD/PA* 2E-800 (3+12)
AIR FORCE AF/LE 4E-260 (1)	AIR FORCE SAF/US* 4E-886 (1)	OSD ASD/PA-NISI* 2E-800 (20)
AIR FORCE AF/PR 4E-1020 (1)	ARMY SA/PA* 2E-636 (10+15)	OSD ASD/P&L 3E-808 (3)
AIR FORCE AF/RE 5E-916 (1)	ARMY SA/US-D 3E-721 (1)	OSD ASD/RA 3E-326 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/SA 1E-388 (1)	ARMY/SDC* CRYSTAL CITY 746-0320 CAROL WARREN (2)	OSD DFOISR 2C-757 (1)
AIR FORCE AF/SC 5B-482 (1)	CIA* (2)	OSD HISTORIAN 5C-328 (3)
AIR FORCE AF/XO 4E-1032 (1)	DIA DIC-RDIAC, C3757 (1)	OSD OATSD/AE 3E-1069 (1)
AIR FORCE AFIA/CC 4A-882 (1)	DIA DIRECTOR 3E-258 (1)	OSD OD/PA&E 2E-313 (2)
AIR FORCE ASAF/M 4E-856 (1)	DMA M/G R. DURKIN US NAVAL OBSERVATORY BLDG 56 (58-1)	OSD OD/PA&E TAC AIR DIV (1) 2C-281
AIR FORCE ASAF/R 4E-856 (1)	JCS ASST/CJCS* 2E-864 (4)	OSD OIG/DOD* 3D-980 (5)
AIR FORCE SAF/AA* 4D-881 (4)	JCS SHAPE/LNO* 1A-711 (2)	OSD SEC DEF* 3E-880 (18)
AIR FORCE SAF/AQ 4E-334 (1)	MC/CMC* 2004 (1)	OSD USD/P 4D-825 (19)
AIR FORCE SAF/AQG 4D-961 (1)	MC/PA* 1136 (1)	OSD USD/A 3E-1006 (3)
AIR FORCE SAF/AQH 4D-977 (1)	NAVY CHINFO* 2E-340 (10+30)	OSD USD/RE/P&A 3D-373 (3)
AIR FORCE SAF/AAS 5E-960 (1)	NGB-PA 2E-258 (5)	RAND CORP* (7)
AIR FORCE SAF/AS 4D-977 (1)	NSA/NCRDEF* 2A-256 (1)	SDIO* (1)
AIR FORCE SAF/GC 4E-998 (1)		VICE PRES* WHITE HOUSE (1)

Investing in the Future: Competitiveness, Education
and the Role of Junior Colleges

I. Competitiveness and Education

1. One of the keys to our being competitive in world markets is a flexible and well-trained work force.
2. Appropriate training and retraining is essential to a flexible work force.
3. Excellence in education is critical at all levels, but at a minimum, we need to assure that the basic work force has the education it needs to keep America competitive.
4. With the increasing skill requirements placed on our work force today -- those entering it and those already in it -- junior colleges can serve as a "strike force" for competitiveness now.

II. The Basic Work Force

1. America leads the world in number of Nobel winners -- scientists, economists, etc.
2. Very important that we continue to invest in basic research and February 9 (Building a Better America) has increased funding for NSF, NIH, etc.
3. That will give us continued excellence in fundamental research and education for such research, but
4. What about our basic work force and are we truly competitive there?
5. Answer: No. (Cite statistics about U.S./Japan literacy, etc. Job requirements for the future, etc.)
6. We must do better -- indeed we need to insist on excellence, not only for the "best and the brightest" but for all in our nation's work force -- if we are to be truly competitive.

III. Role of the Junior College

1. Introduction to higher education -- as the starting gate for four years of higher education. (Cite statistics of continued education.)
2. Remediation: literacy, etc.

Joe Puffin

3. Work force training/vocational education: partnerships with local business by producing workers with the skills they need: retraining for new roles and or/specialty training. Also: partnerships with state economic development agencies to train workers for arriving new businesses.
4. Access for older citizens, women, minorities; these groups are important segments for meeting the growing labor force needs of the nation; junior colleges are educating these groups.
5. This is a vitally important role - America needs you to do your job well.

IV. Bush Principles and Junior Colleges

1. Excellence at the community college/junior college level is critical to competitiveness.
2. Community colleges contribute to the diversity of educational choice -- for a wide range of students -- from those in high school who are looking for advanced courses not offered in their high school; to low-income students who cannot afford to leave their community to obtain higher education; to older individuals who are returning to school to round out their education.
3. Junior colleges are a ready resource for those who need help -- provide access to higher education for those who might otherwise go without -- minorities, women, low-income.
4. Accountability: junior colleges have a visible presence in the community -- if you are not producing, the businesses in your city know it, as do your students, as does the state university which may take your graduates.

V. What does George Bush ask of America's Junior Colleges.

1. Help us develop a world-class work force.
2. Consider yourself a "strike force for competitiveness," providing now the skills which are needed in the workplace today. Even as we work now to improve the education of those who will graduate in the year 2000, we must turn to you to help us with our immediate needs.

3. Go & work with business.

Nov.

7.5m?

Dygs

1.5 million

25%

6

20 on 120

203
436 0161.
for 5m
Kavuu

how do you measure up?
lay out model - ~~chart~~?

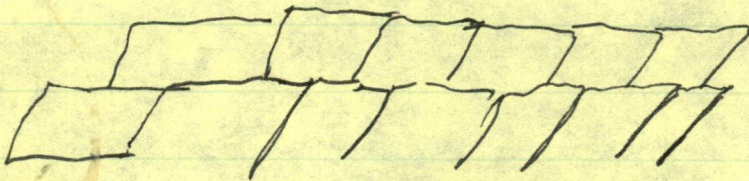
~~chart~~

change - out.

teachers.

text books -

6 million
25%



Bill Knight
▲

"Texas talk in intro"
Texas-sized tasks....

51/55

91

5E

8C

11

11



"Fishing-time-bomber"

The threats to our environment;
the deficit.

The S+L. ~~for~~ avert financial
crises.

put our house in order.

changing nature of society.

child care
homelessness
drugs....

growth +
peace. }
What more
is there?

minor issues - a modest agenda.

WHERE WE WANT TO BE -

we've got to ~~drop~~ drop the day-by-day
& look to tomorrow.

Keep our position of leadership
strong enough to defend ourselves
& our
interests.

Competitive? in the global mkt place.
Productive? ~~in the us~~

~~moment of~~
This moment....

not time to coast.

21st Century a new American
Century.

a strong & trusted
partner in an
alliance of free nations.
prosperous & free.

over asking what to do
are lacking in imagination.

	89	89 1
	<u>2000.</u>	90 2
		91 3
		92 4
Kind of employment expansion		93 5
here in H. across		94 6
<u>the U.S.</u>		95 7
		96 8
		97 9
		98 10
		99 11
		2000 12

NATO Anniv. "At 40"
post-war era over (Oct. 17)

Transcendence - ? Reagan.

policy of success.
next stage?

is there a threat,? yes.
let's not overlook fundamental
divide.
look for ways
to ease tensions / ^{bind} stability.

Common culture
Common systems
grow closer -
Eu. 1992.
US-CANADA
ECONOMICS

Gorb ~~U~~ → "Common house"

renewal / new phase.
maturing partnership.

beyond containment.

Revers + Walls
331-7760.
\$309

AMB. Rowley

Crestar Buw
838-3000

JOHN DUNCAN...
468. =

Nestor
Carbone /
The Russians
Seized

2 yrs. Times

Neofunctionalist
Candace H.

① the deep democratization
couple of H + Pacific

② Etosha - key element.

③ strengthening our relations
w/ friends + partners in Asia.

③

Timmy: sad duty to honor
Japan.

looking to present + future.

most # of world leaders

China: returning to China.

gravelly, stable +
enduring relationship.

④

Korea

want opp to reinforce
making democracy.

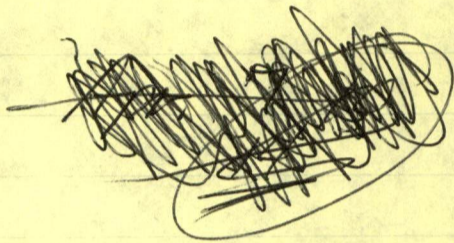
democratic process
in Asia.

of one in share

rec. relation
w/mt. rec.

(representative)
of

part
of
of
of



10 thru 14.

JAPAN
CHINA
Korea

~~renewal / new phase.~~

Mar 9 - CFE talks.

Burelets: NATO-late May

Start review - finished by early May?

Still no sure for strong defence.

flexible force...
a strong deterrent
SDI.

to come conference,
muscle & spirit.



Chris:

Thanks for setting up today's session with Linda.

I'd appreciate any comments on the draft you've already got - especially in light of today's meeting.

RE A FEW of the ideas today -

- I'd like to work a "snapshot" section into speech - especially after Panama. Also, it might be the only way to mention Tiananmen....

(Could be done ~~and~~ in section of draft dealing w/ Berlin Wall, Iron Curtain...)

- I think your idea on grand parents / parents / children will work well - ~~also~~ + that G & B would deliver well + with feeling.

- I'd like to do more (along lines Dave mentioned) to speak about "Complexities" of E. Europe (E.G., ULTIMATE AIM IS THE SAME, BUT PATHS / PACE DIFFERENT....) TO SHOW Bush's command of facts / leadership + underline fact U.S. has a role in world....

Thanks, Dan McR.

914
763-8097

686-3100

364-9668
Baron Benschel

Olsen's
Book
785-1133
19th + N.

Glenn Miller:...

foreign offs shift - ('gone in 6 wks...?')



America's mind:

11/30/99

f. policy - 10 mins.
5-6 pp. policies....

economic unease; → "econ or
wrong track"

crime + drugs....

↓ good news - ~~only~~ but not done yet....

deficit

Bush - retraining
fundel.
in for
offs.

education - not high on list for country, but state....

21st C. agenda.
next generation →

mainstay of American workforce,

↓
translate
into
new
issues →

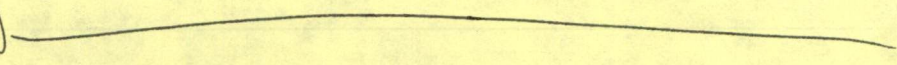
"quality of life issues"

- educ.
- env.
- child care

"The new family issue"

health care
life training....

4 pt program
3 things ??



"Democratic Domino effect"

1844-559

(77HW)

~~FREE trade status~~

MFN status for
all of Eastern Europe.

1
INVITE the TRADE ^{+ Commerce} MINISTERS of
Eastern Europe here to the U.S.
To meet w/

After the G7 Economic Summit

I will invite Pres B.
to attend as an observer

DEFENSE BUDGETS AND THE "PEACE DIVIDEND"....

All numbers approximate.

	1990	91	92	93	94
2% real	300	318	337	357	378
flat	300	-----	-----	-----	300
		(18)	(37)	(57)	(78)

Total of approx. \$190 B. in "cuts" from projected spending.

*Holding budget flat at \$300 thru 94 is a cumulative real terms decrease of approx. 17%. (\$300 adjusted for 4% annual inflation = \$351 in 1994.)

NATIONAL CAPITAL CHAPTER COMMUNICATOR

★ A PUBLICATION OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL CHAPTER (NCC) ★ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATORS (NAGC) ★

Mail your NCC/NAGC Personal Membership Application Form.

Your Chapter's history/heritage of Platform Podium Lunch internationally/nationally-known "Philosophers of Communications" has included: **Jack Anderson** - nationally-syndicated columnist, TV Inside Edition, UPI Radio Network; **Elizabeth Taylor Warner** and **Senator John Warner** (R-VA); **Hugh Sidey** - Time; **James J. Kilpatrick** - Washington Post - TV Inside Washington; **Ralph Nader** - Consumer Crusader; **Helen Thomas** - UPI Senior White House Presidential Correspondent; **Martin Agronsky** - TV Martin Agronsky show; and **Jody Powell** and **Jim Brady** - Presidential Press Secretaries.

Mail Your Personal
Reservation
Form - Phone Your
Reservation in Advance -
538-9187!

October 2 - NAG Monday Presidential Chief Speechwriters' Panel Opens National Capital Chapter Professional Development Workshop Fall 1989 Series

Your National Capital Chapter features four Presidential Chief Speechwriters in its first 1989 Professional Development Workshop: "**Strategy and Tactics of a Presidential Speechwriter**", featuring (Bush) Dan McGroarty, (Reagan) Clark Judge, (Carter) Rick Hertzberg, and (Ford) "Milt" Friedman.

Your Chapter gratefully acknowledges and commends the PEPCO provisions of their incomparable Community Relations Auditorium, complete with audio-visual services, gratis, located on the First Floor, H Street NW Entrance, open at 6:00 p.m., 1900 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, workshop scheduled 6:30 p.m. to 7:45 p.m.



Jack
Anderson

Nominations for Officers/Directors 1990

Available offices are: President, Vice President/Administration, Vice President/Programs, Secretary, Treasurer, and one Director (2-year term).

Nomination Committee Chairman - Tom Kell - OPM

Members	office #	home #
Stanley B. Eames	337-8090	977-1988
Edward P. Essertier		323-1215
Adele H. Nusbaum	427-8788	234-1873
Diane H. O'Connor	447-2168	244-3644
Russell M. Roberts		379-7835
Frank A. Sis	443-3377	654-1108

Candidates may place a one-page campaign insert in the October Newsletter, and may request a set of membership labels if they desire to campaign by mail at their own expense. Call a Committee member. Filing deadline - October 6 Friday!

October 11 - NAG Wednesday

Internationally/Nationally-Known Syndicated Columnist-Broadcaster Jack Anderson Opens National Capital Chapter Platform Podium Lunch Fall 1989 Series

Your Chapter features the World's/Nation's most widely syndicated columnist "Strategies and Tactics of a Syndicated Columnist."

Your Chapter gratefully acknowledges, and commends, the Public Service gratis appearance of this eminent/erudite "Philosopher of Communications" who, in his first visit to the Chapter,

established the highest attendance record to that date - only subsequently edged by the highest appearance of "Philosophers of Communication" - Entertainment Arts and Political Communications - Elizabeth Taylor Warner and Senator John Warner - during the Chapter's 24-month initial existence!

*** Welcome Back, Jack! ***

*** Good Luck - Godspeed! ***

UNITED FEATURE SYNDICATE

200 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10166

(212) 557-2333

Contact: Julia N. Bryant
Publicity Associate
(212) 557-9655

BIOGRAPHY

JACK ANDERSON

As America's foremost investigative reporter, Jack Anderson has been behind some of the biggest exposes that have come out of Washington since the days of Harry Truman.

Anderson's nationally syndicated column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," is distributed to some 1,000 newspapers by United Feature Syndicate.

His relentless digging into deceit, corruption and waste at the highest level of government has earned Anderson the respect and praise of both readers and fellow journalists--as well as a Pulitzer Prize in 1972.

Anderson's first newspaper job was at the age of 12 when he was hired by the Murray Eagle in the suburbs of Salt Lake City, Utah, at a salary of \$7 a week. By 18, he was working on the city desk of the Salt Lake City Tribune.

A practicing Mormon, Anderson accepted a call from his church to serve for two years as a full-time missionary in the Southern states from 1941-43. He still teaches Sunday School and delivers an occasional sermon.

During WWII, Anderson worked as a civilian war correspondent. While in the Army, he was assigned to the Shanghai edition of the Army newspaper, Stars & Stripes.

In 1947, Washington muckraking columnist, Drew Pearson found the young Anderson at his office door looking for employment. He was hired, quickly became his right-hand man, and was Pearson's choice to take over the column after his death in 1969.

He is the author of a dozen books, the latest three being, The Cambodia File (Doubleday), The Confessions of a Muckraker (Random House) and Fiasco (Times Books).

August 25, 1989

William J. (Spyder) Webb
NCC/NAGC Director 1989-1991
Public Relations Counsel
2525 N. 10th Street -- Suite 722
Arlington, Va 22201-1941

Dear Bill:

Here are some thoughts on newsletter copy regarding the need to revitalize the National Capital Chapter of NAGC.

The time has come for government communicators in Washington, D.C., and throughout the country to begin to project a new spirit of public service.

There are signs that, after a long swing in the negative direction, the Nation is willing to take a more positive view of the role of government -- of the need for government services and of the importance to the Nation that those services are performed well.

One of these signs is the positive reception by President Bush and Congress of the recommendations of the National Commission on the Public Service (the "Volcker Commission") for rebuilding the public service. President Bush welcomed the report and Congress has held a series of hearings on its recommendations. New legislation in a number of areas is expected.

The Administration's positive reception of the report is further reflected by the testimony to Congress of Constance Berry Newman, President Bush's nominee as Director, U.S. Office of Personnel Management. At her confirmation hearing and in testimony, Mrs. Newman has made frequent positive references to the Volcker Commission's report -- with particular emphasis on the report of the Commission's task force on public perceptions, which called for "creating and projecting a new spirit of public service."

Another positive sign is a new video production by Tom Peters, best-selling author and "excellence" consultant to corporate executives. The new video: *Excellence in the Public Sector*. Yes, there *is* excellence in public organizations. And a good thing too, because public organizations are so important to *all* of us.

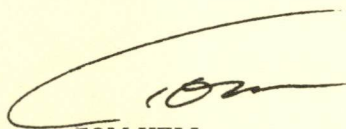
So, improving the morale and performance of civil servants everywhere and informing citizens of the role and importance of their public services are now recognized at top levels both in and out of government as big jobs that absolutely must be done.

Communications -- to internal and external publics -- are now, more than ever before, being recognized as essential to effective operations of government. And, effective operations of government, increasingly, are being recognized as essential to our survival and our prosperity as a Nation.

If we as government communicators are to play a part in bringing about a revitalization of public service and communicating that new life to the public, we need to shake off the cobwebs (woops, sorry Bill) ourselves. We need a dynamic National Capital Chapter of NAGC to re-energize and inspire those of us who live and work in the Washington metropolitan area.

The task at hand is not an easy one. So we'll need a lot of inspiration -- and a lot more. We'll need new skills. And refinement of old ones. And the help and advice of colleagues.

A revitalized National Capital chapter can do that for us. But before the Chapter can do that, it's up to us to pump new energy into the Chapter.



TOM KELL
Chairman - NCC/NAGC
1990 Election Nominations Committee
6387 Lakewood Drive/Falls Church, Va. 22041
1977: NCC/NAGC--VP/Programs
1978: NAGC NTL Presidential Cand.

----- **!MAIL IT/THEM ASAP!** -----

October 2, 1989 - Monday: "Strategy and Tactics of a Presidential Speechwriter"

Chief Speechwriter Panel Personalities:
(Bush) Dan McGroarty -- (Reagan) Clark Judge --
(Carter) "Rick" Hertzberg -- (Ford) "Milt" Friedman

Professional Development Workshop: 6:30 p.m. - 7:45 p.m. --
PEPCO HQ, 1st Floor, 19th & Pa. Ave. NW, DC

\$8.00 Member -- \$10.00 Guest

Person(s): # _____ Check Enclosed: \$ _____

October 11, 1989 - Wednesday: "Strategy and Tactics of a Syndicated Columnist"

Podium Personality: Jack Anderson Platform Lunch: 12:00 Noon - 2:00 p.m. - Hyatt Arlington Ballroom, - Rosslyn (VA) Metro
\$15.00 Member -- \$16.00 Guest

Person(s): # _____ Check Enclosed: \$ _____

(Print) Name: _____ Agency: _____ Phone: _____

Make checks payable to: _____
National Capital Chapter/NAGC Mail both/either to: **Mary Ellen Ayers, 2400** **Confirm Reservation(s):**
Virginia Ave. NW, #C-802, Wash. DC 20037 **CALL 538-9187**

----- CUT HERE -----

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Categories:

- Active** Employed now - retired from - or seeking a job with Federal, State, County, or local government **\$45**
- Affiliate** Non-government person engaged in communications or public relations whose professional activities will enhance further or support the objectives of NAGC **\$75**
- Student** Fulltime college student preparing for a career in government **\$25**

Check one: Active member Retired (Active) Mailing Preference:
 Affiliate Student (Active) Home Business No mailing list sale

Please check one box below if you wish to join a professional section. NAGC offers professional sections in the various areas of interest in our field.

Last name First Middle/Maiden

Place of employment

Title

Business Address Business Phone

City State Zip

Home Address Home Phone

City State Zip

Design and Graphics Public Affairs

State and Local Govt. Broadcasting

Publishing Marketing

Audiovisual Electronic Publishing

Speech Writing Editing/Writing/Print

Other

Please bill my credit card: VISA MasterCard Check/Money Order Enclosed (payable to NAGC)

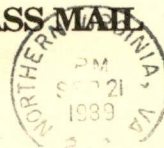
Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Mail to: National Association of Government Communicators, 80 Early Street, Alexandria, VA 22304

----- CUT HERE -----

NCC/NAGC - Director - Bill Webb
c/o Calkins
2124 Powhatan Street
Falls Church, Virginia 22043

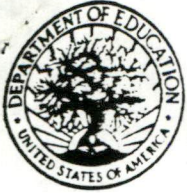
FIRST CLASS MAIL



Dear Mailman or Mailma'm:

1. Please forward, or -
2. Return to sender.

Thank you! Have a happy day!



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AND INTERAGENCY AFFAIRS

November 19, 1990

PARENTAL CHOICE IN EDUCATION

Enclosed are clippings and other information on educational choice. It has been quite a while since the last mailing (on October 19), and there have been many developments regarding educational choice, so the material is thicker than usual. To help you wade through it all, we are experimenting with a table of contents for this issue.

One of the recent developments is a decision on November 13 by a Wisconsin court of appeals on the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program. The appeals court reversed a favorable lower court decision, basing its decision on a narrow procedural technicality (namely, the appeals court's finding that the law was improperly passed), not on the merits of the program itself.

Despite the ruling, supporters of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program are confident the program will continue. The Landmark Legal Foundation Center for Civil Rights -- the organization representing low-income parents and private schools involved in the choice program -- expressed confidence that the state supreme court would overturn the appeals court decision. "This program directly affects the lives of nearly 400 low-income youngsters who have quality educational opportunities for the first time," Landmark director Clint Bolick said. "I don't think the Supreme Court will take those opportunities away from them." Meanwhile, the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction has promised to allow the program to continue for at least 30 days (the period allowed for an appeal to be filed).

State Rep. Polly Williams, the chief sponsor of the program, is confident the state supreme court will uphold the choice program. She notes that the technicality on which the appeals court ruled would, if upheld, jeopardize many other programs. If the supreme court rules against the program, attempts will be made to reenact it in the legislature. "Whatever it takes for us to keep the children in the [private] schools, they will remain," she says.

The appeals court decision did not reflect negatively on the merits of the Milwaukee choice program. In fact, the court said some favorable things about the plan, and suggested how the technical difficulties it found could be overcome.

In the recent election, the state's largest Black newspaper, the Milwaukee Community Journal, endorsed Governor Tommy Thompson, largely because of his support for parental choice. He carried Milwaukee County, the first time since 1946 that a gubernatorial candidate from his party has done so.

On November 13, during American Education Week, employees of the Department of Education were treated to a debate between Pete du Pont (chairman of Ideas for America's Future and former governor of Delaware) and Keith Geiger (president of the National Education Association) on the question of educational choice. The exchange was spirited and brought out sharp differences about the role of choice in the reform of American education. A transcript is being prepared, and will be made available.

The material in this packet is wide-ranging and we hope you will find it of interest. Again, our thanks to those many people who have sent us clippings and information to make this mailing possible.


Jack Klenk


Carole Cones

Enclosures

Eric Haslam

~~Ag.~~ 447-5654

Freedom House

ESTABLISHED 1941

48 East 21st Street

New York, New York 10010

212/473-9691

TELEX: 429439—FREEDOM

FAX: 212/477-4126

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Max M. Kampelman
Chairman of the Board
*John W. Riehm
President
*Leo Cherne
Honorary Chairman
*Ned W. Bandler
Vice President
*Walter J. Schloss
Treasurer
*Gerald L. Steibel
Secretary

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Sol C. Chaikin
William C. Doherty
Angier Biddle Duke
Richard B. Foster
Richard N. Gardner
Karl G. Harr, Jr.
Edmund P. Hennelly
*Norman Hill
John T. Joyce
William R. Kintner
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick
Morton M. Kondracke
Morris I. Leibman
Carnes Lord (*on leave*)
John Norton Moore
Charles Morgan Jr.
Daniel P. Moynihan
Richard Ravitch
*Burns W. Roper
Albert Shanker
*Philip van Slyck
Ben J. Wattenberg
Eugene P. Wigner
Bruce Edward Williams
*Jacques D. Wimpfheimer

CHAIR EMERITUS

Margaret Chase Smith

ADVISORY COUNCIL

John Diebold
Richard Gambino
Roy M. Goodman
Rita E. Hauser
James D. Koerner
Gale W. McGee
Whitelaw Reid
Robert A. Scalapino
Paul Seabury
Herbert Swope
Robert F. Wagner
Robert C. Weaver

Robert Conquest,
United Kingdom
Cushrow R. Irani,
India
Jean-Francois Revel,
France
Helen Suzman,
South Africa
Xavier Zavala Cuadra,
Central America

R. Bruce McColm
Executive Director

*Executive Committee

Mr. Dan McGoarty
The White House
Room 118
Old Executive Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

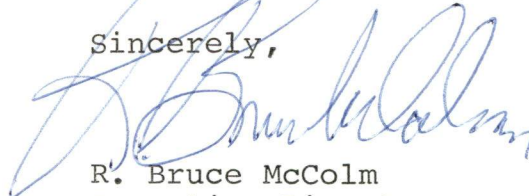
Dear Mr. McGoarty:

At the request of Amb. Max Kampelman, I enclose for your information Freedom House's annual Survey of Freedom in the World, the Map of Freedom, Freedom at Issue's coverage of the Survey, and a press release.

Please note that for our rankings of "free," "partly free," and "not free," and for population figures, see the Map of Freedom and the press release, respectively.

Should you have any questions or like further information, please call me.

Sincerely,



R. Bruce McColm
Executive Director

Encls.
via Fed. Exp.

PREVIOUS CHAIRPERSONS

Dorothy Thompson
Frank Kingdon
Eleanor Roosevelt
Herbert Agar
Thomas K. Finletter

Harry D. Gideonse
Herbert Bayard Swope
Robert P. Patterson
Whitney North Seymour
Harry J. Carman

James J. Wadsworth
Roscoe Drummond
Paul H. Douglas
Clifford P. Case





Dan McGroarty

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON PHYSICAL FITNESS AND SPORTS

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

PHYSICAL FITNESS IDEAS FOR PRESIDENT BUSH SPEECHES

The United States as a Vigorous Nation

The United States has been a great Nation in large part because of a vigorous, independent, creative, and dynamic citizenry. The self-discipline, improved physical and intellectual performance, and improved health of our people have been related to physical fitness and exercise. These attributes must be re-emphasized on a major scale.

Government Responsibility for Physical Fitness

Policies and programs of the Federal Government related to physical fitness and exercise should be directed toward helping individuals meet their needs and interests for satisfying and productive lives and maintaining national security.

Youth Physical Fitness

Our Nation's future is heavily dependent on a physically fit and healthy youth. Regular, vigorous exercise is essential to physical and emotional development, and studies show that children's self-confidence and self-mastery grow as their fitness level rises. Childhood experiences also help shape adult behavior. The boy or girl who develops skills and learns to enjoy physical activity has a head start on good health and a vigorous, active life. Quality daily physical education with a physical fitness emphasis for all students kindergarten through grade 12 as essential.

When the President visits a school he could ask the Principal and teachers if they use the "President Challenge" fitness awards. He could ask students if they have qualified for either award and congratulate them if they have.

Family Fitness

The Family is of utmost importance in a wholesome, energetic society. Families everywhere in the United States must take measures to promote physical fitness for a more healthful and vigorous lifestyle.

It is essential that parents be meaningful role models for their children. A commitment to family fitness, through appropriate exercise together in which family members give and receive mutual encouragement and support, will provide benefits emotionally and socially, as well as physically, from this extra time spent together.

Physical Fitness for Older Adults

As increasing emphasis on active, healthier, and productive lifestyle extends life expectancy, it is vital that we push for the resources necessary for all older Americans to be independent and physically active throughout life. Clearly, much progress has been made to promote vigorous activity in daily living, but far too many older citizens still do not understand the essential nature of exercise. To that end, we will encourage communities to offer trained leaders, facilities and education suitable to maintain the vitality of older adults.

Physical Fitness and National Security

Significant advances have occurred in the physical conditioning of our Armed Forces through strengthened training programs and assessments throughout the rank in recent years. Such efforts should continue as essential to fulfilling fundamental readiness requirements and also supporting the general trend toward improving the exercise and nutrition habits of dependents and civilian workers. We will look toward better use of available resources to motivate and train all uniformed personnel who must, by the very nature of their mission, be at a higher level of fitness than the general population.

3/30/89: AEH

* For more information contact Steve Guback, Director of Public Information, PCPFS (272-3430).

DOUG GAMBLE

Oct. 27/89

424 - 38th Place
Manhattan Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-8409

TO: KRISTEN GEAR
3 Pages

CURIZON AQUINO ~~(MAYOR)~~ AND LECH WALESA (Ed McNally)

WHEN GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR RETURNED ■ TO THE PHILIPPINES, HE KNEW IT WAS HIS DESTINY TO DO SO. AS A MASSACHUSETTS HOUSEWIFE, CURIZON AQUINO WAS UNAWARE OF HER DESTINY, BUT ONCE TAPPED ON THE SHOULDER BY HISTORY, HER RETURN AND HER VISION CHANGED THE FACE OF A NATION.

SO DEEP WAS PRESIDENT AQUINO'S COMMITMENT TO STAND UP FOR DEMOCRACY, IT INSPIRED HER SUPPORTERS TO STAND UP TO TANKS.

CURIZON AQUINO HAS PROVEN THAT BALLOTS ARE STRONGER THAN BULLETS, AND THAT WHILE DEMOCRACY CAN BE DELAYED, IT CANNOT ULTIMATELY BE DENIED.

BECAUSE CURIZON AQUINO WAS ABLE TO RISE ABOVE PERSONAL TRAGEDY, THE DREAM OF DEMOCRACY HER HUSBAND ENVISIONED YESTERDAY HAS RISEN TO REALITY TODAY.

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED THAT TO LOOK INTO THE FACE OF THIS LION-HEARTED LADY IS TO LOOK INTO THE FACE OF COURAGE.

MORE...

- 2 -

DOUG GAMBLE

TO: KRISTEN GEAR - AQUINO (CONT'D)

THERE WERE SOME WHO UNDERESTIMATED THE WOMAN IN THE YELLOW DRESS, UNTIL SHE FASHIONED A VICTORY THAT RESTORED THE FABRIC OF DEMOCRACY IN HER COUNTRY.

LECH WALESA (Ed McNally)

AMERICANS KNOW WELL THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, LINCOLN AND OTHERS. BUT AS THE WORLD CONTINUES TO UNDERGO MONUMENTAL CHANGE, WE ARE LEARNING THAT THE HISTORY BOOKS ARE NOT YET CLOSED ON HEROES OF DEMOCRACY. SUCH HEROES ARE STILL EMERGING, AND ONE OF THEM IS WITH US TODAY.

IN (1980?) LECH WALESA CLIMBED THE FENCE AT THE GDANSK SHIPYARD TO LEAD A MOVEMENT THAT HAS SCALED THE HEIGHTS OF HISTORY.

LECH WALESA HAS NEVER WANTED GAIN OR GLORY FOR HIMSELF, BUT ONLY GAIN AND GLORY FOR HIS BELOVED POLAND.

HE IS PROOF THAT WE STILL LIVE IN A WORLD WHERE PEOPLE OF HUMBLE BEGINNINGS CAN ACHIEVE GREAT ENDS.

LECH WALESA IS A HUMBLE ELECTRICIAN WHOSE BOLD VISION OF A DEMOCRATIC POLAND HAS TRULY ELECTRIFIED THE WORLD.

MORE...

TO: KRISTEN GEAR - LECH WALESA (CONT'D)

NOT ONLY IS LECH WALESA A DEVOTED FAMILY MAN WHO HAS FATHERED (8) CHILDREN, BUT HIS COURAGE AND CONVICTIONS FATHERED A MOVEMENT THAT IS LEADING ~~THE~~ POLAND TOWARDS THE WORLD'S FAMILY OF DEMOCRACIES.

HE WILL BE FOREVER REMEMBERED IN POLAND AND AROUND THE WORLD AS A FOUNDING FATHER OF FREEDOM.

I'M SURE LECH WALESA WILL AGREE THAT THE TRAIL HE BLAZED WOULD QUICKLY HAVE GROWN COLD, IF IT WEREN'T FOR THE COURAGE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE FOLLOWING IN HIS FOOTSTEPS.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: ANDREWS A.F.B. DEPARTURE STATEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Sunday, July 9, at 7:00 a.m., you will deliver a departure statement at Andrews Air Force Base.

II. DISCUSSION

These remarks provide a framework for your trip, evoking the ideals of freedom and democracy both as foundations of western government, and as a spreading force throughout the world.

They also focus on the reforms taking place in Poland and Hungary -- their movement towards greater economic and political freedom -- and on the issues we plan to tackle at the Economic Summit, in particular our approach to debt and the worldwide environmental crisis.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO DAVE DEMAREST
CHRISS WINSTON
DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT: The attached

The goal of a proposed credentialism review is not to reduce standards and lower quality.

The goal is to get rid of obsolete and irrelevant tests, and instead test for real world skills. This would increase quality and effectiveness!

This editorial from The New Republic is one "new idea" in education.

Whether or not we get behind this, or some variant, we are reminded of the current intellectual fervent, ala James Fallows.

cc: Roger Porter
Bill Roper
Larry Lindsey
Marianne McGettigan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO DAVE DEMAREST
 CHRISS WINSTON
 DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT: The Attached

FYI

cc: Roger Porter
 Bill Roper
 Larry Lindsey
 Marianne McGettigan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 27, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *CBG*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Acceptance of Special Commercial Discounts

This memorandum provides guidance for the acceptance of special commercial discounts by members of the White House staff. It is a recognized fact that in commercial dealings there are a variety of special rates and commercial discounts offered to individuals. These are usually derived from membership in organizations, occupations, age, etc. They are not granted exclusively to individuals in public service, nor only to those in the Executive Branch. However, it is also possible that they may be offered for an improper motive or the acceptance of them might result in the appearance of impropriety. The acceptance by a White House Staff member of any special rate or commercial discount will be governed by the rules and prohibitions related to the acceptance of gifts.

The only exceptions to this are when the rate or discount is offered to all government employees, or when the rate or discount is offered to a defined class of individuals and the White House staff member is a member of that class.

Note, however, in the instance where the offer is to a defined class other than all government employees, an exception does not apply, and such a rate or discount may not be accepted, under the following circumstances:

- A. if it is offered only to members of the White House staff;
- B. if the person or entity offering the rate or discount
 1. has exclusive interests that may be directly affected by the performance of the employee's official duties; or
 2. has or is seeking business with the White House; or

3. appears to be offering the rate or discount to the staff member with the hope or expectation of obtaining an advantage or preferment in dealing with the United States government for any purpose.
- C. if acceptance of the rate or discount would otherwise adversely affect the public's confidence in the integrity of the government.

Additionally, particular mention should be made of the practice of purchasing items from foreign manufacturers and obtaining an offered discount by virtue of holding a diplomatic or an official passport. There is nothing per se illegal or unethical in this practice, whether the item was purchased while abroad or from the United States, as long as the purchase was consistent with the manufacturer's offer to the class and was made for personal use and not for resale. However, as a matter of White House policy, henceforth no member of the White House staff should avail himself or herself of an offered discount from a foreign manufacturer based solely upon the holding of such a passport, unless such person is out of the country on official business for a period in excess of thirty (30) days. This policy does not apply to the use of a passport to purchase items for personal use at a United States Embassy or for the waiver of any foreign taxes as provided by law or treaty.

Note further, that a staff member is prohibited from using any rate or discount related to government service to obtain any item for the purpose of resale at a profit. Such activity will result in dismissal from the White House staff, and may also result in criminal prosecution.

This guidance applies to rates and discounts. It does not preclude a White House staff member from seeking to negotiate a price in a commercial setting. In doing so, however, the member must be mindful that he or she should neither seek nor accept a price that would be violative of the spirit of this guidance or otherwise create the appearance of using one's government position for personal gain.

If you have any questions about the above, or about its application to a particular special rate or discount, please consult with the Counsel's office before accepting it.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 27, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *cm*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Support of Administration Legislative Programs

This memorandum is intended to alert members of the White House staff to proscriptions on lobbying activities imposed by federal law and to provide general guidelines to staff members working in this area so as to insure compliance with those laws.

Simply stated, the so-called "Anti-Lobbying Act" (18 U.S.C §1913) prohibits the use of appropriated funds, directly or indirectly, to pay for "any personal service, advertisement, telegram, telephone, letter, printed or written matter or other device" intended to influence a Member of Congress in acting upon legislation, before or after its introduction. There is also an appropriation rider, which has appeared in appropriation bills since 1951, barring the use of appropriated funds for "publicity or propaganda purposes" designed to support or defeat legislation pending before Congress.

Interpretations of 18 U.S.C. §1913 by the Department of Justice make it clear that an employee of the Executive Branch, while acting in his or her official capacity, may communicate with a member of Congress for the purpose of providing information or soliciting that member's support for the Administration's position on matters before Congress whether or not such contact is invited and whether or not specific legislation is pending. Thus, the ordinary and traditional interaction between the Executive and Legislative Branches is permitted. Likewise, it is not improper for an Executive Branch employee to provide legitimate informational background and material to the public in support of an Administration policy effort.

Problems arise where employees of the Executive Branch become involved, directly or indirectly, in efforts to induce or encourage members of the public to lobby members of Congress on Administration programs or legislation. Unfortunately, the line separating proper and improper conduct is imprecise and the propriety of an activity may well depend on each individual situation. The following comments and examples are intended to provide general guidance for the more frequently encountered contacts and activities:

1) Executive Branch officials may speak freely in meetings with individuals or groups, at public forums, at news conferences, and during news interviews, but where these appearances of personnel become so excessive as to be deemed to be a publicity campaign, the activity might be challenged. Any undue degree of direct contact with the private sector by persons who do not ordinarily engage in such activities is evidence of prohibited conduct.

2) Appropriated funds should not be used to produce written, printed or electronic communications for distribution with the intent to induce members of the public to lobby members of Congress. For example, an organized mailing to members of the public initiated by Executive Branch personnel, stating the Administration's position and asking the recipients to contact their Senators and Representatives in support of that position should be avoided. Moreover, asking recipients to contact their elected representatives should also be avoided in communications sent in response to inquiries received by the Executive Branch. However, responses to incoming communications may include information which responds to the specific inquiries as well as explanations of the Administration's position on matters of public policy, including proposed legislation.

Massive distribution by the Executive Branch of unsolicited copies of a public document, such as the reprint of a public official's speech or other informational materials, may raise a question even though the contents are only informational and do not suggest that the recipients contact members of Congress. Normal unsolicited distribution of press releases, public officials' speeches, fact sheets and other informational materials to persons, because of governmental or organizational position or expression of interest in the subject matter, would not ordinarily create a problem. Each such proposed distribution must be separately judged based on the purpose and content of the communication and the number and kind of people who will receive the information.

3) Officials and employees of the Executive Branch may properly have regular contact with non-governmental organizations which have among their purposes lobbying members of Congress or attempting to influence the general public to lobby the Congress. However, in these dealings, the officials should not or even appear to dominate the group or use the group as an arm of the Executive Branch.

(a) Examples of the kinds of activities in which Executive Branch officials might participate in dealing with independent outside organizations include:

(i) exchange information, as long as it is not privileged;

(ii) make suggestions, respond to or raise particular

inquiries, or discuss the merits of various legislative strategies and related matters, so long as the Executive Branch officials do not suggest organization of grass roots pressure;

- (iii) address meetings (non-fundraisers) sponsored by such organizations;
- (iv) Upon the request of an independent organization provide to it for reproduction and distribution by the organization:

- sample copies of documents prepared by Executive Branch officials (such as press releases, public officials speeches, fact sheets) that are otherwise available for public distribution.

- letters on specific subjects written by Executive Branch officials.

(Note that the materials must not suggest that the recipients contact Members of Congress urging support of particular positions; also the decision to publish or distribute any such material must be left to the independent organization.)

- (b) Examples of the kinds of things which Executive Branch officials should avoid include:

- (i) responsibility for the on-going operation of an outside organization;
- (ii) requesting that an organization activate its membership at large to contact members of Congress on behalf of a legislative proposal;
- (iii) gathering information or producing materials specifically for such an organization which cannot properly or would not ordinarily be gathered or produced as part of the official's regular work;
- (iv) producing or providing multiple copies of materials to be distributed by such organizations;
- (v) requesting an organization to prepare or distribute any materials that suggest directly or indirectly that the recipients contact members of Congress, or playing any substantial role in advising an organization regarding the content of material it may wish to distribute;
- (vi) providing to such organizations lists of or correspondence from persons who favor or oppose particular policy positions;

(vii) involvement in fundraising activities by such organizations (because of the varying forms that such involvement might take, any involvement should be discussed in advance, with the Counsel's office).

These legal provisions are not intended to prohibit an on-going dialogue or interaction between the Executive Branch and the public in an educational effort to explain Administration positions, but where that conduct develops into a publicity and propaganda campaign designed or intended to pressure citizen groups into contacting Congressional representatives, the boundary of propriety has been crossed.

18 U.S.C. §1913 is a criminal statute and should be taken seriously. In addition, any specific allegation against White House staff members (Level IV and above) for violation of 18 U.S.C. §1913 potentially could trigger the "Special Prosecutors Act", 28 U.S.C. §591, *et seq.* The General Accounting Office is also authorized to undertake audits in this area, and any disallowed expenditures would have to be borne by the individual supervising the activity that resulted in the unauthorized use of government funds.

Because §1913 and the appropriation rider have not often been interpreted it is difficult to be more specific in setting forth guidelines. Any difficult factual situation should be brought to the attention of this office before any action is taken.

August 8, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

RE: AUGUST LEAVE

I am currently scheduled to go on leave in the work week beginning Monday, August 21. If possible, I would like to begin leave the preceeding Friday, August 18. We have an opportunity to pick up the kids (they are in Montreal) several days earlier than scheduled, and the earlier leave would allow us to do so. Thanks for your consideration.

OK
DMG

Remarks by
VACLAV HAVEL
President of Czechoslovakia
to the
CZECHOSLOVAK SERVICE OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA
February 20, 1990

I would like to thank the Czech and Slovak broadcasting service of the Voice of America for its work. For many years, it has been the most listened-to Czechoslovak radio station.

You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well and, in this way, you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which has at long last taken place.

However, by this I don't intend to say that your work has now lost its meaning. On the contrary, it now has taken on a new meaning. You will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON YES

look out
over the
South lawn -
on the
future of A.

- It is a unique pleasure for me to welcome so many wonderful young people today to the nation's house.

- 5000 strong, male and female, from all races, from kindergartners to 25 year olds and from all walks of life, you are America's future.

- I have asked you here today to talk to you about America's future, to explain where the nation needs to go and how you can help us get there from here.

- You know I'm not the first president to ask young people to help the nation.

- Throughout our history, in times of war, others have sat where I sit today and called young people to the nation's service.

- In times of trouble, we as a nation have turned to our young people to save us.

- And the young have always answered the call because the nation needed them.

Today, we're fortunate:

- Today, though we are enjoying an unprecedented season of peace and prosperity, the nation needs you again.

- Too many people are free-falling through society with no one and nothing to break their fall.

- Millions of Americans - illiterates, drug abusers, pregnant teens, drop-outs, AIDS victims and the homeless - are alienated and disconnected from society, totally alone.

- With your leadership, we must somehow find a way to connect these people to the social system and to weave them into the social fabric.




- But how?

- I see an America in which every young person makes a commitment to bring someone left out into the mainstream of society.

- I see an America in which no community has a single elderly citizen wasting away in a nursing home, unloved, forgotten, alone.

- I see an America in which no little boy or little girl grows up without a "Big Brother" or "Big Sister".

- I see an America in which no one knows the shame of illiteracy.
- I see an America in which no teen is pregnant or delinquent or suicidal.
- I see an America in which no student drops-out.
- I see an America in which no AIDS victim dies alone.
- I see an America in which no one roams the streets at night, without family, without a home.
- I see an America in which no one goes to sleep hungry.]
- You may say, "Well that's fine, Mr. President. We'd like to see such an America too, but what can we do about it? We're just young people, not political scientists, social engineers or government bureaucrats."
- Well, exactly.
- I'm reminded of what Margaret Meade once said, Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; it's the only thing that ever has."
- You're not political scientists, social engineers and government bureaucrats.
- But you are the most talented, energetic and idealistic people I know.
- Unfortunately, for many of you, this may be the first time that you have ever heard an adult say something good about young people.
- News reports these days are so full of stories about the young people who have gone astray that many adults have lost faith in the basic goodness and decency of most young people, your potential, whatever your circumstances, for growing up to be productive and well-adjusted contributors to society.
- Many people read the grim statistics and despair of ever reclaiming the many lost souls.
- 31% of the victims of violent crime are 19 or younger.
- 406 people died in Los Angeles alone last year from youth gang related attacks.

- The 3 leading causes of teen deaths are drug or alcohol-related accidents, suicide and murder.
- 3600 high school students drop out each day.
- 2740 teenagers run away from home each day.
- 1650 teenagers attempt suicide each day.
- More than 2700 teenagers get pregnant each day.
- 4 out of 10 high school graduates read at or below the 8th grade level.
- What so many of these young people need is something that most Americans take for granted.
- What so many of these young people need is someone to love them, someone to care for them, someone to whom they matter.
- While most young Americans are connected to the life support system that they need, far too many are living empty, destructive and miserable lives.
- Too many young Americans go through life looking for meaning, looking for direction, looking for purpose, looking for something to live for, all in the wrong places.
- But my message today to all American young people is "Look no more".
- There is something to live for.
- You are wanted; you are needed.
- A lonely grandmother needs you. 
- A dying AIDS patient needs you. 
- A family without a place to sleep tonight needs you.
- A little boy who needs someone to look up to needs you.
- In short, America needs you, once again. 
- All young people have gifts to give and the nation is now in need of those gifts.
- With this in mind, I today announce my Youth Engaged in Service to America or YES to America proposal.
- I call upon each young person in America to commit yourself to making a difference in someone else's life.

- Don't listen to those who tell you that illiteracy, drug abuse, homelessness and other problems are the government's problems or business'problems or your parents'problems.

- Don't rest, don't feel satisfied, don't think that you've accomplished anything in life until you have done what you can to make life better for someone left on the outside.

- From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others.

- What principles underlie my YES proposal?

et
- First, I am calling for the involvement of literally all young people between kindergarten age and 25.

- I believe that whatever your circumstances, whatever deck of cards you've been dealt in life, you have something to contribute to someone else.

- In my America, there are no nobodies.

- Second, I believe that youth service should be truly voluntary.

- I don't believe that we have to bribe you with incentives or threaten you with penalties to persuade you to respond to this call.

- Third, I believe that service should not interrupt your lives; service should complement it.

a part of every day life
- Service should be woven into every young person's normal life plan and career path.

- Wherever you may be - in school, in the neighborhood, on the job, at church or temple, in college or out - make service to others part of your daily pattern of living.

- Fourth, I believe that the young are as capable as any of us of identifying problems and devising solutions to them.

- Accordingly, youth service programs should be designed and implemented by young people themselves.

- Fifth, youth service programs should be community-based, community-devised and community-directed.

- Sixth, young people, adults, and the institutions of which they are a part - schools, businesses, professionals, unions, religious bodies, service groups and civic organizations - should work together in teams to devise and implement youth service programs, because teamwork teaches young people the positive

values of cooperation, collaboration, mutual understanding and esprit de corps.

- And I hope that this initiative will serve as a magnet drawing together disparate people and institutions, creating partnerships among ceo's, pastors, teachers and labor leaders, who would otherwise continue to be isolated from each other, walled off in their own secluded worlds.

- I want each young person to find your own way to make a difference in someone else's life.

- Some of you may wish to work one-to-one with another person, young or old, who needs your support.

- There isn't a ^{on every} street in America that doesn't have someone in need of the gift that only you can give.

- Others of you may wish to work with other young people in teams or with adults to make a difference in someone else's life.

- Still others will go to the institutions of which you are a part - your school, your college or university, your church or synagogue, your Boy Scout chapter, Girls Club or weekend basketball team - and organize a youth service program.

- Finally, I hope that some of you will call numbers you've never dialed before, and enter doors you've never knocked on before and challenge a corporation, law firm, accounting firm, consulting firm, commercial or investment bank, brokerage firm, supermarket, restaurant, hospital, or union to make the business of youth development through community service their own.

- The initiative that I propose today is truly radical.

- For once a President is not announcing a Washington program; he's igniting an American movement.

- The key to the success of this initiative is you.

You don't have to go far.



McGroarty/Dooley
June 23, 1989
8:00 am
Draft 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE
JULY 9, 1989
7:00 A.M.

This morning, I depart for Europe -- my second visit in two months to a continent in the midst of change -- a time of unprecedented opportunity for peace, prosperity and freedom.

I'm especially pleased to make my trip at this time. Just four days ago, our nation celebrated the 4th of July. Just five days from now, France will celebrate its own day of independence, the 14th of July. This year, it's a special celebration: the bicentennial of Bastille Day.

Two hundred years ago, the gates of the Bastille opened onto a new era -- the era of the Rights of Man. On the continent of Europe, an idea was unleashed that would change the face of history -- an idea that is still shaping our world today.

Then and now, freedom finds its allies everywhere. Lafayette and Rochambeau, Kosciuszko and Pulaski: these names are engraved in American history -- patriots not only in their own countries, but in America as well. And the Revolution of 1789 had its roots in the Spirit of 1776. Remember what James Monroe said about the French who fought at our side for America's

independence: "They caught the spirit of liberty here, and carried it home with them."

Today, that spirit of liberty remains strong, and the United States remains the friend of any nation -- any people -- who love freedom and cherish the Rights of Man.

Today, I begin a journey that will take me to Europe -- East and West -- a journey that underscores the tremendous changes, challenges and opportunities ahead of us.

*1st
reference*

I travel first to Poland and Hungary -- nations on the threshold of a new era, nations where where the spirit of freedom is strong. In both countries, we're witnessing remarkable changes -- encouraging developments no one would have thought possible even a year ago. New voices are shaping the course of national affairs -- and both countries are on the path towards economic rebirth and political pluralism.

19.2

I will ~~also~~ travel from Central Europe to France, to join leaders from the six major industrial democracies in my first Economic Summit as President. Our agenda will include issues of global impact -- from the problem of debt in the developing world, to the growing demand for a cooperative approach to threats to our environment. In each case, we'll be seeking at the Summit **common solutions** to problems none of us can solve alone.

*Commercial
Porter*

And finally, before returning home, I will visit an old and honored ally: the Netherlands. Our friendship with the Dutch is older than our own Constitution -- with a nation whose long tradition of union and liberty shaped and inspired our own.

Europe is at a turning point. A continent cruelly divided for more than four decades now dreams of being whole and free. Our task is clear: to see that old divisions are erased, that the decades-old dream is fulfilled -- and that the new Europe emerges, secure, prosperous, peaceful and free.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

#

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Hanns Kuttner to Dan McGroarty and Stephanie Blessie, Re: Urban League Speech -- August 9. (6 pp.)	07/25/89	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Speeches and Backup Material] N.D.

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
 By SW (NLGB) on 4/8/2005

Date Closed: 12/9/2004	OA/ID Number: 08677
FOIA/SYS Case #: S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p> P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA] </p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p> (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information </p>
---	---

July 26, 1989

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY
STEPHANIE BLESSIE

FROM: HANNS KUTTNER *HK*
SUBJECT: Urban League Speech -- August 9

Overall

I would recommend that the speech seek a balance between defense of our position (urban problems can't be solved primarily through federal dollars) and the "work to be done" theme from the Inaugural Address.¹

Points to Hit

The field is rich with possibilities, in part because the themes involved haven't been touched on much in the President's speeches. I offer a menu of the topics that could be included.

Showing Awareness of Minority Concerns

*Push '68
FAIR HOUSING* → In discussing the speech at our staff meeting, we concluded the typical listener would want to have the sense that the President is aware of minority concerns and issues. Emily Mead will be providing you with a National Research Council report on the current standing of blacks in American life. One key point is that ours is still a residentially segregated country. A strong push for fair housing will bring applause ←

Also, Secretary Sullivan has as one of his priorities lessening the health disparities between blacks and whites. I have a lot of statistics on this if you want to pursue it.

The Mess at HUD

Some of the revelations about what has happened in the administration of HUD's programs are an outrage. The President has full confidence in Secretary Kemp's effort to make things right. Secretary Kemp has kept the

¹ "My friends, we have work to do. There are the homeless, lost and roaming, there are the children who have nothing -- no love and no normalcy -- there are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums."

President abreast of developments. The Justice Department is involved, and where crimes have been committed, there will be prosecutions. Also, OMB Director Darman is reviewing financial controls in other federal programs to assure there not problems elsewhere.

Michael Jackson from Cabinet Affairs should be sending you more on this.

Another point: this is another reason why housing vouchers for the poor are our approach to providing housing assistance to the poor. We want to promote choice all over, in education, in health care, and in housing, because we want to empower consumers rather than the bureaucrats who run housing authorities or the developers who seek to make profits from federal programs.

Urban Prosperity

The best program ever for urban America is economic prosperity. The investment and growth in income during the current economic recovery have frankly done more for the cities than any federal program by increasing municipal revenues. (There must be stats on growth of city budgets in real terms, since 1982 v previous five years.)

Ships that Don't Rise with the Rising Tide

We realize that a general upward trend will not raise all boats equally. Kemp is fond of playing with this metaphor, and there's probably a good "As Jack Kemp tells me" that has something to do with a rising tide swamping boats that are stuck on the bottom. That's why we hope for a kinder and gentler America, and support programs (like enterprise zones and help for the homeless) to help boats stuck on the bottom. (The metaphor works better with "boats with holes in their hulls" because it brings out the notion that we want to give people the tools needed to repair those holes.)

We also need to be wary of overpromising. (This was something on which Darman expressed concern at yesterday's DPC meeting on welfare strategy -- the phenomenal budget reduction target we face in the FY 91 budget.) I would suggest direct criticism of the overpromising of what the Great Society programs would bring. (see, e.g., LBJ's late-August 64 remarks at the signing ceremony for the Economic Opportunity Act saying that we will end poverty.) By contrast, we should have the humility to accept the Biblical injunction that the poor are always with us.

Enterprise Zones

The President today (July 25) sent up to the Hill a letter calling for action on enterprise zones. I'll provide whatever we have on this.

E.Zones

Homeless

In Building a Better America the President called for (1) full funding for programs in the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act and (2) a \$50 million initiative to figure out ways to better coordinate services to be

delivered to the homeless.

We need to clarify what we mean by leadership in this area. We don't mean nationalizing the problem, either with us taking over or pumping in cash because, frankly, we don't have the cash. Leadership means figuring out what works best in helping the different parts of the homeless population -- the chronically mentally ill, alcoholics, families in welfare hotels -- and creating the flexibility in federal programs so that people who make programs work at the local level can make them solve the problems of individual homeless people.

Also, we have an Interagency Council on the Homeless to work with service providers and coordinate federal programs. We have more than \$1 billion going into programs targeted at the homeless, spread through more than ten agencies.

We don't need to be defensive here, and saying something like "We've failed these people" would win big points with the audience.

Welfare/Bush Anti-Poverty Agenda

Line to leave them: We want to work with you to make our welfare programs lift people from dependency, not keep them there.

The Domestic Policy Council spent today's meeting talking about welfare reform and the Bush Administration. I'd think it would be fair to say that we believe:

- o The task of reform is not yet finished.
- o While some think of last year's Family Support Act (welfare reform) as a conclusion, we believe it is only a stepping stone to learning more about how to end dependency. That's why we want the States to continue initiating demonstrations of innovative approaches.
- o We have a Low-Income Opportunity Board to work with the states on shepherding through the federal approval process new ideas states want to demonstrate. We plan to show greater flexibility in approving demonstrations to increase state interest in demonstrations. (Unless this gets into the NGA speech, this counts as a policy announcement.)

Bush Anti-Poverty Principles

Choice "Give us the tools and we will do the job" (approximating Churchill) should apply to low-income people as well as international relations.

Example of this notion at work: proposal to encourage magnet schools, our child care proposal that would give money to parents so that they, not bureaucrats, can figure out what to do.


Flexibility We want programs to fit local situations. Thus the Low Income

Board as a means to allow federal programs to have the flexibility to meet local needs.

Opportunity We believe in an open society where those who are motivated and assume the responsibility can move themselves upward. We want to remove impediments to this, thus an emphasis on literacy and basic skills, not because it is Barbara Bush's pet project but because it is right for America. Also Pinkerton's anti-credentialism fits under this heading. *Chicago*

Kemp likes the word empowerment to combine the notions of choice and opportunity. He makes the point that the goal of poverty-related programs should be to empower people to help themselves out of poverty, not to pay them to stay where they are.

Task Force on Urban America


This is something we have been kicking around with Richard Nathan, Dean of the Rockefeller School at SUNY Albany. See attached background memo. 

If things can be worked out, this Task Force can be announced as part of the speech.

Removing Barriers to Opportunity

I think you have Pinkerton's memo on this subject.

In this speech, the subject can be approached through the notion of the federal work force as a model for employers.

"Too many Americans lose out on job opportunities because while they can do the job, they don't have the formal credentials or because they do poorly on irrelevant tests. [Example of Missouri cosmetology laws; blacks pass practical at same rate as whites, but only 3% of blacks pass written tests.]" 

In this speech, the President could:

1. Attack these barriers as doubly insidious, holding back minorities and suppressing the desire to get ahead in life.
2. Say that he wants the Commission on Civil Rights to be more active in identifying these barriers.
3. Announce that the federal government wants to be a model employer, and that he is commissioning the Director of OPM, Connie Newman, to study how barriers to federal employment can be reduced. Connie Newman's own story is an example of opportunity working -- she started as a GS3 typist at USDA. The President could praise her and say she's fit for most any job he can think of, but credentialism means the Federal government thinks she could never do many federal jobs.

Finally, this year is the 25th anniversary of LBJ's launching the Great Society, something that should at least be mentioned in the speech.

cc: Bill Roper
Jim Pinkerton
Emily Mead

→ on amount...

Sept. 5 →

H.

→ T. Crowl v. hand-core...

add: 40% \rightarrow 40%

overall \rightarrow 40%

Draws Bank:

Affirmative Action

Crime + Drugs.

E. Zones.

Recorded Mgmt
" ownership

HUD:

10% set-aside.

CAPPERATE CASE:

Richard 30% (stuck down)

: Adverse event
(environmental)

: opportunity

make sure on
union & then on: Safe/Secure

Photo Copy Preservation

PR NO. 35
March 6, 1989

SPEECH BY
THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
SECRETARY OF STATE
AT THE OPENING OF THE
CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE MEETING
VIENNA, AUSTRIA
MARCH 6, 1989

"NEW HORIZONS IN EUROPE"

My fellow Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We meet here today in an historic setting. Vienna, of course, is a living monument to the creativity of Western culture. This city is also a crossroads of civilization. It reminds us that Europe and the achievements of Europe have always gone beyond the limits of geography to influence the wider world.

But Vienna also bears witness to vanished hopes. Negotiations and agreements intended to bring enduring peace to Europe have been discarded too often in war. Too often the lack of security in Europe has meant a lack of security for the entire world. That is why we are meeting here to negotiate. Our purpose is to improve the security of Europe, thereby also strengthening the foundations of world peace.

I believe that we need a larger perspective, a common vision of where we are headed and why, if we are to succeed.

After the Second World War, Europe and the world were confronted by two distinctly opposing views. The United States and its Allies in Western Europe held the vision of free peoples, living under the rule of law, their individual freedoms protected, and their democratic governments responsible to the people.

We believed, as we continue to believe, that freedom of speech, and of religion, freedom from fear and freedom of opportunity,

were and are the natural rights of free men everywhere. We were certain, and we continue to be certain, that free markets and individual initiatives are the surest routes to social and economic progress. We sought, and we continue to seek, our security in a coalition of free nations, drawn together by common values, not only mutual interests. And we envisioned then, as we envision now, a Europe at peace, its nations free to develop in diversity but united against war.

Our vision was not the only vision. There was another view, opposed to the values most cherished by the West. And the competition between the two visions gave us the difficult legacy with which we live today: a Europe, forcibly divided against the will of its peoples; a Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world.

Now, as we approach the end of this decade new horizons are beckoning, horizons that offer us the opportunity to go beyond the conflicts of the past. The other vision is changing. It is changing because we in the West have been faithful to our own vision. And it is changing because realism has begun to triumph in the Soviet Union.

Perestroika, glasnost, democratization are the slogans of the "new thinking." There are encouraging developments in human rights and in the emphasis on the rule of law. Economies once rigidly fixed in the grip of centralized control are being loosened and a role for individual initiative has been decreed. Recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has declared, "world politics, too, should be guided by the primacy of universal human values." The rhetoric of Soviet foreign policy is being reshaped with less emphasis on the use of force. Minister Shevardnadze affirmed that again today, and that's very good.

No one can foretell where this process will lead or even whether it will endure. Yet we cannot deny the reality of what is actually happening in Europe today. Dostoevsky, in his novel, The Possessed, wrote that, "The fire is in the minds of men, not in the roofs of buildings." The revolutionary changes in that part of Europe still behind a rusting Iron Curtain are changes above all in the minds of men, in their vision of the future. People want freedom: freedom of the mind, freedom in the home, freedom in the workplace and free governments. And these freedoms will heal the wounds inflicted by stagnation and tyranny.

I propose that we dedicate ourselves to creating a new Europe -- a Europe based on these freedoms:

- o The freedom of all Europeans to have a say in decisions which affect their lives, including freedom of the workplace. The legality of Solidarity, for example, should really be the norm not the subject for negotiations.

o The freedom of all Europeans to express their political differences, when all ideas are welcome and human rights are truly inviolable. Monitors of the Helsinki agreements, for example, should be honored and not hunted by their governments.

o The freedom of all Europeans to exchange ideas, and information and to exercise their right to freedom of movement. The researcher in Prague, for example, should be able to find the books he needs. Barbed wire should not divide cousins in Hamburg from cousins in Dresden. And a wall should not divide Berlin, continuing, as we've seen just in the past month, to cost the lives of people seeking freedom.

o Finally, the freedom of all Europeans to be safe from military intimidation or attack. Those in the West should be free of the fear that the massive forces under Soviet command might invade them. Those in the East should be free of the fear that armed Soviet intervention, justified by the Brezhnev Doctrine, would be used again to deny them choice.

"New thinking" and the Brezhnev Doctrine are in fundamental conflict. We call today upon General Secretary Gorbachev to renounce the Brezhnev Doctrine -- beyond any shadow of a doubt. Let the "new thinking" sweep away this vestige from the era of stagnation.

These four freedoms are inseparable. They are the principles for the new Europe, they are the keys that open the door to the European house of the future. As the American President, Abraham Lincoln, said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." A continent divided by a wall cannot be secure. A secure and prosperous Europe can never be built on the basis of artificial barriers, fear and the denial of independence.

I am happy to report that we have made some progress toward realizing the new Europe of the Freedoms -- progress upon which we all can build. The Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, through the Helsinki, Madrid, Stockholm and now the Vienna documents, has defined ever more precisely the obligations of states. We have emphasized anew freedom for individuals, and the expanded concept of openness and confidence building measures in the field of security. We support this process. The Helsinki Final Act embodies our vision of Europe. And NATO's security dimension has always had the prevention of war as its only purpose.

Economic change is also a marked feature of the new Europe. The creation of a single market by 1992, looking outward to benefit all who wish to trade, would surely fulfill the hopes of those postwar visionaries who rightfully saw economic union as a buttress of peace and freedom. Centralized economies are

slowly divesting the straightjacket of outmoded Marxist-Leninist theories. And the desire for increased commercial contact is strong and growing ever stronger.

There also is a genuine possibility for all industrialized nations, both East and West, to work together on newly recognized transnational problems. Dangers to our environment, for example, risk the most fundamental security of all the earth's citizens. Just last week, to protect the globe's ozone layer, the European Community and the United States decided to end the use of all chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) by the year 2000, assuming adequate substitutes can be found as we believe they can. We hope the Soviet Union will consider joining us, in the spirit of "new thinking."

This is progress. But while the old era apparently recedes before the horizons of the new Europe, those horizons are still too distant. The arms and the armies still face each other. An Iron Curtain still divides this Continent. Too many governments have followed their solemn signature on human rights pledges with violent suppression of dissent.

And so, as we eye the horizon, important questions remain unanswered. Will the new rhetoric be translated into new actions or will we see a repetition of the past, of hopes disappointed once more?

Will East and West together be able to dismantle the barriers thrown up by the old era of competing visions? Will these barriers finally be removed, will the Berlin Wall and the barbed wire and the watch towers finally be relegated to history? Will the Soviet Union demilitarize its foreign policy in Europe, will it cease to threaten democracy's house with tens of thousands of tanks?

I was encouraged by what Minister Shevardnadze said earlier today as he spoke of far-reaching reductions.

In recent years, we have seen reason to be hopeful about the new Soviet thinking. But, both realism and prudence require that we test the new thinking to make sure that it means new policy and above all, changes in military deployments. We have sought to discover whether East and West could take steps together -- irreversible steps -- that lead toward the Europe of the Freedoms. And we have also sought to reduce the level of military confrontation.

Here, too, there is progress to report. Responding to an American proposal, the Soviet Union joined the United States in achieving an Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty that provides for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear-capable missiles. The Treaty contains important precedents, especially in the areas of verification and asymmetrical reductions to equality. We have also made encouraging progress in the START

PR NO. 35
March 6, 1989

SPEECH BY
THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
SECRETARY OF STATE
AT THE OPENING OF THE
CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE MEETING
VIENNA, AUSTRIA
MARCH 6, 1989

"NEW HORIZONS IN EUROPE"

My fellow Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We meet here today in an historic setting. Vienna, of course, is a living monument to the creativity of Western culture. This city is also a crossroads of civilization. It reminds us that Europe and the achievements of Europe have always gone beyond the limits of geography to influence the wider world.

But Vienna also bears witness to vanished hopes. Negotiations and agreements intended to bring enduring peace to Europe have been discarded too often in war. Too often the lack of security in Europe has meant a lack of security for the entire world. That is why we are meeting here to negotiate. Our purpose is to improve the security of Europe, thereby also strengthening the foundations of world peace.

I believe that we need a larger perspective, a common vision of where we are headed and why, if we are to succeed.

After the Second World War, Europe and the world were confronted by two distinctly opposing views. The United States and its Allies in Western Europe held the vision of free peoples, living under the rule of law, their individual freedoms protected, and their democratic governments responsible to the people.

We believed, as we continue to believe, that freedom of speech, and of religion, freedom from fear and freedom of opportunity,

- 2 -

PR NO. 35

were and are the natural rights of free men everywhere. We were certain, and we continue to be certain, that free markets and individual initiatives are the surest routes to social and economic progress. We sought, and we continue to seek, our security in a coalition of free nations, drawn together by common values, not only mutual interests. And we envisioned then, as we envision now, a Europe at peace, its nations free to develop in diversity but united against war.

Our vision was not the only vision. There was another view, opposed to the values most cherished by the West. And the competition between the two visions gave us the difficult legacy with which we live today: a Europe, forcibly divided against the will of its peoples; a Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world.

Now, as we approach the end of this decade new horizons are beckoning, horizons that offer us the opportunity to go beyond the conflicts of the past. The other vision is changing. It is changing because we in the West have been faithful to our own vision. And it is changing because realism has begun to triumph in the Soviet Union.

Perestroika, glasnost, democratization are the slogans of the "new thinking." There are encouraging developments in human rights and in the emphasis on the rule of law. Economies once rigidly fixed in the grip of centralized control are being loosened and a role for individual initiative has been decreed. Recently, General Secretary Gorbachev has declared, "world politics, too, should be guided by the primacy of universal human values." The rhetoric of Soviet foreign policy is being reshaped with less emphasis on the use of force. Minister Shevardnadze affirmed that again today, and that's very good.

No one can foretell where this process will lead or even whether it will endure. Yet we cannot deny the reality of what is actually happening in Europe today. Dostoevsky, in his novel, The Possessed, wrote that, "The fire is in the minds of men, not in the roofs of buildings." The revolutionary changes in that part of Europe still behind a rusting Iron Curtain are changes above all in the minds of men, in their vision of the future. People want freedom: freedom of the mind, freedom in the home, freedom in the workplace and free governments. And these freedoms will heal the wounds inflicted by stagnation and tyranny.

I propose that we dedicate ourselves to creating a new Europe -- a Europe based on these freedoms:

- o The freedom of all Europeans to have a say in decisions which affect their lives, including freedom of the workplace. The legality of Solidarity, for example, should really be the norm not the subject for negotiations.

PR NO. 35

- 3 -

o The freedom of all Europeans to express their political differences, when all ideas are welcome and human rights are truly inviolable. Monitors of the Helsinki agreements, for example, should be honored and not hunted by their governments.

o The freedom of all Europeans to exchange ideas, and information and to exercise their right to freedom of movement. The researcher in Prague, for example, should be able to find the books he needs. Barbed wire should not divide cousins in Hamburg from cousins in Dresden. And a wall should not divide Berlin, continuing, as we've seen just in the past month, to cost the lives of people seeking freedom.

o Finally, the freedom of all Europeans to be safe from military intimidation or attack. Those in the West should be free of the fear that the massive forces under Soviet command might invade them. Those in the East should be free of the fear that armed Soviet intervention, justified by the Brezhnev Doctrine, would be used again to deny them choice.

"New thinking" and the Brezhnev Doctrine are in fundamental conflict. We call today upon General Secretary Gorbachev to renounce the Brezhnev Doctrine. -- beyond any shadow of a doubt. Let the "new thinking" sweep away this vestige from the era of stagnation.

These four freedoms are inseparable. They are the principles for the new Europe, they are the keys that open the door to the European house of the future. As the American President, Abraham Lincoln, said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." A continent divided by a wall cannot be secure. A secure and prosperous Europe can never be built on the basis of artificial barriers, fear and the denial of independence.

I am happy to report that we have made some progress toward realizing the new Europe of the Freedoms -- progress upon which we all can build. The Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe, through the Helsinki, Madrid, Stockholm and now the Vienna documents, has defined ever more precisely the obligations of states. We have emphasized anew freedom for individuals, and the expanded concept of openness and confidence building measures in the field of security. We support this process. The Helsinki Final Act embodies our vision of Europe. And NATO's security dimension has always had the prevention of war as its only purpose.

Economic change is also a marked feature of the new Europe. The creation of a single market by 1992, looking outward to benefit all who wish to trade, would surely fulfill the hopes of those postwar visionaries who rightfully saw economic union as a buttress of peace and freedom. Centralized economies are

PR NO. 35

- 4 -

slowly divesting the straightjacket of outmoded Marxist-Leninist theories. And the desire for increased commercial contact is strong and growing ever stronger.

There also is a genuine possibility for all industrialized nations, both East and West, to work together on newly recognized transnational problems. Dangers to our environment, for example, risk the most fundamental security of all the earth's citizens. Just last week, to protect the globe's ozone layer, the European Community and the United States decided to end the use of all chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) by the year 2000, assuming adequate substitutes can be found as we believe they can. We hope the Soviet Union will consider joining us, in the spirit of "new thinking."

This is progress. But while the old era apparently recedes before the horizons of the new Europe, those horizons are still too distant. The arms and the armies still face each other. An Iron Curtain still divides this Continent. Too many governments have followed their solemn signature on human rights pledges with violent suppression of dissent.

And so, as we eye the horizon, important questions remain unanswered. Will the new rhetoric be translated into new actions or will we see a repetition of the past, of hopes disappointed once more?

Will East and West together be able to dismantle the barriers thrown up by the old era of competing visions? Will these barriers finally be removed, will the Berlin Wall and the barbed wire and the watch towers finally be relegated to history? Will the Soviet Union demilitarize its foreign policy in Europe, will it cease to threaten democracy's house with tens of thousands of tanks?

I was encouraged by what Minister Shevardnadze said earlier today as he spoke of far-reaching reductions.

In recent years, we have seen reason to be hopeful about the new Soviet thinking. But, both realism and prudence require that we test the new thinking to make sure that it means new policy and above all, changes in military deployments. We have sought to discover whether East and West could take steps together -- irreversible steps -- that lead toward the Europe of the Freedoms. And we have also sought to reduce the level of military confrontation.

Here, too, there is progress to report. Responding to an American proposal, the Soviet Union joined the United States in achieving an Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty that provides for the elimination of an entire class of nuclear-capable missiles. The Treaty contains important precedents, especially in the areas of verification and asymmetrical reductions to equality. We have also made encouraging progress in the START

-- an iterative process. After more than a year of writing for GB, I can say that the "ownership of a word or phrase is difficult to trace. Many times, I know how the P. will want to say something -- the best proof of this is the obverse, when a suggested draft is sent to us.... Therefore, the truth is more complicated than this author suspects. When writers have written for an ~~extended~~^{extended} long enough, and internalize many of his patterns, it is wrong to infer that a text which is not changed by the speaker is simply "reading the speechwriters' words."

[In a strange way, that is too exalted a description of what a speechwriter does.

And by iterative, I mean both ways. It is my experience that just as the writer learns the style and approach of his speaker, the speaker too can gain confidence in the writer's approach -- through the feedback process of using material and judging its ~~effect~~^{effects} impact.

~~§~~ Do not understand how author draws the conclusion that greater involvement equals more authentic or believable speeches on the basis of the evidence he presents.... Indeed, what evidence there is seems to prove the opposite: i.e., Dole is portrayed as very involved, and yet his prepared speeches are said to be his least effective.

Also, I doubt that even the breakneck pace of the campaign provides an accurate insight into how a winning candidate's speechwriting/speechmaking process would work. Reasons: Many campaign speeches are variations on a theme. Policy specifics are not called for, and may be better left unstated/unresolved. Not so, when candidate enters office. Speechmaking demands are unrelenting. Specifics matter, nuances are examined, compared.

The Dole section reminds me very much of Sec. Carlucci when he became SecDef, after having run NSC, where the speaking demands are not as constant. At first, used TPs. He quickly came to rely on prepared text, both for reasons of policy -- and because it improved presentation.... Granted, Dole is in general an effective extemporaneous speaker. But I can think of no deficiency rooted in the speaker that would explain why he would fail to be effective with a text -- and no reason preventing a good speechwriter from providing additional value and impact from a prepared text....

Generally, contact with the P. works as one might suppose. More contact, and earlier in the process, for more important speeches. Important speeches being the exception, and given the P's schedule, routinely less contact. P. always reads, comments on and edits drafts before delivery -- occasionally reviewing

more than one draft. Sometimes the ^{edits} ~~edits~~ are specific -- edits, additions or deletions. Sometimes, they are "directional" -- requests for additional arguments, facts or themes to be treated. And, given the totality of all demands on the P's time, the truly remarkable fact is how much time he spends making/preparing speeches....

On those assignments where there is no direct contact with P, rarely is it guesswork. The P. is "on record" to some degree on a phenomenal amount of issues, and general principles serve to guide on other matters. Any writer who does not develop a sixth sense for their ~~principal~~ ^{speaker} is in deep trouble....

RESULTS

We'll ~~be~~ achieve

-- and I'm confident

US Trade Representative

life + democracy

our ~~rights~~ very

in Carla Hills --

I'm confident

NEW SOVIET POSITION ON ABM TESTING: For the first time since the ABM Treaty was ratified, the Soviets (in the Geneva DST) embraced key language that the U.S. uses to describe the narrow interpretation of the ABM Treaty:

"The following activities may be conducted in the field of research, development, and testing permitted by the ABM Treaty:

1. Research, including conceptual design and laboratory testing.
2. Field testing of devices that are not ABM components or prototypes of ABM system components.
3. Field testing of fixed, land-based ABM components or systems at agreed test ranges."

COMMENT: These three items come directly from Max Kampleman's 1985 DST plenary statement defining the narrow interpretation, just prior to our Oct 1985 decision on the broad interpretation. They are the rules the U.S. has been following all along for SDI compliance judgments. Translation:

1. Do anything you want inside the lab.
2. Test subcomponents in space ("components" in the ABM Treaty are ABM launchers, interceptors, and radars, or anything capable of substituting for them). No change for us.
3. Test traditional, ground based systems or components at agreed test ranges (i.e. Kwajalein and White Sands).

Soviets explicitly reject broad interpretation: "any other activities in this field, including construction and field testing of devices that are sea-based, air based, space-based, or mobile land-based ABM components or component prototypes, regardless of the physical principles on which they are based, are prohibited."

COMMENT: You can't test components or anything capable of substituting for them in space.

Soviets define development (as opposed to research) as: "that stage in the evolution of a weapon system which follows research, precedes full-scale testing, and is associated with the construction and testing of one or more prototypes of a weapon system or its major components. In this connection, research is understood to be an activity involved in conceptual design and laboratory testing."

COMMENT: This is nearly verbatim from Harold Brown's 1971 statement during ABM Treaty negotiations. Interestingly, however, it omits two phrases that added ambiguity to Brown's definition (the development stage was "often overlapping with research," and was "usually" associated with construction and testing). They must have been quoting from Nitze's 1986 public reiteration of Brown's statement, which omitted them by design.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW SOVIET POSITIONS: Superficially: grants that the SDI program, as conducted to date, complies with the ABM Treaty -- hardly conciliatory. More importantly: these principles, which the U.S. can hardly reject (since the language is originally ours), will form the basis of a new Soviet position on permitted vs prohibited activities.

COMMENT: This approach to "P&P" can be said to differ from the 1987 "list" approach, which the U.S. rejected -- on grounds that it was even narrower than the narrow interpretation of the ABM Treaty. This "new approach to P&P" will equip the Soviets to pursue their principal new objectives in DST. Namely:

- Seize control of the DST negotiating agenda, so that all negotiations are bounded by the narrow interpretation.
- Reach an agreement on "P&P" that will constrain SDI to laboratory and ground testing, while looking conciliatory on subcomponent testing in space, exploiting Congressional sympathies in this direction.
- Make this agreement on P&P a **new Protocol to the ABM Treaty**, with the full legal status (ratification, verification, etc.) of a Treaty.
- Implicitly tie this understanding of Treaty compliance to the provisions on withdrawal already included in the START Treaty.
- But grant from the outset that none of this should be regarded as a precondition to reaching a START agreement, so that it looks like you've merely "removed an obstacle."

THE JACKSON HOLE TRAP (which we failed to counter): By embracing, and even applauding this as a Soviet concession, we:

- a. Helped the Soviets forge (or at least formalize) their alliance with Congress on the narrow interpretation -- as we ourselves have always defined it.
- b. Gave them the latitude they needed to "de-link START from D&S," and put the real linkage directly in START.
- c. Focused DST on P&P to "solve the ABM problem" rather than on "right to deploy" advanced defenses when ready.
- d. Unburdened Soviets from a prior obligation to negotiate a separate D&S agreement --where we controlled the linkage agenda (to help expedite the stable deployment of defenses, etc.).
- e. **RESULTING DILEMMA:** Do you want to leave the situation ambiguous, as it is, or renegotiate the ABM Treaty as the Soviets, the JCS, and Sam Nunn insist?

HOW SHOULD THE U.S. RESPOND?

GOALS: Turn Congressional pressure -- to "clear-away ABM ambiguities" from a START environment -- in our favor; preserve the right to pursue SDI's full research and testing program; exploit Gorbachev's need for a START Treaty; and respond positively to the Soviet offer.

ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE: As long as we can test (rather than deploy) a small number of "ABM test satellites" in space, freely deploy sensors in space, and continue working with the Soviets toward a stable transition to defenses, we might ultimately be able to agree to a new protocol to the ABM Treaty.

ONE POSSIBLE STRATEGY: The President responds to the letter from Gorbachev, which Shevardnadze delivered prior to the Jackson Hole Ministerial. Letter is positive in tone, constructive as to the value of delayed (but not open ended) discussions on deployment, conciliatory on Gorbachev's "suggestions," but realistic as to "commitments I've made to the American people."

WHY THIS SHOULD WORK:

- There is no doubt that the Soviets respect Brilliant Pebbles; they see it as the first "real" step toward a Phase-one system that would change strategic realities.
- The Soviets have said repeatedly, however, in numerous formal and informal settings, that their most fundamental demand has to do with "not deploying weapons in space."
- The proposal that sensors rather than weapons be deployed, and that weapons be tested rather than deployed, responds directly to this. These proposals have been on the DST table for a year; Ambassador Cooper has received various positive signals on them from Soviet officials.
- The new Soviet approach is actually conciliatory regarding the narrow interpretation, but it's their going-in position; it would be uncharacteristic for them not to have formulated a fall-back position before tabling it.
- The Soviets need a START Treaty more than we do.
- We had widespread Congressional and public support when we rejected the 1987 Soviet "list" proposal. Its similarities (unverifiable distinctions between "good" and "bad" sensors etc) to the new Soviet approach are exploitable.
- The seed has been planted (VP speech in June '89; VP article in Policy Review; Cheney speech in Oct '89, etc) that continued progress on SDI is prerequisite rather than an impediment to START's stabilizing value and ratifiability.

For DeWitt.

WHY WE ARE IN THE GULF

Frank
It is now more than 15 weeks since Iraqi tanks, with little warning and ^{no} {even less} mercy, rolled across the once tranquil border dividing Iraq from its neighbor Kuwait. Within three days, Iraqi troops numbering more than 100,000 controlled the streets of Kuwait City and beyond and appeared set to invade or at a minimum intimidate its other neighbors.

Violence etc.
Iraq's occupation of Kuwait has been a nightmare. Hundreds of thousands of Kuwaiti men, women and children have been driven from their country; Saddam has brought in tens of thousands of Iraqis and other foreigners to resettle Kuwait in their place. Homes, buildings and factories have been looted. Babies have been torn from incubators; children shot in front of their parents. Disappearances and graphic accounts of torture are widespread.

Iraq's leader Saddam Hussein has not been content with violence against Kuwaitis. Thousands of foreigners are being denied the freedom to leave, in violation of the most basic norms of civilized conduct. Embassies and diplomatic residences are being violated, and their diplomatic personnel are being starved out.

immediate & unwavering?

The response of the international community to this cruelty has been fast and firm. The United Nations Security Council has passed [no less than] ⁷ten resolutions condemning Iraq's invasion and occupation, rejecting its annexation of Kuwait, and calling upon Saddam to allow all who wish to leave ^{to do so} *the freedom* to do so. To back up these calls for action, the international community has put into place mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions designed to ensure that Iraq reverses, and does not benefit from, its aggression. I am proud to say that the United States played a key role in forging this response; American leadership remains a positive and constructive force in this changing world.

Now, as I write this column, more than 200,000 men and women wearing the uniforms of the U.S. armed forces stand guard on the sand and along the shores of the Arabian peninsula, together with the armed forces of more than 25 other countries. Over the next few months, they will be joined by additional thousands of brave American and other foreign troops.

awk

~~Let me turn now to the reasons~~

But why are we there? And just why do and should we care?

Iraq's invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq is not just a case of petty aggression. The civilized world is now in the process of fashioning the rules that will govern the new world order beginning to emerge in the aftermath of the Cold War. The

We stand now at a singular moment...

~~Iraq's aggression cannot pass~~

history of this century shows clearly that aggression that goes unpunished encourages more aggression. If we allowed Saddam to get away with ^{profit} what he has done, other would-be Saddams would draw the lesson that aggression pays. We must either be prepared to act now or face a much greater set of challenges down the road.

There are also important economic stakes. Can we -- can the world -- afford to allow Saddam Hussein a stranglehold around the world's economic lifeline? That is exactly what would happen if we failed. Armed with thousands of tanks and aircraft, not to mention chemical, biological and perhaps even nuclear weapons, Saddam would dominate the Gulf and the bulk of the world's petroleum reserves. Even now, without an actual shortage of oil, Saddam's aggression has almost doubled oil prices, causing serious problems here at home and throughout the world.

Fledgling democracies are at risk; the poorest nations are hit hardest. The potential for much greater suffering is all too real. We cannot allow this tyrant to determine the price and availability of a product that is critical to American and world economic health. Energy security is national security, and we must be prepared to act accordingly.

Last, there are important human stakes. I want to see a world in which Americans and others can live free from fear. The cynical use of innocent civilians, be it as bargaining chips or as pawns to deter attack, has no place in the modern world. I will not

is an open invitation
9/6. 11

[Handwritten signature]

rest until our citizens and our diplomats are set free.

I am aware that there are those who counsel patience. Yet it is grim reality that with each passing day the ~~global economic~~

**insert*

consequences of Saddam's aggression grow. *At this very moment* Those who are in

hiding or inside our embassy in Kuwait risk capture or surrender.

~~Meanwhile, Saddam Hussein moves closer to having biological and nuclear weapons.~~ The potential cost in human lives of what would be needed to break Saddam's grip on Kuwait mounts.

These, then, are our goals. First, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government. Third, the security and stability of the Gulf--an important national interest of the United States since the time of Harry Truman. And fourth, the protection of American citizens abroad.

Let me make one more thing clear. As I work to realize these goals, I truly seek to do so peacefully. There has already been enough violence and suffering and sacrifice.

every means at my disposal

But for peace to have meaning and be lasting it must be based upon principle. Iraq cannot be rewarded for its ~~blatant~~ aggression. Kuwait must be ~~sovereign~~ *again take its rightful place among* nations; hostages must be set free.

X

~~And Iraq can never again be~~ *Never again can we allow* in a position to threaten the survival of its neighbors or our vital interests.

X

I am confident that these objectives are within our reach if we stay united and determined. And when we succeed, we will have accomplished a great deal. We will return a country to its people. We will underline that aggression will not be tolerated. We will demonstrate that the United Nations can contribute as its founders dreamed. We will have established principles for acceptable international conduct and the means to enforce them. In short, we will have begun to move beyond the balance of power and toward a community of nations bound by common commitment to peace and ~~restraint~~ restraint. This is something Americans have long sought. Working together, we can make this opportunity a reality.

*to the rule of law over
the use of force.*

Remember, Saddam has not hesitated to use the most terrible weapons at his disposal -- not merely in time of war, but against his own people. The fact that Saddam is determined to acquire the most sophisticated weapons of mass destruction known to man - - nuclear and biological weapons -- is ominous indeed.

SPEECHWRITING IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL
CAMPAIGN

Based on interviews conducted with chief speechwriters for Dukakis, Dole, and Bush, the author presents a detailed description of the speechwriting practices used by these writers as they created speeches for the 1988 presidential campaign during the primary election stage.

Dan -
I edit a Journal at
Howard University
which received a manuscript
that will be of interest to you.
Bill Starosta

SPEECHWRITING IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

This study seeks to explain how the speechwriting process worked for three major candidates in the preconvention period of the presidential campaign of 1988. My focus is on the process of writing the campaign speeches, including such issues as how decisions were made about speech topics, what went into a speech and what stayed out, how phrases were crafted, how the speechwriters composed material in response to events in the world, and how much involvement each candidate had in the speeches written for him. To gather information about these issues in the 1988 campaign, I interviewed the chief speechwriters for Republican candidates Robert Dole and George Bush, and Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis. Although I wished to include Jesse Jackson, and received the agreement of his writer to participate in an interview, it was impossible to arrange further contact with the writer after the Democratic National Convention. Because of the lack of primary data, Jackson is omitted from this study.

Scholars have previously considered the speechwriting process (and its consequences) in presidential campaigns and in presidential administrations. Beginning in 1956, Bormann (1956, 1960, 1961) published several articles dealing with ghostwriting of political speeches, including a discussion of the relationship between ghostwriting and rhetorical criticism, and an examination of the ethics of ghostwritten speeches. Ray (1956), Sorenson (1965), Fischer (1965), Safire (1975), and others have discussed--briefly or in some detail--the process of preparing campaign speeches for particular presidential candidates. Benson (1968, 1974) reported on an interview with a ghostwriter, discussing the process he went through in putting together a speech from beginning to end. Medhurst and Dreibelbis (1978) published an interview with speechwriter Robert Shrum, touching on the topics of ethics, the writer's role, and the qualities needed to be a good writer. Craig R. Smith (1976, 1977) described his experiences as a writer for Gerald Ford. Einhorn (1981/82) provided a very complete list of published resources on political speechwriting.

Each of these scholars made an important contribution to the knowledge we have about speechwriting--some wrote retrospectively about

their own participation as writers for a particular candidate, others discussed writing in a particular campaign, or speechwriting in general. But none of the studies compared writing within a campaign across candidates, none concentrated on the primary election stage of the campaign process, none dealt in detail with the backgrounds of the writers who wrote for different candidates as a particular focus. Theodore Sorenson and William Safire provided the most detailed information about the candidates for whom they wrote (Kennedy and Nixon, respectively), and Theodore H. White in his Making of the President series discussed speechwriting functions briefly. But a detailed study of the speechwriting process and the interaction of a staff in producing a candidate's speeches seems not to have been published to date. The present study augments the contributions of previous scholars by offering detailed information about the speechwriting practices used by three of the leading candidates in a single campaign.

Method

My interest in the process of speechwriting led me to formulate a set of questions designed to elicit information about the interactions candidates and writers had, and the speech preparation processes of planning, research, drafting, reviewing, and revising that occurred during a primary election campaign. I wanted to find out whether speechwriters worked alone, in dyads, or in groups, how they got assignments, how much input candidates had, etc. I prepared a written list of questions and submitted it in writing to each speechwriter before conducting the telephone interviews. I wanted to be sure that the speechwriters felt free to discuss the topics I had selected; this was an important concern since the campaigns were underway, and questions of secrecy and strategy were salient at the time. Each writer agreed to answer the questions I submitted, but requested that I not use any information given to me "off the record." The questions reflect my orientation as an eclectically-trained rhetorical critic, working within the interpretive paradigm.

The twenty questions were asked in the order in which they appear below:

1. What is your background (education, training, work experience)?
2. How did you become a speechwriter for (candidate)?

3. In a typical day during the campaign, what do you do?
4. From beginning to end, what is the typical or "normal" step-by-step process that you and (candidate) adhere to in writing a speech?
5. If what you've just described is the "normal" process, is there a different process for a "big" speech or a "little" speech?
6. Who comes up with specific phrasing? Facts? Examples?
7. How is information checked? Who provides the background information?
8. Who sets the tone (emotional content) for a speech?
9. Who else is involved in speechwriting besides yourself?
10. How much involvement does (candidate) have in the production of his speeches?
11. What kind of involvement is it?
12. When you sit down with him to discuss an upcoming speech, what occurs between you--what kind of discussion, give and take, brainstorming, etc.?
13. If you don't have conferences like this, what sort of interaction do you have with him regarding speeches?
14. How do assignments come to you and from whom?
15. When an error of fact or interpretation is made, how are corrections issued after a speech? Or are they?
16. What is your religious background? How do you coordinate or fit your beliefs with (candidate's) beliefs when creating material for a speech? Are there conflicts that have been ironed out about how beliefs will be expressed?
17. Has a conscious decision been made about the types of beliefs that will and will not be expressed?
18. How are campaign themes worked into the speeches? Who decides what themes will be used in a speech?
19. How do you see yourself relative to (candidate's) other advisors and staff? Do you function as one advisor among many, or as part of a definite team who work together, or as a person in charge of certain areas,

etc.? How would you characterize your role and relationships with other campaign staff?

20. Is there any other information that I have not asked about that would help me to understand how (candidate's) speeches are created?

These questions were asked of the three speechwriters in telephone interviews during the spring months of 1988. The interviews were recorded with the permission of the parties and transcribed for study.

Speechwriting in the Dole Campaign

Bob Dole's chief writer, Stan Wellborn, came to the Dole campaign with a substantial background in journalism (telephone interview, March 22, 1988). During college, Wellborn wrote for the Topeka *Capitol Journal*. After graduation from Washburn University, Wellborn attended law school and then joined the Peace Corps. When the Peace Corps assignment ended, Wellborn came to Washington on a fellowship program with the Washington Journalism Center, and then got a job with *Congressional Quarterly* where he spent four years as a legislative and political writer. Next, he went to work for *U.S. News and World Report* as a "floater"--a writer who moves from department to department writing on a variety of subjects. He prepared articles on business, economics, education, civil rights, other social issues, science and technology, and medicine--a wide background of experience that spanned more than 15 years. Wellborn joined the Dole campaign in the summer of 1987.

Writing for Bob Dole was Wellborn's first experience in political campaigning and in speechwriting. From the first day, he was asked to write specific speeches for specific rallies or events. One of his initial assignments was a speech which became known within the campaign as the Cornfield Speech.

We were producing a video, a biographical video of the Senator at the time when I came on...** One of the things that we really needed for this video was a very inspiring "message speech" that would kind of encapsulate in a

short way what Bob Dole stood for, so I began working on this speech. (interview transcript, p. 4)

Wellborn produced "four or five" drafts of the speech. Dole would read each one and make comments on it; staff people sat around and went over the speech. The result was that "we basically kind of distilled it down gradually to a fairly short, very punchy and very dramatic...set of ideas...that (expressed) the Senator's view...on opportunity in America..." (interview transcript, p. 4) When he delivered the speech, Dole did not need to work from a text because "by that time, he really had it in his mind what he was going to say."

This process--writing a draft, sending it to Dole, sending it to the staff, and revising--was, in Wellborn's view, the best way to produce a speech for Senator Dole. Apparently Dole was at his best when speaking extemporaneously, rather than from a manuscript.

If he can get very familiar with the topics that he wants to cover, and get an idea in his mind of the kind of language that he wants to use, that's been suggested for him, then he could get up there, he could look the audience in the eye, and he just delivers the speech in Bob Dole's own vernacular--his own language, his own colloquial expressions. It really comes from the heart. If he is forced to read a text, then the drama, the good speakerly emphasis that you really want in a good speech drops off because he ...becomes beholden and trapped by the text. (interview transcript, pp. 4-5)

Wellborn pointed out that even though Dole had years of experience speaking extemporaneously in the U.S. Senate, his floor statements remained dull and boring. In spite of repeated practice, he is not an effective speaker when working from a manuscript.

While working for Dole, Wellborn wrote speeches on farm issues, on the federal budget deficit, trade, and many other topics. He obtained information from previous Dole position statements, from material created by his staff on Capitol Hill, and through standard research methods.

As the campaign became more intense, about January 1988, Wellborn saw speech preparation time shrink to the point where it sometimes

vanished. On some campaign trips, he would sit on the plane or in the bus with a portable computer on his lap and compose either "talking points" or specific language for Dole to use that same day. Sometimes Dole accepted this material and sometimes he did not. If Wellborn was working simultaneously on today's text and on a big speech a week from now, Dole would often return drafts of the big speech with comments like "This isn't what I want to do" or "You've got some good ideas here that might be worth developing but they need a lot of work" (interview transcript, p. 7) Dole was always involved in the preparation of his speeches, giving the time that he could.

The preparation of "talking points" meant that Wellborn would write a page or so of ideas, topics, or facts that he believed Dole might want when appearing before a particular audience. For example, when Dole was to speak before the Conservative Party of New York, Wellborn prepared talking points--one paragraph per item--including some remarks about the Senate's consideration of Robert Bork for the Supreme Court, which was of current interest to that audience. As Wellborn put it, Dole "just needs to be reminded that this audience might be interested in hearing X, Y, and Z and then he'll go in and give a great talk." Dole "can get up and give a farm speech in his sleep and he can talk about the deficit without a lot of work from a speechwriter, so sometimes you just give him the talking points." (interview transcript, pp. 7-8)

speaker
always
has
a topical
issue...

In addition to Wellborn, other people worked on material for Bob Dole's speeches during the campaign. There were several categories of other people: volunteers who prepared copy with permission from the campaign, volunteers who sent in unsolicited drafts, Dole's Capitol Hill staff, and a few free-lance writers who had occasionally worked with Dole in the past. All these people produced material for Dole; some of it was used and some was discarded. But the bulk of the speechwriting was done by Wellborn.

There was never any doubt about who was in control of the campaign, according to Wellborn. It was Bob Dole. When there were events that needed to be responded to, it was relatively rare that Dole would consult his advisors before making a public statement. In general,

Senator Dole is so familiar with...most of these things, and so conversant with Administration policy and with his

party's position and with the position of his Democratic counterparts that he normally can come up with his own responses on just about anything that happens. I mean it's rare that he gets a question out of left field that he can't deal with pretty well himself, that he has to turn to somebody to give him a position. ** (H)e's different than a lot of candidates who have to...have their hand held every step of the way--they're afraid to say anything without checking with what the political ramifications would be.... Dole knows this stuff cold a lot of the time. He's willing to speak on it without having a lot of smoke blown around it. (interview transcript, pp. 10-11)

In Wellborn's view, then, Dole was a confident politician who had a grasp of issues and the current landscape sufficient to allow him to be himself in his campaign. He was not "managed" so much as "guided" by his aides during his nine-month presidential campaign..

Speechwriting in the Bush Campaign

Vice President George Bush's chief writer, Reid Detchon, came to the campaign with a background in journalism and five years' experience as an aide on Capitol Hill (telephone interview, April 5, 1988). Detchon received a B.A. from Yale in 1970, then worked as a journalist in Baltimore, Columbia, Missouri, and Washington, D.C. He won a National Press Club Award for Washington Correspondent of the Year while working for the Columbia Daily Tribune. In 1981, he joined the staff of Missouri Senator Danforth as a committee staff member. Later he became a staff director of Danforth's subcommittee, and finally legislative director on his personal staff. Detchon left Danforth's staff in April 1986 to work on a personal business venture. He was recommended to the Bush campaign as a speechwriter by Senator Danforth's administrative assistant, and was hired in July 1987.

During the first six months of Detchon's speechwriting position, his days followed a manageable pattern. **During the fall of 1987 they worked a week or more in advance of events.** In the morning there was a staff meeting involving the Vice President's Chief of Staff, Craig Fuller, and other senior staff to discuss the upcoming schedule. Detchon might then talk with

Charlie Greenleaf, Bush's Deputy Chief of Staff in charge of policy development, about the possible contents of a speech, and afterwards sit down at the computer and work on a draft. When he finished a speech draft, he would circulate it for comment by the senior staff, particularly those whose issues expertise was needed. Sometimes a copy of the draft was routed to Vice President Bush for his review, if Bush's staff secretary felt that Bush would want to look at it. Bush would either physically mark the draft himself and return it to Detchon, or he would phone Detchon to discuss changes he wanted. After changes were made, the draft would be retyped. Copies were made for the press and a set of 4 x 6 cards was prepared for Bush to use when delivering the speech.

This process changed at the beginning of 1988, when the pace of the campaign increased as the primary elections approached. When Bush was on the road campaigning, it was common for him to deliver two or three prepared speeches per day. Detchon would sometimes have only one day to write the remarks; the next day Bush would deliver them. Such a pace cut down on the amount of review and comment that was possible among the senior staff. In one instance in March, there was a speech that concerned defense procurement. Detchon recalled, "... some of my rhetoric was a little bit overstated, and so, when it went past the people on our national security staff, they suggested I tone it down a bit.... (W)e were on the road, the speech was faxed back to Washington and circulated within the office. I talked to the [National Security] fellow on the phone and we went through the couple of paragraphs at issue and I marked my copy with his suggestions.... ** (O)nly one of the cards had to be retyped." (interview transcript, p. 3) When there were time pressures like these, Bush would frequently read the speech for the first time en route to the site. Sometimes he would mark changes on his cards just before the speech was delivered.

Detchon described two basic kinds of speeches--the ones that were "event driven" and those that were "generic". Event-driven speeches were those where the campaign leaders had decided that Bush should appear at a particular event--a rally, a Kiwanis Club meeting, a convention of some group where the campaign was interested in going to a certain location and speaking to a particular group of people or going to a certain region, but the event did not exist only because of Bush. The generic speech was a speech where a group invited Bush to talk about anything he'd like, and there was

the chance for good media coverage. Each of these two kinds of speeches would go through a preparation process including review and comment. Bush would get involved either at the beginning, when the speech was being planned, or at the end, when it had been written and reviewed by staff. Other people were asked to help when the speech concerned a controversial topic or a new topic. These people advised Bush but were not necessarily on the staff--they might be in government or formerly in government, experts in the field, those who had experience. The purpose of bringing in advisors was to make sure that Detchon did not inadvertently write something "that's a buzz word, that means something we don't even realize."

The review and comment process was serial--a draft was circulated from one staff member to another within the Vice President's office and the campaign office. Those involved were the Chief of Staff, Craig Fuller; the National Security Advisor, Don Gregg; the Press Office, with Acting Press Secretary Steve Hart; these were the Vice President's staff people. Over at the campaign, a draft would go to Lee Atwater, Campaign Manager; Bob Teeter, the pollster; Pete Teeley, Communications Director; and to various issues specialists. Thus, quite a few people looked at a major speech and had input into it, depending on the lead time available.

Occasionally, there was time for Detchon to sit down with Vice President Bush in advance and ask him for his thoughts about how he would like a certain topic to be approached. But, Detchon reported, that kind of meeting was "more the exception than the rule, mainly because of the time constraints." Most of his speechwriting assignments grew out of meetings with Bob Teeter and other people, depending on the situation, about upcoming speeches.

Background information on the event site was gathered by Detchon's two assistants or Detchon himself. Either they or he would call the person setting up the event or call the advance person from the Bush staff who was out there, and "find out what kind of a group it is, what their particular concerns are, any local color that you can pick up. Mostly that has to do with the first page or page and a half of the speech, where the Vice President is doing his introductory remarks..." (interview transcript, p. 12)

Because of Bush's high government position, his speeches were carefully prepared and reviewed in an extensive process that prevented errors and reduced the likelihood of misconstrual by listeners. Bush

generally spoke from a written text and rarely departed from his prepared remarks. In Detchon's view, Bush was a careful, cautious speaker.

Speechwriting in the Dukakis Campaign

Michael Dukakis' chief writer, Bill Woodward, came to the campaign with 12 years of experience as an aide on Capitol Hill (telephone interview May 22, 1988). Woodward received a bachelor's degree from Columbia University and a master's from the Fletcher School of International Law at Tufts University. He began working for Congressman Gerry Studds as a volunteer answering correspondence in 1973. In 1977, Woodward became Studds' legislative assistant, and in 1981 was made staff director of the Subcommittee on the Coast Guard and Navigation. In 1987 he became staff director of the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife. During the last seven or more years of his time with Congressman Studds, Woodward handled foreign policy for him, and did a lot of writing, including newsletters and floor statements. As a result of his work for Studds, Woodward considers his areas of expertise to be foreign policy, the environment, and oceans-related issues. Woodward was invited to have an interview with Governor Dukakis by John Sasso, who had previously worked for Congressman Studds. Woodward began talking with Dukakis' people in February 1987 and joined the campaign staff in April.

Woodward began his association with the Dukakis campaign by writing foreign policy speeches for the Governor. Six months later, his work expanded to other topic areas. He was asked to do a draft of Dukakis' announcement speech, as were other people. There ended up being "about three different drafts, which were then basically melded by the Governor himself," Woodward said. "... (T)here was an effort on the part of people in the campaign to make some suggestions to him [Governor Dukakis] about changes at the last minute. Some of those changes were made, and we ended up with a speech that I would say was probably written about 40% by the Governor and about 60% by other people that had various suggestions." (interview transcript, p. 10)

During Woodward's tenure as speechwriter, the process of writing a speech for Governor Dukakis began with a communications meeting attended

by campaign manager Susan Estrich, communications director Leslie Dach, issues director Christopher Edley, and people from the scheduling office. These meetings were held at least weekly. Upcoming campaign events would be announced and Woodward would receive instructions telling him, in effect, "Ok, this is where we're gonna be and this is what we wanna do. And it looks like we'll need speeches in this place on this subject." The people at the meeting comprised what Woodward characterized as the communications group or circle. They tried to plan at least a week ahead. Sometimes Dukakis would be at the planning meeting or would relay a message "I want to say this about such and such."

After getting the speech assignments, Woodward would take stock of the subject matter involved and decide what research needed to be done. For a speech where there would be new material, he had to do a lot of research. To make the most efficient use of his own time, he made it a practice to identify things he needed for the speech and send out requests for others to obtain the material for him, including newspapers, magazines, scholarly journals, government-related research publications, etc. People also were helpful in other ways:

... (W)e have a lot of people who make contributions to the Issues Department in various areas and who are asked sometimes in relation to a specific speech to do various papers for me, send in articles, send in ideas for the speeches or the theme, and those are extremely helpful to me, because I basically just ... gather a pile of stuff, and then just go through it and take down ideas that seem...useful...(interview transcript, p. 3)

After gathering and reading through the material, Woodward followed **standard speech preparation techniques**: formulate the speech objective, write the central idea, analyze the audience.

There was an important element of strategy in Woodward's preparation for writing, and that was an understanding of the particular place of this speech in the presidential campaign process. He described thinking through the speech purpose this way:

In other words, are we trying to get across some point of view on the particular subject? Is there some sort of more specific political purpose involved? Are we trying to differentiate our candidacy from another candidacy, not for the purpose of being negative about the other campaign, but by sort of trying to emphasize certain qualities that we have that at a certain time seem to be particularly important qualities comparing us to another candidate? That might be experience, or executive leadership ability, or a sense of personal values, or competence, or it might be ... an understanding of foreign policy issues, or an understanding about how you build a strong economy. ... (I)t's... a combination of trying to demonstrate a certain mastery of a substance area with a capacity on the part of Dukakis not only to know about it, but also to be able to demonstrate that he has the ability to translate that sort of knowledge into government programs that will work. (interview transcript, p. 3.)

The process of getting a speech accepted by Dukakis meant that Woodward would write a draft, circulate it to Susan Estrich, Leslie Dach, and Chris Edley, incorporate their changes/suggestions, and **send the corrected draft to the Governor, who "makes his edits."** Then the speech was typed and duplicated. Ordinarily, there was enough time for these steps to take place one or more days before the speech was delivered. Sometimes, however, the process was shortened because there was simply not enough time. In May 1988, Woodward said "It's getting more and more--we've had him edit [and] see speeches for the first time on the plane out to the place where he's going to deliver the speech," but in general, "we try to get it to him at least a couple days in advance, and if we've got a bigger speech, we try to give him an outline of that as much in advance as possible so that he can give us his specific suggestions for what he wants out of it." (interview transcript, p. 9)

Dukakis preferred speaking off the cuff, without a text, although at times he would speak well from talking points he prepared himself just before delivery. The majority of his campaign appearances were like this, according to Woodward. However, when given a text, Dukakis was "fairly loyal" to it. When he went off the text, it would be in a predictable way: he

would elaborate on a statement in a manner that he had done before, sometimes "20 or 30 or 40 times," noted Woodward.

In addition to Woodward, other people worked on material for Governor Dukakis' speeches during the campaign. There were two categories of other people: regular advisors on specific issues (foreign policy, the economy, etc.) who hold professional positions outside the campaign, and campaign staff members other than Woodward. In the first category were people like Dukakis' top foreign policy advisor--Madeline Albright of Georgetown University. In the second category were people like foreign policy advisor Kim Steinberg, who served as deputy to Chris Edley on the campaign issues staff. Albright and Steinberg were called upon whenever Dukakis was to give a foreign policy speech. Their involvement, according to Woodward, included not only "suggesting specific topics for a speech but in many cases the language." As he described it, "They would come up with ideas and I might rework them and send them back and they would make editorial changes, and I tend to defer to their judgment on a lot of these things because ... that's what they're there for, and they've got a better sense of the meaning of certain phrases in terms of the audience [of very sophisticated people in the area of foreign policy]...." (interview transcript, p. 7)

The final decision on all questions or issues that might come up within a speech was made by Governor Dukakis in consultation with campaign manager Susan Estrich. Woodward said about Dukakis that "he's got a very good idea about who he is", and about what he will and won't say. When the campaign media consultants and polling people advised making a change, or told Dukakis that he "ought to be doing something new and dramatically different than what we have been doing," Dukakis did not always agree to a change. As Woodward described it, Dukakis in many cases said "OK, fine, I'm not saying that's not true, but this is still the way I feel most comfortable talking about these issues and that's the way I intend to continue talking about it." (interview transcript, p. 12) Most often the disagreements were handled in meetings, and a compromise was reached. When the decision came to Woodward to be incorporated in speeches, it usually took the form of a slight language change--nothing dramatically different.

Discussion

The speechwriting practices in these three campaigns provide an opportunity to compare similarities and differences. I will first discuss the writers' backgrounds and their methods of working on speeches, and then address the ways candidates used completed speech material.

The education and experiences of the writers revealed that two were trained as journalists; one went on to law school, and then into journalism, while the other wrote for a time and then became a Congressional aide. The third writer had a master's in international law but began his career as a Congressional aide. For all three, the 1988 campaign was their first experience in writing presidential campaign speeches. All had done substantial writing in their careers, one for several periodicals, one for a newspaper and a Senator, and the third for a Congressman and for House subcommittees.

The speechwriting methods revealed by the writers were similar. All three received assignments for specific speeches designed for specific rallies or events. All were accustomed to preparing first drafts, and then revising after review and comment by senior campaign aides and the candidate himself. But they had differing amounts of contact with their candidates. Dole's writer, Stan Wellborn, had more personal time with Dole than the other writers with their candidates. Bush's writer, Reid Detton, and Dukakis' writer, Bill Woodward, were accustomed to receiving their assignments and major feedback from senior aides, and only occasionally meeting personally with their candidates. In the cases of Bush and Dukakis, there were extensive review and comment sequences that the speech drafts went through; many people on the campaign staff, and in Bush's case, on his Vice Presidential staff as well, had input into a speech before it was approved. Dole's review process was more informal and less extensive.

The three candidates differed in their use of prepared text. Dole preferred speaking from talking points, after having studied a draft and been briefed on certain topics. Dukakis preferred speaking off the cuff at times, but was loyal to his text in set speech situations. Bush generally used a manuscript and stuck to it with few departures.

He had
the
smallest
"bureaucracy"
?

In responding to late-breaking news events which required comment from the candidates, Dole usually formulated and delivered his own oral statement, without discussing it with aides or with his writer. Dukakis would discuss ideas with his aides and his writer, several people might offer specific language, and then Dukakis would make the decision about what would be said. Bush would receive a specially prepared and carefully reviewed statement for delivery at the next campaign stop or in an informal "press availability" with reporters.

See
Bush's
press-
conf.

Conclusion

Having looked in detail at the speechwriting process at work in the Bush, Dole, and Dukakis campaigns, I can make some general statements about what went on. The first is that we should not make broad generalizations about the process of speechwriting in campaigns. There are important differences in the way speeches get written. Second, as has been demonstrated, some candidates have more input into their speeches and more involvement in constructing them than other candidates do. The candidates with more involvement seem to end up with speeches that are more "their own" -- more authentic and believable. Third, staff members often influence the speechwriting process in important ways, via scheduling, lead time, topic choice, fact checking, etc. Fourth, knowing how a candidate's speeches are produced may suggest how he may run his staff once he gets into the White House. The process provides a glimpse of his management style. Dole's was hands-on and shoot from the hip. Dukakis' style featured control from the top, careful checking, clear focus on a set of basic ideas and principles. Bush's style was cautious and decentralized, with much checking and rechecking, careful consideration of political repercussions, and consulting of experts before texts were approved. Fifth, campaign speechwriters tend to be experienced writers selected from backgrounds in law, journalism, and congressional staff work, which give them existing areas of expertise useful to a presidential candidate. Sixth, the speechwriting process is time-consuming, but seems to be necessary if the current style of presidential campaigning continues. This year's candidates entered so many primaries and maintained such an arduous pace of campaign appearances that most likely none of them could have set aside

Very
little
to support
this.

Doubt
it.

the extensive time necessary to prepare appropriate speeches. Thus the public is left with the difficult task of discerning which thoughts and ideas come from the candidate himself, and which are the add-ons of aides and advisors, out of the cloud of words produced by professional speechwriters.

What these findings mean to political communication theory seems clear: rhetorical critics and other scholars must not attribute the words of speeches to candidates unless they have carefully studied the process by which a candidate causes speeches to be prepared, and have discovered that they can justify such attributions. As the present study shows, it is incorrect to say--explicitly or implicitly--that George Bush "uses" a certain set of metaphors, or "sets forth his program," or "believes in" a certain idea, or "takes" a certain position in a speech. My interview with Bush writer Reid Detton confirmed that George Bush had very little to do with the creation of his own speeches; he literally read from cards the words that other people had written for him. Not only did he not write the words, but also he did not suggest the ideas or select the strategy with which they were arranged. In classical terms, Bush participated in only one of the parts of rhetoric: delivery. Yet, many scholars continue to attribute to Bush and to other candidates the words that they pronounce and the implicit title of "rhetor." Bormann's suggestion (1960) that we acknowledge that a candidate's words are created by one or more writers, or by a committee, seems even more important today than ever before, to prevent us from falling into the error of equating the campaign words with the campaigner.

References

- Benson, T. (1968). Conversation with a ghost. *Today's Speech*, 16, 71-81.
- Benson, T. (1974). Conversation with a ghost: a postscript. *Today's Speech*, 22 (Summer), 13-15.
- Bormann, E. G. (1956). Ghostwriting agencies. *Today's Speech*, 4 (Sept.), 20-23.
- Bormann, E.G. (1960). Ghostwriting and the rhetorical critic. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 46, 284-288.
- Bormann, E. G. (1961). Ethics of ghostwritten speeches. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 47, 262-267.
- Einhorn, L.J. (1981/82). The ghosts unmasked: a review of the literature on speechwriting. *Communication Quarterly*, 30 (Winter), 41-47.
- Fischer, J. (1965). A footnote on Adlai E. Stevenson. *Harper's Magazine*, 231 (Nov), pp. 18-29.
- Medhurst, J.F. & Dreibelbis, G. C. (1978). The ghost of McGovern. *Communication Quarterly*, 26 (Winter), 37-43.
- Ray, R. (1956). Ghostwriting in presidential campaigns. *Central States Speech Journal*, 8, 10-11.
- Safire, W. (1975). *Before the Fall--an inside view of the pre-Watergate White House*. New York: Doubleday.
- Smith, C. R. (1976). Contemporary political speechwriting. *Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 42 (Fall), 52-67.
- Smith, C.R. (1977). Addendum to "Contemporary political speechwriting." *Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 42 (Winter), 191-194.
- Sorenson, T.C. (1965). *Kennedy*. New York: Harper & Row.

peaceful res.
Said "I all
want to along -
remind
every day...
of nec. -
Sors -

Keep this idea -
peaceful res - at the forefront.
at the forefront.

Excerpts from the President's remarks on the Budget
George Voinovich / Akron, Ohio
September 26, 1990

... "We can meet the test at home, I'm confident we can meet it, but what we must do is first put our fiscal house in order. Right now, at this very minute, we are coming down to the wire in Washington, to the final few days of the fiscal year. Remember the new fiscal year starts October 1st, the way the Federal Government keeps its books. So, we're right down at the end of the old fiscal year, coming to the new one. The final few days and still we do not have an agreement in hand to bring this deficit down. Up there in the Congress, right now, we sent a proposal there months ago.

Five days from now the axe falls. An automatic, mandated sequester that will cut \$100 billion from the federal budget.

A cutback of this scope is going to hit hard, it's going to hit home and it's going to hit many, many people.

Let me give you a couple of examples, so you'll understand when you hear that word, what sequester means. For air-travellers, it means big cutbacks in air traffic control and substantial increases in flight delays and outright cancellations.

For farmers, it will mean that ASCS offices will close during harvest time. And for meat-packers, plants may close when the inspectors fail to show up.

For college students, it means an end to 1.2 million Pell Grants--1.2 million eliminated outright. Add to that a 22 percent cutback in grants to another 2 million students. In this very city this means that the poor students, the poorer kids, will not be able to attend Akron University.

Let me tell you, the sequester is strong medicine. But it's medicine patented by the Congress itself. It represents the last attempt by Congress to cure itself of its feverish spending habits and without an agreement, it is the only way for Congress to force itself to make the very necessary tough choices. It is the law of the land and I took an oath to the constitution to uphold the law of the land.

We have tried to do our part to solve this difficult problem. I made a good effort, a good-faith effort to reach a sound and sensible budget agreement. Let me go back to the beginning, back to February 1st, when I sent a complete budget up to Capitol Hill. And back to April 1st, when the Democrats, who control both houses of the United States Congress, missed the

deadline to take action on that budget. Their own deadlines, spelled out in their own rules for the Congress.

A month later, in May, I convened a budget summit, recognizing we only had a few months to go to this October 1st that is now only a few days away. We wanted to jump-start the process. At the end of June, when the talks bogged down, I made a concession demanded by the Democrat leaders to get Congress off dead center. I put it all on the table -- even taxes. And I took a lot of political heat coming out of the Democratic party and the Democratic leaders. They had a great bunch of joy out of all of that. Then in July, when both sides pledged to exchange comprehensive budget plans the Democrats delayed while we delivered.

All through the talks, for 135 long days, time and again I've gone the extra mile, and I think the Republicans in the Congress have gone the extra mile, and each time the other side said, 'it's still your move; it is still your move.'

Well, it's not just our move anymore.

If and when the axe falls, the Democratic Congress knows that it will be held accountable and I will take that message to every State in the Union. It is their fault for holding up getting a budget agreement.

I've sat on my hands, I've suffered the slings and arrows that I expect from the political process, but I have a podium too, I have a bully-pulpit too. And I am going see that it is not printed one side of this story, one Democrat after another knocking my socks off on Capitol Hill. The American people want a budget agreement, they know who controls the Congress and they want them to deliver a budget agreement to get this deficit down.

→ Let me come again at you; it goes well beyond political rhetoric. It is one of the great economic challenges that our country has faced. It is important to get a solution. But the threat of sequester doesn't change the fact that the fundamental test of any agreement is whether it sustains conditions for continued economic growth and job creation.

That's why I've called on Congress to build a package of pro-growth incentives into a budget agreement, incentives that create jobs and encourage aggressive, competitive R&D, that sustain growth and steer this economy clear of recession. And yes, that's why I will continue to push hard for incentives for capital investment. In this global environment, many of our fiercest competitors are way ahead of us in promoting the savings and essential investment opportunities to success in the international marketplace.

And contrary to what you may have heard, the hang-up is not capital gains[^] the hang-up is with the Democrats on Capitol Hill.

We're still waiting for the Congress to come up with enough real spending cuts. Cuts that are enforceable, not just another empty promise of future savings, a promise waiting to be broken. And we're still waiting for Congress to commit to meaningful budget process reform -- reform that builds real discipline into the budget process.

The American people are not dumb. They know as they watch the Congress that the budget process is a mess and it must be fixed once and for all.

We're going to bear the heat here. The last thing we want is for this year's budget fiasco to become next year's instant replay.

So today I say this to the United States Congress: Keep those lights burning on Capitol Hill if you have to, but before that deadline passes, five days from now, let's reach the agreement that the American people are waiting for. No quick fix, no deal to delay these difficult budget decisions until after the elections.

Yesterday one of the powerful committees, controlled by Democrats voted down party lines to delay the solution, kick it on down the road, don't make the tough decision today. Well, I am going to stand in the way of that plan. If using every ounce of pressure I have including the veto, to see that that does not happen. No quick fix, no delay. October 1st is the zero hour, and it's real. We have got to prove to the American people once and for all that we can come together to deal with this deficit.

There have been times when the cooperation has been good, and frankly, I'll be honest with you, I think the two or three top leaders on the Democratic side, have tried pretty hard on this matter. But that's not enough. That is not enough. The control lies there, and the responsibility to come forth with an agreement lies there.

Congress should listen to Members like Mike Dewine ... who say it's simply outrageous that important government services be jeopardized because Congress cannot do its job and pass a budget with the necessary reductions.

Reaching an agreement is critical. It really is. We simply cannot fail to put our fiscal house in order. Especially now with the challenge that we're facing over there, half way around the world in the Persian Gulf." ...

Tocqueville.

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations.

They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive.

The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes; in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, and schools.

If it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society.

Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a an of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association.

Will the administration of the country ultimately assume the management of all the manufactures which no single citizen is able to carry on?

In democratic countries the science of association is the mother of science; the progress of all the rest depends upon the progress it has made.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Fragile process.

Poland - a beehive of
Political activity.

Uneasiness esp in Pol. Party +
nomenklatura.

Kadar - "architect of last
30 yrs of devel. in Hungary"

Short term in P+H -

difficult.

Long-term: conditions
favorable.

Spain - late 1950's.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ZB - Pres. Supp can advance
process of transition -
can accelerate
end of division of Europe.

Transition from communism
has never taken place -
difficult, perhaps insurmountable.

Roland - "unprecedented
degree of power-sharing"
departure from Leninism -
party monopoly of power.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

see its remarkable growth.

EE - educate people, highly
trained.

need incentives,
management assistance
& training.

If H + P evolve -
will have enormous
impact on EE + USSR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

End of division of
Europe - not a slogan.
could produce
termination of Cold War.

Close association bet.
EE + West (unifying)

Pol + Hung - special
"associate status", EEC.
(Delors against?)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

B. Sees growth of
security apparatus from
"confrontation to cooperation"

Failure: return to
repression.

Geostategic challenge.

"Risks are high."

How far will USSR allow
change in EG?

B: step-by-step process
is Best.

Your work reminds us what excellence in education is all about: there's no substitute for a great teacher and a willing student. Everything we do should aim at allowing that experience take place -- for as many of our children as possible....

There's work to be done.

Consider these facts: Our 5th-graders rank eighth among their peers from other industrialized nations in general science skills -- and American high school seniors are 13th out of 13 in biology. Now, one more: less than 1% of our high school seniors study chemistry and physics for two years each.

Today, the United States produces more Nobel laureates than any other nation... tomorrow....

The good news is that the education reform movement has reached critical mass. Six years ago this month, the Department of Education released its study, A Nation at Risk -- a call to arms for educators and all other Americans concerned with the state of American education. Whether you ask the average citizen, the man on the street or CEO.

As a nation, we can work together to improve education....

That means raising our standards, raising our sites.

By the year 2000, American students must once again rank with our major trading partners....

Benjamin Franklin was once asked to describe the most pitiful condition: "a lonesome man on a rainy day, who does not know how to read."

Reading isn't just a rainy day amusement. It is the foundation skill that opens to us the collective wisdom of our culture, of human history....

And it is more.... Functional literacy is a survival skill: for the man who can't read the want ads.... For the mother who can't read the warning on the medicine bottle, or read her child to sleep at night.... Illiteracy is a locked door to individual advancement -- and it's time we opened that door....

The answer isn't educating an intellectual elite while ignoring the rest. Yes, we want to make our best better still. But we must also lift the whole -- raise the overall level of education. We must make sure that every American student has an education that opens opportunity, and enables them to advance to the best of their abilities.

And when it comes to the future, education is the leading "economic indicator." We all see the rapid pace of technological change -- we all know how competitive the world economy has become. In the 21st Century, we'll find an economy that places a premium on thinking for a living -- on an individual's ability to adjust, adapt and innovate.

Many of us are accustomed to think of choosing a career or occupation as a once-in-a-lifetime decision. The future is likely to be far different: in fact, the average American entering the workforce in the 1990s can expect to train and retrain for different kinds of work several times during the course of his career.

Education must equip us for this new world. Provided we do, our children can look forward to being members of a dynamic, productive and rewarding society.... If we fail to meet this challenge, we'll find millions of Americans staring across an educational divide -- workers without skills, cut off from jobs beyond their reach.

"process defect work" remediation....

The primary responsibility for education remains with the states and local school systems. But the federal government can serve as a catalyst for change. Today, I've sent to Congress a seven-point initiative to spur excellence in education.

These initiatives aim at rewarding excellence -- in our schools, our students, our teachers -- and expanding choice and competition as a means of promoting quality in education.

Work for all of us to do. call on you to begin today....

On the state and local level: schools can continue to experiment for excellence. Let's hold ourselves accountable. Let's not pass on a problem student up the educational ladder and out into the world with a diploma -- but without the skills he needs to succeed.

In our corporations: According to some studies, the cost of remedial education -- of getting entry-level employees up to the starting line -- will soon reach \$25 billion dollars a year. That's a high price to pay -- one that cuts into our overall productivity.

Many corporations are already involved with productive partnerships with the schools. More should join them. Working

together means a better fit between the students we graduate and the society they enter.

Parents: create a climate that fosters learning. Take an interest in the work your child does -- it's every bit as important as your own. When your child asks a question, take the time to answer. Learning isn't just a schooltime activity, and you can be the most important teacher your child will ever have.

Finally, I urge all Americans to keep in mind one fundamental fact: in a democracy, education isn't optional. It's integral -- absolutely central -- to the system.

Jefferson....

Twain: "out of the public school grows the greatness of a nation."

McGroarty/Dooley
June 29, 1989
8:00 am
[EEBRIEF]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EASTERN EUROPE SYMPOSIUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
JULY 6, 1989
3:15 PM

I want to welcome all of you to the White House. This Sunday, as you know, I will begin a trip that will take me to Poland and Hungary. This is an extraordinary time in Eastern Europe -- a time of unprecedented change and unprecedented opportunity in East-West affairs.

Hungary and Poland are leading the way -- pushing forward with reform. In Hungary, the outlines of a multi-party system -- real political pluralism -- are emerging as the state loosens its grip. Hungary has moved farther than any other nation in the Soviet Bloc towards a free market economy. Even **within** the communist party, there's a consensus emerging for reform, with a focus on the free market and expanding political freedoms.

Poland too is on the path to reform. But no two countries are the same. Poland's economic difficulties are severe. Overcoming them won't be easy. But the regime has taken a giant step towards political legitimacy with the creation of a new freely-elected Senate -- and the promise of fully free elections for all seats in Parliament four years from now. What that means

for Poland's dream of self-determination is clear: new voices -- new hope.

These are positive developments. We've got to do all we can to keep reform moving -- to keep it on track to genuine democracy.

In just a few days, I'll be speaking to the people of Poland and Hungary about what the United States -- and other Western governments -- can do to help. But my message to you today is this: the movement towards democracy takes more than governments alone. Democracy's great strength lies in its **private institutions** -- the institutions each of you represents. **What you do can make the difference for democracy in Hungary and Poland.**

I've called you here because all of you can be bridge-builders between East and West.

I'm calling on the American business community to encourage the movement toward the free market by working with private sector enterprises in Hungary and Poland. Private enterprise has been the engine of economic growth in America. It can be the key to prosperity in Poland and Hungary. Help it thrive.

I want to call on those of you in the educational community to expand our exchanges with Hungary and Poland. Open the lines

of communication between American universities and the great centers of learning in Budapest, Warsaw and Krakow. Let's learn from each other.

I want to see workers in Hungary as well as Poland benefit from the support of American trade unions. American labor and Solidarnosc have forged a strong relationship -- a great chapter in the history of international labor. But there's more work to do -- and it may be the most important work of all.

I want to ask those of you active in our cultural and artistic communities to strengthen America's links to the great artistic traditions of Hungary and Poland. Each of us can enrich other, speak to each other -- through art, music and the written word.

Together, right in this room, there is a cross-section of the institutions that make democracy work -- that give meaning to the word democracy. **You're freedom in action.** You can help others along the path to freedom and democracy.

In just a few moments, you'll hear from some of the top experts on Eastern Europe, on trade -- and from people already involved in enterprises in Hungary and Poland. I think you'll find what they have to say enlightening and instructive.

But more than that -- I hope you'll find the next few hours exciting. There's a democratic evolution underway in Hungary and Poland: a deep yearning for the kinds of freedom -- economic and political, artistic and intellectual -- that we in America enjoy. It's up to all of us to see that those freedoms come to Hungary and Poland. Thank you.

#

Promoting Freedom and Peace: The United States Approach
to Arms Control and East-West Relations

An Address by Ambassador Edward L. Rowny
Special Advisor to the President
and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters

Solidarity Parliamentary Club
Warsaw, Poland - October 13, 1989

The United States is now facing what Secretary of State Baker has called the "challenge of change" in the political and military developments facing the United States around the globe. To meet this challenge the United States will pursue prudent and realistic policies. We will rely on the proven policies that have contributed so fundamentally to America's foreign policy success, and to the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union.

We will continue to build relations with the Soviet Union on a solid foundation. President Bush is fortunate in that he has not had to reconstruct our relations with the Soviet Union from the ground up. Rather, he has inherited a strong foundation which he helped to build in eight years as Vice President. This foundation is a broad agenda for US-Soviet relations, which incorporates human rights questions; bilateral issues between us and the Soviets; regional conflicts such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, and Central America; transnational issues such as the environment; and arms control. Arms control is not the centerpiece of US-Soviet affairs, since arms control treats the symptoms, not the causes, of East-West tension. Arms control is not soundly based if pursued as an end in itself. It is but one part of a larger agenda that places our dealings with the Soviet Union into balance and perspective.

In order to fulfill the promise of the current period we will continue to deal with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. The Soviets respect strength, and they abhor weakness. Far from jeopardizing our relations with the USSR, a sustained United States defense effort prepares the ground for a better relationship. It is a tangible demonstration to Soviet leaders that they cannot secure an advantage by military means. Our continued strength will convince the Soviet leadership that the United States will not abandon a task half finished, that we will not abide a return to old-style Soviet expansion.

President Bush has called for a policy of moving beyond containment of the Soviet Union to a new era of cooperation based on respect for personal freedom and the rule of law. Ending the artificial division of Europe is one of the top priorities on the President's international agenda. For only when Europe is whole and free again can we pronounce the Cold War over.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1985, I have taken part in some two dozen foreign ministers' meetings and four summits. The contrast between four years ago and now is dramatic. In the beginning, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze refused to discuss any items other than arms control. We persisted with our objective and over time got the Soviets gradually to transform their approach. Now the Soviets engage us on all five points of the broad agenda. This more balanced approach has borne fruit for arms control.

The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, now in force, is bringing about the elimination of an entire class of nuclear missiles. Its unprecedented, intrusive verification measures, moreover, are giving us

valuable field experience toward the much more difficult task of effectively verifying a Strategic Arms Reduction (START) Treaty.

I will have more to say later about START, but first I would like to tell you about President Bush's political, social and arms control initiatives for healing the division of Europe.

Freedom and Security for Europe, East and West

At NATO's 40th anniversary summit last May, the President challenged the alliance to undertake a broad plan for making all of Europe once again whole and free. Specifically, he made the following proposals:

1. Strengthen and broaden the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in its work on economic, human rights and security matters. Intensify the efforts of Western democratic political parties to help the coalescing political opposition in Eastern Europe develop the democratic process.
2. Remove the Wall and bring glasnost to East Berlin. Berlin is where the division of Europe is seen most clearly and brutally.
3. Work together on environmental problems, with the U.S. extending technical assistance to East European countries plagued by pollution.
4. Accelerate a NATO-Warsaw Pact agreement for deep reductions in conventional forces. Our key objectives in the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) talks are to:
 - ** Eliminate the capability for surprise attack and large scale offensive action;
 - ** Remove the major source of military instability on the European continent: the threat posed by excessively large, offensively configured forces of the Warsaw Pact, especially forward deployed Soviet forces; and
 - ** Concentrate on reducing those weapons that are best suited for surprise attack and offensive operations: tanks, artillery, armored troop carriers, and combat aircraft and helicopters. The Warsaw Pact has indicated willingness to make deep, asymmetrical cuts in these systems, and we are seeking to lock it into a firm commitment.

The President proposed further that US and Soviet troops based on foreign soil in Europe be limited to 275,000 each -- a cut of 30,000 from current US levels and 325,000 from Soviet levels. All withdrawn troops would be demobilized, and all reduced weapons would be destroyed. The President ended by challenging NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators to complete a CFE treaty within one year -- a challenge we are glad to see has been embraced by both sides.

When the CFE talks resumed in September, NATO tabled its proposals on information exchange, stabilizing measures, verification, and non-circumvention. A formal response from the East is eagerly awaited. We were happy to see the Warsaw Pact move closer to NATO's position on combat aircraft although its position continues to reflect a narrower definition than that used by NATO. Good progress is being made and will be sustained if both sides work constructively and with a sense of urgency.

Verification Will Expedite START

In Geneva we now are engaged in two important sets of talks on strategic programs, the START talks and the Defense and Space Talks.

In START, we and the Soviets have agreed in principle to stabilizing reductions in each side's long-range nuclear forces. But reductions are not the whole story. Indeed, it is possible to cut weapons and end up with a more dangerous situation if the resulting balance of forces is improperly structured. In time of crisis, a relative advantage on one side -- or the perceived vulnerability of the other's retaliatory forces -- could put a premium on striking first. This is why one of the key criteria for resolving the remaining details in START is whether they will enhance stability, that is, strengthen deterrence by ensuring that no first strike can succeed.

President Bush's first major initiative in START has been to put verification on the front burner. He proposes that we and the Soviets work out certain verification and stability measures for START, and implement them as soon as possible, even before a START treaty enters into force. The President is seeking both to expedite START and to ensure that any treaty he signs will be effectively verifiable.

Verification is one of the most complex issues in the START negotiations. We made a quantum leap in verification with the INF Treaty's provisions for baseline and short notice on-site inspections, and portal monitoring of missile facilities. But verification of START, compared to INF, is considerably more difficult. While INF provided for the complete elimination of limited types of missile systems and banned their production, deployment, and testing, in START the problem is both different and harder.

Production, deployment and modernization of strategic weapons will continue under START. START also includes other constraints, like a limit on ballistic missile throw-weight. We will have to keep track of specific numbers of disparate weapons, some of which are mobile. So a high priority will be placed on satisfying our concerns about the possible acquisition by the Soviets of a covert strategic force and resulting Soviet capability to violate or break out of a START agreement.

Including certain verification techniques in an agreement does not necessarily make that agreement effectively verifiable. Simply having the right to on-site inspection does not mean inspections will automatically yield relevant information. What is required is a comprehensive system of verification procedures, based on a detailed exchange of data, incorporating unhindered national technical means of verification, on-site inspection, continuous monitoring of key ballistic missile production facilities, and clear rules covering the permitted disposition of limited systems. This verification system must also allow each side to protect its sensitive facilities from unwarranted scrutiny. Developing such a system takes time and effort.

In verification, as in other endeavors, practice makes perfect. The highly useful experience we have gained implementing the INF Treaty shows there is no substitute for hands-on experience. Exploring, developing, and practicing methods of verification early in the negotiating process can help prevent glitches that could delay a treaty.

One such problem arose in INF when the Soviets told us late in the game that the first stage of the prohibited SS-20 was "outwardly similar" to that of the permitted SS-25. Eventually we were able to solve this problem, but dry run inspections and an early data exchange could have expedited the development of a way to deal with it. Field experience in verifying a future START Treaty -- for example, monitoring the production of ballistic missiles or inspecting the number of warheads on a missile -- can help prevent such problems. It can also help ensure that talk around the negotiating table doesn't result in a commitment to procedures of little or no practical utility.

Because START deals with the core of the US deterrent -- our strategic forces -- it is critical to our security. Verification is critical to knowing that reductions that would be agreed upon in a START Treaty, the text of which now runs 400-plus pages, would be implemented faithfully -- especially in light of the poor Soviet record on compliance. This is the key to the benefits of increased security, stability, and predictability that a well-constructed arms control agreement can provide.

Some critics of the President's initiative allege it is intended to stall negotiations and delay agreement. This is nonsense. A positive Soviet response to implement the US proposal would accelerate the START process. The critics argue in effect that it is more important to sign an agreement quickly than to see to it that arms reductions actually take place verifiably. If arms reduction is a serious enough matter to warrant concluding a treaty carrying the weight of domestic and international law, then effective verification must be taken just as seriously. Prudence dictates that we must not rest a matter as critical as our national security on Soviet promises.

Finally, verification is an important buttress of domestic support for arms control's role in our national security policy. A replay of the divisive debate that occurred over the SALT II Treaty would not be in the interests of the US, of our allies, or of US-Soviet relations. Effective verification is an essential criterion in determining whether a START treaty will be signed by the President and ratified by the Senate.

Putting verification on the front burner shows that the President is serious about reaching a START treaty that is in the US national interest. Soviet agreement to make a special effort to develop and put into practice ways of verifying START limits would be a positive sign that "new thinking" translates into action.

In Geneva the Soviets were not prepared to engage on the verification and stability measures. At the Wyoming ministerial in September, the sides signed an umbrella agreement which in principle commits both to making concrete progress on specific verification and stability measures. Those now under discussion include: early data exchange; halting denial of ballistic missile telemetry data; establishment of perimeter/portal monitoring of certain ballistic missile production facilities; addressing the problem of short-time-of-flight submarine-launched ballistic missiles; procedures for ballistic missile re-entry vehicle inspections; briefing and demonstrations of "tagging" missiles with unique identifiers. We hope the Soviets will engage more constructively on these measures during the current Geneva round.

Transition to Strategic Defenses

In the Defense and Space Talks, our negotiators are making the case for strategic defense. We want to pave the way for a cooperative transition to a world in which effective defenses against ballistic missile attack play an increasing role in assuring deterrence. To this end, we have introduced a draft treaty building on the agreement reached between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev at the Washington Summit in December 1987. We aim in these talks to protect our right to investigate defensive technologies and preserve our options to deploy strategic defenses when they are ready.

Last month at the Wyoming ministerial, the Soviets dropped their insistence that they would not sign a START treaty unless we agreed to cripple or kill our SDI program. Though this removes an artificial barrier to the START agreement, make no mistake: The Soviets still want to kill or cripple SDI. Instead of engaging us on our Defense and Space draft treaty which in

effect amends the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to permit a transition to strategic defenses, the Soviets want to hold us to even stricter limits on defense than the original ABM Treaty prescribed.

The Soviets do not oppose the idea of strategic defenses; they only oppose the U.S. acquiring a defensive system. Unlike some theorists in my own country, the Soviets do not put their faith in offense alone but in a combination of defense and offense. The Soviets never have subscribed to the theory of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). They have the world's only deployed strategic defenses and are spending an estimated eight to 10 times as much as the U.S. for strategic defense.

Moscow has great respect for our technological prowess. The Soviets realize that the United States has a comparative advantage over them in technology. Accordingly, they work in the negotiating process to limit us whenever possible.

SDI has the same purpose as sound arms control, namely to enhance stability and reduce the risk of war. Today, the threat of retaliation is our sole means of deterring a nuclear attack. A layered system of space and ground based defenses, however, would strengthen deterrence while threatening no one. Effective ballistic missile defenses would shatter Soviet war planners' confidence of being able to succeed with an ICBM first strike. A strategy relying increasingly on defenses would solve problems that purely retaliatory strategy has been unable to deal with satisfactorily. Effective defenses are our only sure protection against mobile missiles, which are difficult to target with offensive forces.

We believe the case for offensive reductions is strengthened by effective strategic defenses. As we make reductions in strategic offensive forces, the impact of cheating and breakout potential magnifies. Strategic defenses would act as an insurance policy against these threats. As we look to the future, our security will grow increasingly reliant on strategic defenses.

Meanwhile we no longer can afford to consider strategic defenses exclusively in terms of the U.S.-Soviet superpower relationship. It would be naive to assume that the current situation -- where the only substantial ballistic missile threat to the U.S. stems from the Soviet Union -- will continue into the 21st century. Capability to produce ballistic missiles is no longer "high" technology. It is becoming accessible to a growing number of countries, some with dangerously unstable governments. Reliable estimates predict that within a little over a decade 15 developing nations might have the capability to launch ballistic missiles.

Curbing the Chemical Weapons Threat

Chemical weapon proliferation is another concern on a par with the spread of ballistic missile technology. As the Iran-Iraq war showed, the taboo against chemical warfare is not as strong as we imagined. Chemical weapons could become a cheap and widely available "poor man's atomic bomb." The combination of ballistic missiles and chemical weapons coming into the possession of the same people who today have no compunction about blowing up airliners filled with innocent passengers should galvanize our will to develop missile defenses.

The chemical weapons threat is such a danger that President Bush has redoubled United States efforts to ban these weapons. U.S. and Soviet bilateral discussions on this problem yielded a very helpful memorandum of understanding, on the exchange of data, signed in Wyoming by Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Baker.

In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly on September 25, President Bush reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to a multilateral treaty that would completely eliminate chemical weapons (CW) in 10 years, provided that all states with chemical weapons capability become party to the treaty. The President proposed the following initiatives to give new impetus to the negotiations:

- * The U.S. will destroy more than 98 percent of its current CW stockpile within eight years after entry into force of a multilateral CW treaty, provided the Soviet Union also is a party.
- * The remaining 2 percent would be destroyed in the following two years after all CW-capable countries become parties to the treaty.
- * While working to complete a global CW treaty, the U.S. will propose to the Soviet Union that the two countries agree to the destruction of a major portion of their respective CW stockpiles down to equal levels. This destruction would be on mutually agreed terms and must include far-reaching verification provisions.
- * The U.S. will accelerate and significantly expand its efforts to improve verification capabilities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I want to stress again that while arms control is important, it must not be pursued as an end in itself. Peace is not the mere absence of war. Neither is true peace achieved through the narrow pursuit of arms control. The United States still adheres to the approach of our great President Ronald Reagan, who summarized our policy with an aphorism. "Nations do not mistrust one another because they have arms"; he said. "They have arms because they mistrust one another." Our international aim is to lessen the threats posed not only from military violence but also from tyranny and oppression.

x Michael P. Lee

. R. M. P. Lee - (P. Lee)

DRAFT

An Address by Ambassador Edward L. Rowny
Special Advisor to the President
and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters

Jewish War Veterans of the USA National Convention
Hartford, Connecticut - August 23, 1989

As veterans we remember with special clarity the causes of our century's wars. We know that totalitarian powers are emboldened when the democracies let down their guard.

Today we Americans are fortunate to count as allies many dynamic democracies. In the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance we have 15 partners. In the Middle East, Israel is a valued ally. On the Pacific Rim, Japan, the Philippines and the Republic of Korea help us protect our vital interests. We are bound together not only by defense commitments but also by common values.

Freedom is on the rise during these final years of the 20th century. We and our allies have learned that democracies cannot live in peace and preserve their liberty unless they are strong and steadfast and act in unison.

My remarks today will concentrate on matters of military strength. But first I should say that while containment of armed threats is necessary, it is not sufficient for advancing America's cause of world peace and freedom. That is why President Bush speaks of moving beyond mere containment of Communism. That is why, in contrast to the Detente Era's placement of arms control at the center of U.S.-Soviet relations, President Bush insists on a broad East-West agenda with five key elements:

First is human rights. State repression of freedom of religion, speech, assembly and movement is not an "internal" matter; it concerns us all. The Soviets recently have made considerable progress on human rights, but much more remains to be done.

Next on the agenda are regional conflicts involving the Soviets or their proxies. Our support for freedom fighters gave the Soviets incentive to seek resolution of the conflicts in such places as Afghanistan and Angola. Now we are looking for signs of authentic new thinking by the Soviets regarding the problems of Cambodia, Nicaragua and the Middle East.

Third comes bilateral issues, such as people-to-people and other types of exchanges. In this area, there is still a need to overcome problems created by disinformation and the violation of our Moscow embassy's security.

Fourth is a category on which we only recently have asked the Soviets to join us in discussions: transnational issues such as terrorism, drug trafficking and environmental protection.

Finally, there are negotiations for arms reductions. The Bush Administration seeks to build on President Reagan's success with the treaty eliminating U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles (INF). President Bush has given bold new impetus to the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations. Meanwhile he continues also to attach high priority to a treaty to accomplish deep, stabilizing reductions in U.S. and Soviet long-range nuclear arsenals, and a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. We also seek accord with the Soviets on enhancing deterrence by introducing advanced ballistic missile defenses, should they prove feasible, into the strategic equation. In each of these negotiations we will

observe the lesson of the INF treaty: Success comes when we bargain from strength. And by continuing to make arms control one part of the broad, five-point agenda, we will address the causes of East-West tension, not just the symptoms.

Making Europe Whole and Free

In celebrating NATO's 40th anniversary, President Bush charged the alliance with a new mission: to help bring about an end to the tragic division of Europe, to make the continent whole and free. The new political climate in Poland and Hungary certainly lifts our hopes that this vision can be realized.

Though I am a military man, it is abundantly clear to me that the hopeful prospects for the increase of freedom in Eastern Europe did not come about through Western military strength alone. Citizens campaigns for human rights have made a profound impact. And these, of course, include your own efforts. Jewish War Veterans of the USA deserve great credit for the constant attention you have shown to the cries for freedom from behind the Iron Curtain. Every petition for a Gulag prisoner, every postcard for a refusenik, has removed brick and mortar from the wall of totalitarianism. It is in no small way thanks to your efforts that President Bush is able to proclaim that the day of blatant disregard for human rights is coming to an end.

To hasten the end of the division of Europe, President Bush in May made the following proposals:

1. Strengthen and broaden the Helsinki Conference process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe.

2. Remove the Wall and bring glasnost to East Berlin. Berlin is where the division of Europe is seen most clearly and brutally.

3. Work together on environmental problems, with the U.S. extending a hand toward the East by means of technical training, new technologies, and assistance in drafting laws and regulations.

4. Accelerate a NATO-Warsaw Pact agreement for deep reductions in conventional forces. Our key objectives in the CFE talks are to:

- ** Eliminate the capability for surprise attack and large scale offensive action;
- ** Remove the major source of military instability on the European continent: the threat posed by excessively large, offensively configured forces of the Warsaw Pact, especially forward deployed Soviet forces; and
- ** Concentrate on reducing those weapons that are best suited for taking and holding territory: tanks, artillery, armored troop carriers and combat aircraft and helicopters. The Warsaw Pact has indicated willingness to make deep, asymmetrical cuts in these systems, and we are seeking to lock it into a firm commitment.

The President proposed further that U.S. and Soviet troops based on foreign soil in Europe be limited to 275,000 each -- a cut of 30,000 from current US levels and 325,000 from Soviet levels. All withdrawn troops would be demobilized and all reduced weapons would be destroyed. By this provision, the President also has accounted for the security concerns of U.S. allies and friends outside of Europe, since there would be no transfer of the Soviet military threat from Europe to other parts of the world. NATO formally tabled the President's proposals at the CFE talks in July.

The President has challenged NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiators to complete a CFE treaty within six months to one year. When the talks reconvene in September, we are hoping the Warsaw Pact will join us to work constructively and with a sense of urgency.

Offense, Defense and Deterrence

Another area of arms control where the President is seeking progress is in the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear and Space Talks (NST) in Geneva, which are divided into two fora. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) we aim to reduce the number of long-range nuclear weapons to levels that help decrease the chances of nuclear conflict. In the Defense and Space talks we seek Soviet agreement to join us in a cooperative transition to a deterrent balance based on defensive as well as offensive systems.

Before returning our NST negotiators to the table, the President had to make some important decisions about his strategic and fiscal priorities. After careful consideration he asked Congress to:

--Continue the Strategic Defense Initiative program at a robust level. As a near-term goal the President wants large-scale, realistic tests conducted so that he can make an informed decision before 1993 whether to deploy strategic defenses.

--Produce and deploy the B-2 Stealth bomber. The U.S. must have a manned bomber capable of penetrating improving Soviet air defenses.

--Make our ICBMs mobile and therefore less vulnerable. We should act quickly to make our existing MX Peacekeeper missiles rail-mobile. We should follow this with development and deployment of road-mobile "Midgetman" small ICBMs.

"Taken together," the President told congressional leaders last month, "these strategic programs are essential to preserve a capable, survivable and effective deterrent. They are an integrated package that deals with the evolving threat and is flexible enough to hedge against uncertainties. They also undergird our arms control negotiations and provide incentives to the Soviets to continue the internal changes they appear to be making. Each represents not simply modestly improved capability but fundamental change in strategy or system performance."

The Strategic Defense Initiative is a forward-looking program that promises to enhance deterrence. No one can accuse the scientists and strategists in the SDI program of "planning to fight the last war." SDI is working with both existing and emerging technologies to protect against both existing and emerging threats of ballistic missile attack.

Today, the threat of retaliation is our sole means of deterring a nuclear attack. A layered system of space and ground based defenses, however, would strengthen deterrence while threatening no one. Effective ballistic missile defenses would shatter Soviet war planners' confidence of being able to succeed with an ICBM first strike. A strategy relying increasingly on defenses would solve problems that purely retaliatory strategy has been unable to deal with satisfactorily. Defenses, for instance, could protect against mobile missiles which are difficult to target with offensive forces.

We believe the case for offensive reductions is strengthened by effective strategic defenses. As we make deep reductions in strategic offensive forces, the impact of cheating and breakout

potential magnifies. Strategic defenses can act as an insurance policy against these threats. As we look to the future, our security will grow increasingly reliant on stable strategic defenses.

Meanwhile we no longer can afford to consider strategic defenses exclusively in terms of the U.S.-Soviet superpower relationship. It would be naive to assume that the current situation -- where the only ballistic missile threat to the U.S. stems from the Soviet Union -- will continue into the 21st century. Capability to produce ballistic missiles is no longer "high" technology. It is becoming accessible to a growing number of countries, some with dangerously unstable governments. Reliable estimates predict that within a little over a decade 15 developing nations might have the capability to launch ballistic missiles.

Chemical weapon proliferation is another concern on a par with the spread of ballistic missile technology. As the Iran-Iraq war showed, the taboo against chemical warfare is not as strong as we imagined. Chemical weapons could become a cheap and widely available "poor man's atomic bomb." The combination of ballistic missiles and chemical weapons coming into the possession of the same people who today have no compunction about blowing up airliners filled with innocent passengers should galvanize our will to develop missile defenses.

Our Israeli allies clearly grasp both this threat and the opportunities to defend against it. Israel is the United States' partner in a highly promising SDI project, the Arrow antitactical ballistic missile (ATBM) program. Effective interceptors against tactical ballistic missiles would enhance security not only for Israel but also for our NATO allies.

I watched with unabashed pride last month when our B-2 Stealth bomber made its maiden flight. I am sure many of you shared my sentiment about this new triumph for American technology. The B-2 is virtually invisible to radar, and this will be vital if we are to counter the ever-improving Soviet air defense system. Penetrating bombers can be used effectively in retaliation and are a critical factor for stability in strategic deterrence.

The third strategic program awaiting its fate in Congress -- mobile ICBMs -- is crucial if we are to retain a survivable land-based leg of the deterrent triad. The Soviets already have two mobile missiles in the field: the SS-25, a single warhead road-mobile ICBM comparable to the Midgetman, and the SS-24, a 10-warhead rail-mobile missile comparable to the MX.

In the START talks we are seeking to ban mobile ICBMs unless we can arrive at an effective verification regime, and until we get Congress solidly behind a program for mobiles. It would make no sense to sign a treaty allowing the Soviets a survivable mobile missile force that we can't verify, while the U.S. ICBM force remains at risk. Therefore we need to commit to the President's ICBM mobility program to avoid a deadlock over the mobile issue in the START negotiations.

Program Cuts Put Arms Control at Risk

With his proposals for strategic defense and offensive modernization, President Bush presented Congress with a coherent strategic plan. To help elaborate on his arguments during the days leading up to the House and Senate floor deliberation on the Defense

Authorization Bill, I briefed some members of the Congress. When the bill went to the House floor, I followed the proceedings intently.

I am sure you all know the substantive results of the House action. The House voted to gut SDI, ground the Stealth bomber, cripple the rail-mobile MX missile and cancel altogether the small "Midgetman" road-mobile ICBM.

As I watched our modernization programs being decimated, I strained to comprehend the strategic rationale for these actions. I listened in vain to learn how those who voted against the President's strategic programs intend to defend our country. The House action was called "irrational" even by the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The House and Senate have completed floor action on the defense authorization bill, but the defense debate of 1989 has only just begun. The Senate bill is quite different from the House version in that it more nearly supports the President's strategic programs. The Administration meanwhile is warning that a veto may be necessary, especially if the House and Senate conferees attempt simply to split the numerical differences between their philosophically incompatible bills.

In the days and weeks ahead before these questions are resolved, I hope the debate is amplified and carried to every corner of the land. I urge each and every veteran: Refine your own opinions on our defense programs and make them known in your community.

As a veteran of three wars and 2,000 hours at the table in the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms negotiations, I have a heartfelt request to make: Lend your support to the President's defense programs.

Let me restate the President's warning to the congressional leadership:

"We are entering a very important and promising stage in our strategic arms control negotiations. We have already introduced some changes in our position and we are actively considering others which could make a significant contribution to the stability of the nuclear balance. To pull the rug out from under me at this crucial juncture by weakening my program could destroy this opportunity to make real progress. Indeed, it could even prevent the conclusion of an arms control agreement."

I ask you to take the President's concern to heart. We need strategic defense and strategic modernization if we want responsible arms control. We must have these programs if we want to keep our country on a strong and steady course toward a better future.

McGroarty/Dooley
June 29, 1989
1:30 pm
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE
JULY 9, 1989
7:00 A.M.

This morning, I depart for Europe -- my second visit in two months to a continent in the midst of change -- a time of unprecedented opportunity for peace, prosperity and freedom.

I'm especially pleased to make my trip at this time. Just five days ago, we celebrated the birth of our Nation. Just five days from now, France will celebrate its rebirth as a modern nation, the 14th of July. This year, it's a special celebration: the bicentennial of Bastille Day.

Two hundred years ago, the democratic revolution that began here in America crossed the Atlantic. The gates of the Bastille opened onto a new era -- the era of the Rights of Man. In Europe, as in America, an idea was unleashed that would change the face of history -- an idea that is still shaping our world today. That idea is **democracy**.

Then and now, freedom finds its allies everywhere. Lafayette and Rochambeau, Kosciuszko and Pulaski: these names are engraved in American history -- patriots not only in their

own countries, but in America as well. And the Revolution of 1789 had its roots in the Spirit of 1776. Remember what James Monroe said about the French who fought at our side for America's independence: "They caught the spirit of liberty here, and carried it home with them."

Today, that spirit of liberty remains strong, and the United States remains the friend of any nation -- any people -- who love freedom and cherish the Rights of Man.

This morning, I begin a journey that will take me to Europe -- East and West -- a journey that underscores the tremendous changes, challenges and opportunities ahead of us.

I travel first to Poland and Hungary -- nations on the threshold of a new era, nations where the spirit of freedom is strong. In both countries, we're witnessing remarkable changes -- welcome developments no one would have thought possible even a year ago. New voices are shaping the course of national affairs -- and both countries are on the path towards economic rebirth and political pluralism. My visit underscores the growing importance our nation sees in the changing face of Central Europe.

I will travel from Poland and Hungary to France, to join leaders from the six major industrial democracies in my first

Economic Summit as President. Together, we are working to spread the benefits of political freedom and economic prosperity around the world. The Summit is a unique opportunity to assess our progress. It's also an opportunity to show that we can forge a common response to new challenges, such as the need to protect the global environment.

Our agenda at the Economic Summit will include both political and economic issues of global impact. We will review the international economic scene, and we'll identify where we can improve coordination. We'll focus on the problem of debt in the developing world. I expect Summit leaders to make a firm commitment to complete the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations by December 1990.

And we will discuss ways of dealing with a number of critical environmental issues that effect us all -- problems including global warming, deforestation, and the pollution of the world's oceans. We know there are no easy solutions. But -- provided we work together -- I'm confident we can find common solutions to problems none of us can solve alone.

And finally, before returning home, I will visit an old and honored ally: the Netherlands. Our friendship with the Dutch is older than our own Constitution -- with a nation whose long tradition of union and liberty shaped and inspired our own.

Today, our two nations are partners in commerce and common defense, and the common values that bind us have never been stronger.

Europe is at a turning point. A continent cruelly divided for more than four decades now dreams of being whole and free. Our task is clear: to see that we mend old divisions, that we fulfill the decades-old dream -- and that the new Europe emerges, secure, prosperous, peaceful and free.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

#

Speech
writers

WINCHESTER HIGH SCHOOL
WINCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS 01890

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20000

June 1, 1989

Dear President Bush,

As an educator, and as a supporter of your politics, I am writing to alert your staff of speech writers to a fairly serious error in standard diction. Your early speeches spoke of America being a "kinder and gentler nation". As I am sure you know, this phrase has caught the imagination of millions of Americans. The problem is this; it is incorrect diction. Kinder and gentler are vulgarisms. The statement should be about America being "more kind and more gentle" a nation. When you speak, millions of our citizens listen. As the education president I am sure that you will want all communications expressed in correct English. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Theodore A. Benton

Theodore A. Benton

English Department

THEODORE BENTON
WINCHESTER H.S.
80 SKILLINGS ROAD
WINCHESTER, MA 01890



President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 2000



1989 1989 1989 1989 1989 1989

JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC JAN FEB MAR APR MAY JUN JUL AUG SEP OCT NOV DEC JAN FEB MAR

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memo	Joe Watkins to David Demarest, Re: Thoughts on the Bush Strategy for Black America. (4 pp.)	08/02/89	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Speeches and Backup Material] N.D.

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 12/9/2004	OA/ID Number: 08677
FOIA/SYS Case #: S.	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p> <p>PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
---	---

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

THROUGH: SICHAN SIV
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOE WATKINS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

DATE: AUGUST 2, 1989

RE: THOUGHTS ON THE BUSH STRATEGY FOR
BLACK AMERICA

Since the President will be addressing a number of key black groups in the next few weeks and months, I thought that it might be helpful to share a few thoughts on some of the areas of critical concern to black Americans and how the President might begin the task of addressing some of those concerns. Needless to say, the following list is not all inclusive; however, it may provide the beginnings of a foundation upon which to build a more comprehensive strategy. Here are my picks for key items on the black agenda:

1 - FAMILY

Over the last few decades the black family has become an endangered species in America. Recent surveys show that in 1987 42% of black families were single-parent/female-headed households and that 52% of black children in 1987 lived in such households. Black female teenagers, according to the most recent numbers available, will be responsible for about 50% of all adolescent out-of-wedlock births and young black males make up a disproportionate share of the US prison population. The poverty rate for black families has increased from 20% in 1969 to 30% in 1987. These grim statistics only underscore the reality of the terribly precarious state of the black family in America.

Family is extremely important in our society and it is probably safe to assume that one's ability to compete successfully in this society is often directly impacted by family upbringing and support or the lack thereof. It is also probably safe to say that if the current trends continue, our society will be a most divided one, consisting primarily of haves and have-nots, with a disproportionate share of the have-nots being black.

On the bright side, the President has a real opportunity here to take the offensive by dedicating himself to the enhancement of black families. Besides encouraging churches and community-based organizations to help him in promoting the strengthening and

stabilization of black families, he might offer to take a second look at The Family Support Act of 1988. By amending one or two key provisions of that bill, the President would demonstrate his strong support for for keeping the poorest families together. (Nota Bene: The current bill doesn't assign high priority to training low-income and young non-custodial fathers, and doesn't set minimum nationwide AFDC needs and payment standards). Perhaps Bill Roper's Low-Income Opportunity Board could undertake a study to find new ways of keeping two-parent low-income families together and then make those recommendations to the President.

2 - EDUCATION

The President has stated on a number of occasions that education is the best economic program and the best way to bring about economic parity for minority groups. As a longtime supporter of early childhood intervention through Project HeadStart, historically black colleges and universities and the Job Training Partnership Act, the President can proudly point to his record. However, the greater challenge in the next couple of years will be to reduce the high drop-out rates of black youths in inner-city schools (due partially to a pervading sense of hopelessness and the lure of fast money from the sale of illegal drugs), which only exacerbates chronic high unemployment and crime rates. Besides pointing to federal initiatives currently in place, another idea the President might consider in tackling this tough issue is to continue to encourage more public/private partnerships in city-wide school districts based on models like the "I Have a Dream" program, the Cities-In-Schools program or the "Say Yes to Education" program, which, interestingly, has a very large and easily replicated college student volunteer component. (Such programs could perhaps be incorporated into the 'YES' program). He might also point to Mr. Bennett's plan to combat the drug problem in this country (when it reaches a publishable conclusion) and explain how that will impact the black youth population in particular.

Another key issue will be college loans. Although the President has been a strong supporter of black colleges and universities for a long time that support should not be read as disinterest in the great number of black applicants to predominately white colleges and universities. The availability of scholarships and loans will continue to have a profound impact on the percentage of black youths seeking a college

Drug
stat.

education. While programs like ACCESS in Boston and the "Say Yes to Education" Foundation in Philadelphia provide last-dollar amounts to impoverished minority students who have been accepted to college, the availability of federal dollars will be an important indicator of this Administration's commitment to the black community.

3 - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND OPPORTUNITY

This area is absolutely critical to black Americans, the President and the Republican Party. As far as the black community and the President are concerned the creation of real economic opportunity and development are the most appropriate remedies to overcome grossly disproportionate poverty rates, to boost employment within the community, to boost income levels and to help blacks enter the American economic mainstream. Politically speaking, a measurably successful economic opportunity program could bring about a substantial return for the Republican Party beginning perhaps as early as 1990.

The President has often stated his support for minority business and his desire to encourage minorities to become entrepreneurially-minded. In this regard, there may be a couple of things that the President can do to plainly demonstrate his good intentions to blacks. Besides encouraging the cabinet departments to set and seek to meet minority business goals, the President might consider authorizing a White House Initiative on Minority Business Enterprise. Unlike President Reagan's White House Task Force for Minority Business Expansion, which was headed by Sam Pierce and housed at HUD, this group might be co-chaired by a leading black businessperson and a committed Fortune 500 CEO/Chairman (who might even be recently retired). Reporting more appropriately to the Secretary of Commerce, this group might have as its charge a mandate to find new and measurable ways of enhancing minority business opportunities and providing incentives for minorities to become entrepreneurs.]

4 - HOUSING

Although this area is too hot to touch at present, there are some real opportunities to make some significant headway through creativity, such as tenant management possibilities. However, I repeat: this area is too hot to touch at present.

While he won't have easy answers to the aforementioned issues, the President will have the black community's attention as well as possibly gain their support if 1) he takes the bull by the horns by demonstrating that he understands the importance of these issues to the community and 2) shows that he is attempting to deal with them in a substantive way.

The Urban League, the National Baptist Convention and the National Black Leadership Forum await us.

Let me know what you think.

THE STATE OF BLACK AMERICA 1989



Published by National Urban League, Inc.

DAVID H. SWINTON

Dean

School of Business
Jackson State University

recognized as one of the country's leading economists. His business at Jackson State University, he has written for the National Urban League's *The State of Black Review*.

He serves as Director, Southern Center for Studies in Business and Assistant Director for Research, Black Economic Development Research Associate and Director of Minorities at the Urban Institute.

He earned his graduate degree from New York University and his doctorate from Harvard University. He has served as a Teaching Assistant at City College of New York.

REGINALD WILSON

Senior Scholar

American Council on Education

Dr. Wilson is a Senior Scholar of the American Council on Education. He joined the Council as Director of the Office of Research in 1981. Prior to that appointment, he was for 10 years the Director of Wayne County Community College in Detroit. Dr. Wilson is also Director of Test Development and Research, Director of the Center for Upward Bound. Prior to that, he was a psychologist at Wayne State University, the University of Michigan, and the University of Michigan.

He is the author of *Development in the Urban Community*, the editor of *Journal of Urban Education*, and the author of *Civil Liberties and the Urban Community* and *The American Journal of Education* and *Journal of Urban Education*.

Dr. Wilson has a Ph.D. in clinical and educational psychology from Wayne State University. He is licensed as a psychologist in Michigan and in Ohio. He has done volunteer work with the homeless. He was honored as a Distinguished Alumnus of Wayne State University in 1980 and is a recipient of the Distinguished Service Medal of the City of Detroit.

Black America, 1988: An Overview

John E. Jacob

President & Chief Executive Officer
National Urban League, Inc.

The state of Black America in 1988 was in marked contrast to the state of the nation. America enjoyed the continuation of its longest peacetime expansion in history — albeit a "peacetime" expansion driven by record military expenditures — while Black America remained mired in recession.

While corporate America embarked on a merger and leveraged buyout binge, the numbers of homeless increased. While presidential candidates debated their commitment to the pledge of allegiance, inner city schools deteriorated. While government officials pressed Japan to buy more goods made in the United States, Japanese companies were closing manufacturing plants in United States sites removed from black population centers.

Among the positive developments in 1988 were the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act over a presidential veto and the long-delayed passage of the necessary enforcement amendments to the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

On the political front, African Americans continued to make headway. Jesse Jackson's candidacy galvanized black voters and garnered many white votes. The total of black elected officials climbed over the 6,000 mark. Congressman William Gray gained the highest position held by a black person in the congressional leadership.

On the international front, too, there were important developments that have an impact on black Americans. The agreements on peace in southern Africa and Namibian independence brought a long-sought-for objective into sight, with the further possibility that more change will come to the region, specifically the achievement of political rights for South Africa's black majority.

And Secretary General Gorbachev's peace offensive that included an offer to unilaterally cut Soviet troop and tank strength gave rise to hopes that winding down the Cold War would release resources and energies to crank up the dormant war on poverty in the United States.

With the relaxation of international tensions, it is necessary for the United States to begin planning the transition to a peacetime economy that includes all of our citizens. For in 1988, as in previous years, large numbers of blacks have been excluded from participation in our economic life.

Black citizens have been too often labelled dependents of welfare programs instead of being seen as potential contributors to our economic might. In 1988, there was some movement toward an understanding of the need to equip the disadvantaged with skills and training to take their rightful place in our economy.

\$19.00

Congress passed a deeply flawed welfare reform bill that was deficient in a number of important areas, but which did focus on helping people to move from welfare rolls to payrolls. Unfortunately, the new law does not increase the shamefully low benefit levels, nor does it mandate workable training and job creation programs and day care facilities that enable mothers to work.

The continuing black focus on educating minority youth who will be the core of our future workforce began to show results in community-based programs, such as the National Urban League's Education Initiative, which is beginning to make a difference in black youth's test scores and college prep performance. The Carnegie Commission's report that charged school reform with bypassing inner-city schools and the growing concern among corporate executives about the quality of their workforce may lead to more progress in urban school systems.

1988 also marked the end, not only of the Reagan presidency, but also of the Reagan Era. George Bush clearly intends to preside over an administration less ideological and more open than his predecessor's. He has spoken of leading a "gentler, kinder nation," met with black leadership in the weeks after his election, appointed minorities to key positions, and spoke eloquently of sharing minority goals.

These developments were in marked contrast to eight years of an administration that refused black access to the White House, campaigned relentlessly to roll back civil rights gains, and was ruthless in cutting federal programs that help black and poor people.

The legacy of the Reagan Era will leave its mark on our society for years to come. President Reagan is one of the few presidents to have largely achieved the goals he set for himself when he came to office — lower tax rates, a big defense buildup, federal withdrawal from social programs, and less government.

We will continue to pay the price exacted by meeting the Reagan policy goals. The combination of lower taxes and sky-high defense spending led to extraordinary deficits that will handcuff policymakers in the years to come.

Some people see the deficits as the result of a failed strategy of lower tax rates and an expensive military expansion. The result has been to get the federal debt levels so high that Congress might be unable to pass new social programs or expand old ones.

Another legacy of the Reagan Era is deeper race and class divisions. The past eight years have seen the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. In effect, there has been a huge transfer of resources from the poor to the affluent. Inequality has always been a serious national problem, but in the past eight years, we have become a far more unequal society.

Racial divisions have also increased sharply. The Reagan administration's war on affirmative action, its refusal to allow access to decision-making by minorities, its fight against civil rights legislation, and its often demeaning acts and statements about the poor, have created bitterness among blacks and encouraged racists in the white community.

cent in a
se from
r shame-
creation

the core
grams,
ning to
ce. The
inner
quality

of the
in less
ing a
ction.
arity

tion
back
back

to
the
se

So it is no accident that recent years have seen a rise in violent racial incidents or that anti-black attitudes appear to be stronger. The president who said he would use the "bully pulpit" of the White House to attack racism, instead allowed his Justice Department to give aid and comfort to enemies of civil rights progress. ✓

The Reagan Era gave new respectability to greed and indifference to the sufferings of others. The tilt in public rhetoric away from what we need to do together as a society to a celebration of wealth without social responsibility helped make this the "age of greed."

The tragic aspect of all this is that it was unnecessary. The many billions wasted on defense programs that do not work could have been invested in training, education, and job programs that help people to get work. And even a conservative program that downgraded government's role could have been implemented without encouraging anti-social attitudes. After all, true conservatism means conserving the best of the past and cultivating responsibility toward those who have less.

History will make a final judgment on the Reagan Era, but from this vantage point it was a regressive period in our national life: a time when some Americans got richer, but our society as a whole got poorer, and blacks were driven further from the goal of equality.

That goal will be forever in the distance so long as black poverty remains so disproportionate. A third of all black people are poor — more if you use a measurement of poverty that is closer to the income needs required to meet minimally decent living standards than the current poverty index, which is based on a formula designed to determine the minimum necessary for short-term survival.

Black — and white — poverty increased in the 1980s. Some eight million more people were poor in 1987 (the last year for which there are definitive figures) than a decade earlier. Two million of the new poor are black. Nearly half of all black children live in poverty. Blacks are three times as likely as whites to be poor.

But simply to state such shocking statistics is to understate the nature of black poverty. Ideologues and the callous say that it is the result of single female-headed families, or of the refusal to work, or of generous social benefits that discourage workforce participation.

The facts argue otherwise. Compared with a decade ago, when black poverty rates were lower, black unemployment rates are the same and the percentage of the black poor living in female-headed families is lower.

The rise in black poverty can be traced to two major factors — the shift in the economy that reduced opportunities for less-skilled workers and cuts in federal programs that provide opportunities to escape from poverty.

Over the past decade, poverty rates for intact black families have risen as fast as the rates for female-headed families. The region with the highest black poverty rate is the Midwest — the region hardest hit by deindustrialization and the decline in manufacturing jobs. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimates that only one in every 12 black families with children that would have been poor

without government benefits was lifted out of poverty by those benefits. A decade ago, the figure was one of every six. The Center says that Census Bureau data indicate that the reduced effectiveness of federal benefit programs account for almost 40 percent of the rise in black poverty over the past decade.

Another indicator of the economic deterioration among blacks is the decline in real black income. Among the poor, more are poorer — their incomes fell from over \$5,000 in 1978 to under \$4,000 in 1987, adjusted for inflation. Black men working full-time experienced an inflation-adjusted decline in earnings of 10 percent. Among younger black men — the under-30 group starting families — real income is half what it was in the early 1970s. A prime cause is the extraordinary high black unemployment rate — about two-and-a-half times that for whites, and trending higher.

gangs? The gap between blacks and whites extends beyond poverty and unemployment rates to include all the key indices of life, from infant mortality rates that are at Third World levels in some ghetto neighborhoods, to education, where a recent study has found blacks disproportionately shunted into slow learner classes and excluded from programs for the gifted, to housing, where a recent study found high levels of segregation in the suburbs, as well as in urban housing.

At year-end, the tragic dimensions of that gap was heightened by the report of the National Center for Health Statistics that revealed life expectancy for blacks declined for the second year in a row — the first back-to-back annual decline in this century — while white life expectancy continued to increase.

wrong! And it is ironic that in 1989, the 200th anniversary of the adoption of the U.S. Constitution that defined blacks as "three-fifths" of other persons, black income is well below 60 percent of white income, and other indicators find blacks at an even greater disadvantage.

The black-white gap might be barely tolerable if it were narrowing, but in the 1980s it has widened. That is why the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, which included former Presidents Ford and Carter, issued a report in 1988 that charged America was "moving backward" in its efforts to secure equity for minority citizens. The Commission's report echoed the findings of the Kerner Commission two decades earlier that America was sliding into "two societies — separate and unequal."

Because such warnings gather dust on the shelves while the black-white gap continues to widen, the National Urban League is mounting a nationwide drive behind the goal — Parity 2000. Our objective is to secure parity between black and white citizens by the end of the century.

We have called on Mr. Bush to make this objective a key priority for his presidency. The new administration is uniquely placed to articulate the goal of eliminating the racial inequality that evades American life. It should declare that its overriding objective will be to put policies in place that lead to parity between black and white Americans in educational achievement, employment, income, housing, life expectancy, infant mortality, and other key indicators of individual and family well-being.

Undoing four hundred years of oppression and neglect in a dozen years will not be easy, but it is an achievable goal. If the black-white gap is closed by about seven percent a year between now and 2000, parity could be achieved. When we consider the vast changes that took place in the 1960s, and specifically in the progress toward dismantling southern segregation in that period, we see that enormous changes can be wrought in short periods of time.

A national Parity 2000 goal would include the private sector and the black community, as well as government. Intensive corporate and neighborhood-based initiatives to improve education, training, hiring, health, and housing will be essential.

Government clearly has to be the prime mover of such a national effort, for only it has the power and the resources to implement nationwide programs that have an impact, and only it has the moral and constitutional leadership role that can marshal private and nonprofit groups behind national objectives.

Articulation of a Parity 2000 goal by the Bush administration would give it something it lacks — a unifying objective that transcends mere muddling through. It would give it a political objective as well — to wean blacks away from the opposition party and to solidify the political center.

The Parity 2000 objective would also clarify Mr. Bush's leadership profile, for despite his public statements about the importance of ideology, he is seen as a non-ideological manager. A Parity 2000 drive would allow him to seize an ideologically pure issue and champion a vision of a more equal society, while demonstrating his managerial competence by implementing specific programs designed to meet the goal.

We should not underestimate the importance of the vision of racial equality, either. This vision was the driving force behind the civil rights progress of the 1960s, unifying blacks and whites, liberals and conservatives, rich and poor, behind the simple fairness of treating people equally and securing every person's constitutional rights. Such a vision of a fairer, more just society is desperately needed in these days when there is a burgeoning revolt against the greed that dominates national life, and when the nation needs to find new channels for its resources and energies, as the Cold War winds down.

Parity 2000 is also essential for America's economic survival in a competitive global economy. With its workforce growing blacker and browner daily, the United States will not be able to compete in the future unless it assures each and every young person the education, training, health care, and decent living conditions that will enable them to take their place as productive citizens in an open, integrated, pluralistic society.

Parity 2000 can be implemented by carefully designed federal policies that would include:

- a national effort to create jobs or training opportunities for every disadvantaged person.



- a national education policy that puts every poor child into a quality early childhood education program and brings excellent educational opportunities to all disadvantaged youngsters.
- transformation of the welfare system to provide decent living standards for all of the poor along with the education, training, and jobs to be productive.
- a massive, targeted program to end the crisis in affordable housing.
- equitable access to quality health care for the many millions who have no health insurance.
- an end to the plague of drugs that is destroying our communities and turning our school yards into combat zones, and
- aggressive national policies to protect civil rights and wipe out the last vestiges of racism and discrimination.

Such programs are not liberal or conservative — they are just common sense, rational policies to reverse the backward drift to two societies — one rich and white, one poor and black.

The huge federal deficit will be cited as a reason why such an ambitious program cannot be implemented, but it is hard to believe that a trillion dollar budget cannot accommodate investments that close the racial gap, open new opportunities for people to become productive contributors to our economy, and lay the groundwork for making our economy more competitive in the global marketplace. Conservative corporate leaders have already called for multi-billion dollar investments in child care, in education, and in housing and skills training programs, notwithstanding the deficit.

We believe the fiscal viability of the Parity 2000 program is sound, given the advisability of shifting expenditures from programs that have lesser priority and the possibility of shifting revenues from the affluent who have benefited from past policies that increased poverty, hunger, and homelessness. It would be a sad commentary on the moral strength of this nation if it decided that it is more convenient to allow the racial gap to widen and to become a more unequal society than to close the gap and bring the excluded into the mainstream, thus strengthening national unity, cohesiveness, and economic power.

The National Urban League's call for Parity 2000 is a call for helping America to live up to its ideals, to mobilize the untapped resources of its black population, and to secure a better society for all Americans.

This is a goal that deserves bipartisan support, like other great national projects of the past, such as winning the war, implementing the Marshall Plan, containing Soviet expansionism, and overturning segregation. We intend to press our Parity 2000 goal upon the new administration and the Congress and to enlist public support for it. To this end, we have asked contributors to this volume of our annual State of Black America report to focus on parity within their given areas — how wide the gap is, what is needed to close it, and what public policy initiatives will be necessary to close the gap.

We have been fortunate in securing papers from outstanding scholars. Their independent evaluations are intended to inform and to stimulate, but their views do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the National Urban League. Our own summation and recommendations appear at the end of this report.

This *State of Black America*, like past ones, serves to increase the nation's awareness of the reality of life within Black America and to influence the decision-making process in 1989. We express our gratitude to the authors.

Suggested story from Peace Corps.

How much of a difference can you alone, make? To answer that, I'll conclude with a short story.

A young boy was walking down the beach at dawn. The beach was strewn with seaweed, shells and starfish. As the young boy walked along the beach he picked up each starfish he passed and flung it into the sea. An old man who had been watching, questioned the boy.

"What are you doing?" asked the old man.

"Why, I'm throwing the starfish back into the sea," answered the little boy.

"But why are you doing that?" questioned the old man.

"The tide is going out and the sun is rising," answered the little boy. "If left out in the mid-day sun they would surely dry up and die. I'm saving their lives."

"But the beach goes on for miles and there are millions of starfish," said the old man. "How can your effort possibly make any difference?"

The boy looked thoughtfully at the starfish in his hand .. as he tossed it back to the safety of the waves .. he said, "It makes a difference to this one."

Thank you, congratulations and God speed.

22

S P E E C H B Y
THE HONORABLE HENRY A. GRUNWALD
TO THE BOARD OF INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING
AND THE EXECUTIVE STAFF OF RADIO FREE EUROPE
AND RADIO LIBERTY
MUNICH, 16 MAY 1989

ARE WE READY FOR THE POST-MARXIST WORLD?

I ONCE KNEW A MAN WHO THOUGHT THAT THE WEST WAS DOOMED, OR VERY NEARLY SO. THAT WAS IN THE 1950'S AND 60'S. HE BELIEVED THAT UNLESS THE RATHER DECADENT DEMOCRACIES MADE A SUPREME AND HEROIC EFFORT, COMMUNISM WOULD SURELY TRIUMPH EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. COMMUNISM, HE WROTE, "CHALLENGES MAN TO PROVE BY HIS ACTS THAT HE IS THE MASTERWORK OF THE CREATION. IT IS AN INTENSELY PRACTICAL VISION. THE TOOLS TO TURN IT INTO REALITY ARE AT HAND - SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ITS FIRST COMMANDMENT IS FOUND, NOT IN THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, BUT IN THE FIRST SENTENCES OF THE PHYSICS PRIMER: 'ALL OF THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND TO DATE RESULTS FROM THE MAKING OF CAREFUL MEASUREMENTS....'"

THE AUTHOR OF THESE LINES WAS WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, ONE OF THE PROTAGONISTS IN THE ONCE NOTORIOUS BUT NOW LARGELY FORGOTTEN "HISS CASE". I WAS A FRIEND OF CHAMBERS AND ADMIRED HIM - A COMPLICATED AND TROUBLING MAN, AN EX-COMMUNIST WHO SAW IT AS HIS MISSION TO WARN THE WORLD AGAINST THE COMMUNIST DANGER. MANY THOUGHT HIS VIEWS TOO APOCALYPTIC. BUT EXCEPT FOR HIS SOMEWHAT MELODRAMATIC STYLE, HIS JUDGMENT DID NOT REALLY DIFFER MUCH FROM THAT OF MANY OTHER PEOPLE WHO ALSO BELIEVED THAT COMMUNISM WAS ON A TRIUMPHAL MARCH. EVEN SOME OF THE YOUNGER ONES AMONG US REMEMBER QUITE CLEARLY THAT THE COMMUNIST THREAT IN WESTERN EUROPE, THE PROSPECT OF FRANCE OR ITALY "GOING COMMUNIST", WAS TAKEN VERY SERIOUSLY. TODAY, THE IDEA SEEMS QUITE FANTASTIC.

WHO NOWADAYS STILL SERIOUSLY WORRIES THAT COMMUNISM MAY BE THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE? WHO THINKS THAT IT OFFERS A PRACTICAL VISION, OR THAT IT KNOWS HOW TO MAKE REALLY EFFECTIVE USE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY? CONSERVATIVES IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE, AND RADICALS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, STILL CLING TO THIS BELIEF. BUT MOST PEOPLE EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD NOW KNOW THAT COMMUNISM, IN CHAMBERS' PHRASE, CANNOT MAKE "CAREFUL MEASUREMENTS" - THAT IN FACT IT HAS TAKEN THE WRONG MEASURE OF HISTORY, OF ECONOMICS AND OF MAN HIMSELF.

NOWHERE IS THIS RECOGNITION MORE EVIDENT THAN IN GORBACHEV'S RUSSIA, AND HARDLY ANYWHERE IS THE CRITICISM OF THE SYSTEM MORE SCATHING. IF WESTERN COMMENTATORS, EVEN ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO, HAD WRITTEN THE THINGS ABOUT THE PERFORMANCE OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM THAT ONE NOW READS AND HEARS IN THE SOVIET UNION, THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN WIDELY DENOUNCED AS RED BAITERS AND IRRESPONSIBLE COLD WARRIORS.

WE NOW KNOW THAT THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM IS ONE OF THE GREAT EVENTS OF OUR TIME.

IT CERTAINLY DID NOT HAPPEN SUDDENLY. IN HINDSIGHT, WE CAN SEE MANY EARLY SYMPTOMS OF THIS FAILURE. I WILL NOT GO BACK AS FAR AS LENIN'S NEW ECONOMIC POLICY. BUT THE PERSISTENT INABILITY, YEAR AFTER YEAR, OF THE SOVIET UNION TO PRODUCE ENOUGH FOOD FOR ITS OWN PEOPLE; THE SHODDINESS OF ITS INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT, DESPITE ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN ARMAMENTS AND SPACE; THE BOAST BY KHRUSCHEV THAT HE WOULD OVERTAKE THE WEST ECONOMICALLY BY THE 1970'S, WHICH PROVED TOTALLY EMPTY; THE ERUPTIONS IN THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES, AND ESPECIALLY THE UPHEAVAL IN POLAND; THE EMERGENCE OF SO-CALLED EURO-COMMUNISM, WHICH VAINLY TRIED TO MAKE THE PARTY ACCEPTABLE IN DEMOCRATIC WESTERN EUROPE - ALL THESE WERE SIGNS THAT COMMUNISM WAS, IN FACT, FAILING.

FINALLY, WE SAW THE SOVIET EXPANSIONIST DRIVE GRIND TO A HALT IN AFGHANISTAN AND ELSEWHERE. ABOVE ALL, WE SAW THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND THE NEW ASIAN ECONOMIES FORGING AHEAD, ~~WHILE~~^{AND} THE SOVIET ECONOMY ~~FELL~~^{FALLING} FURTHER AND FURTHER BEHIND. IT TOOK GORBACHEV, WITH CONSIDERABLE VIGOR AND COURAGE, TO PROCLAIM THAT CONTRAST. BUT EVEN WITHOUT HIM, THE SITUATION WOULD SOONER OR LATER HAVE BECOME CLEAR TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE, DESPITE THEIR RELATIVE ISOLATION FROM THE WORLD.

I WILL NOT TAKE TIME TO DOCUMENT THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM, ESPECIALLY TO THIS AUDIENCE. MANY OF YOU DEAL WITH IT IN YOUR DAILY WORK, AND WE SEE MORE EVIDENCE OF IT IN EVERY DAY'S NEWS. I WILL, INSTEAD, TRY TO EXAMINE THE CAUSES OF THAT FAILURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR US IN THE WEST.

SOVIET ANALYISTS THEMSELVES OFFER VARIOUS EXPLANATIONS, AND THE PRINCIPAL ONES CAN BE LISTED UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADINGS:

THE DEVIL THEORY. THE DEVIL, OF COURSE, IS **STALIN** WHO, IT IS SAID, PERVERTED THE REVOLUTION AND **IS NOW BLAMED FOR ALMOST EVERYTHING THAT WENT WRONG SINCE, IN A SORT OF INVERTED CULT OF PERSONALITY.**

THE SMALLER DEVIL THEORY. THE SMALLER DEVILS ARE STALIN'S SUCCESSORS, NOTABLY BREZHNEV, WHO ARE ACCUSED OF GREED, CORRUPTION AND INCOMPETENCE.

THE MISMANAGEMENT THEORY. THE NOTION HERE IS THAT A POTENTIALLY SPLENDID SYSTEM WAS RUN INTO THE GROUND BY MANAGEMENT MISTAKES, **ESPECIALLY OVER-CENTRALIZATION.**

IT IS, INCIDENTALLY, A TRIBUTE TO GORBACHOV'S REALISM THAT A TIME-HONORED EXCUSE FOR SOVIET SHORTCOMINGS - NAMELY THE EVIL MACHINATIONS OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD - IS HARLDY HEARD NOWADAYS.

BUT THE EXPLANATIONS WE DO HEAR SIMPLY DON'T EXPLAIN.

STALIN HAS BEEN DEAD FOR THREE AND A HALF DECADES. BESIDES, IT CAN BE PERSUASIVELY ARGUED THAT IT WAS THE SYSTEM THAT MADE HIM POSSIBLE AND THAT TOLERATED A BREZHNEV. SIMILARLY, **THE ERRORS OF OVER-CENTRALIZATION AND UNREALISTIC AND INEFFECTIVE PLANNING ARE NOT MANAGERIAL ACCIDENTS, BUT** A CONSEQUENCE OF THE SYSTEM, OF ITS UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY AND OF ITS GOALS.

THE REAL CAUSES FOR THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM MUST BE TRACED TO COMMUNISM'S CONCEPTION OF MAN AND SOCIETY.

MARX'S THEORETICAL ERRORS HAVE BEEN AMPLY DISSECTED BY ACADEMIC CRITICS - HIS LABOR THEORY OF VALUE, HIS NOTIONS ABOUT CLASS, HIS GLORIFICATION OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND SO ON.

WHAT IT COMES DOWN TO, I THINK, IS THAT MARX, DESPITE HIS STRESS ON THE FUTURE, UNCONSCIOUSLY YEARNED FOR THE PAST; THERE IS IN COMMUNISM A DESIRE FOR ORDER AND STABILITY THAT HAS NOT EXISTED SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES. MARX BASED MUCH OF HIS INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM ON THE FORCES OF ECONOMICS, YET HE DID NOT REALLY UNDERSTAND ECONOMICS. NEITHER DID MOST OTHER COMMUNIST THEORISTS, NOR DID LENIN OR THE OTHER LEADERS WHO RULED IN HIS NAME. IN A CURIOUS WAY, THEY REMIND ONE OF THE MONARCHS WHO, THROUGHOUT THE LONG, SLOW EVOLUTION OF CAPITALISM, SIMPLY FAILED TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS GOING ON.

ECONOMIC FORCES TO THEM MEANT TRIBUTE, TAXES AND TRADE. IMPORTANT THOUGH THESE WERE, MONEY WAS STILL SEEN AS SOMEHOW SUBORDINATE TO THE TRUE AND NOBLE PURSUIT OF WAR AND STATECRAFT. MONEY WAS A NECESSARY NUISANCE AND, IF ONE NEEDED MORE, ONE RAISED TAXES OR BORROWED. OR ONE MIGHT EVEN RESORT TO DESPERATE MEASURES, LIKE LOUIS XIV, WHO MELTED DOWN HIS SILVER FURNITURE TO HELP FINANCE HIS ENDLESS WARS. AS RULERS, GIVEN TO THE HABITS OF RULING, MOST OF THESE MONARCHS FELT THAT SOMEHOW ECONOMIC FORCES COULD BE COMMANDED; THEIR

INDEPENDENT DYNAMISM WAS, BY AND LARGE, NOT RECOGNIZED. CONCEDED CERTAIN OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES, I THINK MUCH THE SAME COULD BE SAID OF MOST COMMUNIST RULERS.

THE MOST SERIOUS MISCONCEPTION OF COMMUNISM HAS TO DO WITH PSYCHOLOGY, WHICH IS AT THE HEART OF ECONOMICS - THE FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND WHAT MOTIVATES PEOPLE. PROPERTY WAS SEEN AS A FORM OF THEFT RATHER THAN THE OBJECT OF A SEEMINGLY UNIVERSAL INSTINCT. PROFIT WAS SEEN MERELY AS CAPITALIST GREED, RATHER THAN AS A NECESSARY INCENTIVE FOR EFFORT. EQUALITY WAS SEEN, AT LEAST IN THEORY, AS A UNIVERSAL IDEAL RATHER THAN A VERY AMBIGUOUS VALUE; AMBIGUOUS BECAUSE, WHILE MOST PEOPLE WANT EQUALITY IN CERTAIN RESPECTS, THEY RESENT THE ENFORCED EQUALITY THAT DOWN-GRADES INDIVIDUAL MERIT, EFFORT, OR EVEN LUCK. AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM WAS SEEN AS A BOURGEOIS VICE RATHER THAN AS A DEEP HUMAN NEED. IN THE CLASSIC COMMUNIST TRADE-OFF, FREEDOM WAS GIVEN UP IN EXCHANGE FOR EQUALITY - EXCEPT THAT IN COMMUNIST PRACTICE, EQUALITY PROVED TO BE A SHAM.

THE COMMUNIST UTOPIA TRIED TO COMBINE THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLE OF A COLLECTIVE WITH THE COMMAND PRINCIPLE OF AN ARMY - AN INSURMOUNTABLE CONTRADICTION. IT FAILED, NOT BECAUSE IT WAS BETRAYED BUT ^{BECAUSE} BY ITS NATURE, IT BETRAYED MAN, THAT IS ALSO WHY IT HAS SIMPLY NOT SUCCEEDED IN STAMPING OUT RELIGION

AS AN INESCAPABLE AND NECESSARY FORCE IN HUMAN AFFAIRS. AND ALSO WHY IT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN SUBMERGING THE ASPIRATIONS - SOMETIMES ADMITTEDLY DESTRUCTIVE - OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONALITIES AND TRIBES, AS WE KNOW FROM EVENTS IN ARMENIA, GEORGIA, THE UKRAINE, THE BALTIC STATES. CRITICS OF COMMUNISM HAVE SAID MUCH OF THIS ALL ALONG, BUT IT TOOK RECENT EVENTS TO MAKE IT PLAIN - TO SHOW UNMISTAKABLY THAT THE KING, OR RATHER THE COMMISSAR, WAS WEARING NO CLOTHES.

WHAT WE ARE WITNESSING TODAY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IS A MOMENTOUS TEST - A TEST TO DETERMINE WHETHER A SYSTEM BASED ON SUCH MISCONCEPTIONS CAN BE SAVED. GORBACHEV HIMSELF HAS SAID THAT THIS IS COMMUNISM'S LAST CHANCE. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER COMMUNISM CAN, IN FACT, BE REFORMED, OR WHETHER IT MUST BE REPLACED. THE ANSWER SEEMS INCREASINGLY ~~clear~~ ^{clear} views.

WE ARE ALL FAMILIAR WITH THE ATTEMPT BY THE REFORMERS TO MIX COMMUNISM WITH ENOUGH DOSES OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM TO MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK. SOME REFORMERS NOW SPEAK IN PRAISE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, PROFIT, INCENTIVES AND MARKET FORCES AS IF THEY WERE MAGIC, AND ABOVE ALL, AS IF THEY WERE QUITE COMPATIBLE WITH COMMUNISM. TO JUSTIFY THEMSELVES, THEY RUMMAGE THROUGH LENIN, WHOSE WORKS WILL USUALLY YIELD SOME QUOTATION TO BACK ANY OPINION - JUST LIKE THE BIBLE.

SOMETIMES, THE REFORMERS SEEM TO CONFUSE LENIN WITH ADAM SMITH, ^{in effect they} ~~SEEM TO~~ REJECT THE SYSTEM'S MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEGITIMACY. THEY MAY SUCCEED IN IMPROVING THAT SYSTEM. BUT IT IS NOT EASY TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN SUCCEED IN THE FULL SENSE IN WHICH GORBACHEV HIMSELF HAS DEFINED SUCCESS, NAMELY, TURNING THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE INTO A MODERN SOCIETY CAPABLE OF COMPETING IN THE NEW GLOBAL MARKET PLACE.

WHAT WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR SUCH SUCCESS IS A PERISTROIKA OF THE MIND - MILLIONS OF MINDS.

IN THE PAST, EVEN IN THE WEST, POLITICAL FREEDOM WAS OFTEN REGARDED AS AN ENEMY OF EFFICIENCY, AND WE CERTAINLY HAVE SEEN GREAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN UNFREE STATES. BUT IT IS INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT THOSE WERE TEMPORARY SITUATIONS, AND THAT POLITICAL FREEDOM, THE CHANCE TO MAKE INDEPENDENT DECISIONS IN ALL SPHERES OF LIFE IS, IN FACT, NOT A LUXURY BUT ESSENTIAL TO A MODERN EFFICIENT ECONOMY. THAT IS WHY POLAND AND HUNGARY AND TO A MUCH LESSER EXTENT THE SOVIET UNION, ARE ENGAGED IN EXPERIMENTS WITH PLURALISM - STILL LIMITED BUT NEVERTHELESS STUNNING. SOME REFORMERS, AS YOU KNOW, ARE SAYING THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO SEE THE COMMUNIST PARTY VOTED OUT OF POWER. IN SHORT, THEY ARE LOOKING TOWARDS A PEACEFUL DISMANTLING OF THE SYSTEM - WHAT MIGHT

BE CALLED THE COLD COUNTER-REVOLUTION. A FEW YEARS AGO, ONE WOULD HAVE SAID IN THE RUSSIAN PHRASE, THAT THIS WILL HAPPEN WHEN SHRIMPS BEGIN TO WHISTLE. TODAY, ONE MUST AT LEAST PAUSE OVER THE THOUGHT. BUT I, FOR ONE, ASSUME THAT THE ODDS ARE AGAINST IT. IF ONE BELIEVES THAT IT CAN HAPPEN, ONE HAS TO BELIEVE IN THE WILLINGNESS OF COMMUNISM TO LIQUIDATE ITSELF, WHICH WOULD BE THE ULTIMATE CONFIRMATION OF ITS FAILURE. WHAT WOULD REPLACE IT OBVIOUSLY IS NOT CLEAR, BUT TO LISTEN TO SOME OF THE MORE DARING REFORMERS, THE NEW SYSTEM WOULD LOOK REMARKABLY LIKE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

IT IS NAIVE IN THE EXTREME TO ASSUME, AS SO MANY IN THE WEST DO, THAT THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS ARE "IRREVERSIBLE". THE DISCUSSION SOMETIMES SEEMS TO ASSUME THAT "STALINISM" IS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO GORBACHEV'S POLICIES. THAT IS TOO SIMPLISTIC. MANY REFORMS COULD INDEED BE REVERSED WITHOUT A RETURN TO STALINISM, OR EVEN TO BREZHKNAVERY, IF I MAY COIN A WORD. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, AND OTHERS, BELIEVE THE ODDS ARE THAT MOST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WILL SIMPLY MUDDLE ALONG WITH SOME REFORMS OF THE SYSTEM BUT NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE TOWARDS TRUE PLURALISM.

HOW SHOULD THE WEST REACT TO ALL THIS? AFTER ALL, WE HAVE STRUGGLED FOR DECADES TO RESIST COMMUNISM, IN A BATTLE THAT HAS DOMINATED OUR ERA. SO WE SHOULD BE ENTITLED TO

A CERTAIN SENSE OF SATISFACTION ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING - AND WE ARE. WE CAN RIGHTLY POINT TO THE POLITICAL STEADFASTNESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS NATO ALLIES, TO THE TREMENDOUS DYNAMISM OF OUR FREE ECONOMIES AND OUR FREE IDEAS.

BUT THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY ASSURE OUR SUCCESS. THEIR BREAKDOWN DOES NOT GUARANTEE THE CONTINUED AND EXPANDING VIGOR OF OUR SYSTEM - OR ITS UNIVERSAL ACCEPTANCE. WE FACE A TREMENDOUS INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL CHALLENGE OF IMPROVING OUR OWN SOCIETIES, AND, AT THE SAME TIME, OF HELPING FILL THE VOID LEFT BY COMMUNISM - IN EFFECT, OF HELPING TO CONSTRUCT A POST-MARXIST WORLD.

BUT BEFORE WE GET TO THAT, THE IMMEDIATE TASK IS TO DEAL WITH THE FAILING REGIMES WHICH, IN THEIR VERY FAILURE, POSE A CHALLENGE - NAMELY HOW THE REAL AS WELL AS PERCEIVED REDUCTION OF THE SOVIET THREAT AFFECTS WESTERN POLICY. THE SITUATION REQUIRES WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED DOUBLE-TRACK THINKING. WE SHOULD CHEER THE GENUINE AND EXCITING CHANGES IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, ENCOURAGE THEM TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN, AND BE COMPLETELY READY FOR THE OPPORTUNITIES THEY OFFER, IN ARMS CONTROL AND PERHAPS ULTIMATELY, IN THE EVOLUTION OF A NEW EUROPEAN ORDER.

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT, AS I HAVE SAID, WE CANNOT YET KNOW HOW FAR THESE CHANGES WILL GO OR WHERE THEY WILL LEAD. IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY, GORBACHEV'S ~~PHILOSOPHY~~ "NEW THINKING" SO FAR IS, TO A GREAT EXTENT, CONFINED TO PROMISES AND STATED INTENTIONS. AND WHEN HE ACTS, WE SHOULD EVALUATE THOSE ACTIONS REALISTICALLY. WE SHOULD ACT WHEN HE ACTS, NOT WHEN HE SPEAKS. TO SAY THIS IS NOT CASTING DOUBTS ON HIS HONESTY OR TRYING TO UNDERMINE HIM; IT IS SIMPLY PRAGMATISM IN DEALING WITH A STILL VASTLY SUPERIOR MILITARY POWER. SUCH PRAGMATISM WILL ULTIMATELY SERVE BOTH SIDES. WHAT WILL NOT SERVE BOTH SIDES, WHAT MAY NOT EVEN SERVE SOVIET INTERESTS, IS GORBYMANIA, A PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDER WHOSE SYMPTOMS INCLUDE THE LOSS OF HISTORICAL MEMORY AND THE DYSFUNCTION OF CRITICAL FACULTIES.

IN A CURIOUS MIXTURE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS ZEAL AND IDEALISM, WE ARE TOLD THAT WE MUST MATCH IF NOT OUT-DO GORBACHEV'S "VISION" OF THE WORLD; WELL, TO A LARGE EXTENT, HE IS ONLY TRYING TO CATCH UP WITH OUR VISION. HE IS OBVIOUSLY AN EXTRAORDINARY LEADER WHO IS UNDERTAKING A BREATHTAKING, UNPRECEDENTED EXPERIMENT. HE DESERVES OUR ADMIRATION - BUT NOT AT THE PRICE OF LOSING OUR SENSE OF REALITY. I BELIEVE THAT GORBACHEV TRULY WANTS A NEW ERA IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, BUT I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HE IS PREPARED TO GIVE UP THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET INFLUENCE IN COMPETITION WITH THE U.S. IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE. ~~WHICH IS THE DANGERS OF A SPLIT~~ THE DANGERS OF A SPLIT

IN NATO AND OF A DENUCLEARIZED EUROPE ARE MUCH GREATER THAN BEFORE. PACIFICISM CAN BE AS DISASTEROUS AS MILITARISM AND SENTIMENTALITY AS DESTRUCTIVE AS CYNICISM. ONLY SENTIMENTALISTS WOULD TOTALLY FORGET THAT UNTIL RECENTLY, A VERY DIFFERENT MINDSET DOMINATED SOVIET POLICY, A MINDSET THAT SAW THE WEST AS AN IMPERIALIST VILLAIN AND SOVIET EXPANSIONISM AS A CRUSADE FOR PEACE. SUCH HABITS OF THOUGHT ARE NOT EXTIRPATED OVERNIGHT.

DECAYING EMPIRES CAN BE DANGEROUS. IN EASTERN EUROPE, AS YOU HERE KNOW BETTER THAN MOST, WE FACE A PARTICULARLY EXPLOSIVE SITUATION. WITH SOME OF THE COUNTRIES AHEAD OF GORBACHEV IN LIBERALIZATION, AND OTHERS FAR BEHIND, THE CONSTANT QUESTION IS HOW THE RUSSIANS WOULD ACT IF HERE OR THERE LIBERALIZATION GOT OUT OF HAND AND THREATENED TO UNDO THE WARSAW PACT. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT EVEN GORBACHEV WOULD TOLERATE THAT. THE HOPE THAT SOME DAY THE PACT WOULD SURVIVE IN NAME ONLY, BUT THAT EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOULD, IN FACT, BE FREE AND NEUTRAL, IS VERY MUCH WORTH CHERISHING, BUT IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR HOW IT COULD BE ACHIEVED.

THE MASSIVE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM WILL NOT PREVENT STRONG REAR-GUARD ACTIONS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, AS WELL AS IN MANY COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. A FAILED COMMUNISM IS NOT EASILY REPLACED BY DEMOCRACY AND THE FREE

MARKET; BOTH ARE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE AND TO MAINTAIN. AT LEAST AS LIKELY AN ALTERNATIVE ARE RIGHT-WING, MORE OR LESS NATIONALIST DICTATORSHIPS UNDER WHATEVER LABEL. THESE COULD ARISE IN RESPONSE TO REFORM ATTEMPTS THAT HAVE ACTUALLY MADE THE CONSUMER'S LOT WORSE, HAVE CREATED UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL, AS WELL AS PSYCHOLOGICAL, INSECURITY.

IN THE THIRD WORLD, THE DECLINE OF COMMUNISM'S REPUTATION AND APPEAL WILL MAKE IT SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR US TO DEAL WITH INEPT OR CORRUPT REGIMES THAT IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ARGUE THAT THEY PROVIDED THE ONLY GUARANTEES AGAINST A COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER. BUT IN MANY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, COMMUNISM IS STILL SEEN BY SOME AS A POTENT WEAPON AGAINST INTOLERABLE SOCIAL CONDITIONS, AND BY MANY AS A MEANS TO POWER. THE RECENT ADVANCES IN DEMOCRACY ARE ANYTHING BUT SECURE.

IN WHAT SURELY LOOKS LIKE A MOMENT OF TRIUMPH FOR DEMOCRACY AND THE FREE MARKET, WE MUST NOT BECOME TRIUMPHALIST, AND WE MUST REMEMBER WITH SOME HUMILITY WHAT GAVE RISE TO COMMUNISM IN THE FIRST PLACE. DESPITE THE FACT THAT IT DEVELOPED INTO UNSPEAKABLE TOTALITARIAN REGIMES, IT GREW OUT OF A HUMANE IDEALISM AND A LEGITIMATE PROTEST AGAINST THE MISERIES OF EARLY CAPITALISM. LONG BEFORE THE RISE OF COMMUNISM, ROUSSEAU DENOUNCED "MEN SO ODIOS AS TO DARE TO

HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH, WHILE OTHER MEN ARE DYING OF HUNGER." THAT CHALLENGE REMAINS, DESPITE THE MIRACLES OF PROSPERITY WE HAVE SINCE ACHIEVED, AND IT WILL NOT DISAPPEAR WITH THE DECLINE OR EVEN DISAPPEARANCE OF COMMUNISM.

FOR US, THIS TRANSLATES INTO THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE OF TRYING TO BRING THE THIRD WORLD INTO THE INCREASINGLY PROSPEROUS GLOBAL ECONOMY. THE SO-CALLED THIRD WORLD DEBT CRISIS IS ONLY THE MOST OBVIOUS EXPRESSION OF THAT PROBLEM AND THE RECENT RIOTS IN VENEZUELA ARE ONLY A FORETASTE OF THE POLITICAL UPHEAVALS THAT A FAILURE TO SOLVE THAT PROBLEM COULD BRING. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE FREE MARKET IS THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION. BUT IN THE SHORT AND MEDIUM TERM, IT CAN BE A HARSH PRESCRIPTION. AS PALLIATIVES LIKE SUBSIDIES ARE KNOCKED OUT, SOCIAL CONFLICTS CAN BECOME EVEN FIERCER; ECONOMIC GROWTH IS SLOW TO COME IN SOCIETIES WITHOUT THE NECESSARY EDUCATIONAL BASIS OR ENTREPRENEURIAL CULTURE. THUS, AN IMMENSELY DIFFICULT AND EXPENSIVE TASK WILL BE TO EASE THE TRANSITION TO FREE ECONOMIES IN COUNTRIES NOT PREPARED FOR THEM.

EVEN IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, THE MARKET ECONOMY IS NOT UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED, LET ALONE BELOVED. WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT BY DEFINITION, IT MEANS A MEASURE OF INSECURITY AND UNPREDICTABILITY, A MEASURE OF PAIN. AND

THE SOCIAL MECHANISM WE HAVE CONSTRUCTED TO EASE THAT PAIN IS ITSELF IN SOME DIFFICULTY. COMMUNISM AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM HAVE CERTAIN COMMON PHILOSOPHICAL ROOTS. AND JUST AS COMMUNIST REGIMES ARE REDISCOVERING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MARKET PLACE AND THE DANGERS OF OVER-CENTRALIZATION, SO ARE MANY SOCIALISTS IN THE WEST, MODERATING THE WELFARE STATE AND EDGING AWAY FROM CENTRALIZED PLANNING. THESE MOVES ARE BY NO MEANS UNANIMOUS OR IRREVERSIBLE. THE NOSTALGIA FOR THE TRUE OLD-TIME SOCIALIST RELIGION REMAINS IN MANY QUARTERS; IT WOULD BE WRONG TO CONCLUDE THAT THE WORLD HAS BEEN MADE SAFE FOR THATCHERISM.

BUT AS COMMUNISM HAS FALLEN AWAY - IN A SENSE, FALLEN OVER THE CLIFF ON THE FAR LEFT - EUROPEAN POLITICS HAVE MOVED FURTHER TO THE CENTER. IT IS IN THE CENTER THAT, INCREASINGLY, THE POLITICAL BATTLES WILL BE FOUGHT, OFTEN OVER SUCH UNDRAMATIC ISSUES AS THE COST OF WELFARE SERVICES, OF MEDICAL BENEFITS, OF PENSIONS. OFTEN, THEY WILL BE PRESENTED AS MERELY TECHNICAL MATTERS - MATTERS OF COMPETENCE, NOT IDEOLOGY, TO RECALL A PHRASE FROM THE RECENT U.S. ELECTIONS. BUT THEY WILL BE FAR MORE THAN THAT. THEY WILL INVOLVE NEW ANSWERS TO THE OLD QUESTIONS OF HOW MUCH AND WHAT KIND OF EQUALITY IS COMPATIBLE WITH EFFICIENCY ON THE ONE HAND AND FREEDOM ON THE OTHER; HOW MUCH THE INDIVIDUAL SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMMONWEALTH AND FOR WHAT REWARDS.

ALL THIS WILL BE COMPLICATED BY THE EMERGENCE OF A TRULY GLOBAL MARKET PLACE LINKED BY INSTANTANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS. TO THRIVE IN SUCH A MARKETPLACE, IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT WE WILL NEED MUCH BETTER EDUCATION, MORE IMAGINATIVE SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS AND MANAGERS, A GREATER DEDICATION TO QUALITY IN ALL FIELDS AND, IN GENERAL, VERY HARD AND PERMANENT EFFORT BY OUR POPULATIONS. THIS WILL NOT BE COMFORTABLE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE US VULNERABLE TO THE SEDUCTIVE PROMISES OF PROTECTIONISM.

NOT ONLY IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, OR WHAT WILL BE LEFT OF IT, BUT IN THE WEST TOO, THE RIGHT WILL BE FACTOR. DURING THE 1920'S AND 30'S, THE RIGHT GREW STRONG IN REACTION AGAINST ECONOMIC CHAOS AND COMMUNISM. GIVEN PROSPERITY AND THE DRAMATICALLY WEAKENED COMMUNIST THREAT, THE RIGHT WILL NOT RE-ENACT THOSE EARLIER DISASTROUS TRIUMPHS. BUT IT CAN STILL DRAW SOME STRENGTH FROM VARIOUS DISSATISFACTIONS - I MIGHT ALMOST SAY, BOREDOM - WITH THE STATUS QUO, AND BECAUSE OF PERCEIVED NEW THREATS, SUCH AS IMMIGRANTS. MOREOVER, WE MUST RECKON WITH THE NEW FORCE OF THE GREENS, SOME OF WHOM COMBINE A LEGITIMATE CONCERN ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT WITH A KIND OF NAIVE LEFTISM.

FINALLY, IF COMMUNISM HAS NOT SOLVED THE QUESTIONS OF RELIGION AND NATIONALISM (OR TRIBALISM), NEITHER HAVE THE REST OF US. THIS IS EVIDENT IN SOME OF OUR WORLD'S MOST INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS AS, FOR INSTANCE, IN THE MIDDLE EAST. TO COPE WITH THESE, WE WILL NEED PERHAPS EVEN MORE SOPHISTICATION AND PATIENCE THAN WAS REQUIRED IN THE CONTEST WITH COMMUNISM, AND PROBABLY A NEW SET OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY WEAPONS. AC

IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER NATIONALISM, FOR ALL ITS FORCE, WILL NOT HAVE TO CHANGE DRASTICALLY IN A NEWLY INTERDEPENDENT WORLD. CAN WE DEVISE A SYSTEM IN WHICH THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, NOT TO SAY PASSIONS, OF PEOPLE HAVE GREAT SCOPE WHILE ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS ARE SUPRA-NATIONAL, AS THEY MUST BE NOWADAYS? A MOST DIFFICULT TASK. BUT IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE MAJOR POWERS HAVE TAKEN TO MODIFYING THEIR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNITIES IN A WAY THAT SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO, AND IN A WAY, PARADOXICALLY, STILL LESS ACCEPTABLE TO SMALLER NATIONS; I AM THINKING OF INTRUSIVE ARMS INSPECTIONS INSTITUTED BY THE U.S. AND THE USSR, THE GRUDGING ACCEPTANCE BY THE USSR OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE INCREASINGLY SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS, WHOM I MENTIONED AT THE OUTSET, SAW THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND DEMOCRACY AS A STRUGGLE BETWEEN MAN AND GOD. MOST OF US TODAY WOULD REGARD THIS AS AN OVER-SIMPLIFICATION OR OVER-DRAMATIZATION. BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT EVEN IN ITS BENIGN CAPITALIST INCARNATION, MATERIALISM DOES NOT ULTIMATELY SATISFY ^{ALL} HUMAN NEEDS. AND SO YET ANOTHER TASK IN OUR ATTEMPT TO BUILT A POST-MARXIST WORLD WILL BE SPIRITUAL. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE WEST IS EQUAL TO THIS DEMAND, THAT WE DO HAVE THE VISION AND THE VALUES FOR IT - ALTHOUGH THE WEST AS WE THINK OF IT, WILL HAVE TO ACCOMMODATE ITSELF TO MORE AND MORE OTHER CULTURES. THE SHATTERING OF COMMUNISM GIVES US A TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW OUR VALUES AND TO SPREAD THEM. BUT IT WILL BE A HUGE, ALMOST FAUSTIAN UNDERTAKING, AND I MEAN THAT IN THE SENSE OF FAUST'S ADMONITION IN GOETHE'S DRAMA: "ONLY HE DESERVES FREEDOM AND LIFE WHO WINS THEM ANEW EVERY DAY".

I LEAVE THAT THOUGHT FOR ANYONE WHO BELIEVES THAT THE DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM WILL ALLOW US TO RELAX.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 6, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE OF
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARSSheraton-Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

11:08 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you very much, Larry. I remember when Larry Rivers first took over, I was Vice President -- came into greet me. I wasn't sure he knew what he was getting into. But he's holding up real well -- (laughter) -- and doing a first-class job, and you're lucky to have this dynamic young man as your leader.

You know, it's a pleasure to be here. I also want to express my best wishes to a real institution of the VFW -- you know what I'm talking about -- who I'm talking about -- Cooper Holt. (Applause.) I can't believe it -- I can't believe that he's stepping down this year, after more than a quarter of a century of distinguished service as Executive Director. But let me tell you something. Members of the VFW, others who stand for a strong defense whoever they may be, Cooper has earned the gratitude of veterans everywhere for making the VFW his life-long cause, but also the way he has conducted himself in Washington and elsewhere in this high office. He has my respect and my friendship, and I don't know what it's going to be like without him around here, I'll tell you. (Applause.)

I want to pay my respects to General Al Gray, member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a commandant of the Marine Corp, outstanding soldier -- outstanding Marine, I should say. Sorry, Al. (Laughter.) Really know how to hurt a guy, but -- (laughter.) But an outstanding leader. And also, to my former colleague and dear friend, the veteran's friend, Congressman Sonny Montgomery, over here. (Applause.)

Before I begin -- and I want to talk to you about two or three major issues -- but before I begin, let me just say a word about an issue that is of particular importance, I'd say, to the people in this room. You know John Tower as a fellow veteran, and you know him as a life-long public servant, and you also know him as a fighter. And he's fought for his country as a seventeen-year-old enlisted man in the United States Navy, and now he and I are fighting for what I think are some very important principles -- principles that the American people understand, like fairness and truth; and principles like the prerogative of a President of the United States to assemble the most talented and qualified team to guide this nation forward. (Applause.)

And I have asked the Senate to vote on this nomination with those principles in mind; asked the Senate to put aside partisanship; I've asked them to use their own experience with John Tower as an expert on defense issues, as a former colleague, and as a tough, hardnosed negotiator to guide them as they move towards a vote on this nomination. It is very interesting that not one single United States Senator has challenged John Tower's knowledge on defense matters or his experience to do this job. Not one single senator. (Applause.) And I stand by this man. I stand by him because he is uniquely qualified as the right man to take charge of

MORE

the Pentagon.

Enough of that now. (Laughter.) I wanted to get it off my chest. I'm getting sick and tired of some of the rumors and the innuendos -- (applause) -- that are used against this decent man. (Applause.)

Back to the gentler and kinder message. (Laughter.)

Look it's always an honor to meet with fellow members of the VFW. The love of liberty is the birthright of all men -- certainly all Americans -- and that's why our nation owes a special debt of gratitude to its veterans who freely and courageously took up the defense of freedom. I am especially pleased to welcome the Department of Veterans Affairs to a place in the Cabinet, and it's a sign of -- (applause) -- a cause, I might add, that you were in the lead on, and it's a sign of America's commitment to her veterans, of the importance we place in repaying in some way the sacrifice that veterans have made in answering their country's call. And in my view it is important that the first Secretary is someone who is close to the President, who has the President's full confidence on a personal basis, and Ed Derwinski, my former colleague in Congress and my friend of long-standing fits that description to a tee. He will be an outstanding Secretary. (Applause.)

Some facts. Today there are six times as many veterans alive as there were when the VA was created in 1930. Ed already has come to see me to discuss some of the challenges facing us in these programs. With the pressure the country is under -- and let's make no mistake about it, the pressures are great -- to solve our massive federal deficit, we may not be able to do everything we'd like to do in the way of adding resources, but I can tell you that Ed is your strong advocate. And, like me, he understands the needs, including the crying need for strong health care for the veterans. He already is an advocate for that. (Applause.)

I want to speak this morning about a matter of the utmost importance to the VFW -- keeping America strong -- today and then just 11 years from now, into the 21st century.

Opinion is nearly unanimous that today is a time of transition in world affairs. That means our powers of observation and analysis -- our ability to sort out change and continuity -- will be put to the test.

And when it comes to predicting the future, Winston Churchill's rule is the best. It is, "I always avoid prophesying beforehand because it's much better policy to prophesy after the event has already taken place." You've got to think about that one for a while, but -- and maybe I'm the guy to do that. Last year I told the American Legion about Pearl Harbor being on September 7th. (Laughter.) Just think if Franklin Roosevelt had listened to me, think what we could have spared the nation. (Laughter.)

You know, maybe you've read and maybe you haven't that we are in the midst of a series of systematic strategic reviews, and I've asked the members of my national security team to look hard at the international landscape and to look forward to assess the combination of security threats, technological change and political and economic developments that will shape our security horizon well into the next century.

And I am convinced that this important review -- this important exercise -- will have lasting benefits to our national security. In my address to Congress last month, I set a ninety-day deadline for this important work. And I won't rush the final results. The insights we will gain into the problems we will face in the decades ahead are worth waiting for. And the other day I went over to the Pentagon and met with certain members of the Joint Chiefs and those running that building, and I must tell you, I'm very pleased at these strategic -- these reviews are going forward.

But today I want to speak about the foundations of an adequate national defense program, about the world we live in, and the challenges and opportunities we'll encounter -- and about the approach I'll take on issues integral to our own national security.

First, the foundations. A month ago, I presented to the Congress a sound defense spending plan that makes sense -- strategically and fiscally. As a sign that my administration is serious about the deficit, I called for a freeze in defense spending in 1990, adjusted only for inflation. And I'm well aware that our national strength rests ultimately on the health and vigor of the American economy. And we need a strong defense and we need a strong economy, and I mean to preserve both.

But our crucial military modernization plans -- and the diverse defense commitments that we must keep -- cannot be achieved without additional defense funding. And that's why the budget plan follows the freeze for 1990 with real increases, albiet they small, with real increases -- one percent in 1991 and 1992, and a two percent increase for 1993.

And my aim is to put defense spending on a modest, manageable growth path -- one that we can afford and one that will allow us to modernize and maintain forces that are formidable, flexible, and ready.

But in the defense debate, what we can and can't afford isn't just a matter of economics. It's a matter of vital national security, I say we can't afford to continue the downward trend in defense spending -- 1989 -- now listen carefully to this -- 1989 will be the fourth straight year that budget authority for defense has declined in real terms. And we've worked hard to rebuild America's strength -- and it's paid off. Today, America is strong, its voice is heard, its forces are ready and the values we stand for are more secure.

Secondly, we can't afford to mistake a more stable international environment as proof that we can spend less on national defense. The secret to our success can be summed up in a single word -- strength. And let's sustain the military strength that helped turn the world situation around.

And finally, we can afford adequate defenses. The defense budget that I'm calling for in 1990 represents 5.5 percent of our annual Gross National Product. And that's a far smaller share of our national wealth than the United States spent on defense at any point throughout the 1950s or the 1960s -- periods of rapid and sustained economic growth though they were.

The bottom line is not a question of cost, or a question of resources. It's simply a question of will.

And you have my word -- as long as I am President, America will stand fast on the front line in defense of freedom. (Applause.)

Today, around the world, a number of long-standing regional conflicts are closer now to resolution than ever before. The stirrings of freedom, and the advance of democratic rule are evident and undeniable. In the economic sphere, the free market is increasingly seen as an engine of growth and development unmatched by any other system.

And freedom is on the march. But there are still forces arrayed against it -- regimes whose interests and systems are at odds with our own and with those of our allies. And then there's the of spread chemical and biological weapons -- along with the means to deliver them -- it's likely to make the flashpoints that always exist more dangerous than ever before.

And the key issue of change within the Soviet Union, there are still far more questions than answers. There is no doubt

that the changes taking place are significant and far-reaching, but it is equally true that the ultimate outcome of the events unfolding in the USSR remains certain.*

My view is this -- we should press for progress that contributes to a more stable relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, but we must combine our readiness to build better relations with a resolve to maintain defenses adequate to secure our interests. America and her allies must recognize that even in light of the military cuts proposed by President Gorbachev, the Soviet Union remains the most formidable military power facing the free world.

We must be ready to cope with change and favorable opportunities -- and ready in any event to defend our interests and ideals.

And what this means in terms of our national security should be clear: We need to maintain and modernize our forces -- nuclear and conventional. For America and its allies, a survivable nuclear force will remain the ultimate deterrent of aggression.

We need to make a concerted effort to turn our technological strengths into a source of advantage to our national security. And that includes, in my view, vigorous pursuit of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

And we need to make an active effort in arms control -- to strive for increased stability at lower levels, lower levels of armaments. But I will strongly oppose legislative attempts to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe unilaterally. Imprudent unilateral reductions are not the path to peace and security and freedom. (Applause.)

And I've been listening to General Gray. We need to keep our forces ready and well-trained. The dedicated men and women who serve our country deserve no less.

We need to reform our procurement process to deliver a dollar's worth of defense for every dollar we spend. (Applause.) And the way to do that is to begin to follow through on the sensible reforms suggested in the Packard Commission report and the findings of the defense management review now underway. I'll look carefully at those management review findings and then move to implement them.

And we need to maintain the alliance of like-minded nations in Europe and Asia that have helped us keep peace in the post-war era. As strong as we are -- and we are strong -- as strong as we are, the United States of America in this complex world cannot go it alone. Keep our alliances strong.

Before I close, I want to focus for a moment on a threat no less real than the adversaries you have battled. And I'm speaking about not a military threat; I'm speaking about the insidious threat to our society and our values -- drug abuse. The notion that America is a nation at peace is only partly true, as long as the violence and destructive power of drugs assault our communities.

As I talk, our Attorney General is holding a series of talks with three South American presidents and their attorney generals or their ministers, seeking their full participation in this war and offering our full cooperation. My able drug czar, Bill Bennett -- some of you know him -- able man -- he will be confirmed as my hard-hitting point man to be at my side in the White House to keep the focus on winning this unconditional war.

And I mean to mobilize all our resources, wage this war on all fronts. We're going to combat drug abuse with education, treatment, enforcement and, yes, interdiction -- and, yes, with our nation's Armed Services. When that prudently can be done and when

* uncertain

MORE

that's what it takes, we are going to have to go all out. We need to break the deadly grip of drugs and prevent the drug scourge from taking hold.

And the VFW can help. Many of you have already started. Many of your posts are actively involved. You've got 2.3 million members, 750,000 auxiliary members, 10,000 chapters nationwide -- the VFW is and always will be a respected member of communities across our country. (Applause.) And today, I call on you to form a community of action. "For America, whatever it takes" -- that's the motto of the VFW.

And you've fought for your nation once and your nation needs you again. And today, I want to enlist you in the antidrug campaign. Meet with other leaders in your community -- church, clergy, law enforcement officers. Tell them the VFW volunteers are ready to help.

And go to the schools and put the full weight of this magnificent organization behind the antidrug education effort that provides our kids with the reasons and willpower that they need to resist drugs.

Speak to your state and local elected officials. Urge them to make the passage of strong antidrug legislation a priority.

I am reaching out to you, so I want to extend my help, as well. Bill Bennett stands ready to meet with the VFW leadership to share ideas that can help you map a strategy.

VFW has proven many times over its dedication to the health and well-being of our nation -- proven it over and over and over again. And the fifty young people that you've honored here today, with whom I had a chance to meet very briefly a minute ago, underscore the VFW's interest in our nation's youth and in our future.

I know that we can count on the veterans of America all across this country to help us wage and win the war on drugs. Your country needs you once again. (Applause.)

Veterans share a special bond. We've seen the face of war. We know its terrible costs. Americans never willingly choose conflict. But we know as well that we must be ready and willing to respond when our interests and our ideals come under threat.

Let me be very clear. I prefer the diplomatic approach. Nations can and should explore every avenue toward working out their differences without resorting to force or military intimidation.

But I'm also a realist. I know that there is no substitute for a nation's ability to defend its ideals and interests.

And too often, we hear that we face a stark choice in coping with conflict. We can pursue a diplomatic situation or we can seek a resolution through military means. One, we're told, is incompatible with the other.

Well, this doesn't square with real-world experience. Diplomacy and military capability are complementary -- they're not contradictory. Creative diplomacy can help us avert conflict. Negotiations stand the greatest chance of success when they proceed from a position of strength.

The fundamental lesson, fundamental lesson of this decade, is simply this -- strength secures the peace. (Applause.)

America will continue to be a force for peace and stability in the world -- provided we stay strong.

Let me close with a word to these young people who you appropriately are honoring here today. If I were in your shoes, I'd

be an optimist. I'd be an optimist about world peace, changes in the Soviet Union. As I said earlier in this talk, nobody is talking about the socialist model or the communist model as to a way to solve their problems. But never forget -- never forget that when a President of the United States goes to the negotiating table, the way to enhance our values -- the way to enhance the principles that everybody in this room holds dear is to be dealing from a position of a strong America. We have the ideals. Keep America strong.
(Applause.)

Thank you all and God bless you. And good luck to you guys.

END

11:32 A.M. EST

NISC

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 4, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING CEREMONY COMMEMORATING
THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

The Rose Garden

NATO

11:04 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all. Please be seated. Your Excellencies and fellow citizens:

Forty years ago today, some of the most accomplished and far-sighted statesmen of their or any other generation -- men such as Robert Shuman and Lester Pearson, Paul Henry Spock, Dean Acheson, Ernest Bevin -- gathered here in Washington under the watchful eye of Harry Truman to take an historic step. They signed a solemn declaration of collective security, a treaty to safeguard the peace, and the prosperity of the community of free nations.

That treaty proved to be the foundation of the most successful alliance in modern history. And gathered here today are many distinguished Americans who, as officials or members of Congress or private citizens, have served the Atlantic community and the ideals that it embodies. And we pay tribute to them.

The North Atlantic Treaty, at its signing, symbolized a bold commitment to safeguard against new dangers, the very freedoms for which we had fought so hard only a few years earlier. Equally, it embodied the shared values of our civilization -- values which have given form to many other historic political milestones of the post-war period from the U.N. Charter to the Helsinki process.

And while planting firmly the banner of freedom, the North Atlantic Treaty, because of the strength it mobilized, became the basis of the longest peace matched by an unparalleled prosperity that Europe has known. By any standard, NATO has been a resounding success. Like any human institution, it is continually tested and challenged, but we've held together. And next month, I'll travel to Europe to attend the NATO summit in Brussels, as well as to visit allied leaders in Rome, Bonn and London.

This will be an historic occasion not only for the anniversary it commemorates, but also for the hopeful changes it can mark -- changes made possible by the strength and solidarity of the Atlantic Alliance.

Today in a changing world, our Alliance not only keeps the peace and freedom of the Atlantic world, it has made possible the common effort to build a more constructive relationship with the East. Europe is entering a period of unprecedented change and enormous hope. Without our moral and political unity over four decades, this would never be happening.

Our values of freedom and democracy turn out to be the most powerful political force around the world today -- most particularly in Europe. On this anniversary, I join my fellow Americans and citizens of the 15 other allied countries in saluting what has been accomplished. Equally, we salute a bright future and recommit ourselves to the shared vision of a Europe undivided in

MORE

which security and peace are assured for all the nations of the continent on the basis of freedom, true democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, fulfilling the dream and vision of 40 years ago.

And now, I would like to invite the NATO ambassadors to come forward for a group photo, and then I hope we'll all have a chance to say hello. Please.

END

11:09 A.M. EST

*Dan
McGroarty*

*Copy for
Speechwriter
& record*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 18, 1988

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I have met with Secretary Sullivan to discuss our effort to improve the health of mothers and children and the Secretary's plans in this area.

Today we are forwarding to the Congress our maternal and infant health proposals. I hope the Congress will enact this legislation and also act to fulfill my other Medicaid commitments: full funding in FY 90 and an appropriation of \$20 million for demonstrations that will build our understanding of how best to improve maternal and infant health.

I am committed to improving infant and maternal health in America. This is an area where we should invest in the future. I am disturbed by the fact that the infant mortality rate for black infants is nearly twice that for whites. With so large a gap, this is a civil rights issue as well.

This legislation does not do all that we want to do, but it does do what we can do. When I advanced my budget plan in my February 9 address to the Nation, I said my budget represents my best judgment of how we can address our priorities.

This legislation shows that principle at work. Investing in the health of pregnant women and infants is our highest priority for the Medicaid program. I also said on February 9 that not all spending initiatives were designed to be immortal. Several in the Medicaid program seem to be trying for that status. Over time we've provided increased match rates for initiatives that made sense at the time. But these initiatives have never rejoined the ranks of the regular program where we pay half of administrative costs. Permanent enhanced match rates are a low priority. Mothers and infants are a high priority. And that is why at a time like today when resources are tight, when we have more desires than resources, we must move resources from low priorities like the enhanced match to the higher priority of maternal and infant health.

Maternal and infant health is important to Secretary Sullivan. He knows the issues, he knows the problems. I'm confident that his effort to put all the knowledge and talent in the Department of Health and Human Services behind this issue will yield substantial rewards for our Nation's effort to improve maternal and infant health.

###

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 18, 1988

FACT SHEET

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA:
IMPROVING MEDICAID FOR PREGNANT WOMEN, INFANTS, AND CHILDREN

The Administration today forwarded to the Congress proposed legislation to make federal programs better serve pregnant women and infants. The legislation carries out commitments the President made in his February 9 address, "Building a Better America." The President's proposals also include funds for improving the delivery of health care services; these requests do not require new legislation.

The legislation would make a large expansion in the population Medicaid serves, making Medicaid available to 2.4 million more women when they become pregnant. The legislation also takes steps to make Medicaid more effective by bringing more eligible women and infants into the program. The legislation is part of an overall approach to health care for the disadvantaged that calls for full funding for Medicaid, \$37.6 billion for FY 90, an increase of \$3.3 billion or 9.6 percent over the FY 89 level.

The President's Principles

- o The President is committed to improving health care for lower income Americans by focusing first on the populations most at risk, mothers and their babies. Expansions in the Medicaid program contemplated in current law will do much to meet these needs.
- o The most cost-effective means must be used to achieve our goals. Adequate prenatal care and immunization against childhood diseases are both the most effective and least costly means to good health early in life.
- o Greater personal responsibility for good health must be fostered. Mothers must be encouraged to seek prenatal care, to avoid the use of cigarettes, alcohol and drugs, and to obtain good nutrition. The effects of the expanded Medicaid eligibility in the Administration proposal can be eliminated if mothers make unhealthy choices.

- o States and community groups have a vital role in improving child health care and must be given flexibility in using their resources to meet their own specific problems. The Federal government should continue to provide support through State-administered programs such as Medicaid.

The President's Proposals

The legislation transmitted to the Congress today would:

- o increase by 374,000 the number of women and children eligible for Medicaid.
- o make every woman who receives Food Stamps and becomes pregnant eligible for Medicaid.
- o foster greater participation in Medicaid by eligible pregnant women by:
 - providing services to pregnant women who are presumed eligible for Medicaid before a formal eligibility determination is made, and
 - requiring States to operate outreach programs in areas of high infant mortality.
- o entitle all children under age 6 who are receiving food stamps to Medicaid coverage for immunizations.
- o make the Federal match rate for State administrative expenses a uniform 50 percent by gradually reducing special administrative match rates ranging from 75 to 100 percent. The savings that result would allow the legislative changes to be implemented within the current services spending level.

The President has also proposed investing \$20 million in both FY 1990 and FY 1991 for a new demonstration program. The demonstrations would all involve approaches to improving coordination among three federal programs: Medicaid, Maternal and Child Health, and the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) nutrition programs. The results of the demonstrations are intended to serve as the basis for future reform.

Infant Health in America

Progress in improving infant health is most often described in terms of infant mortality statistics. The United States has made significant progress since World War II in reducing infant

mortality. Infant mortality has dropped from 29.2 deaths per thousand births in 1950 to 10.4 in 1986, the most recent year for which final data is available.

In recent years the United States has not made as much progress as other countries. As a result, the United States has dropped from 19th in 1980 to 22nd in 1985 among the nations of the world when ranked by infant mortality rates.

Infant mortality rates for black Americans have been and remain higher than those for whites. The black infant mortality rate stood at 43.9 deaths per 1000 births in 1950; in 1985 it was 18.2 deaths. While this is a significant improvement, it is nearly twice the 9.3 deaths per thousand births among white Americans.

Medicaid alone is not sufficient to assure proper medical care. In a survey of the poorest areas of New York, where infant mortality is also high, 68.5 percent of the mothers were Medicaid recipients, 39 percent of the mothers received late or no prenatal care. In such areas drug and alcohol abuse are often the greatest threat to maternal and infant health.

The goal of healthier babies depends on mothers making intelligent choices during pregnancy: avoiding smoking, drugs, and alcohol. The President's proposal to fund demonstrations that encourage better coordination of federal programs will lead to more effective program designs that can be implemented at the local level and form the basis for future federal program changes.

Medicaid and Infant Health: Current Law and the Administration's Proposals

By July 1, 1990, every State Medicaid program must cover pregnant women and infants (up to age one) with incomes not exceeding 100 percent of the Federal poverty line. States may elect to cover women and infants with incomes up to 185 percent of the poverty line.

Under the Administration's proposal, States would be required, by April 1, 1990, to provide coverage to pregnant women and infants whose income, minus certain disregards, does not exceed 130 percent of the poverty line.

The current poverty line is \$8,020 for a family of two; \$10,060 for a family of three; and \$12,100 for a family of four. Under the President's proposals, families with incomes of up to \$10,426 for a family of two; \$13,078 for a family of three; and \$15,730 for a family of four would be eligible for Medicaid.

Current law provides that States may grant presumptive eligibility to pregnant women. Under this option, States designate qualified providers who, based on a preliminary assessment of the woman's income, may determine her to be eligible. These providers are facilities that have a high proportion of eligible women in their clientele, and include community health centers, public health departments, and maternal and child health clinics. A woman who is presumptively eligible is entitled to ambulatory care for up to 45 days, during the first 14 of which she is expected to apply for Medicaid. Twenty States have adopted this option.

The Administration proposes to require that all States offer presumptive Medicaid eligibility. This will increase the number of pregnant women who will receive coverage and obtain prenatal care early in their pregnancies. Any woman with a valid food stamp card would be presumptively eligible. The period of presumptive eligibility would be set at 60 days. States would be required to demonstrate efforts to make the presumptive eligibility process work in all areas of the State. In addition, the State would be required to demonstrate outreach and public education efforts in areas with high rates of infant mortality.

Number of Women and Children Who Would Become Eligible	Current Eligibility Standard
---	---------------------------------

Alabama	% of poverty
Alaska	
Arizona	
Arkansas	
California	
Colorado	
Connecticut	
Delaware	
District of Columbia	
Florida	
Georgia	
Hawaii	
Idaho	
Illinois	
Indiana	
Iowa	
Kansas	
Kentucky	
Louisiana	
Maine	
Maryland	
Massachusetts	
Michigan	
Minnesota	

Mississippi
Missouri
Montana
Nebraska
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New Mexico
New York
North Carolina
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Vermont
Virginia
Washington
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Source: Office of the Actuary, Health Care Financing
Administration, based on Current Population Survey.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 27, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIRECTORS

FROM: KRISTEN GEAR ^{KG}
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: *OPPORTUNITY ACTION PLAN*

Today, President Bush presented the Administration's agenda for expanding opportunity and choice for all Americans. This ambitious agenda includes six major initiatives:

1. restoring quality education;
2. ensuring crime-free neighborhoods;
3. strengthening civil and legal rights for all;
4. creating jobs and new businesses;
5. expanding access to homeownership; and
6. allocating localities a greater share of responsibility.

I have enclosed a copy of the remarks President Bush delivered this morning, as well as an extensive Fact Sheet. Please feel free to distribute these as needed, and do not hesitate to call me at 202/456-2483 if you have any further questions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:05 A.M. EST
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1991

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ANNOUNCEMENT OF OPPORTUNITY ACTION PLAN
TO CIVIC AND CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS

Grand Ballroom
J.W. Marriott Hotel
Washington, DC

February 27, 1991

Looking around the room today, I see so many familiar faces, so many people making a difference in the lives of others. Every man and woman here believes in the power of the individual, and is bolstered by the conviction that America is indeed a land of opportunity. For more than 200 years, America has been the home of free markets and free people. There is no question: Opportunity in America is the envy of the world.

The story of America has been the story of opportunity. Throughout our history, we have pioneered the frontiers of liberty for all humanity. Our Founding Fathers created perhaps the most simple yet profound document in modern history -- our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Abraham Lincoln broke forever the chains of human slavery. The suffrage movement made the promise of democracy a reality for women. The founders of our public schools unleashed our national potential through universal education. And by their struggle for equal rights, the leaders of the civil rights movement helped bring dignity to the oppressed and disenfranchised.

The story of opportunity in America is the story of Thomas Paine and Frederick Douglass, Mother Seton, Clara Barton, the Wright brothers and Rosa Parks.

But it doesn't end there, with these heroes from our past. There are the "new American heroes" of today, many of them in this room. They, too, are inspired by pride, integrity, faith in the dignity of man, and courage to overcome the odds. It's called leadership by example, and it's made America the world's great beacon of freedom.

These modern visionaries are the ones making history -- propelling us into the Next American Century. Theirs is a movement more than 200 years old -- as old as the Declaration of Independence -- a movement defined by what Jefferson called "the American mind" and what I call "the American idea." It continues to sweep our country today with a vigor as strong as ever. It is a vision driven by the strength and power of the American Dream.

I share that vision for what is the American Dream, if it isn't wanting to be part of something larger than ourselves? If it isn't creating a better life for our children than we might have had? If it isn't the freedom to take command of our future? For most people, these aspirations mean enjoying the blessings of good health, having a home to call one's own, raising a family, holding a stake in the community, feeling secure at home, on the job, and in the neighborhood.

- more -

But for others, America has not yet fulfilled the promise of equality of opportunity. We know who they are: They are the hopeless and the homeless; the friendless and the fearful; the unemployed and the underemployed. The ones who can't read. The ones who can't write. They are the ones who don't believe they will ever share in the American Dream.

I'm here to tell any American for whom hope lies dormant: We will not forget you. We will not forget those who have not yet shared in the American Dream. Yes, we must offer them hope. But we must guarantee them opportunity.

It's been said, "Hope is a waking dream." That awakening begins with learning; understanding the power and potential of individual effort; developing a skill, and with it, independence; earning a living, with dignity and personal growth. More skills mean more freedom -- more options for even greater opportunity.

Today, our Administration is proposing an agenda to expand opportunity and choice for all Americans. It involves more than six major initiatives across the scope of our entire government: Restoring quality education; ensuring crime-free neighborhoods; strengthening civil and legal rights for all; creating jobs and new businesses; expanding access to homeownership; and allowing localities a greater share of responsibility. In its entirety, I believe it represents one of the most far-reaching efforts in decades to unleash the talents of every citizen in America.

In several weeks, I will have legislation to enact this agenda on the desk of every Congressman. The Administration's Educational Excellence proposals, for example, will put choice in the hands of students and parents so they can choose the best school to attend. Our higher education system is clearly the finest in the world -- creative, innovative, and highly competitive. From the G.I. Bill to Pell Grants, college students already have the power to choose. Now it's time our education system -- all of it -- became the finest in the world.

We're also proposing education reforms to build flexibility and accountability into our school systems. We've seen what education reform can do -- from East L.A. to East Harlem. We're encouraging Governors to bring together teachers, parents and administrators to work together to meet the needs of all students. We must cut the dropout rate, and ensure that every student in America arrives at school ready to learn, and graduates ready to work.

For some time now, the Administration has called for the restructuring of American education. We've got to raise our expectations for our students and our schools. But if we're going to ask more of them, it wouldn't be fair to tie the hands of the teachers and principals, particularly those who make a difference. We need responsive schools, customer-driven ones, if you will. Schools that are more market-oriented and performance-based; because it's time we recognize that competition can spur excellence in our schools. Choice is the catalyst for change, the fundamental reform that drives forward all others. These ideas will steer us toward meeting the national education goals the Governors and I set after the Education Summit; because we can't expect to remain a first-class economy if we settle for second-class schools.

Millions of jobs await America's graduates in the coming years. To fill those jobs, entrepreneurs will look increasingly to America's minorities -- Blacks, Hispanics and Asians -- and to people just entering the economic mainstream -- workers with disabilities and mothers who have chosen to work outside the home.

The majority of those jobs are safer, cleaner, higher-skilled, better-paying jobs. And they will go to the ones who have what it takes -- a quality education.

Everyone knows the best education takes place in a safe, drug-free environment. It is difficult for children to learn if there is violence in the classroom, or crime in the schoolyard, or drug pushers along the way home. And older students and workers find it hard to attend night school or put in late hours at the office because of the danger that darkness brings, especially in crime-ridden neighborhoods.

Low-income Americans are the ones more likely to be intimidated by crime and less likely to be able to take advantage of opportunities that may be across town or even just around the corner. They're the ones defending themselves and their families from the drug dealers and muggers down the hall, or down the street. They're the ones who need opportunity the most.

It is in their name that this battle for the streets of our cities must be waged. The thugs, and the gangs, and the drug kingpins should be the casualties of this war. Our tactics: Mandatory sentences for using a firearm in a violent crime; strengthened protection against sex crimes and child abuse; tough prosecutors; courts that mete out equal justice, swiftly and surely; a prison system that is up to the job; and finally, our strategy must include an unequivocal commitment to our young people. There are meaningful and adventurous alternatives to a life of crime.

It starts with an education; a neighborhood that's safe and secure. Opportunity is built on these foundations, but the door is opened by one thing: A job. Every American who wants a job should be able to get one. Of course, vestiges of the past remain. Bigotry and discrimination still exist. But, we have powerful legal tools for eliminating discrimination, and remember, the legal guarantees of equality of opportunity are largely in place: Brown vs. the Board of Education; the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the Voting Rights Act of 1965; the Fair Housing Acts of 1968 and 1988; the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

To assure that every American enjoys the equality of opportunity and access, I am determined to continue vigorous enforcement of these and other civil rights laws.

And where our laws need improvement, I am committed to refining them. We will soon introduce legislation with strong new remedies to protect women from sexual harassment and minorities from racial prejudice in the workplace, and I call on the Congress to act promptly on this important initiative.

But legislation that only creates a lawyer's bonanza helps no one. We all know where opportunity really begins. It begins with a job.

In our hardest hit urban and rural areas, our enterprise zone proposal will create new small businesses. We're providing new incentives for employers to hire more workers. And by eliminating the capital gains tax on businesses in these areas and attracting more seed capital, our proposals mean economic growth, more minority entrepreneurs and most importantly, jobs.

The American Dream also means choosing where to live and, for many working people, owning a home someday. We're offering public housing residents not only control and management of their own community but, for the first time, access to homeownership and private property -- to gain a stake in their communities.

We've asked Congress to provide much-needed funding for the HOPE program in 1991, to make this opportunity a reality in our inner cities this year. And we're proposing that Americans be allowed to use the money in their IRAs to buy their first home. These initiatives will bring us closer to our goal of one million new homeowners by 1992.

You know, there's something reassuring about becoming part of a neighborhood -- a community that pulls together in times of crisis, that looks out for one another. Each community in America is different, and its residents know best how to take care of each other -- what the best options are for programs and services for those who need a hand. So we're proposing to allow communities to restructure programs at the local level.

Our strength as a nation lies in the strength of our communities -- the sum of our neighborhoods and families, our hopes and dreams for the future. This is our Administration's agenda for opportunity. It begins in the heart of every person who believes in freedom, and lives on in the American Dream. Every man and woman in this room shares its vision. The great poet Carl Sandburg wrote that "nothing happens unless first a dream." Our mandate is to make the dream a reality.

We face a new Century -- a new American Century. Half a world away, our allied troops face a defining moment in the new world order. And they are succeeding in their battle because each and every one of them possesses pride in their country, integrity in their cause and courage in their heart.

Our veterans will be home soon to a grateful Nation. I want to ensure that their return is to a land of equal opportunity. Just as they have stood to safeguard our freedom, let us stand with pride, integrity, and courage in our hearts, and expand the freedoms of all Americans. It's up to each of us to secure the triumph of "the American idea." That idea is opportunity.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release
Until 11:05 a.m. EST
Wednesday, February 27, 1991

February 27, 1991

FACT SHEET

EXPANDING CHOICE AND OPPORTUNITY
FOR INDIVIDUALS, FAMILIES, AND COMMUNITIES

In his State of the Union Address, the President said: "The strength of democracy is not in bureaucracy. It is in the people and their communities....We must return to families, communities, counties, cities, states and institutions of every kind the power to chart their own destiny, and the freedom and opportunity provided by strong economic growth."

The Administration is committed to strengthening the power and opportunity of individuals and families, to breaking down barriers to independence and self-reliance wherever they exist, and to providing hope to distressed communities.

This means giving people access to jobs and the ability to make choices that will better their lives and the lives of their families. People with access to housing, jobs, and quality education have a stake in their community, and a greater incentive to lead productive lives. More important, people with economic opportunity have hope for the future -- an important and powerful weapon against poverty and despair.

The Administration seeks to use numerous administrative, regulatory, and budgetary means to expand economic opportunity for low-income individuals. In addition to these continuing efforts, the President today announced that he will seek Congressional action to promote choice and opportunity on several fronts:

1. educational choice;
2. educational flexibility;
3. homeownership for low-income persons;
4. enterprise zones;
5. anti-discrimination laws;
6. community opportunity areas;
7. the social security earnings test; and
8. anti-crime efforts.

Legislation, where required, will be transmitted to Congress in the next several weeks to implement these proposals.

GIVING PARENTS AND STUDENTS CHOICE IN EDUCATION:

Choice programs provide parents the opportunity to select the most appropriate school for their children -- based on informed judgments about which school offers the best education. Choice leads to healthy competition among schools by focusing on proven educational quality as the way to attract students. Clearly, parents should have the opportunity to send their children to schools of their choice. Choice can lift the performance and quality of all schools.

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

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

PROVIDING EDUCATIONAL FLEXIBILITY IN RETURN FOR ACCOUNTABILITY:

Federal Departments and agencies administer hundreds of separate programs that provide or support education services; each has its own statutory and regulatory requirements. Program requirements can impede the ability of local schools and districts to provide the best possible education. Flexibility in administering Federal education programs will allow Governors, school administrators, teachers, service providers, parents, and others in the community to work together to develop effective education programs that meet the needs of all students, particularly those students who are educationally disadvantaged.

- o The Educational Excellence Act of 1991 would promote local control and innovation in education by providing increased flexibility in the use of Federal funding in exchange for enhanced accountability for results. The Administration's bill will be guided by the following principles:
 - Flexibility should be linked to accountability for improvements in educational outcomes.
 - Flexibility should result in delivering services to current target populations in a more effective manner.
 - Flexibility should retain key protections in current laws (e.g., protection of the disabled).

PROVIDING HOMEOWNERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES:

Low-income Americans have a greater stake in their communities when they have the opportunity to own their own homes. The HOPE (Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere) initiative is a new grant program to increase homeownership opportunities. By offering residents greater control and access to property, the HOPE program will instill pride of ownership and enhance incentives for maintenance and improvement. While HOPE was enacted into law last year, Congress provided no funding for the program in Fiscal Year 1991.

- o The President has requested \$500 million in Fiscal Year 1991 supplemental funding to start the HOPE program immediately. The President's Budget also requests \$1 billion in 1992 for the new HOME program -- a housing block grant program providing States and localities greater flexibility in meeting the housing needs of their low-income residents, with incentives for use of housing vouchers.
- o HOPE Grants will be made on a competitive basis to resident management corporations, resident councils, cooperative associations, non-profit organizations, cities and States, and public and Indian housing authorities. Funding will help participants design and execute their plans for resident management and buyouts of public and assisted housing.
- o The HOPE initiative also targets \$258 million in 1992 for a new "Shelter Plus Care" program to help the homeless. The Shelter Plus Care program will link housing with the full range of services needed by the homeless. The program will combine shelter with the support services -- job training, health care, and drug treatment -- that help people achieve dignified and independent lives.

CREATING JOBS IN ENTERPRISE ZONES:

Enterprise zones will attack poverty by promoting investment in economically distressed neighborhoods. Enterprise zones will attract new seed capital for small business start-ups, create new incentives for entrepreneurial risk-taking, and reduce high effective tax rates on those moving to work from welfare.

- o The Enterprise Zone and Jobs-Creation Act of 1991 will target tax incentives and regulatory relief to some of our nation's most economically depressed areas.
- o The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development would designate up to 50 (urban, rural, and Indian) enterprise zones over a four year period. Designation will be based on the level of distress, as well as on the nature and extent of State and local efforts to improve living conditions and to eliminate government burdens to economic activity. Designation will be for a maximum of 24 years.
- o The legislation will provide tax incentives to attract seed capital, stimulate employment, and increase the economic return from work for the working poor:
 - Workers will be eligible for a 5 percent refundable tax credit for the first \$10,500 of wages earned in an enterprise zone business. This will put up to \$525 more income in the pockets of low-income workers. The credit phases out between \$20,000 and \$25,000 of total annual wages.
 - To spur investment, capital gains taxes will be eliminated for gains on investment in tangible property (e.g., buildings and equipment) used in a business located in an enterprise zone for at least two years.
 - To encourage entrepreneurial risk-taking, individuals will be permitted to expense investments in the capital of corporations engaged in enterprise zone businesses. This essentially provides an immediate write-off for investments in enterprise zone businesses. Corporations must have less than \$5 million of total assets. Expensing will be permitted up to \$50,000 annually per investor, with a \$250,000 lifetime limit.
- o The legislation would also give enterprise zone communities priority for free trade area status. Such status would, for example, allow a business in an enterprise zone to import materials duty-free if the materials are used to manufacture products for export to other countries.

- o Enterprise zones would reduce Federal tax revenues by \$1.8 billion over five years.

STRENGTHENING AND ENFORCING ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS:

A vital element in the effort to protect the civil rights of all Americans is the vigorous enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws. Over the past two years, the Bush Administration has moved aggressively to fight hate crimes and combat discrimination in housing, voting, employment, and education. A few examples:

- o Enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act in July 1990 was one of the most important expansions of civil rights protections in a quarter of a century. The Administration is now pursuing swift implementation of the landmark law.
- o The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is aggressively enforcing the 1988 Fair Housing Amendments which prohibit housing discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, familial status, or disability. The Bush Administration has resolved nearly 12,000 of the almost 16,000 fair housing cases.
- o In 1989, the Justice Department prosecuted more than twice as many hate crimes cases as in any previous year. In 1990, the Justice Department had a 100 percent success rate in prosecuting hate crimes.
- o In 1990, the Department of Education received and resolved more civil rights complaints than in any previous year of its history -- and in record time.
- o The largest settlements in the history of the Department of Labor's Federal Contract Compliance cases have been achieved during the Bush Administration. A single case involving employment discrimination against women and minorities resulted in a payment of \$14 million. In another case, a back pay settlement of \$3.5 million will benefit approximately 1,000 women who were discriminated against in hiring.

The Administration is committed to strengthening the strong employment discrimination laws that now exist. These improvements will remove consideration of factors such as sex, race, religion, or national origin from employment decisions. This can be done without encouraging the use of quotas or preferential treatment, without departing from the fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system, and without creating a litigation bonanza that brings more benefits to lawyers than to victims.

- o A major objective of the Administration is to ensure that Federal law provides strong new remedies for harassment based on sex, race, color, religion, or national origin.
- o The Administration will propose to codify a cause of action for "disparate impact," involving employment practices that unintentionally exclude disproportionate numbers of certain groups from some jobs. The burden of proof will be shifted to the employer on the issue of "business necessity."
- o The time has come for Congress to bring itself under the same anti-discrimination requirements it prescribes for others.
- o Other improvements, including changes in certain provisions affecting statutes of limitations and encouragement for the use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, will also enhance the administration of our comprehensive civil rights laws.

REDUCING FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AND ESTABLISHING OPPORTUNITY AREAS:

Programs providing social, welfare, health, education, and nutritional services are often delivered in fragmented ways. Allowing services to be integrated will better serve the recipients of these programs and promote self-sufficiency and opportunity.

- o The Community Opportunity Act of 1991 will enable local communities to develop "community opportunity systems" and allow them to restructure Federal programs to provide services and benefits in the way the community deems best to meet the needs of the individuals and families served.

- o The legislation would allow a Federal administrator designated by the President to recommend a budget-neutral waiver of most Federal statutory and regulatory requirements for any Federally funded program to be included in the community's opportunity delivery system. The Federal administrator will make recommendations regarding the waiver requests to the relevant Federal agency heads.
- o Communities will be able to develop community opportunity systems in which:
 - services and benefits can be integrated, combined, and restructured at the community level;
 - the system is neighborhood- or community-based, with a specified target group of beneficiaries;
 - the individuals and families served can participate in the design of the system; and
 - the delivery system offers individuals and families in the target group of beneficiaries the maximum choice and control over the range, source, and objectives of the services and benefits to be provided.
- o Each community opportunity system will have clear and measurable goals and will be evaluated with regard to both the short- and long-term outcomes.

EXPANDING JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR OLDER AMERICANS BY LIBERALIZING THE SOCIAL SECURITY EARNINGS TEST:

If social security recipients aged 65 to 69 wish to supplement their benefits with earnings, they may earn only up to \$9,720 this year before their social security benefits are reduced. Beyond \$9,720, each three dollars of earnings reduces their social security benefits by one dollar.

For retirees with sources of income other than earnings, such as private pensions and investment income, this limitation on allowable earnings may have little effect on their lives. Presently, the earnings test falls most heavily on elderly persons who do not have significant savings or income from pension plans, and can seriously constrain their choices of employment.

- o The President's Fiscal Year 1992 Budget proposes an increase in the amount of allowable earnings for social security recipients aged 65 to 69.
 - For 1992, allowable earnings would be increased \$800, or 8 percent, from \$10,200 to \$11,000.
 - For 1993, the increase would be \$200, from \$10,800 to \$11,000.
 - For 1994, allowable earnings would continue to rise to the level projected under current law, \$11,400.

PROTECTING CITIZENS BY FIGHTING VIOLENT CRIME:

As President Bush has stated in the past, the right to be free from fear in our homes, streets, and neighborhoods is the first civil right of every American. Where streets are not safe and property is not secure, economic opportunity is impossible.

The President announced in his State of the Union Address that the Attorney General will soon convene a Crime Summit of our nation's law enforcement officials. A major objective of the Crime Summit is to strengthen the working relationship between the Administration and State and local law enforcement officials.

The Administration will again propose comprehensive violent crime control legislation to give law enforcement authorities the tools they need to apprehend, prosecute, and incarcerate violent criminals. The legislation will include:

- o A meaningful Federal death penalty for the most heinous crimes with procedures to ensure its fair and colorblind application.
- o Habeas corpus reform to reduce unnecessarily repetitive appeals that clog the courts and delay justice.
- o Exclusionary rule reform to ensure that the evidence gathered by law enforcement officials in a good faith belief that they are acting lawfully can be used to help courts establish the truth.
- o Provisions to strengthen Federal laws concerning the safety of women by modifying rules on the admissibility of evidence in cases of sex crimes, enhancing penalties for the distribution of illegal drugs to pregnant women, increasing penalties for recidivist sex offenders, and offering greater protection for victims below the age of sixteen.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 10, 1991

TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S
OPEN LETTER TO COLLEGE STUDENTS

January 9, 1991

If armed men invaded a home in this country, killed those in their way, stole what they wanted and then announced the house was now theirs -- no one would hesitate about what must be done.

And that is why we cannot hesitate about what must be done halfway around the world: in Kuwait.

There is much in the modern world that is subject to doubts or questions -- washed in shades of gray. But not the brutal aggression of Saddam Hussein against a peaceful, sovereign nation and its people. It's black and white. The facts are clear. The choice unambiguous.

Right vs. wrong.

The terror Saddam Hussein has imposed upon Kuwait violates every principle of human decency. Listen to what Amnesty International has documented. "Widespread abuses of human rights have been perpetrated by Iraqi forces ... arbitrary arrest and detention without trial of thousands ... widespread torture ... imposition of the death penalty and the extrajudicial execution of hundreds of unarmed civilians, including children."

Including children. There's no horror that could make this a more obvious conflict of good vs. evil. The man who used chemical warfare on his own people -- once again including children -- now oversees public hangings of dissenters. And daily his troops commit atrocities against Kuwaiti citizens.

This brutality has reverberated throughout the entire world. If we do not follow the dictates of our inner moral compass and stand up for human life, then his lawlessness will threaten the peace and democracy of the emerging New World Order we now see: this long dreamed-of vision we've all worked toward for so long.

A year after the joyous dawn of freedom's light in Eastern Europe, a dark evil has descended in another part of the world. But we have the chance -- and we have the obligation -- to stop ruthless aggression.

I have been in war. I have known the terror of combat. And I tell you this with all my heart: I don't want there to be war ever again. I am determined to do absolutely everything possible in the search for a peaceful resolution to this crisis -- but only if the peace is genuine, if it rests on principle, not appeasement.

But while we search for that answer, in the Gulf young men and women are putting their own lives on hold in order to stand for peace in our world and for the essential value of human life itself. Many are younger than my own children. Your age, most of them. Doing tough duty for something they believe in.

Let me tell you about one of the soldiers over there, S.F.C. Terry Hatfield, a young man from Georgia. He sent me a Christmas card. And this is what he wrote.

"Mr. President, I just wanted you to know my soldiers and I are ready to do whatever mission you decide. Freedom as we know and enjoy has been taken away from another country and must be restored. Although we are separated from family, friends, loved ones, we will do what must be done ... We stand ready and waiting. God Bless you and the U.S.A."

Terry understands the moral obligation that has compelled our extraordinary multi-national coalition to make this stand in the Gulf. To look this international terrorist straight in the eye and say: no concessions. To proclaim for now and for the future: no compromises. To bear witness by our presence to the fact that aggression will not be rewarded.

Terry waits thousands of miles from the White House, yet we share the same thoughts. We desperately want peace. But we know that to reward aggression would be to end the promise of our New World Order. To reward aggression would be to destroy the United Nations' promise as international peacekeeper. To reward aggression would be to condone the acts of those who would desecrate the promise of human life itself.

And we will do none of this. There are times in life when we confront values worth fighting for. This is one such time.

Each day that passes means another day for Iraq's forces to dig deeper into their stolen land. Another day Saddam Hussein can work toward building his nuclear arsenal and perfecting his chemical and biological weapons capability. Another day of atrocities for Amnesty International to document. Another day of international outlaws, instead of international law.

I ask you to think about the economic devastation that Saddam Hussein would continue to wreak on the world's emerging democracies if he were in control of one-fifth of the world's oil reserves. And to reflect on the terrible threat that a Saddam Hussein armed with weapons of mass destruction already poses to human life and to the future of all nations.

Together, as an America united against these horrors, we can, with our coalition partners, assure that this aggression is stopped and the principles on which this nation and the rest of the civilized world are founded are preserved.

And so let us remember and support Terry Hatfield, all our fine servicemen and women, as they stand ready on the frontier of freedom, willing to do their duty and do it well. They deserve our complete and enthusiastic support -- and lasting gratitude.

#