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December 16, 1988

MEMORANDUM

RE: RECENT STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

After conversations with Bob Grady, David Demarest, and Andy Card in the past few days, we obtained no definitive answer to the question of whether George Bush will be giving a State of the Union Address.

Perhaps there is a plan that we don't know about, but in any event, we thought it might be helpful to review what other newly elected presidents in recent decades did in the way of a) delivering a State of the Union message, and b) addressing the Congress and the Nation early in their administration as a means of setting the policy agenda for the year.

As a reminder, it appears that President Reagan will not be giving a state of the union address this year; you may recall he had indicated last year that his 1988 State of the Union address was to be his last. This creates an option for George Bush.

Delivery Dates of State of the Union Messages:

The first State of the Union Address was delivered by George Washington on January 8, 1790 (Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789). After Washington's first inaugural, the delivery dates occurred between October and December. Beginning with Monroe in 1821, December emerged as the regular pattern, until January 3, 1934 when President Roosevelt gave his first annual State of the Union address (he had used the fireside chat and other means to deliver his message to the American people during his first year in office).

The annual message was delivered by all outgoing Presidents. President Reagan's decision not to make such a address this January is a departure from a long standing tradition.

President Eisenhower's Inaugural Speech on January 20, 1953, was followed by a State of the Union address on February 2, 1953, even though President Truman had delivered his Annual Message on January 7.

President Kennedy also gave a State of the Union address 10 days after his inauguration, seeing events in a much different light from Eisenhower only 18 days before.

President Nixon declined to give a State of the Union speech in January of 1969. President Johnson having given a State of the Union speech on January 14, delivered the Budget message on January 15 followed by an Economic Report to Congress on the 16th; perhaps this was a wise decision.

President Carter confined himself to a Message of Budget Revisions in February of 1977 following Ford's earlier State of the Union message.

President Reagan chose to address the Nation on television on the state of the economy on February 5 - a very short report by State of the Union standards; he then followed up with an address to a joint session of Congress on February 18, where he presented his "Economic Recovery Program."

The bottom line is that George Bush has a choice of formats -- whether State of the Union, or, perhaps, a more focussed statement to the Congress, to set his agenda.

There is attached a chronology dating back to Franklin D. Roosevelt on State of the Union addresses given by incoming Presidents.

As a beginning effort, the following describes in more detail the approaches taken by two interesting and relevant Presidents, Reagan and Kennedy, to setting the policy agenda through major speeches in the first days of their administration.

Reagan/Carter 1981

On January 16, 1981, Jimmy Carter submitted in writing his 60-page State of the Union address. Two days earlier, he had given his farewell address to the nation which was broadcast live from the White House.

President Ronald Reagan outlined the foundation for his agenda in a televised address to the nation on "The Nation's Economy" on February 5, where he:

- o described the nation's economic ills;

- o decried the growth of federal spending;
- o listed initial Presidential actions already taken (i.e., freeze on hiring; cuts in federal travel; a freeze on pending regulations; established the Vice President's regulatory task force; decontrol of oil; elimination of Council on Wage and Price Stability, etc.);
- o announced his intention to present an economic program to Congress on February 18;
- o reviewed charts on (a) forecasts of federal spending and revenues, and on (b) his alternative economic program;
- o professed his confidence that the budget could be balanced, and
- o called on the nation to "forge a new beginning."

On February 18, President Reagan did indeed address a joint session of Congress and outlined his "Program for Economic Recovery." Paralleling his earlier address to the nation, he reviewed the nation's economic ills and outlined his "comprehensive four-point program":

- o a budget reform plan to cut the rate of growth in Federal spending;
- o a series of proposals to reduce personal income tax rates and to accelerate depreciation for business investment;
- o regulatory relief; and
- o a monetary policy consistent with the above.

His address also included:

- o specific proposals for federal spending reductions in FY82;
- o assurances on the "social safety net";
- o a promise to "convert a number of categorical grant programs to block grants";
- o proposals on subsidies and programs to be cut or eliminated;
- o a proposal to increase defense;
- o proposal for tax reductions;

- o proposals to advance deregulation;
- o commitment to pursue budget policies to help the Federal reserve slow the growth in money supply;
- o a reminder that "spending by government must be limited to those functions which are the proper province of government."

Eisenhower/Kennedy: 1961

Kennedy's State of the Union address was delivered in person, January 30, 1961, to a joint session of Congress. It is useful to note that Kennedy sought to establish an immediate bond with his Congressional audience by opening with "It is a pleasure to return whence I came." Kennedy offered several concrete proposals, notwithstanding his disclaimer, "Were I to offer -- after little more than a week in office -- detailed legislation to remedy every national ill, the Congress would rightly wonder whether the desire for speed had replaced the duty of responsibility."

In the address, Kennedy:

- o Reviewed economic ills, including recession and unemployment -- "The American economy is in trouble."
- o Promised to propose specific economic actions within 14 days
- o Reviewed U.S. economy in global context (trade gaps, gold stocks, investment abroad, etc.)
- o Reviewed budget deficit
- o Commented on several domestic needs: housing (he observed that "a new housing program under a new Housing and Urban Affairs Department would be needed this year."), education, medical, research, etc., and promised a series of "messages" within the next two weeks
- o Reviewed the U.S.'s place in the world and commented on the need for:
 - strengthened military tools (promised to reappraise entire defense strategy)
 - improved economic tools (e.g., foreign aid, and "the formation of a National Peace Corps...")
 - strengthened political and diplomatic tools

- o Reviewed the State of the Executive Branch ("full of honest and useful public servants", but in need of more decisiveness and encouragement of initiative)
- o Closed with a reference to Franklin D. Roosevelt, "In the words of a great President, whose birthday we honor today, closing his final State of the Union Message sixteen years ago, 'We pray that we may be worthy of the unlimited opportunities that God has given us.'"

PRESIDENTIAL ACTIONS AROUND THE INAUGURATION

1953

President Truman

1/7 State of Union
1/9 Budget Message
1/14 Economic Report to Congress
1/15 Farewell on TV

President Eisenhower

1/20 Inaugural Address
2/2 State of the Union

1961

President Eisenhower

1/12 State of Union

President Kennedy

1/20 Inaugural Address
1/30 State of Union

1965

President Johnson

1/4 State of Union
1/20 Inaugural Address
1/28 Economic Report to Congress

1969

President Johnson

1/14 State of Union
1/15 Budget Message
1/16 Economic Report to Congress

President Nixon

1/20 Inaugural Address

1977

President Ford

1/12 State of Union
1/17 Budget Message
1/18 Economic Report to Congress

President Carter

1/20 Inaugural Address
1/20 Message to Nations
of the World through
USIA
2/22 1978 Budget Revisions

1981

President Carter

1/14 Farewell Address
1/15 Budget Message
1/16 State of Union

President Reagan

1/20 Inaugural Address
2/5 Televised Address to
Nation on Economy
2/18 Address to Joint Session
of Congress: Program for
Economic Recovery

PRESIDENTIAL ACTIONS AROUND THE INAUGURATION

Page Two

1985

President Reagan

1/20 2nd Inaugural
2/6 State of Union

1989

President Reagan

President Bush

HIGHLIGHTS OF RONALD REAGAN'S

FIRST STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS - JANUARY 26, 1982

BEGINNING

- Begins with reference to George Washington's first State of the Union address, quotes GW re preservation of liberty;
- Humor: jokes that he didn't actually hear GW say this
- Harkens to others who shared the podium, and their themes/messages: Churchill, free world to stand together to fight aggression; FDR re "day of infamy"; McArthur's farewell; Ike, on peace through strength; JFK, burden and glory of freedom
- Refers to prior visit to chamber, as newcomer last year; reminds Congress of new spirit of partnership
- Reminds of economic ills of last decade; but assures that now things are different due to having an economic program in place -- reduction in growth of federal spending, tax cuts.
- Reminds that predictions of the President and Congress not being able to work together were wrong; "The record is clear and I believe that history will remember this administration as an administration of change, and remember this Congress as a Congress of destiny."
- Lists accomplishments "together"
 - o regulation reduction
 - o strike force on waste and fraud
 - o mobilizing of private sector to "bring thousands of Americans into a volunteer effort"
 - o begun to restore margin of military safety
 - o "Together we have made a New Beginning, but we have only begun."

DOMESTIC POLICY

- Quotes his own inaugural address re difficulties (i.e., where he avoided setting up high expectations.

- Reminds that there are no quick fixes re the economy, rather, "We must stick to our carefully integrated plan for recovery."
- Observes that the only alternative to this plan is tax increases
- Explains the problems of higher taxes: "I will not ask you to try to balance the budget on the backs of the American taxpayer."
- Cites cost-cutting measures:
 - o reduction of federal workforce
 - o dismantlement of Energy and Education departments
 - o bringing spiraling costs of social welfare programs under control, but preserve safety net for the truly needy
 - o slowdown in growth of Medicare and Medicaid spending
- Cites programs with higher or stable budgets: nutrition programs, head start, NIH research
- Announces Federalism program: "a single bold strike: the return of some \$47 billion in Federal programs to state and local government" (Medicaid, AFDC, etc.)
- Cites private sector initiative efforts -- task force, which is "seeking out successful community models of school, church, business, union, foundation, and civic programs. Such groups are almost invariably far more efficient than government in running social programs...We're not asking them to replace discarded and often discredited government programs...The volunteer spirit is a still alive and well in America."
- Civil rights
- Crime
- Look forward to responsible clean air act

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

- Meetings with Ottawa, Canada, free market system
- Caribbean Basin initiative

- Foreign policy of strength, fairness and balance
- Poland -- "Our sanctions against the military dictatorship that has attempted to crush human rights in Poland, and against the Soviet regime behind that military dictatorship -- clearly demonstrated to the world that America will not conduct "business as usual with the forces of oppression."
- Afghanistan
- Working for reduction of arms and military activities
- Vital foreign assistance program
- A foreign policy rooted in wisdom, not naivete; "Are cognizant of what the Soviet empire is about is the starting point."
- New frankness in public statements; "We've promised the world a season of truth."

CLOSING

- Yes, we have problems; harkens to "little band of Americans who overcame insuperable odds to set this nation on course 200 years ago"
- Heroes all around us: POW'S; Jeremiah Denton; Lenny Skutnik; and "countless, quiet, everyday heroes of American life"
- Harkens to Lincoln's second State of the Union message in this chamber; and quotes Lincoln:

"We cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves." The "trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor, to the latest [last] generation "

CONCLUSION:

"Well, that President [Lincoln] and that Congress did not fail the American people. Together they weathered the storm and preserved the Union. Let it be said of us that we, too, did not fail. that we, too, worked together to bring American through difficult times. Let us so conduct ourselves that two centuries from now, another Congress and another President, meeting in this Chamber as we are meeting, will speak of us with pride, saying that we met the test and preserved for them in their day the sacred flame of liberty -- this last, best hope of man on Earth.

God bless you, and thank you."

December 16, 1988

MEMORANDUM

RE: State of the Union Message

Attached are three articles that have historical information regarding State of the Union addresses. They are:

1) "The President's Annual Message" from Congress and the Presidency -- analysis of the effects of the State of the Union messages. The article includes an extensive bibliography.

2) "The Political Agenda of Ronald Reagan: A Content Analysis of the State of the Union Messages" from President Studies Quarterly.

3) Some comparative data on the Inaugural and State of the Union message. This includes the dates of all State of the Union messages delivered.

The President's Annual Message

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Abstract

The president's annual message on the State of the Union both registers and affects significant political trends. This paper provides an introduction to systematic, empirical, and continuing inquiry into these trends. It is based on a forthcoming computer-generated concordance to the annual messages for the post-war period 1945-1984. While the concordance is designed for content analysis, interpretations of content can be enriched (or corroborated or disconfirmed) by considering changes in the medium of the message, its audience, and the pattern of control, and by the assessment of message effects.

The presidency is a center of communications in American and global politics. People at various distances lobby, inform, and pay attention to the president because he is expected to make a difference in decisions affecting virtually everyone.¹ At the same time, the president understands that maintenance of his power position depends upon an adequate flow of intelligence, and that communications are among the most important instruments of politics and policy (Neustadt, 1980). Thus vast amounts of information on domestic and foreign affairs are channeled to the White House, processed there, and selectively disseminated by a variety of means.

Because of this central role, messages originating in the White House both register and affect significant political trends. These messages can take such diverse forms as statements in natural language, dollar figures and other quantitative indices in the president's budget, movements of the fleet, and the establishment or termination of new agencies. Statements in natural language tend to carry less weight than other forms, but they are richer and more responsive to the flow of events despite the possibility of evasion and distortion in any particular case.² Statements in natural language are also a major, untapped opportunity for monitoring the flow of words in real time, as envisioned in the social indicator movement. The task for social scientists is to go beyond news coverage and op-ed reactions to provide a systematic, empirical basis for continuous and cumulative research on significant theoretical and policy issues.

The State of the Union messages are an obvious place to begin. First, the messages provide a running chronicle of events as seen from the White House for long periods into the past and foreseeable future. The U.S. Constitution requires the president "from time to time to give the Congress information on the state of the

Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient." By custom, the message has been delivered annually near the beginning of each session of Congress.³ Second, the messages are the most comprehensive but concise account of the country's condition and needs as articulated from the highest level of American government. Of course, they are biased by the philosophy of the incumbent president whose definition of the nation's needs is subject to challenges by others. The broad scope provides for explicit and implicit comparisons among many major issues, although the treatment of most issues tends to be relatively cursory. As Light reported (1981: 68) from interviews with presidential staff members, "the President's top agenda priorities will always appear at some point during the term in the [State of the Union] message" (cf. also Kessel, 1974: 8). Finally, they are central among the messages originating in the White House. As Fersh observed (1961: v),

No other governmental document has commanded the attention given to the annual message. It stands unchallenged, over the years, as front page copy. Newspapers have so treated it from the earliest days of the country and recently, full radio and television coverage has been given whenever the President delivered his report in person.

This observation is supported by accounts of the considerable effort invested in individual messages by presidents, members of their staffs, and others (e.g., Hughes, 1963: 61-63; Goldman, 1969: Ch. 3; Osborne, 1977: Ch. XLV).

A computer-generated concordance to State of the Union Messages for the post-war period 1945-1984 is now being developed as a reference work and as a data base for systematic, continuing inquiry.⁴ This paper attempts to draw together information that will facilitate its effective use. More specifically, we construe the president's annual message as a communications process for which five questions are pertinent (Lasswell, 1960: 117):

Who	(Control analysis)
Says What	(Content analysis)
In Which Channel	(Media analysis)
To Whom	(Audience analysis)
With What Effect?	(Effect analysis)

The concordance is an expansion of what is said in the State of the Union messages to facilitate content analysis of any particular theme. Information relevant to the other questions serves to enrich (and to corroborate or disconfirm) interpretations of content by illuminating the sources and impacts of the messages.

The next section considers the role of concordances in the development of text-based social indicators. Section II analyzes the *medium*, expectations about the *audience*, and patterns of *control* as factors that shape content and intended effects. Section III explores the relationships between underlying perspectives and the manifest *content* of the messages using examples from the working version of the concordance. The final section provides a basis for monitoring and assessing the principal *effects* of the President's annual message.

CONCORDANCES AND SOCIAL INDICATORS

Existing content analyses of presidential documents have clarified particular issues, but they have fallen short of providing a basis for continuing and cumulative research of the kind envisioned in the social indicator movement. There are at least three interrelated reasons. First, social scientists lack sufficient consensus on theoretical or policy priorities to sustain a cumulative research program based on a set of presidential documents. Most content analyses of these documents address different research problems. Moreover, judging from their citations, most were done in isolation from each other.⁵ Second, conventional techniques of content analysis require a dictionary which assigns fixed meanings to selected words through conceptual tags. On the one hand, this reinforces the divergence among research interests because each dictionary is keyed to and represents a particular theory. On the other, dictionaries frustrate continuous monitoring because they are rendered obsolete by unfolding events: New words and new meanings of old words arise in the normal course of political discourse⁶ and research interests evolve over time. Third, the combination of diverse, changing research interests and dictionary-based techniques constitute a significant barrier to individual scholars: The expected payoffs of any particular study are modest relative to the considerable costs of preparing texts and dictionaries and counting word frequencies.

The potential for systematic monitoring of presidential or other documents can be realized through concordances, which are familiar research tools in the humanities but virtually new to the social sciences.⁷ For every occurrence of a key word in a text, a concordance retains the context in which it occurs and aligns the key-word-in-context entries in chronological (or some alternative) order. A concordance is suitable for monitoring because it includes every word in the text, and because it allows the context and therefore the manifest meaning of each occurrence of each word to vary as data. This makes it useful to scholars with different research interests, automatically picks up new words and new meanings of old words in the most recent text without reprocessing the old texts, and effectively reduces research costs to the individual by spreading them across many scholars. A concordance can be used for both qualitative and quantitative research: At one extreme, each occurrence of each word is unique if sufficient context is taken into account. Moving toward the other extreme, variations in the context of a word can be partially or wholly suppressed to count the frequency of occurrence per unit of text.

SHAPING THE MESSAGE

Medium Analysis. The medium of the State of the Union message has varied over the years. The practice of addressing Congress in person was begun by George Washington but abandoned by Jefferson. For more than 100 years, a written message was sent to Congress to be read by clerks of both Houses. Oral delivery was revived in 1913 by Wilson, who set the pattern for the modern "rhetorical presidency" (Ceaser et al., 1981: 162-163). However, in some years the President has been forced by illness to revert to the written form (e.g., Wilson, 1919; Roosevelt, 1945; Eisenhower, 1956). In other years the lame duck president has sent a written message in lieu of a personal appearance before Congress on the eve of his departure from office

(e.g., Truman, 1953; Eisenhower, 1961; Carter, 1981). Nixon and Carter at times used both forms together: A short address was sometimes accompanied by a longer written message in the same year, and both were described as a report on the State of the Union. Nixon provided a six-part message over a period of a month and a half in 1973; five parts, excluding the written overview, were broadcast by radio only. Truman combined the State of the Union and the Budget messages in 1946, and Nixon experimented with a separate report on foreign policy sometimes referred to as a state of the world message.⁸

These variations can be significant in terms of content, intent, and effect. Oral messages tend to be concise, thematic, and forward-looking in an attempt to hold the audience's attention and to facilitate action and results. They are associated with activist presidents and with active periods in a president's term. The written messages tend to be longer, rambling, and sometimes retrospective. The prevailing expectations were well-expressed in an editorial response to Truman's 1946 message, which was said to be the longest sent to Congress up to that time.

There can be little doubt that its great length gets in the way of its effectiveness. Into it Mr. Truman has put so many recommendations, apparently so much at random and with so little success in distributing a clear emphasis between major and minor matters, that the result is a failure to achieve a firm and compelling leadership of Congress. The message reads less like a message than it does a party platform, assembled from many ideas coming from many places, and it has all of the disadvantages characteristic of most party platforms, including a probable scarcity of readers. It is the very opposite of those pungent and forceful appeals with which Mr. Roosevelt used to spur Congress into action when he felt that a crisis was present or impending. Mr. Truman has not yet learned the art of shaping such a call to action. The lack of a clear focus in his own messages is one of his real handicaps in his present relations with Congress (*New York Times*, 1946).

Lyndon Johnson reportedly winced at the memory of listening to the clerk of the Senate drone through the 25,000 words of Truman's 1946 message (Goldman, 1969: 35). Carter's lame duck written message of 1981 was longer still, about 34,000 words. It is of interest primarily to historians. Major newspapers—*New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*—evidently did not consider it worth editorial comment.

The longer written form may reflect the priority of planning ideals over promotion. For example, the combination of the State of the Union and Budget messages in 1946 was approved on grounds that

The Government's ability to meet the cost of proposed legislative programs is a determining factor in judging their feasibility. It is logical and desirable, therefore, to follow up a statement of legislative objectives with an exposition of our financial position (*Washington Post*, 1946).

Since January, 1947 this has been done in a separate Budget message and in the Economic Report (Cornwell, 1967: 232). The practice of delivering multiple State of the Union messages in the same year may be something of a compromise. In principle, the address might serve promotional purposes, while the written message might

provide some of the necessary legislative details and still attract attention as part of the State of the Union.

Multiple messages may also reflect a desire to say different things to different audiences. In response to the 1974 messages it was noted that

There is a striking discrepancy in tone and emphasis between the speech and the written message when Mr. Nixon deals with the economy. To the television audience, he boldly said: "There will be no recession in the United States of America." But in the written message he states candidly: "We have known for some time a slowdown in economic growth is inevitable in 1974. . . . We expect that during the early part of this year output will rise little if at all, unemployment will rise somewhat and inflation will be high" (*New York Times*, 1974).

The address included "my fellow Americans" in the greeting; the written message, more than four times as long, was directly simply "To the Congress of the United States."

Audience Analysis. The audience of the State of the Union addresses (if not the written messages) is large and diverse with indefinite boundaries. In addition to press coverage, there have been live radio broadcasts since the Coolidge Administration and live telecasts since 1947. (Recall that Nixon avoided television in 1973, effectively reducing the audience of that State of the Union message.) The audience includes members of Congress, reporters, and others with an intimate knowledge of the political process as well as ordinary American citizens; an international component commensurate with the American role in global process; and a vast array of specialized interests predisposed to respond selectively and differently to the president's words.

Direct access to a large audience enables the president to go over the heads of Congress and media gate-keepers, with implications for control. Franklin Roosevelt found that radio broadcasts put him in direct contact with the public and deterred the more blatant distortions of his views—cutting, paraphrasing, quoting out of context—by a hostile press (Cornwell, 1965: 255).

However, a large audience also complicates the problem of anticipating and controlling audience responses. Even in an era of mass communications, presidents can tailor particular messages to particular audiences, and there is evidence that Johnson did so in his public remarks on Vietnam (Miller and Sigelman, 1978). However, this option is likely to be foreclosed to the extent that the State of the Union message attracts widespread attention from diverse groups.

Under these circumstances, one option is "to evade hard intellectual and political choices and to dispense a soothing complacent optimism" as alleged in response to Nixon's 1972 address:

In an election year, the speech he delivered was a transparently calculated effort to project the President as a man above politics. But the lack of intellectual substance, the vapid language and Mr. Nixon's self-conscious delivery made this exercise in blandness a failure (*New York Times*, 1972).

Another option is to provide "something for everyone" as observed in response to

the 1956 address: "This is a long-proved election year strategem, and Mr. Eisenhower makes full use of it" (*Washington Post*, 1956). As these examples suggest, it is particularly important for a president facing a re-election campaign to address the electorate as a whole. More generally, the principal audience addressed varies over the "seasons" of presidential politics (Kessel, 1977).

Still another option is to accept, perhaps unwittingly, adverse responses by parts of the audience. Consider Reagan's statement in the 1983 address that "We who are in government must take the lead in restoring the economy." The president was obviously surprised to receive a standing ovation orchestrated by Speaker Tip O'Neill and the Democrats. The *Los Angeles Times* (1983) observed that

... the line meant different things to different members. Old-school Democrats probably heard him call for a return to activist government, sticking a helpful nose into everything from classrooms to corporations. Conventional Republicans no doubt heard him say what he meant to say: Taking the lead means cutting back even further on government in order to release vast pent-up energies in the American system.

The pattern of responses was in fact more complicated. One former member of Nixon's staff (Safire, 1983) thought "That was the moment the Reagan Revolution lost its zip, and the saddest part was that the man reading the Teleprompter never did understand why he was getting such a big hand." Another commentator on the right (Will, 1983) wrote that the sentence "may be a milestone in conservatism's long march to maturity, because it appeared in a speech blessedly free of Reagan's usual anti-government rhetoric." The *Wall Street Journal* (1983) observed that "In truth we don't know what the President meant by the government taking the lead in restoring the economy."

Control Analysis. Within the parameters of the medium and audience, the content of a message is shaped by the president and his advisors to reconcile each significant interest with many others and with expectations about the political environment, both within and outside the administration. (Of course interests may be misperceived and expectations mistaken.) Some interests are deleted from the message as peripheral to the administration's mandate, or as politically imprudent in view of an expected adverse response by some important part of the audience. Others are emphasized and phrased to maximize expected net payoffs for the president's program and power position. Occasionally, the president will play up to some part of the audience too important to ignore, or assume the risk of leadership by championing a new or unpopular cause. The process may be described as interest aggregation. A more accurate description is selecting, balancing, and attempting to integrate interests. Patterns of control only begin to come into focus when we consider which interests participate in the shaping of particular messages.

Lyndon Johnson's first annual address on January 8, 1964 provides an informative example. "Because the speech was largely an appeal for the Kennedy legislative programs, much of it was preordained. The real question concerned the way in which it would express LBJ. . ." (Goldman, 1969: 35). From the outset, Johnson directed a sweeping legislative attack on poverty in 3,000 words or less. Because planning begun under the Kennedy administration had been unpublicized, it could

be presented as an LBJ program. Moreover, it was consistent with his own socialization and with the emotional and intellectual currents of the time. On the one hand, "he viewed himself with great emotional intensity as a son of poverty" (Goldman, 1969: 43) and had acquired a quasi-populist ideological orientation through participation in Texas politics at an early stage in his career. On the other, the "brain trust" independently confirmed Johnson's estimate of the national mood. The consensus behind aggressive, wide-ranging action and specific recommendations was summarized by Eric Goldman, the president's contract with the "brain trust":

. . . during the period immediately before Dallas, a remarkable agreement had been forming among thoughtful Americans that just such an (anti-poverty) effort was needed. It was produced by . . . prosperity itself, which made sensitive men uncomfortable that a nation so wealthy did so little about its millions living in squalor; by the economic studies indicating a drastic slowdown in the rate at which the economy was taking Americans out of the slums; by the fear of what hard-core poverty could mean in an increasingly technological society; and above all by the mounting Negro unrest, which was so plainly connected with the low income of black Americans (Goldman, 1969: 37).

By this account the anti-poverty focus was overdetermined, reflecting a convergence of many interests inside and outside the administration. Control can be broadly shared under circumstances of relative consensus.

Circumstances change, however. For 1966 Johnson contemplated a minimal program because just about everything of significance in the Great Society program had already been passed by the 89th Congress.

But the elaborate machinery set up by Johnson in 1964—task forces, the White House memoranda, the legislative studies, the expert consultants—could not be stopped just by the press of a button. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, their output continued long after the master willed it otherwise. The flow of legislative proposals from the departments soon overwhelmed the White House. Importuned by Cabinet officers unwilling to see the pet proposals of their departments put aside for a whole year, White House staffers took the course of least resistance and crowded all the new ideas into the State of the Union Message (Evans and Novak, 1966: 558).

Johnson acquiesced. The result was a long and heterogeneous message better adapted to the various interests represented in the bureaucracy than to a Congress and public increasingly concerned about Vietnam. By this account dissensus was resolved through piecemeal delegation of control to the Great Society bureaucracy at the expense of other interests, including the president's initial interest.

Reagan's 1983 address reflects a different division of effective control in response to dissensus. The central issue apparently was how to reconcile true believers in the Reagan revolution with the modern opposition. There are various interpretations of the outcome. According to one report,

President Reagan's call for government to "take the lead in restoring the economy" was as much a defeat for the Administration's austerity bloc, led by budget director David Stockman, as for the supply-siders at the hands of the victorious West Wing at the White House. . . . The document, eschewing serious discussion of the economy, was a

purely political statement reflecting the strategic concepts of the White House chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d. . . . "Bipartisan" was the controlling word in the final draft of chief presidential speechwriter Aram Bakshian Jr. that reflected the editing touch and political philosophy of White House communications chief David Gergen. Conservative speechwriter Tony Dolan, as usual, got nowhere near the draft. Nor did Rich Williamson, Baker's most conservative deputy. . . (Evans and Novak, 1983).

Others saw it as a rhetorical gesture toward the moderate opposition, emphasizing bipartisanship, with few substantive concessions on economic policy. In this view, "The State of the Union accurately reflected, to the satisfaction or dismay of the partisans in his immediate audience, the divisions in Reagan's mind, his staff and his party" (McGrory, 1983). By these accounts the divisions appear to have run through the president, the administration, and Congress, rather than between them.

A few generalizations are in order. First, the president has the last word on all aspects of the message if he chooses to exercise it, as he did in 1964. Most other direct participants most of the time affect parts of the message through suggestions and recommendations, as indicated most clearly in the 1966 example. Second, the pattern of control is not to be confused with authorship or direct participation. Whoever actually writes the key draft of the message must anticipate, and respond to, a variety of significant interests in the political environment. If activists in the Black ghettos of 1964 or the "let Reagan be Reagan" faction in 1983 did not actually contribute words, they nevertheless affected the content of the message through the "rule of anticipated reaction" (Friedrich, 1937: 16-17). Third, the pattern of control adjusts over time to the changing substance, relative strength, and configuration of political interests, and these changes are reflected in some degree in the structure and content of the messages. For this reason, content analysis can provide systematic information on significant political trends. As Schlesinger points out (1966: xvii-xviii), the messages cannot be taken as a "full and exact record" yet in various ways "major themes of American history nevertheless emerge in these texts. . . ."

CONTENT ANALYSIS

The content of each message exemplifies a basic State of the Union "script" adapted to the current situation. The formal components of the script reflect basic expectations that are relatively invariant from one year to the next. Each message typically provides an agenda of contemporary problems requiring concerted action, coupled with reassurance and optimism about the fundamental vitality of the republic. In the 1983 address, for example, President Reagan asserted near the outset that

. . . the state of our Union is strong, but our economy is troubled. For too many of our fellow citizens—farmers, steel and autoworkers, lumbermen, black teenagers, working mothers—this is a painful period. We must do all in our power to bring their ordeal to an end. . . . We have a long way to go, but thanks to the courage, patience, and strength of our people, America is on the mend.

Each message also typically addresses foreign and domestic policy as well as the economy;⁹ reaffirms the basic expectations and aspirations of the body politic;¹⁰ and follows to some extent the script for looking "presidential."¹¹ The recurrence of these

components opens up the possibility of deep content analysis utilizing the tools of artificial intelligence and culminating in a formal representation of the common structure of the messages.¹²

The performance of the script from year to year gives rise to variations in manifest content. These variations reflect an interpretation (for public consumption) of the current situation in each year, and themselves require interpretation by the analyst. There is no simple connection between the perspectives of those in control of the message and the way in which these perspectives are expressed in public (Pool, 1970: 40-41). The analyst must interpret any message, or any part of a message, in terms of context. For a given occurrence of a word, the relevant contexts include any meaningful combination of itself and other *words*—in the same sentence, paragraph, section, and message; in the same setting, including opinion and editorial reactions; in other contemporary messages attributed to the same president; and in previous State of the Union messages. The relevant contexts also include the past, present, and future *events* to which these combinations of words refer. In practice if not in principle, the number of contexts is infinite. While any interpretation is therefore incomplete, some interpretations are more systematic, empirically-grounded, and useful than others.

The computer-generated concordance provides for a variety of context manipulations in order to facilitate the analyst's interpretation. For purposes of illustration, consider the 1983 address and in particular the statement that "We who are in government must take the lead in restoring the economy." As we have seen, this statement provoked diverse responses and is evidently worth further interpretation. An obvious point of departure is to examine the entries under the keyword "government" in the working version of the concordance. Figure 1 reproduces only the entries for the 1983 address. It turns out that the statement quoted above includes only one (the 16th) of the 19 references to "government" in the address. A quick examination reveals that a number of them are associated with aspects of the economy, including government spending and productivity. These other references, and the statements in which they occur, define an initial context for interpretation.

The next step is to examine the fuller context of each reference using the line numbers at the left of Figure 1. These are reproduced from the computer-formatted text in Figure 2. What can be said to support the interpretation that "the Reagan revolution lost its zip" the moment the statement was uttered? Five of the references to "government" (line numbers 98, 103, 107, 109, and 112) occur in a context that suggests a parallel between Franklin Roosevelt's situation (at the time of his second State of the Union message) and Reagan's situation: Each faced economic problems they claimed were not of the president's making, requiring a forward-looking bipartisan approach to sustained recovery in which the government has an active role. The responsibilities of others are apparently to join this forward-looking leader. Muted echoes of the New Deal are found elsewhere in acceptance of the challenge "to *identify* the things that we can do now to ease the massive economic transition for the American people" (emphasis added, 153). Perhaps one of these things is advocacy of a government role "to address the training needs of American workers" (440). The government also has an acknowledged role in fostering economic growth and competitiveness in international trade through a variety of means (355, 357). If the Reagan revolution is in part a reaction to the New Deal, it also attempts selectively to tap sentiments and precedents associated with the New Deal.

FIGURE 1
Concordance Entries Under "Government," 1983 Address

RWR 1983	68	the self-employed, beneficiaries, workers,	government employees, and the better-off among the retired—but it
RWR 1983	98	that the great public is interested more in	Government than in politics." So, let us, in these next 2 years—
RWR 1983	103	long-range, bipartisan responsibilities of	government, not the short-range or short-term temptations of
RWR 1983	107	were far worse than most inside and out of	government had expected; the recession was deeper than most inside
RWR 1983	109	was deeper than most inside and out of	government had predicted. Curing those problems has taken more time
RWR 1983	112	far too high. Projected Federal spending—if	government refuses to tighten its own belt—will also be far too
RWR 1983	153	ahead. In the meantime, the challenge of	government is to identify the things that we can do now to ease the
RWR 1983	159	we reduce the dangerous growth rate in	government spending, we could face the prospect of sluggish
RWR 1983	217	rate of increase in Federal spending. The	Government has continued to spend more money each year, though not
RWR 1983	222	of inflation. In other words, the Federal	Government will hold the line on real spending. Now, that's far
RWR 1983	229	Security Commission be applied to other	government-related retirement programs. I will, also, propose a
RWR 1983	355	and productivity. Labor, management, and	government at all levels can and must participate in improving
RWR 1983	357	Tax policy, regulatory practices, and	government programs all need constant reevaluation in terms of our
RWR 1983	440	leaders of business, labor, education, and	government to address the training needs of American workers.
RWR 1983	516	peoples, but to democratic systems of self-	government which encourage individual initiative and guarantee
RWR 1983	653	most generous people on Earth. We who are in	government must take the lead in restoring the economy. And here
RWR 1983	667	interest rates are based on fear—fear that	government will resort to measures, as it has in the past, that
RWR 1983	718	they high or humble. The challenge for us in	government is to be worthy of them—to make government a help, not
RWR 1983	719	government is to be worthy of them—to make	government a help, not a hindrance to our people in the challenging

FIGURE 2
Contexts of "Government" References, 1983 Address

64 There are elements in it, of course, that
65 none of us prefers, but taken together it performs
66 a package that all of us can support. It asks for
67 some sacrifice by all—the self-employed,
68 beneficiaries, workers, government employees, and
69 the better-off among the retired—but it imposes
70 an undue burden on none.

85 Nearly half a century ago, in this Chamber,
86 another American President, Franklin Delano
87 Roosevelt, in his second State of the Union
88 message, urged America to look to the future, to
89 meet the challenge of change and the need for
90 leadership that looks forward, not backward.

91 "Throughout the world," he said, "change is
92 the order of the day. In every nation economic
93 problems long in the making have brought crises to
94 [of] many kinds for which the masters of old
95 practice and theory were unprepared." He also
96 reminded us that "the future lies with those wise
97 political leaders who realize that the great
98 public is interested more in Government than in
99 politics."

100 So, let us, in these next 2 years—men and
101 women of both parties, every political shade—
102 concentrate on the long-range, bipartisan
103 responsibilities of government, not the
104 short-range or short-term temptations of partisan
105 politics.

106 The problems we inherited were far worse than
107 most inside and out of government had expected;
108 the recession was deeper than most inside and out
109 of government had predicted. Curing those problems

110 has taken more time and a higher toll than any of
111 us wanted. Unemployment is far too high. Projected
112 Federal spending—if government refuses to
113 tighten its own belt—will also be far too high
114 and could weaken and shorten the economic recovery
115 now underway.

149 The permanent recovery in employment,
150 production, and investment we seek won't come in a
151 sharp, short spurt. It'll build carefully and
152 steadily in the months and years ahead. In the
153 meantime, the challenge of government is to
154 identify the things that we can do now to ease the
155 massive economic transition for the American
156 people.

157 The Federal budget is both a symptom and a
158 cause of our economic problems. Unless we reduce
159 the dangerous growth rate in government spending,
160 we could face the prospect of sluggish economic
161 growth into the indefinite future.

214 First, in my budget message, I will recommend
215 a Federal spending freeze. I know this is strong
216 medicine, but so far, we have only cut the rate of
217 increase in Federal spending. The Government has
218 continued to spend more money each year, though
219 not as much more as it did in the past. Taken as a
220 whole, the budget I'm proposing for the fiscal
221 year will increase no more than the rate of
222 inflation. In other words, the Federal Government
223 will hold the line on real spending. Now, that's
224 far less than many American families have had to
225 do in these difficult times.

FIGURE 2 (continued)

226 I will request that the proposed 6-month
227 freeze in cost-of-living adjustments recommended
228 by the bipartisan Social Security Commission be
229 applied to other government-related retirement
230 programs. I will, also, propose a 1-year freeze on
231 a broad range of domestic spending programs, and
232 for Federal civilian and military pay and pension
233 programs. And let me say right here, I'm sorry,
234 with regard to the military, in asking that of
235 them, because for so many years they have been so
236 far behind and so low in reward for what the men
237 and women in uniform are doing. But I'm sure they
238 will understand that this must be across the board
239 and fair.

352 Education, training, and retraining are
353 fundamental to our success as are research and
354 development and productivity. Labor, management,
355 and government at all levels can and must
356 participate in improving these tools of growth.
357 Tax policy, regulatory practices, and government
358 programs all need constant reevaluation in terms
359 of our competitiveness. Every American has a role
360 and a stake in international trade.

437 Over the past year, our Task Force on Private
438 Sector Initiatives has successfully forged a
439 working partnership involving leaders of business,
440 labor, education, and government to address the
441 training needs of American workers.

514 The future belongs not to governments
515 and ideologies which oppress their peoples, but to
516 democratic systems of self-government which
517 encourage individual initiative and guarantee
518 personal freedom.

653 We who are in government must take the lead
654 in restoring the economy. And here all that time,
655 I thought you were reading the paper.

666 Today, interest rates are
667 based on fear—fear that government will resort
668 to measures, as it has in the past, that will send
669 inflation zooming again.

717 The challenge
718 for us in government is to be worthy of them—to
719 make government a help, not a hindrance to our
720 people in the challenging but promising days
721 ahead.

The interpretation that "Taking the lead means cutting back even further on government in order to release vast pent-up energies in the American system" is supported by about seven references to "government." The commitment to "hold the line" (222) on real government spending is supported and elaborated elsewhere (112, 159, 217, 229, and 667). Notice that while the reference in line 112, standing alone, is construed here as part of emphasis on government restraint, it was also construed above as part of the passage referring to the New Deal. In addition, government employees are included among those who are to share the burden of a plan to preserve the integrity of the social security system (68).

Of the three other references to "government," two (718, 719) are highly ambiguous in this connection: "The challenge for us in government is to be worthy of them—to make government a help, not a hindrance to our people. . . ." What constitutes "help" and what constitutes "hindrance" are not immediately made clear. The remaining reference expresses optimism about "democratic systems of self-government which encourage individual initiative and guarantee personal freedom" (516).

Thus the address can be read selectively to support both an active-government and a restrained-government interpretation of the statement in question—as well as the admission that "we don't know what the President meant by the government taking the lead in restoring the economy." On the whole, however, these references to "government" focus more clearly on restraint of government spending in the interest of economic recovery and growth.

Further work on the interpretation of the statement in the contemporary setting might explore the concordance entries under related keywords such as "spending," "recovery," and "fairness." In any case, we can be sure that "government" is a prominent theme in the address as a whole. Figure 3 shows this and other keywords stripped of their contexts and ranked by frequency. "Government" ranked 8th. Farther down in the attention frame, "growth" and "recovery" (16th rank) received considerably more attention than "burden" (23rd rank) and "fairness" (24th rank). Further work might also explore recent and proposed expenditures in various categories of the federal budget. The general pattern has been to moderate the growth of government spending, to increase military spending while cutting domestic spending and taxes. The resulting federal deficits have the appearance, at least, of a Keynesian demand-side policy.

For purposes of monitoring trends in discourse about the role of the government in the economy, the relevant contexts extend backwards in time. There is ample material: The concordance shows 28 references to "government" in Reagan's 1982 address, and 777 references in the annual messages from 1945 through 1983, all in the same form as Figure 1. The frequency distributions in the form of Figure 3 show "government" at the 5th rank in the 1982 address and at the 15th rank over the whole period. The extension of the interpretative procedure is straightforward. It would no doubt turn up conceptions of the economic role of government that have been dropped, reiterated, and modified over the years. If supplemented by other kinds of data, the results would clarify the significance of the Reagan revolution from the standpoint of words and deeds in historical perspective. The results would also clarify categories of analysis, giving rise to the possibility of a quantitative summary of the principal points in the manner of conventional content analysis.

FIGURE 3
Symbols Ranked by Frequency, 1983 Address

1.) 94 (2.71%) OUR	16.) 11 (cont.) PEACE RECOVERY	20.) 7 (cont.) MANY NEED NEXT POLICY SOVIET STRONG SYSTEM WAY WOMEN WORKERS WOULD
2.) 92 (2.66%) WE	17.) 10 (0.289%) FREEDOM PERCENT SECURITY STRENGTH TAX TOGETHER TRADE YOU	21.) 6 (0.173%) AHEAD ALLIES ARMS CHANGE CONTINUE DEFENSE DOMESTIC END FEDERAL INITIATIVE INTERNATIONAL MAJOR MAKING OTHER PAST PRIVATE PROGRAM RATE SAY SOCIAL SOME STATE STRATEGY TAKEN
3.) 73 (2.11%) WILL	18.) 9 (0.260%) HERE HIGH NATIONAL PROGRAMS	22.) 5 (0.144%) ALREADY ANY BRING CHILDREN COME COMMITMENT HOUSING IMPORTANT INITIATIVES IT'S KNOW LEADER NEIGHBORS PROBLEM RATES SAME SHORT
4.) 35 (1.01%) MUST	19.) 8 (0.231%) AMERICA'S BETTER COMMISSION DEFICITS HELP INFLATION JOBS LAST LET LONG ME MOST NEW ONCE PLAN UNION WELL WE'RE	
5.) 32 (0.924%) I US	20.) 7 (0.202%) BASED BECAUSE BIPARTISAN BUDGET CONGRESS COUNTRY ECONOMY EDUCATION FAIR FAR FIRST FREE HOPE INTEREST I'M JOB JUST	
6.) 28 (0.808%) ALL		
7.) 20 (0.577%) AMERICAN		
8.) 19 (0.548%) CAN GOVERNMENT PEOPLE YEAR		
9.) 18 (0.519%) ECONOMIC MORE		
10.) 17 (0.491%) AMERICA		
11.) 16 (0.462%) SPENDING THEM THEY		
12.) 15 (0.433%) AMERICANS NOW THEIR		
13.) 14 (0.404%) DO TIME YEARS		
14.) 13 (0.375%) WORLD		
15.) 12 (0.346%) PROBLEMS WORK		
16.) 11 (0.317%) EVERY FUTURE GROWTH IF MAKE ONE		

FIGURE 3 (continued)

22.) 5 (continued)	23.) 4 (cont.)	24.) 3 (cont.)
SHOULD	REDUCTION	HEALTH
TASK	REDUCTIONS	
TECHNOLOGY	SAVINGS	
TERM	SINGLE	
TRAINING	SPECIAL	
UNEMPLOYMENT	START	
VALUES	STILL	
1983	SUPPORT	
23.) 4 (0.115%)	THINGS	
ACT	TODAY	
ADEQUATE	TONIGHT	
AGO	UNITED STATES	
ASK	WE'VE	
BROUGHT	WORKING	
BURDEN	2	
CANNOT	24.) 3 (0.0866%)	
CENTURY	ADMINISTRATION	
CHALLENGE	AGAINST	
CHILD	ALONE	
COMMUNITY	BASIC	
COST	BECOME	
COULD	BEGIN	
DEBT	BEGUN	
DECADE	BELIEVE	
DEFICIT	BUSINESS	
DID	CARE	
DOLLARS	CAUSE	
EFFORTS	CLEAR	
ENSURE	COMES	
EXPORT	COMING	
FEAR	COMMON	
FORCE	CONTROL	
FOREIGN	CRIME	
FOUR	DEMOCRATIC	
FREEZE	EAST	
GET	EMPLOYMENT	
GREAT	ENACT	
INCREASE	ENCOURAGE	
INDUSTRY	ENFORCEMENT	
JOIN	ENSURING	
LAWS	EQUAL	
LEAD	EQUITY	
LEADERS	ESSENTIAL	
LIKE	EVIDENCE	
MEMBERS	FACE	
MIDDLE	FAIRNESS	
MILITARY	FARMERS	
MONTHS	FINALLY	
NEEDY	FOOD	
NEVER	FORCES	
OWN	FORWARD	
PART	FRIENDS	
PARTNERSHIP	GIVE	
PATH	GO	
PROPOSE	GOOD	
RANGE	GROSS	
REALISM	HALF	
REASON	HE	

EFFECTS ANALYSIS

We can examine the effects of the State of the Union messages (and other mass communications) in terms of three functions performed to some extent by all of the communications processes of society (Lasswell, 1960: 130):

- (a) *surveillance* of the environment, disclosing threats and opportunities affecting the value position of the community and of the component parts within it; (b) *correlation* of the components of society in making a response to the environment; (c) *transmission* of the social inheritance.

The first two functions, at least, parallel the Constitutional prescription for a report on the State of the Union, and are often assumed in commentaries on particular messages. This section considers the annual message along with other communications in performance of these functions. It also proposes criteria that can be used to assess and perhaps eventually to improve the annual message as an instrument of politics and policy.

One effect of the annual message is to direct attention to emerging threats and opportunities without necessarily elaborating means for addressing them. While other communications share this function, the State of the Union message appears to be unique: It is backed by the highest political authority in the land, and it draws upon and partially integrates many of society's more specialized communications. The national income accounts and related economic aggregates are specialized to one component of the social environment. The social indicator movement has attempted to broaden accounting to other components with mixed success. Public opinion polls monitor popular perceptions of the most important problems facing the nation. Specialized periodicals exist for other distinguishable components of society including science, education, entertainment and the arts, health, family affairs, morals, and fashion. Books can be influential in terms of surveillance. For example, in his discussion of the sources of Johnson's anti-poverty focus in the 1964 State of the Union address, Goldman (1969: 37) notes that "Two widely read books, John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* and Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, . . . expressed and broadened this trend of thinking."

The role of the State of the Union messages in surveillance can be clarified through comparison with the content of other sources. New or newly prominent ideas—like the existence of poverty amidst plenty—tend to arise at one point in the network of social communications and diffuse to other points, where they are dropped or picked up for further circulation in more or less modified form according to the pattern of interests in the network. To what extent does the president through the annual message reflect ideas from other sources? To what extent does he influence other sources? Under what circumstances and with respect to what emerging threats and opportunities? Answers to these questions would be facilitated by concordances to other texts that appear periodically.

Surveillance requires a balance between *comprehensiveness* and *selectivity*. Comprehensiveness with respect to community values (and the principal issues and institutions affecting them) is desirable because overlooked threats and missed opportunities are costly. The question in the assessment of a message is whether

anything of major significance has been left out. The 1983 address included reference to a number of relatively peripheral issues including employment, international trade and competition, education, legal and economic equity, criminal justice, agriculture, manpower training, health care costs, federalism, high technology, and the international arena. The *Washington Post* (1983) observed that reform of immigration laws was "an important omission": "More (immigrants) will come as economic conditions deteriorate in other countries, and resistance will mount as unemployment rises here. A crisis is surely coming." The comprehensiveness criterion underscores the value of a "laundry list" that acknowledges a variety of actual and potential community interests. But such lists are subject to indefinite limits imposed by the patience of the listening, viewing, or reading audience.

Selectivity is also desirable because priorities must be set in the allocation of attention as well as other resources. The question in any particular case is whether the emphasis is misplaced with respect to major community interests. The 1983 address, as we have seen, emphasized economic policy centered on the control of government spending. There appear to be few objections to economic growth and recovery as a priority interest, although some (e.g., Thurow, 1980) have questioned whether the political costs of economic recovery are acceptable, and others (e.g., Hirsch, 1976) have questioned the long-term feasibility and worth of economic growth.

A second effect of the State of the Union message is to correlate or coordinate responses to the environment. The message typically does more to establish the agenda than to coordinate responses to issues on the agenda. "At the beginning of each year (the annual message) raises the targets. Then the opposition—Democratic or Republican as the case may be—dutifully steps up to the firing line and begins to shoot. . . ." (*New York Times*, 1956). Thus parts of the political system selectively respond to "targets," even if the response is in opposition. Of course, the president and the administration employ a variety of other means—meetings, phone calls, appointments, commissions, public works projects, etc.—in attempts to build working coalitions around specific proposals. Nevertheless, "Popular or mass rhetoric, which Presidents once employed only rarely, now serves as one of their principal tools in attempting to govern the nation" (Ceaser et al., 1981: 158; cf. also Cornwell, 1965). Moreover, other people and organizations often take the initiative in coalition building. Thus the coordination effects of a State of the Union message are confounded with the effects of other participants' initiatives. However, the coordination effects of the annual message are most easily isolated and discerned in the immediate pattern of reactions to the message by columnists, editorial writers, and other commentators, and in the subsequent pattern of reactions by Congress.

The effectiveness of presidential rhetoric is constrained by the predispositions of the audience and other factors. In terms of mobilizing consensus and contributing to the passage of legislation, for example, the different effects of Johnson's 1964 and 1966 addresses cannot be attributed to differences in the messages alone. The principle proposition is that "Propaganda in accord with predispositions strengthens them; propaganda counter to predispositions weakens them only if supported by factors other than propaganda alone. The rise of presidential rhetoric despite these constraints has been attributed to the modern doctrine of presidential leadership, the development of radio and television, and changes in the presidential nominations process (Ceaser et al., 1981: 161-168). A more fundamental factor is

... the multiplicity of special environments that have been created by modern technology. Thousands of technical operations have sprung into existence where a few hundred were found before. To complicate the material environment in this way is to multiply the foci of attention of those who live in our society. Diversified foci of attention breed differences in outlook, preference, and loyalty. . . . Concerted action under such conditions depends upon skillfully guiding the minds of men; hence the enormous importance of symbolic manipulation in modern society (Lasswell, 1941: 458-459).

The irony is that increases in the rate of symbolic manipulations tend to decrease the effectiveness of each, because any message tends to be lost in the flood of many other messages.

From the standpoint of assessment, it is worthwhile to criticize both symbol *inflation* and *deflation*, and to approve dependability in making statements of fact. In parallel with currencies used in the marketplace, words or word equivalents become inflated when they elicit less and less of value—in this context, the intended audience response—relative to previous standards. This is the central point of the fable about the shepherd boy who cried "Wolf!" too often in the absence of corroborating evidence, and was unable to elicit the assistance of his village when the wolf in fact arrived. Symbols are deflated when they elicit excessive responses. This may occur, for example, when someone shouts "Fire!" in a crowded theater. The cost is not collective inaction, but ill-considered over-reaction. Clearly, symbol inflation and deflation cannot be assessed apart from what is said and the circumstances in which it is said, but repeated occurrences of either pathology tend to undermine confidence in political leadership.

Dependability in making statements of fact is a partial antidote. Dependability can be improved by acknowledging the probable credibility of a statement where there is doubt, and doubt is often warranted even on issues that have received a good deal of sustained, expert attention. Consider this assessment from a review of macro-economics in the post-war era:

Most shifts in economic opinion can be traced to the impact of changing events or ideas. For example, in some cases the evolution of the economic aggregates helped to decide a debate between schools of thought. In other cases events occurred that could not be understood within the context of existing paradigms and required the invention of new explanations (Gordon, 1980: 101).

Economic ideas rarely lead economic events but usually follow them (Gordon, 1980: 157).

To the extent that understanding of the economy lags behind events, statements about the expected consequences of economic policy need to be qualified. The immediate costs of candor will be repaid by increased trust and confidence in the presidency, if not the incumbent president.¹³

A third effect of the State of the Union messages is to transmit and transform the social heritage, including the prevailing ideology. At the outset of the 1983 message, Reagan observed that "The very key to our success has been our ability, foremost among nations, to preserve our lasting values by making change work for us rather than against us." He later made some of these lasting values explicit, even if some are in conflict. The socialization effects of the annual message are difficult to

disentangle from the effects of other means of socialization, including education in American history and government, recitations of the pledge of allegiance, singing of the national anthem, displays of the flag, and even exposure to public architecture. For example, the marble monuments in the nation's capital state and perhaps overstate the permanence of our system of government.

The prevailing ideology is a framework of enduring assumptions and sentiments, but it is also an integral part of practical political discourse. For example, Reagan characterized his 1983 address as a discussion of "what we can do together . . . to make tomorrow's America happy and prosperous at home, strong and respected abroad, and at peace in the world." By this and other linguistic devices, abstract ideological symbols are associated with the specific problems and proposals of the day as a means of justification and explanation (Lippmann, 1965: Ch. 15). The result is that the key symbols of the ideology persist but are continually redefined. "Peace" and "prosperity" for example, take on new meanings according to the contexts of their use, and they endure in part because they are sufficiently abstract to be used in many contexts (Rappaport, 1980). When the key symbols and slogans of the prevailing ideology are so deeply and broadly accepted that they no longer appear to be assumptions, the social and political order is strong. Weakening is indicated when the key symbols and slogans become controversial, resulting in a reduced capability of resolving differences short of violence.

The balancing of both *stability* and *change* are worth emphasizing in the assessment of socialization effects. The problem as formulated in the RADIR studies is always with us:

Under what circumstances can the adaptation of ideology to a changing context be carried on without revolutionary uprisings or reactionary rigidity? The strategy of humane politics calls for continuous search for better general answers to this question and especially for more efficient methods of relating answers to the unfolding processes of human history (Pool, 1970: 21).

The problem is especially pertinent in the present period. A number of scholars writing from different perspectives have concluded that the transformation of industrialized society has undermined the value of market liberalism, and especially individual freedom understood as the pursuit of self-interest. Sullivan (1982) summarizes the literature and proposes public discourse to revive civic responsibility as it was understood at the time of the American Revolution. The State of the Union messages are one set of communications with which we can begin more systematic, empirical, and continuing inquiry into the alleged problem and the proposed solutions.

Notes

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¹The attention pattern is reinforced by primitive psychological mechanisms that place the president at the head of the national family (Lasswell, 1977: Ch. X; Cf. also Etheredge, 1982).

²On the unique properties of natural language see Sapir (1934).

³The Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution, which took effect in October, 1933, moved the beginning of each session of Congress from the first week in December to the first in January. Thus Hoover's annual message of December, 1932 was followed by Roosevelt's message of January, 1934. There was no message in 1933.

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⁵The major exception is Sigelman and Miller (1978). Other content analyses of State of the Union messages include: Klingsberg (1952); Prothro (1956); Frank (1973); Lee (1973); Kessel (1974); Stice (1974); Holmes (1975); Sullivan and Peterson (1976); Kessel (1977); Miller and Sigelman (1978); and Light (1981). Studies of other Presidential documents include McDiarmid (1937); Smith et al. (1966); Donley and Winter (1970); LaFontaine (1976); Chester (1980); Ritter (1980); and Weber and Namenwirth (1983).

⁶The most obvious examples are "Vietnam" and "Watergate." Pool (1980) found much evidence of change in political vocabulary in the period 1950-1970 relative to earlier periods.

⁷See Preston and Coleman (1978). For social science applications or discussions see Guttman, Jones, and Parrish (1980); Stone et al. (1966: 152-167); and Wood (1984). Meanwhile, work continues on social indicators in the dictionary-based tradition of content analysis. See especially Weber (1982).

⁸Sorensen (1965: 525) refers to a "second" State of the Union message by Kennedy in May, 1961, but that address is not identified as such in the *Public Papers of the Presidents*. For those years in which there is a choice, the concordance is based on the message which reached the widest audience or which was identified as the message for that year by the *New York Times* or by Israel (1966).

⁹Thomas E. Cronin identified these three elements of the standard script in a private communication.

¹⁰For an introduction to the theoretical literature see Lasswell and Kaplan (1950) on "myth."

¹¹For a discussion of "how to look presidential" see Cronin (1975: 117-152).

¹²See Alker (1980) and the same author's recent work for the best examples in political science.

¹³Bok (1979) draws attention to the costs of misrepresentation and our dependence on trust.

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The Political Agenda of Ronald Reagan: A Content Analysis of the State of the Union Messages*

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Abstract

This research examines both the substance and the evolution of the legislative agenda of the Reagan Administration from 1982-1988, through a content analysis of the President's State of the Union addresses. The length of the speeches, the proportion of the speeches devoted to international, economic, and social affairs, and the major issues contained within each of those three categories is analyzed. Among the major findings are that the Reagan political agenda diminished in scope over time, the economic agenda focused mostly on budget and spending (not tax) issues, the early emphasis on economic issues gradually gave way to an emphasis on international issues, only limited attention was paid to the Middle East and Central America, and the social issues received modest, but consistent, treatment.

Scholars long have understood that the clearest expression of an administration's priorities may be found in the president's annual State of the Union message. As far back as 1972, John Kessel noted that, "Experienced participants in executive politics . . . (were) aware of the significance of getting material included in the State of the Union message."¹ In his examination of the Kennedy through Carter presidencies, Paul Light found "In all five administrations the State of the Union address was the central battleground for presidential priorities. . . . At least since Theodore Roosevelt, presidents have used the message as a statement of both foreign and domestic priorities."² More recently, John Kingdon has observed that particular interests—ranging from executive agencies to interest groups to White House staff—all "vie for a place" in the address.³

There are several reasons why the State of the Union message constitutes such a clear statement of an administration's priorities. First, the message routinely is constructed well in advance of its delivery, after consultation with all of the president's top assistants. According to Light, "The message is of primary importance to the White House staffs; it is the statement of legislative priorities. There is conflict over the positioning of requests within the address, over the length of sentences, over punctuation."⁴ In contrast, presidential news conferences or televised speeches from the Oval Office tend to be relatively spontaneous events dictated by recent developments (e.g., the release of hostages, a marked decline in the stock market). Second, the State

of the Union address is delivered in January, at the beginning of the calendar and legislative year. The timing alone makes it stand as a statement of the president's priorities for the coming year. Third and related, the address is delivered almost as far away from the November general elections as possible, which serves to decrease (though not remove) that content motivated solely or primarily by partisan politics. In short, compared to most presidential discourse, the State of the Union address is a carefully constructed, conscious statement of true presidential priorities.

The central purpose of this research is to ascertain both the substance and the evolution of the priorities of the Reagan Administration, through a systematic examination of the State of the Union addresses. The Reagan presidency offers an opportunity to examine not only the content, but also the ebb and flow of presidential priorities to a degree not possible since the Eisenhower presidency (the last eight-year administration). We shall strive to answer some of the following questions: To what degree has the Reagan Administration emphasized foreign versus domestic affairs? Which issues in those areas have received the most attention? How much has the President emphasized the "social issues" of the Christian Right? What issues have carried over most every year?

Data and Methods

The data base for this research is the seven State of the Union messages that President Reagan delivered from 1982-1988.⁵

The method of study is content analysis, which is a type of document study that allows a researcher to transform non-quantitative documents into quantitative form. Content analysis involves the construction of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories within which particular units of analysis—commonly paragraphs, sentences, or words—are actually tallied and placed. For this study, words have been selected as the unit of analysis, rather than sentences or paragraphs, in an attempt derive the greater precision that accompanies the smallest possible unit of analysis.⁶

Among the general advantages of content analysis are that it: 1) permits the study of subjects who are inaccessible to the researcher (e.g., a president); 2) circumnavigates the problem of subject reactivity since it is unobtrusive; 3) provides the opportunity for longitudinal analysis. In the specific context of presidential studies, content analysis is particularly useful because it allows us to compile hard data and to bring it to bear upon the presidency, a situation that Edwards and Wayne have noted exists too infrequently.⁷

For our study, four separate categories were constructed. Those four categories (along with each of the subcategories to be analyzed later on) are as follows: 1) *International Affairs* (Soviet Relations, Central America, Middle East, Trade/Technology); 2) *Domestic Economic Affairs* (Budget, Taxation, Spending, Past Economic Conditions, Economic Recovery); 3) *Domestic Social Affairs* (Crime, Moral Issues, Volunteerism); 4) *Miscellaneous* (Introductory Remarks, Tributes, Jokes). With respect to the four categories, the International versus Domestic Economic versus Domestic Social trifurcation is a common one; both Jorstad and Hertzke, for example, used it in their studies of interest group influence.⁸ The fourth (Miscellaneous) category is of no real substan-

tive interest, but has been included initially to meet the criterion of exhaustive categories and to provide the reader with a means of comparison vis-a-vis the trifurcation.⁹

A few words about the subcategories before we undertake our analysis. The subcategories were created by previewing the 1982-1988 State of the Union addresses and then creating that set of subcategories which seemed most appropriate. The process of categorization thus was rather subjective, but as Bailey has pointed out, "... categories for content analysis generally are not derived from theory or constructed out of thin air, but are constructed by examining the documents to be studied and ascertaining what common elements they contain. Only by letting the categories emerge from the documents to be analyzed can the goals of mutual exclusiveness and exhaustiveness be met."¹⁰

The creation of subcategories based on the document often lends itself to unequal categories. For example, the Soviet Relations subcategory within International Affairs which contains the issues of arms control, global peace, Afghanistan, defense spending, and Eastern Europe is far larger than the "Crime" subcategory within Domestic Social Affairs which contains only the issues of the death penalty, crime rates, and drugs. (The various subcategories will be defined in more detail later on when their content is analyzed). The disparities among the categories, however, mostly reflect an inequality in the importance of the issues.

The Aggregate Picture

We begin our analysis with an examination of the aggregate picture. For each of the seven State of the Union addresses, the total number of words overall, along with the total number of words within each of the four major categories, was tallied. The totals (plus rounded percentages) are presented in Table 1.

Looking first at the overall picture, we see that Domestic Economic concerns have been the major emphasis of the Reagan presidency. Over the course of seven State of the Union addresses, the President spoke a total of 32,224 words. Fully 14,140 (44%) of those words were devoted to the Economic agenda, followed by 9697 words (30%) devoted to International Affairs. The other two categories—the Domestic Social agenda and Miscellaneous matters—were an equidistant 13% of his discourse. The Reagan Administration's overarching priority clearly has been the state of the domestic economy.

TABLE 1
Total Number of Words by Category in the State of the Union Addresses

	Total Words	International	Economic	Social	Misc.
1982	5209	964 (19%)	3248 (62%)	356 (7%)	641 (12%)
1983	5611	1527 (27%)	2902 (52%)	616 (11%)	566 (10%)
1984	5060	1559 (31%)	2170 (43%)	774 (15%)	557 (11%)
1985	4395	1244 (28%)	1927 (44%)	779 (18%)	445 (10%)
1986	3366	1011 (30%)	1314 (39%)	477 (14%)	564 (17%)
1987	3771	1637 (43%)	985 (26%)	247 (7%)	902 (24%)
1988	4812	1755 (36%)	1594 (33%)	819 (17%)	644 (13%)
TOTAL	32,224	9697 (30%)	14140 (44%)	4068 (13%)	4319 (13%)

Looking next at column one—the total number of words in each State of the Union—we see generally that the length of the speeches decreased over time. The first three speeches (1982–1984) were all over 5000 words, while two of the latter three (1986 and 1987) were under 4000 words; put in percentage change terms, the first three speeches combined were 24% longer than the final three. Moreover, the last three (1986–1988) were marked by the highest proportion of non-substantive (Miscellaneous) content at 17%, 24%, and 13% respectively. Those twin findings suggest a lessening of issues for examination occurred over the course of the Reagan administration. The President simply had less to say over time.

What explains the paucity of the President's political agenda over time? There are many possible explanations: the President may have decided to restrict the agenda for personal or political motives, the Republican congressional leadership may have pressed for greater focus on fewer issues, and/or the President's aides in his second term may have been less creative than those in the early years of his presidency. Perhaps the best explanation, however, is that the Administration was a victim of its own success. Heclo has pointed out that compared to previous administrations, President Reagan and his staff from the outset "... were willing to limit drastically the number of presidential priorities."¹¹ The Administration apparently heeded Neustadt's dictum that a president must guard his power stakes by carefully choosing when and where he will be personally involved.¹² The top priority, as we already have seen, was the state of the domestic economy. Once the Reagan Administration won the almost legendary tax and budget fights of the early 1980s, the major items on its agenda were realized. The intellectual exhaustion was probably the result of early successes.

Examining next the International versus Domestic Economic bifurcation, we see that over time the former grew at the expense of the latter. In 1982, Reagan devoted 964 words (19%) to international affairs and 3248 words (63%) to domestic economic affairs; those proportions slowly inverted in subsequent years so that by 1987, the President had devoted 1637 words (43%) to international affairs and only 985 words (26%) to domestic economic affairs. The usurpation of the domestic economic agenda by the international agenda continued in 1988, though at a more modest level.

Our findings here confirm the common wisdom, albeit with some empirical precision, that the Reagan Administration began with a loaded economic agenda that gradually gave way to a greater focus on international affairs. Although the data does not show it, a supplementary qualitative examination of the latter State of the Union messages (1986–1988) demonstrates that the issues of arms reduction, aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, and the Iran/Contra Affair were the issues responsible for elevating international over domestic economic affairs.

The impact of the Iran/Contra Affair is particularly evident. Public disclosure of Iran/Contra occurred in November 1986; as we have seen, the January 1987 State of the Union was the first in which President Reagan addressed international more than domestic economic affairs. Moreover, a qualitative examination reveals that the 1987 speech was the only one in which Reagan addressed international (rather than economic) affairs at length early in his speech. Thus, the Iran/Contra affair caused a change in the President's pat formula.

The substantive and organizational changes in the 1987 State of the Union support Light's argument that any administration's agenda is shaped by crisis items.¹³ The disclosure of the Iran/Contra Affair was certainly a crisis for the Reagan Administration, and it responded by mentioning the matter directly and early in its 1987 State of the Union. Moreover, Reagan devoted the bulk of that speech to international matters.

Finally, it is worth noting that the Domestic Social agenda constituted a modest proportion of the President's speeches. As we have seen, the President devoted only a total of 4068 words (13%) to the social agenda over seven years. If the total proportion of the speeches devoted to the social agenda was modest, however, it was the most consistent of the four categories, ranging between 7% and 18% each year. That finding supports the argument of one observer that Reagan kept the concerns of the evangelical/fundamentalist citizens composing the Christian Right prominent on the national agenda.¹⁴ Perhaps not surprisingly, the proportion of Reagan's speech devoted to the social issues was among the highest in presidential election years (15% in 1984 and 17% in 1988), lending credence to the view that the President attempted to agitate that constituency at propitious times.

One final observation about the social issues. The biggest drop off in Administration interest in the social issues occurred from 1986 to 1987, when the number of words fell from 477 to 247 and the percentages from 14% to 7%. The drop off came in the wake of Republican loss of the Senate in the 1986 elections. The finding supports Paul Light's thesis that administrations tend to move items off the agenda that are likely to encounter heavy congressional resistance.¹⁵ After the Republicans lost control of the Senate, with prospects for the social agenda greatly dimmed, the President simply deemphasized (but did not completely drop) that agenda.

Having examined the aggregate picture, we now extend our focus to subcategories within International Affairs, Domestic Economic Affairs, and Domestic Social Affairs. The Miscellaneous category as it existed is dropped from subsequent analyses; a new miscellaneous subcategory is incorporated, but only for substantive items that do not fit within the other subcategories. This further breakdown will permit us to add specificity to our analysis and to examine variation within the trifurcation. Methodologically, all that was done was to tally the words within the newly created subcategories.¹⁶

International Affairs

Within the International Affairs category, the following subcategories were constructed: 1) Soviet relations, arms control, Eastern Europe, global peace, Afghanistan, defense spending; 2) Central America (Nicaragua, Contras); 3) Middle East (Iran, terrorism, OPEC, Israel, Persian Gulf); 4) Trade/Technology (trade, international economy, Japan, space); 5) Miscellaneous (MIA's, patriotism, international responsibility).¹⁷ The results of the breakdown are listed in Table 2.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the data is the degree to which President Reagan has addressed international affairs in a US/USSR or Cold War context. In part, that may be the result of a broadly inclusive subcategory; nonetheless, if we

TABLE 2
Total Number of Words by Subcategory in the International Agenda

	<i>Total Words</i>	<i>US/USSR Cold War</i>	<i>Central America</i>	<i>Middle East</i>	<i>Trade/ Tech</i>	<i>Misc.</i>
1982	964	742 (77%)	58 (6%)	—	74 (8%)	90 (9%)
1983	1527	542 (35%)	109 (7%)	135 (9%)	538 (35%)	203 (13%)
1984	1559	519 (33%)	176 (11%)	134 (9%)	442 (28%)	288 (18%)
1985	1244	562 (45%)	88 (7%)	—	209 (17%)	385 (31%)
1986	1011	486 (48%)	178 (18%)	—	347 (34%)	—
1987	1637	544 (33%)	294 (18%)	248 (15%)	304 (19%)	247 (15%)
1988	1755	820 (47%)	326 (19%)	—	236 (13%)	373 (21%)
TOTAL	9697	4215 (43%)	1229 (13%)	517 (5%)	2150 (22%)	1586 (16%)

look at the column totals, we see that fully 4215 words (43%) of the International Affairs agenda have focused on issues involving the Cold War. The next largest subcategory (Trade/Technology), by way of contrast, is only about one-half as large with 2150 words (22%). What the numbers do not show, of course, is the extent to which the rhetoric changed. The 742 words devoted to the Cold War of 1982, for instance, were far more strident than the 820 words devoted to Cold War issues in 1988 (some of which welcomed arms reduction and improved USSR/US relations). From the data, we are unable to make assessments about intensity and tone; all we are able to demonstrate is that Reagan emphasized US/USSR issues among all possible international issues.

A second striking fact is the paucity of attention devoted by the Reagan Administration to the Middle East. That region was ignored completely in four of seven State of the Union messages; in the other three (1983, 1984, 1987), it composed a modest 9–15% of the President's International Affairs agenda. Particularly interesting is that no mention of the Middle East was made in the consecutive years of 1985–1986, the time during which the reapprochement with Iran was undertaken; the President addressed the Middle East again in 1987 only when he was forced to confront the public clamor over the November 1986 disclosure of arms sales to Iran. He then skipped the Middle East in his 1988 speech.

If we look next at the Central America column, we find that the cause of the Nicaraguan Contras has been a mostly second term priority for the Administration. The Central American component of the President's International Affairs agenda was greatest in both real and percentage terms from 1986–1988. In 1985—a year in which money was being funneled to the Contras from outside sources—the President spoke only 88 words (7%) about Central America.

The overall lack of attention to Central America in the State of the Union speeches, composing a total of only 13% of the President's international affairs agenda, is rather misleading. The discrepancy between the Administration's public support for the Contras and the lack of attention in the State of the Union speeches may be explained by the fact that Reagan has devoted entire speeches to the Contra cause separate from his State of the Union speeches. In six different addresses from 1983–1987, in forums as diverse as national television, a joint session of Congress, and the Organization

of American States, the President enunciated his support for the Contras.¹⁸ In light of that fact, the neglect of Central America in the State of the Union speeches is understandable.

Finally, it is interesting to note the attention that Reagan has devoted to the trade/technology issues. There is no apparent pattern to the numbers, but in general terms the President has devoted several hundred words and around 20% of his International Affairs agenda to trade/technology. In 1983 and 1986, over one-third of his International Affairs focus was on those issues. There may be an irony here: the "free trader" Reagan helped place the very trade/competitiveness issues on the national agenda which the "protectionist" Dick Gephardt (and to a lesser degree Al Gore) used with such effectiveness in the early contests of the 1988 Democratic presidential race. The ability of Gephardt and Gore to twist those issues to their advantage is testimony to the argument of Cobb and Elder that in American politics, the possibilities for coopting issues abound.¹⁹

Domestic Economic Affairs

Within the Domestic Economic Affairs category, six different subcategories were created: 1) Budget (reform, deficits, line-item veto); 2) Taxation (reform, simplification, cuts, enterprise zones); 3) Spending (welfare, entitlements, Superfund, education); 4) Past Conditions (Carter economic legacy); 5) Recovery (economic recovery, economic indices); 6) Miscellaneous (jobs, federalism, rhetoric). The results of the breakdown are listed in Table 3.

The data here present a rather muddled picture, in part due to the larger number of categories employed. A few observations, however, may be forwarded. First, as the totals make clear, the Reagan economic agenda has focused on the following issues in descending order: budget (3507 words, 25%), spending (2905 words, 21%), economic recovery (2230 words, 16%), taxation (2010 words, 14%), and past conditions (456 words, 3%). The results are illuminating. In one examination of the Reagan Administration, Hugh Heclo concluded that the taxation and spending issues were its main domestic concerns; in a separate analysis, Paul Light argued that the taxation and budget issues were the major concerns.²⁰ Our data show that the budget and spending concerns were indeed primary concerns, but that contrary to both Heclo and Light, taxation was a rather distant fourth. Only in 1985, with 606 words (31%)

TABLE 3
Total Number of Words by Subcategory in the Domestic Economic Agenda

	Total Words	Budget	Taxation	Spending	Recovery	Past	Misc.
1982	3248	254 (8%)	467 (14%)	762 (23%)	754 (23%)	119 (4%)	892 (27%)
1983	2902	459 (16%)	193 (7%)	751 (26%)	409 (14%)	195 (7%)	895 (31%)
1984	2170	782 (36%)	470 (22%)	341 (16%)	218 (10%)	81 (4%)	278 (13%)
1985	1927	182 (9%)	606 (31%)	415 (22%)	240 (12%)	—	484 (25%)
1986	1314	516 (40%)	174 (13%)	210 (16%)	189 (14%)	61 (5%)	164 (12%)
1987	985	268 (27%)	100 (10%)	222 (23%)	213 (22%)	—	182 (18%)
1988	1594	1046 (66%)	—	204 (13%)	207 (13%)	—	137 (9%)
TOTAL	14140	3507 (25%)	2010 (14%)	2905 (21%)	2230 (16%)	456 (3%)	3032 (21%)

devoted mostly to tax reform, was taxation the major domestic economic issue. In the other six years, the budget or spending issues (or both in four of six cases) had greater prominence.

Second, the data provide support for Light's twin hypotheses that issues fall off the political agenda if they either are enacted into law, or conversely, meet with strong resistance. In the former case, the issue of taxation (reform) emphasized so strongly in 1985, almost dropped off the agenda by 1987 and did so completely by 1988, following enactment of the 1986 Tax Reform Act. In the latter case, the restructuring of federal/state relations which was emphasized strongly in the 1982 and 1983 speeches was dropped almost completely in subsequent years when the Congress refused to enact the President's "New Federalism" proposals.²¹ It should be added, however, that certain items on the President's total agenda carried over despite congressional resistance. Included on this list were a constitutional amendment allowing school prayer, the line-item veto, and enterprise zones. The presence of those items for a number of years despite strong congressional opposition leads us to the obvious conclusion that Reagan's personal beliefs, not just expediency, were a strong factor in determining the content of his annual State of the Union message.²²

Third, the data reveal the extent of the attack by the Reagan Administration upon the Carter economic legacy. From 1982-1984 and in 1986, President Reagan devoted some 4%-7% of his economic agenda to statements about the failures of Carter economic policy and another 10%-23% to the economic recovery engendered by his Administration. Those numbers are high when we recall that no specific proposals were involved; instead, only statements about past versus present economic conditions were made. It is worth noting that as late as the 1986 midterm election, perhaps because it was thought to have played well in the presidential election year of 1984, the Reagan Administration attack upon his predecessor's economic legacy was still underway.

Domestic Social Affairs

Within the Democratic Social Affairs category, four different subcategories were created: 1) Crime (rates, death penalty, drugs); 2) Volunteerism (private volunteer efforts); 3) Moral Issues (abortion, school prayer, family planning, traditional values); 4) Miscellaneous (civil rights, women's rights, judicial nominees). The results of the breakdown are listed in Table 4.

The central finding here is that the President devoted most of his attention to the moral issues of the social agenda, such as abortion, family planning, pornography, and school prayer. If we examine the totals, we see that he devoted 1771 words (44%) to Moral Issues, followed by Volunteerism (1162 words, 29%) and Crime (758 words, 19%). In 1982, Reagan omitted a discussion of the moral issues and in 1983 spoke only 40 words; in 1984-1986 and in 1988, however, he delivered somewhere between 294 and 602 words on those issues, making them the major part of his social agenda. In fact, in 1986 and 1988, the moral issues commanded fully 69% and 74% of the social agenda respectively.

The only other thing worth noting is the lack of attention paid by the Reagan

TABLE 4
Total Number of Words by Subcategory in the Domestic Social Agenda

	Total Words	Crime	Volunteer	Moral	Misc.
1982	356	45 (13%)	210 (60%)	—	101 (28%)
1983	616	78 (13%)	327 (53%)	40 (6%)	171 (28%)
1984	774	131 (17%)	203 (26%)	440 (57%)	—
1985	779	236 (30%)	203 (26%)	294 (38%)	46 (6%)
1986	477	66 (14%)	80 (17%)	331 (69%)	—
1987	247	44 (18%)	139 (56%)	64 (26%)	—
1988	819	155 (19%)	—	602 (74%)	59 (7%)
TOTAL	4068	758 (19%)	1162 (29%)	1771 (44%)	377 (9%)

Administration to women's and civil rights. Those concerns were easily at the bottom of the social agenda, commanding (along with judicial nominee comments) only 377 words in seven years. Our point is not that the Administration is sexist or racist, both of which are debatable; rather, our point is simply that the traditional concerns associated with the women's and civil rights movements received scant attention.

Summary

Our content analysis has yielded a number of things about the Reagan presidency, the most important of which may be summarized as follows: 1) the state of the domestic economy was the central focus of the Reagan presidency; 2) over the course of his presidency, Reagan's political agenda diminished in scope and reoriented itself more toward international affairs; 3) the Iran/Contra affair caused a change in emphasis and form of the 1987 State of the Union address; 4) the social agenda was a modest but consistent component of the overall Reagan agenda which received special emphasis in election years; 5) President Reagan addressed international affairs primarily in US/USSR terms, paying only limited attention to the Middle East and mostly second term attention to Central America; 6) the budget and spending issues were his major economic priorities while the moral issues were his social agenda priorities.

Taken together, those findings reveal quite a lot about the politics of the 1980s. The political discourse for most of the decade centered on the state of domestic economy (especially budget and spending issues) and bilateral relations with the Soviet Union. Many of the issues which were so prominent in the 1970s—energy, full employment, the Equal Rights Amendment, human rights, relations with the Third World, Middle East peace—were deemphasized by the Reagan Administration; certain of those issues virtually fell off the national agenda. The success the Administration enjoyed in supplanting elements of the political agenda of the 1970s has been an integral part of the "Reagan Revolution."

In a different vein, those findings intimate a decline of coherence in the Reagan agenda. The Administration assumed office determined to rebuild the armed forces, lower taxes, and to decrease the size and role of the federal government. Over time,

as various crises (e.g., the Iran arms sales) arose and as Congress both acceded to and rebuffed large parts of the Reagan agenda, its initial coherence was undermined. By the waning years of the Administration, it was actively seeking arms reduction and warmer relations with adversaries rather than increased military spending; likewise, it was expanding the leadership role of the federal government on issues like AIDS. Related, it began to accord attention to issues which were tangential to its initial goals: the reflagging of Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf, the war on drugs, and the attempt to depose Panamanian General Manuel Noriega. The centrality of those concerns to the Administration was testimony to its loss of focus over time.

From our examination of the Reagan Administration, we have a better understanding not only of the politics of the 1980s, but also of the general nature of presidential agendas. We found empirical proof that Reagan's agenda was molded by crisis events, responded generally to congressional resistance and receptivity, suffered from intellectual attrition, and gradually reoriented itself over time. Still left to scholars and pundits alike is the responsibility to draw pointed comparisons with other administrations. Only when that task is completed will we know whether the patterns exhibited in the Reagan Administration are typical for all administrations.

* The author would like to thank Elizabeth Gordon for her research assistance, the Department of Political Science for its support of this project, and the editorial staff of Presidential Studies Quarterly for their helpful suggestions.

Notes

1. John Kessel, "The Parameters of Presidential Politics," p. 3. Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association 1972 Annual Meeting, New York. Cited in Paul Light, *The President's Agenda* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983): 160.
2. Light, *The President's Agenda*, p. 160.
3. John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.): 197.
4. Light, *The President's Agenda*, p. 160.
5. The messages were found in *Congressional Quarterly* materials. There was no State of the Union in 1981, when Reagan took office. His inaugural address was examined with the thought of using it for 1981, but it was too different from his other speeches.
6. Kenneth Bailey, *Methods of Social Research* (New York: The Free Press, 1978): 280-281.
7. George Edwards and Stephen Wayne, *Presidential Leadership* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985): 424.
8. See Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Moralism* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1981): 76-77; Allen Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1988): 119.
9. The amount of material contained in the Miscellaneous category was fairly high, reflecting the bicentennial of the Constitution, the retirement of Speaker O'Neill and the elevation of Jim Wright to the Speakership, and the President's own emphasis on selecting "American heroes" for each year.
10. Bailey, *Methods of Social Research*, p. 279.
11. Hugh Heclo, "One Executive Branch or Many?" in Anthony King, ed., *Both Ends of the Avenue* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1983): 43.
12. Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power* (New York: John Wiley, 1976): 247.
13. Light, *The President's Agenda*, p. 162.
14. See Matthew C. Moen, "Religion and the Congressional Agenda," *Extensions* Spring 1985 (Norman, OK: The Carl Albert Center): 7.
15. Light, *The President's Agenda*, p. 164.
16. The further breakdown enhanced the reliability of the study, since the subcategory totals had to correspond with the aggregate figures.

17. The items in parentheses after each of the subcategories are the major items contained within that subcategory. Other issues, e.g., Jewish emigration from or grain sales to the Soviet Union, are not listed out in the subcategory "Cold War" even though they have been included in it. The reason those issues are not listed out is simply that it is impossible to list each and every issue that fits within a subcategory; consequently, only the major items within a subcategory have actually been listed out.

It is worth adding that the task of placing words within their proper subcategories, not only for the International Affairs agenda but also for the Domestic Economic and the Domestic Social agendas, was made easier by the fact that the State of the Union speeches delivered by President Reagan usually were divided into international versus domestic affairs, and then grouped largely according to the very subcategories created for this research. Thus, the constituent elements of the President's speeches did not have to be disentangled frequently.

18. Reagan made significant Central America statements on April 27, 1983 and February 17, 1984 (Congress), April 15, 1985 (conservatives), March 16, 1986 (televised address), and October 10 and November 9, 1987 (Organization of American States).
19. Roger Cobb and Charles Elder, *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983): 128.
20. See Hugh Heclo, "One Executive Branch or Many?" p. 43; also see Light, *The President's Agenda*, p. XI.
21. Reagan called for the federal government to assume full responsibility for the Medicare/Medicaid programs, in return for state assumption of the AFDC program. He also called for cutbacks in categorical grant programs.
22. For a similar assessment, see Light, *The President's Agenda*, p. IX. As he put it, "Though Reagan's ideology did not limit the absolute number of items he sent to Congress, it was the central factor in the choice of issues for his agenda."

- Stevenson, Adlai Ewing—1952, 1956, Democratic; 1956, Liberal
- Stewart, Gideon Tabor—1876, VP, Prohibition
- Stoner, J. B.—1964, VP, National States' Rights
- Streeter, Alson Jennes—1888, Union Labor
- Sullivan, Charles Loten—1960, Constitution (Tex.)
- Swallow, Silas Comfort—1904, Prohibition
- Taft, William Howard—1908, 1912, Republican
- Taylor, George Sam—1968, VP, Socialist Labor
- Taylor, Glen Hearst—1948, VP, Progressive
- Taylor, Zachary—1848, Whig
- Teague, Raymond L.—1960, VP, Theocratic
- Teichert, Edward A.—1944, 1948, Socialist Labor
- Teichert, Emil F.—1936, VP, Socialist Labor
- Thayer, Merle—1968, VP, Constitution
- Thomas, Norman Mattoon—1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944, 1948, Socialist
- Thompson, Henry Adams—1880, VP, Prohibition
- Thurman, Allen Granberry—1888, VP, Democratic
- Thurmond, James Strom—1948, States' Rights
- Tibbles, Thomas Henry—1904, VP, People's
- Tilden, Samuel Jones—1876, Democratic
- Tisdal, V. C.—1932, VP, Jobless
- Tomlinson, Homer Aubrey—1952, Church of God; 1960 1964, Theocratic
- Troxell, Richard K.—1968, Constitution
- Truman, Harry S.—1944, VP, Democratic; 1948, Democratic
- Turner, Daniel Braxton—1908, United Christian
- Tyler, John—1840, VP, Whig; 1844, National Democratic
- Tyner, Jarvis—1972 and 1976, VP, Communist
- Upshaw, William David—1932, Prohibition
- Van Buren, Martin—1832, VP, Democratic; 1836, 1840, Democratic; 1848, Free Soil
- Varney, William Frederick—1928, Prohibition
- Varnum, Frank—1980, VP, American
- Verseen, Will—1928, VP, Farmer Labor
- Wakefield, William H. T.—1888, VP, United Labor
- Walker, James B.—1876, American National
- Wallace, George Corley—1968, American Independent, Courage (N.Y.)
- Wallace, Henry Agard—1940, VP, Democratic; 1948, Progressive
- Wallace, William J.—1824, Commonwealth Land
- Warren, Earl—1948, VP, Republican
- Watkins, Aaron Sherman—1908 and 1912, VP, Prohibition; 1920, Prohibition
- Watson, Claude A.—1944, 1948, Prohibition
- Watson, Thomas Edward—1896, VP, Populist; 1904, 1908, People's
- Weaver, James Baird—1880, Greenback Labor; 1892, People's
- Webb, Frank Elbridge—1928, 1932, Farmer Labor
- Weiss, Myra Tanner—1952 and 1956 and 1960, VP, Socialist Workers
- Wendelken, Martin—1980, Independent
- Werdel, Thomas Harold—1964, VP, Independent States' Rights
- West, Absolom Madden—1884, VP, Anti-Monopoly, Greenback
- Wheeler, Burton Kendall—1924, VP, Progressive, Socialist
- Wheeler, William Almon—1876, VP, Republican
- Wigginton, Peter Dinwiddie—1888, VP, American
- Willkie, Wendell Lewis—1940, Republican
- Williams, Samuel—1908, VP, People's
- Wilson, Henry—1872, VP, Republican, National Working Men
- Wilson, Woodrow—1912, 1916, Democratic
- Wing, Simon—1892, Socialist Labor
- Wirt, William—1832, Anti-Masonic
- Woodhull, Victoria Claflin—1872, Equal Rights
- Woolley, John Granville—1900, Prohibition
- Wright, Fielding Lewis—1948, VP, States' Rights
- Wright, Margaret—1976, People's
- Yates, James Elmer—1940, VP, Greenback
- York, Alvin—1936, VP, Prohibition
- Zagarell, Michael—1968, VP, Communist
- Zahnd, John—1924, 1928, 1936, 1940, Greenback
- Zeidler, Frank Paul—1976, Socialist
- Zimmerman, Matilde—1980, VP, Socialist Workers

THE OFFICE

PRESIDENTIAL OATH OF OFFICE

The presidential oath of office was administered 50 times by 14 men to Presidents-elect from 1789 to 1980, and 9 times by 7 men and 1 woman to Vice Presidents who succeeded to the

presidency due to the death or resignation of the incumbent.

The following oath of office is prescribed by Article II, section 1 of the Constitution:

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of

Facts

PRESIDENTIAL OATH OF OFFICE*-Continued*

the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.

OATH TAKEN ON BIBLE

The President-elect takes the oath of office with his hand upon a Bible, which is open to a passage that he has selected. In the forty-nine inaugurations from 1789 to 1981, no two Presidents have chosen the same scriptural passage.

INAUGURAL OATHS

Listed below under the names of the Presidents elected to office are the dates on which the oaths were taken and the names of the administering officials (Chief Justice of the United States unless otherwise identified).

Washington

Thurs., Apr. 30, 1789; Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York State
Mon., Mar. 4, 1793; William Cushing, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court

J. Adams

Sat., Mar. 4, 1797; Oliver Ellsworth

Jefferson

Wed., Mar. 4, 1801; John Marshall
Mon., Mar. 4, 1805; Marshall

Madison

Sat., Mar. 4, 1809; Marshall
Thurs., Mar. 4, 1813; Marshall

Monroe

Tues., Mar. 4, 1817; Marshall
Mon., Mar. 5, 1821; Marshall

J. Q. Adams

Fri., Mar. 4, 1825; Marshall

Jackson

Wed., Mar. 4, 1829; Marshall
Mon., Mar. 4, 1833; Marshall

Van Buren

Sat., Mar. 4, 1837; Roger Brooke Taney

W. H. Harrison

Thurs., Mar. 4, 1841; Taney

Polk

Tues., Mar. 4, 1845; Taney

Taylor

Mon., Mar. 5, 1849; Taney

Pierce

Fri., Mar. 4, 1853; Taney

Buchanan

Wed., Mar. 4, 1857; Taney

Lincoln

Mon., Mar. 4, 1861; Taney
Sat., Mar. 4, 1865; Salmon Portland Chase

Grant

Thurs., Mar. 4, 1869; Chase
Tues., Mar. 4, 1873; Chase

Hayes

Mon., Mar. 5, 1877; Morrison Remick Waite

Garfield

Fri., Mar. 4, 1881; Waite

Cleveland

Wed., Mar. 4, 1885; Waite

B. Harrison

Mon., Mar. 4, 1889; Melville Weston Fuller

Cleveland

Sat., Mar. 4, 1893; Fuller

McKinley

Thurs., Mar. 4, 1897; Fuller
Mon., Mar. 4, 1901; Fuller

T. Roosevelt

Sat., Mar. 4, 1905; Fuller

Taft

Thurs., Mar. 4, 1909; Fuller

Wilson

Tues., Mar. 4, 1913; Edward Douglass White
Mon., Mar. 5, 1917; White

Harding

Fri., Mar. 4, 1921; White

Coolidge

Wed., Mar. 4, 1925; William Howard Taft

Hoover

Mon., Mar. 4, 1929; Taft

F. D. Roosevelt

Sat., Mar. 4, 1933; Charles Evans Hughes
Wed., Jan. 20, 1937; Hughes
Mon., Jan. 20, 1941; Hughes
Sat., Jan. 20, 1945; Harlan Fiske Stone

Truman

Thurs., Jan. 20, 1949; Frederick Moore Vinson

Eisenhower

Tues., Jan. 20, 1953; Vinson
Mon., Jan. 21, 1957; Earl Warren

Kennedy

Fri., Jan. 20, 1961; Warren

L. B. Johnson

Wed., Jan. 20, 1965; Warren

Nixon

Mon., Jan. 20, 1969; Warren

Sat., Jan. 20, 1973; Warren Earl Burger

Carter

Thurs., Jan. 20 1977; Burger

Reagan

Tues., Jan. 20, 1981; Burger

The following took their oaths after succeeding to the presidency on the death or resignation of their predecessors:

Tyler

Tues., Apr. 6, 1841; William Cranch, Chief Justice, U.S. Circuit Court, District of Columbia

Fillmore

Wed., July 10, 1850; Cranch

A. Johnson

Sat., Apr., 15, 1865; Salmon Portland Chase

Arthur

Tues., Sept. 20, 1881; John R. Brady, Justice, New York Supreme Court

Thurs., Sept. 22, 1881; Morrison Remick Waite

T. Roosevelt

Sat., Sept. 14, 1901; John R. Hazel, Justice, U.S. District Court

Coolidge

Fri., Aug. 3, 1923; John Calvin Coolidge, notary public and justice of the peace

Tues., Aug. 21, 1923; Adolph August Hoehling, Justice, District of Columbia Supreme Court

Truman

Thurs., Apr. 12, 1945; Harlan Fiske Stone

L. B. Johnson

Fri., Nov. 22, 1963; Sarah Tilghman Hughes, District Judge of the North District of Texas

Ford

Fri., Aug. 9, 1974; Warren Earl Burger

PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL OATHS ADMINISTERED BY CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE UNITED STATES

Chief Justice John Marshall administered the oath nine times to five Presidents: Jefferson twice, Madison twice, Monroe twice, J. Q. Adams once, and Jackson twice.

Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney administered the oath to more Presidents than anyone—

seven times to seven men—once each to Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan and Lincoln.

Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller swore in six Presidents: B. Harrison, Cleveland, T. Roosevelt, Taft, and McKinley twice.

Chief Justice Earl Warren administered the oath four times, once each to Eisenhower, Kennedy, L. B. Johnson and Nixon.

Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger also swore in four Presidents: Nixon (second term), Ford, Carter, and Reagan.

Chief Justices who administered the inaugural oath three times each were Salmon Portland Chase, Charles Evans Hughes, Morrison Remick Waite, and Edward Douglass White. Chase swore in Lincoln once and Grant twice. Hughes administered the oath to F. D. Roosevelt three times. White swore in Wilson twice and Harding once.

Those Chief Justices who administered the oath twice were William Howard Taft, Harlan Fiske Stone, and Frederick Moore Vinson. Taft swore in Coolidge and Hoover. Stone swore in F. D. Roosevelt and Truman. Vinson swore in Truman and Eisenhower.

Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth administered the oath to John Adams.

Only three of the nine men who succeeded to the presidency because of a President's death or resignation had the inaugural oath administered by the Chief Justice of the United States. Salmon Portland Chase gave the oath to Andrew Johnson, Harlan Fiske Stone to Harry S. Truman, and Warren Earl Burger to Gerald Rudolph Ford.

OATHS ADMINISTERED BY OTHERS

The presidential oath of office is not required to be administered by the Chief Justice of the United States. The following Presidents of the United States were not sworn in by the Chief Justice:

George Washington, Apr. 30, 1789, oath administered by Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York State.

George Washington, Mar. 4, 1793, by William Cushing, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court

John Tyler, Apr. 6, 1841, by William Cranch, Chief Justice of the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia

Millard Fillmore, July 10, 1850, by William Cranch, Chief Justice of the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia

Chester Alan Arthur, Sept. 20, 1881, by John R. Brady, Justice of the New York Supreme Court (Arthur was sworn in two days later by Chief Justice Morrison Remick Waite.)

OATHS ADMINISTERED BY OTHERS

—Continued

Theodore Roosevelt, Sept. 14, 1901, by John R. Hazel, of the United States District Court

Calvin Coolidge, Aug. 3, 1923, by his father, John Calvin Coolidge, a notary public and justice of the peace. (The oath was repeated Aug. 21, 1923, before Adolph August Hoebling of the District of Columbia Supreme Court.)

Lyndon Baines Johnson, Nov. 22, 1963, by Sarah Tilghman Hughes, District Judge of the North District of Texas

No specific requirements exist as to the place where the oath must be administered. The following Presidents took their oaths in cities other than Washington, D.C.:

George Washington, 1789, New York City
George Washington 1793, Philadelphia, Pa.
Chester Alan Arthur, 1881, New York City
Theodore Roosevelt, 1901, Buffalo, N.Y.
Calvin Coolidge, 1923, Plymouth, Vt.
Lyndon Baines Johnson, 1963, Dallas, Tex.

SUNDAY INAUGURATION DATES

Only four of the thirty-seven March inaugurations fell on Sunday—in 1821, 1849, 1877, and 1917. In those years the public ceremonies were postponed until the following day.

James Monroe, the fifth President, postponed taking his oath of office for his second term until Monday, March 5, 1821.

Zachary Taylor, the twelfth President, did not take his oath of office until Monday, March 5, 1849 (a circumstance which has caused many to assert that David Rice Atchison, president pro tempore of the Senate, was President for one day between the outgoing James Knox Polk and the incoming Zachary Taylor).

Rutherford Birchard Hayes, the nineteenth President, came into office following a bitter election dispute. He took the oath of office twice: once on Saturday, March 3, 1877, at a private ceremony, and again on Monday, March 5, at a public ceremony.

Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth President, postponed taking his second oath of office until Monday, March 5, 1917.

Only one of the twelve January inaugurations has fallen on Sunday. Dwight David Eisenhower, the thirty-fourth President, was inaugurated on Sunday, January 20, 1957, at a private ceremony, and again on Monday, January 21, at a public ceremony.

Inauguration day (January 20) will fall on Sunday only three times in the next hundred years: in 1985, 2013, and 2041.

INAUGURAL SITES

Thirty-six of the forty-nine inaugurations of the elected presidents were held at the east portico of the Capitol. The other thirteen inaugurations were held at the following places:

Federal Hall, Wall Street, New York, N.Y.

1789—George Washington

Congress Hall, Sixth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

1793—George Washington

1797—John Adams

Senate chamber, Washington, D.C.

1801—Thomas Jefferson

1805—Thomas Jefferson

1809—William Howard Taft

House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

1809—James Madison

1813—James Madison

1821—James Monroe

1825—John Quincy Adams

1833—Andrew Jackson

South portico, White House, Washington, D.C.

1945—Franklin Delano Roosevelt

West front, Capitol, Washington, D.C.

1981—Ronald Wilson Reagan

INAUGURAL WEATHER

Of the 49 presidential inaugurations between 1789 and 1981, there were 32 held in clear weather, 10 in rain, and 7 in snow, the weather reported being the weather at noon.

Contemporary reports on the weather often disagree as the weather was not always the same during the entire day. For example, when Hayes was inaugurated in 1877, it rained until 7 A.M. on March 5 (inauguration day) but it was clear the rest of the day. On the day Garfield was inaugurated, March 4, 1881, it snowed and rained until 10 A.M., and then it cleared, much of the snow having disappeared by the time of the inaugural parade. When Taft was inaugurated in 1909, temperatures were about freezing; over nine inches of snow had fallen on March 3 and until 12:30 P.M. on March 4, and the afternoon of March 4 was windy and cloudy.

The rainy days were in 1845, 1865, 1869, 1873, 1889, 1901, 1929, 1933, 1937, and 1957.

The snowy days were in 1817, 1821, 1833, 1841, 1853, 1893, and 1909.

Details of the weather at the January 20 inaugurations follow: 1937, raining, 33°; 1941, clear, 29°; 1945, cloudy, 35°; 1949, clear 38°; 1953, partly cloudy, 49°; 1957, overcast, 43°; 1961, crisp, cold, 28°; 1965, clear, 38°-45°; 1969, overcast, 33°-38°; 1973, windy, low 40s; 1977, clear, cold; 1981, clear, 56°.

RETIRING PRESIDENTS AT SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES OF SUCCESSORS

All but four retiring presidents have attended the swearing-in ceremonies of their successors. John Adams was not present when Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated, John Quincy Adams was not present when Andrew Jackson was inaugurated, Andrew Johnson was not present when Ulysses Simpson Grant was inaugurated, and Richard Milhous Nixon was not present when Gerald Rudolph Ford took the oath of office.

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION ACT

"To promote the orderly transfer of the executive power in connection with the expiration of the term of office of a President and the inauguration of a new President" is the full title of the Presidential Transition Act of 1963 (78 Stat. L. 153), enacted March 7, 1964. The act provides funds and authority for the new President.

AGE AT INAUGURATION OR SUCCESSION

The average age at which the 40 Presidents were inducted into office was 55 years and 209 days. (Cleveland's non-consecutive inaugurations are counted separately.)

The oldest at the time of his inauguration or succession was Ronald Wilson Reagan, who took office when he was 69 years and 349 days old; the youngest was Theodore Roosevelt, who became President when he was 42 years and 322 days old.

Nine Presidents were over sixty when they took office: William Henry Harrison, Buchanan, Taylor, Eisenhower, Jackson, John Adams, Truman, Ford, and Reagan.

Seven Presidents were under fifty when they became chief executive: Polk, Garfield, Pierce, Cleveland (first term), Grant, Theodore Roosevelt, and Kennedy.

The range in age, from oldest to youngest, is indicated in the following list:

Reagan—69 years, 349 days
W. H. Harrison—68 years, 23 days
Buchanan—65 years, 315 days
Taylor—64 years, 100 days
Eisenhower—62 years, 98 days
Jackson—61 years, 354 days
J. Adams—61 years, 125 days
Ford—61 years, 26 days
Truman—60 years, 309 days
Monroe—58 years, 310 days
Madison—57 years, 353 days
Jefferson—57 years, 325 days

J. Q. Adams—57 years, 236 days
Washington—57 years, 67 days
A. Johnson—56 years, 107 days
Wilson—56 years, 65 days
Nixon—56 years, 11 days
Cleveland (second term)—55 years, 351 days
B. Harrison—55 years, 196 days
Harding—55 years, 122 days
L. B. Johnson—55 years, 87 days
Hoover—54 years, 206 days
Hayes—54 years, 151 days
Van Buren—54 years, 89 days
McKinley—54 years, 34 days
Carter—52 years, 111 days
Lincoln—52 years, 20 days
Arthur—51 years, 350 days
Taft—51 years, 170 days
F. D. Roosevelt—51 years, 33 days
Coolidge—51 years, 30 days
Tyler—51 years, 8 days
Fillmore—50 years, 184 days
Polk—49 years, 122 days
Garfield—49 years, 105 days
Pierce—48 years, 101 days
Cleveland (first term)—47 years, 351 days
Grant—46 years, 311 days
Kennedy—43 years, 236 days
T. Roosevelt—42 years, 322 days

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

George Washington, who was inaugurated for a second term on March 4, 1793, at Philadelphia, Pa., used only 135 words in his inaugural address. The longest inaugural address was delivered during a snowfall by William Henry Harrison, who employed 8,445 words, almost twice as many as any other president. He used the personal pronoun "I" forty-five times, a record. The only president who did not use "I" in his inaugural address was Theodore Roosevelt. The average number of words in the 49 inaugurals is 2,399, with the first-person pronoun being used about 15 times.

The following list shows the number of words used by the Presidents in their inaugural addresses:

Washington	Madison
1,425 (first)	1,175 (first)
135 (second)	1,209 (second)
J. Adams	Monroe
2,308	3,217 (first)
	4,467 (second)
Jefferson	J. Q. Adams
1,729 (first)	2,906
2,158 (second)	

INAUGURAL ADDRESS—Continued

Jackson	T. Roosevelt
1,125 (first)	985
1,172 (second)	Taft
Van Buren	5,433
3,838	Wilson
W. H. Harrison	1,802 (first)
8,445	1,526 (second)
Polk	Harding
4,776	3,318
Taylor	Coolidge
996	4,059
Pierce	Hoover
3,319	3,801
Buchanan	F. D. Roosevelt
2,821	1,883 (first)
Lincoln	1,807 (second)
3,634 (first)	1,340 (third)
698 (second)	559 (fourth)
Grant	Truman
1,128 (first)	2,242
1,337 (second)	Eisenhower
Hayes	2,446 (first)
2,480	2,449 (second)
Garfield	Kennedy
2,978	1,355
Cleveland	L. B. Johnson
1,681 (first)	1,437
B. Harrison	Nixon
4,388	2,130 (first)
Cleveland	1,668 (second)
2,015 (second)	Carter
McKinley	1,087
3,967 (first)	Reagan
2,217 (second)	2,463

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE PRESIDENCY

There are no legal requirements for the presidency except for one paragraph in Article II, section 1 of the Constitution:

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES AND POWERS

The duties and powers of the President are specifically enumerated in the Constitution:

ARTICLE II, SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have the Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

Presidential messages are not required in any specific form or at any specified time. The annual State of the Union messages are either read to Congress or delivered by the President in person. Presumably, they fulfill the require-

ment of Article 2, section 3 of the Constitution, which provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union." The term "State of the Union Message" came into use on January 6, 1941; before then, the messages were generally called "annual messages."

William Henry Harrison and James Abram Garfield did not prepare annual messages. Harrison served only 32 days and Garfield only 199 days.

George Washington did not prepare a message during the calendar year 1789, but delivered two messages in 1790, one on January 8 and one on December 8.

Until the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933, there were 141 messages. Of these 125 were delivered in December, 1 in January, 1 in September, 3 in October, and 11 in November.

Since the inauguration date was changed to January, 41 messages have been made in January and 2 in February.

The longest State of the Union message was sent to Congress in 1946 by President Harry S. Truman and consisted of more than 25,000 words.

It is generally conceded that most presidential speeches are prepared by writers, presumably carrying out the wishes and thoughts of the executives. It is estimated that President Lyndon Baines Johnson's speech of January 8, 1964, consisting of 3,059 words, required the services of about twenty-four writers, who took about six weeks to draft the speech, with ten to sixteen major revisions.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

Washington

Jan. 8, 1790	Dec. 3, 1793
Dec. 8, 1790	Nov. 19, 1794
Oct. 25, 1791	Dec. 8, 1795
Nov. 6, 1792	Dec. 7, 1796

J. Adams

Nov. 22, 1797	Dec. 3, 1799
Dec. 8, 1798	Nov. 22, 1800

Jefferson

Dec. 8, 1801	Dec. 3, 1805
Dec. 15, 1802	Dec. 2, 1806
Oct. 17, 1803	Oct. 27, 1807
Nov. 8, 1804	Nov. 8, 1808

Madison

Nov. 29, 1809	Dec. 7, 1813
Dec. 5, 1810	Sept. 20, 1814
Nov. 5, 1811	Dec. 5, 1815
Nov. 4, 1812	Dec. 3, 1816

Monroe

Dec. 2, 1817
Nov. 16, 1818
Dec. 7, 1819
Nov. 14, 1820
Dec. 3, 1821
Dec. 3, 1822
Dec. 2, 1823
Dec. 7, 1824

J. Q. Adams

Dec. 6, 1825
Dec. 5, 1826
Dec. 4, 1827
Dec. 2, 1828

Jackson

Dec. 8, 1829
Dec. 6, 1830
Dec. 6, 1831
Dec. 4, 1832
Dec. 3, 1833
Dec. 1, 1834
Dec. 7, 1835
Dec. 5, 1836

Van Buren

Dec. 5, 1837
Dec. 3, 1838
Dec. 2, 1839
Dec. 5, 1840

Tyler

Dec. 7, 1841
Dec. 6, 1842
Dec. 5, 1843
Dec. 3, 1844

Polk

Dec. 2, 1845
Dec. 8, 1846
Dec. 7, 1847
Dec. 5, 1848

Taylor

Dec. 4, 1849

Fillmore

Dec. 2, 1850
Dec. 2, 1851
Dec. 6, 1852

Pierce

Dec. 5, 1853
Dec. 4, 1854
Dec. 31, 1855
Dec. 2, 1856

Buchanan

Dec. 8, 1857
Dec. 6, 1858
Dec. 19, 1859
Dec. 3, 1860

Lincoln

Dec. 3, 1861
Dec. 1, 1862
Dec. 8, 1863
Dec. 6, 1864

A. Johnson

Dec. 4, 1865
Dec. 3, 1866
Dec. 3, 1867
Dec. 9, 1868

Grant

Dec. 6, 1869
Dec. 5, 1870
Dec. 4, 1871
Dec. 2, 1872
Dec. 1, 1873
Dec. 7, 1874
Dec. 7, 1875
Dec. 5, 1876

Hayes

Dec. 3, 1877
Dec. 2, 1878
Dec. 1, 1879
Dec. 6, 1880

Arthur

Dec. 6, 1881
Dec. 4, 1882
Dec. 4, 1883
Dec. 1, 1884

Cleveland—

1st Administration

Dec. 8, 1885
Dec. 6, 1886
Dec. 6, 1887
Dec. 3, 1888

B. Harrison

Dec. 3, 1889
Dec. 1, 1890
Dec. 9, 1891
Dec. 6, 1892

Cleveland—

2nd Administration

Dec. 4, 1893
Dec. 3, 1894
Dec. 2, 1895
Dec. 7, 1896

McKinley

Dec. 6, 1897
Dec. 5, 1898
Dec. 5, 1899
Dec. 3, 1900

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

—Continued

T. Roosevelt	Jan. 7, 1943
Dec. 3, 1901	Jan. 11, 1944
Dec. 2, 1902	Jan. 6, 1945
Dec. 7, 1903	Truman
Dec. 6, 1904	Jan. 22, 1946
Dec. 5, 1905	Jan. 6, 1947
Dec. 3, 1906	Jan. 7, 1948
Dec. 3, 1907	Jan. 5, 1949
Dec. 8, 1908	Jan. 4, 1950
Taft	Jan. 8, 1951
Dec. 7, 1909	Jan. 9, 1952
Dec. 6, 1910	Jan. 7, 1953
Dec. 5, 1911	Eisenhower
Dec. 3, 1912	Feb. 2, 1953
Wilson	Jan. 7, 1954
Dec. 2, 1913	Jan. 6, 1955
Dec. 8, 1914	Jan. 5, 1956
Dec. 7, 1915	Jan. 10, 1957
Dec. 5, 1916	Jan. 9, 1958
Dec. 4, 1917	Jan. 9, 1959
Dec. 2, 1918	Jan. 7, 1960
Dec. 2, 1919	Jan. 12, 1961
Dec. 7, 1920	Kennedy
Harding	Jan. 30, 1961
Dec. 4, 1921	Jan. 11, 1962
Dec. 8, 1922	Jan. 14, 1963
Coolidge	L. B. Johnson
Dec. 6, 1923	Jan. 8, 1964
Dec. 3, 1924	Jan. 4, 1965
Dec. 8, 1925	Jan. 12, 1966
Dec. 7, 1926	Jan. 10, 1967
Dec. 6, 1927	Jan. 17, 1968
Dec. 4, 1928	Jan. 14, 1969
Hoover	Nixon
Dec. 3, 1929	Jan. 22, 1970
Dec. 2, 1930	Jan. 22, 1971
Dec. 8, 1931	Jan. 20, 1972
Dec. 6, 1932	Feb. 2, 1973
F. D. Roosevelt	Jan. 30, 1974
Jan. 3, 1934	Ford
Jan. 4, 1935	Jan. 15, 1975
Jan. 3, 1936	Jan. 19, 1976
Jan. 6, 1937	Jan. 12, 1977
Jan. 3, 1938	Carter
Jan. 4, 1939	Jan. 19, 1978
Jan. 3, 1940	Jan. 23, 1979
Jan. 6, 1941	Jan. 23, 1980
Jan. 6, 1942	Jan. 16, 1981

THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO

Article I, section 7 of the Constitution contains the following provisions:

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. . . . If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

The Constitution thus provides not only for a regular veto, which Congress may override by a two-thirds majority of both Houses, but also for a "pocket veto"—if the President opposes a bill sent to him ten days before the adjournment of Congress, he can, instead of vetoing it, merely ignore it, or "pocket" it, and prevent it from becoming a law.

The following list shows the number of bills vetoed by each President. Noted in parenthesis after each total are the figures comprising the total: first, the number of regular vetoes; second, the number of pocket vetoes; third, the number of vetoes sustained by Congress; and fourth, the number passed over his veto.

Washington—2 (2, 0; 2, 0)
 J. Adams—0
 Jefferson—0
 Madison—7 (5, 2; 7, 0)
 Monroe—2 (1, 1; 1, 1)
 J. Q. Adams—0
 Jackson—12 (5, 7; 12, 0)
 Van Buren—0
 W. H. Harrison—0

12/8/88

January
Pre-Inauguration Key Dates
Draft List

January 9 President is scheduled to submit FY 1990 budget to Congress.

January 16 Martin Luther King Federal Holiday (Jan. 15 actual birthday)

12/8/88

Integrated Draft List
of
Important Dates

January 20	Inauguration
January 23	Anniversary of Roe v. Wade March for Life; 50,000 to 100,000 pro-life activists usually march to Supreme Court.
February 1	Due date for statutory establishment in EOP of the National Space Council, chaired by the Vice President.
February 15	Deadline for Soviet pullout from Afghanistan.
mid-February	Space Shuttle launch.
February 23	Deadline for Presidential decision on whether to provide important relief to the oil industry for national security reasons.
March 1	- o Statutory requirement for President's report to Congress outlining composition and function of the space council. - o Deadline for report by the National Economic Commission.
March 5	20th anniversary of the Minority Business Development Agency
March 12	Fair Housing Act amendments become effective
March 26	10th anniversary of Camp David Accords
April 4	Actual 40th anniversary of NATO
April 14-20	NATO summit (G.B. will presumably attend - based on campaign rhetoric).
April 15	Deadline for Congressional action on the budget resolution.
May 30	Memorial Day
May 31/ June 1	OECD Ministerial Summit
June	Joint DOD / DOE report on nuclear weapons surety due to Congress.
July	- o Economic Summit (France; note GB commitment to focus on agriculture.) - o Debt ceiling will probably need to be raised.

July 4 Fourth of July, Federal Holiday

August 15 Initial OMB/CBO snapshot of projected FY 1990 budget (GRH)

August 25 Initial sequester order for FY 1990

September 30 Steel voluntary restraint agreement program expires.
President must decide whether and in what form to extend.

October 1 Fiscal year 1990 begins.

October 15 Final sequester order for FY 1990.

December 7, 1988

BUDGET CALENDAR FOR 1989

January 3	Congress Convenes
January 9	President Reagan transmits FY 1990 Budget
January 20	Inauguration Day
February 9	President's recommendations on executive pay take effect unless modified by Congress
February 25	Congressional committees submit requests to Budget Committees
April 15	Action to be completed on Congressional Budget Resolution
May 15	House consideration of annual appropriation bills may begin
June 15	Action to be completed on reconciliation
June 30	Action on appropriations to be completed by House
July 15	President Bush transmits Mid-Session Review of FY 1990 Budget, including preliminary estimates of the G-R-H baseline
August 15	Initial snapshot of the G-R-H baseline
August 25	OMB issues initial G-R-H report to the President and Congress, and President issues initial sequester order
October 1	Fiscal year begins and initial sequester order becomes effective
October 15	OMB issues final G-R-H report to the President and Congress, and President issues final sequester order, which becomes effective immediately
January 8, 1990	President Bush transmits FY 1991 Budget

TENTATIVE HOUSE CALENDAR FOR 1989

January 3	Congress Convenes
January 5 - 18	JANUARY DISTRICT WORK PERIOD
January 9	Receive the President's Budget
January 16	Martin Luther King's Birthday
January 20	INAUGURATION DAY
February 11-20	LINCOLN/WASHINGTON DISTRICT WORK PERIOD
February 12	Lincoln's Birthday
February 20	Presidents' Day Observance
February 22	Washington's Birthday
February 23	Committees submit reports to Budget Committee
March 2	Joint Session on Bicentennial Congress
March 24 - April 2	EASTER DISTRICT WORK PERIOD
March 26	Easter Sunday
April 4	House Ceremony to Celebrate Quorum
April 15	Complete action FY 1990 Budget Resolution
May 15	Appropriations eligible
May 26 - 29	MEMORIAL DAY DISTRICT WORK PERIOD
May 29	Memorial Day
June 10	Appropriations reports - last regular appropriations bill
June 15	House complete reconciliation
June 30	House completes appropriations
July 1 - 9	INDEPENDENCE DAY DISTRICT WORK PERIOD
July 4	Independence Day
July 15	President submits mid-season budget review
August 5 - September 5	DISTRICT WORK PERIOD
August 15	Initial CBO snapshot
August 20	CBO issues its initial report to President and Congress
August 25	OMB issues its initial report to President and Congress
September 4	Labor Day
September 30	Rosh Hashanah
October 1	Begin fiscal year and initial order becomes effective
October 6	TARGET ADJOURNMENT DATE
October 9	Yom Kippur
October 10	Columbus Day
October 15	CBO issues revised report to OMB and Congress
November 7	OMB issues its revised report to President and Congress
November 11	Election Day
	Veterans' Day

1989 CONGRESSIONAL SCHEDULE

Senate

January 3	Senate convenes
January 4	Count Electoral Ballots
January 6-20	Senate not in session
January 20	Inauguration day
January 23	Senate reconvenes
February 13-17	Senate not in session
February 20	Senate reconvenes
	Washington's Birthday (observed)
March 20-31	Senate not in session
March 24	Good Friday
March 26	Easter
April 3	Senate reconvenes
April 24-28	Senate not in session
May 1	Senate reconvenes
May 22-30	Senate not in session
May 29	Memorial Day
May 31	Senate reconvenes
June 26-July 7	Senate not in session
July 4	Independence Day
July 10	Senate reconvenes
August 7-September 5	Senate not in session
September 4	Labor Day
September 6	Senate reconvenes

House

January 3	House convenes
January 4	Count Electoral Ballots
January 5-18	District work period
January 9	Receive president's budget
January 16	Martin Luther King's Birthday
January 20	Inauguration day
February 11-20	District work period
February 12	Lincoln's Birthday
February 20	Presidents' Day observance
February 22	Washington's Birthday
February 25	Cmte rpts due to Budget Cmte
March 2	Bicentennial of Congress joint session
March 24-April 2	District work period
March 26	Easter
April 4	House to celebrate quorum
April 15	Complete FY90 budget resolution
May 15	May begin approps consideration
May 26-29	District work period
May 29	Memorial Day
June 10	Approps cmte rpts last bill
June 15	House completes reconciliation
June 30	House completes all appropriation
July 1-9	District work period
July 4	Independence day
July 15	President's mid-season budget rpt
August 5-September 5	District work period
August 15	Initial CBO budget 'snapshot'
August 20	CBO initial rpt
August 25	OMB initial rpt
September 4	Labor Day
September 30	Rosh Hashanah
October 1	FY 1990 begins

SENATE CALENDAR 1989
NONLEGISLATIVE PERIODS
101ST CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

January 3
 January 4
 January 5-20
 January 20
 January 23 (Mon.)

Senate convenes
 Count Electoral Ballots
 Senate not in session
 Inauguration
 Senate reconvenes

February 13-17
 February 20 (Mon.).

Senate not in session
 Senate reconvenes
 Washington's Birthday

March 20-31
 March 24
 March 26

Senate not in session
 Good Friday
 Easter

April 3 (Mon.)
 April 24-28

Senate reconvenes
 Senate not in session

May 1 (Mon.)
 May 22-30
 May 29
 May 31 (Wed.)

Senate reconvenes
 Senate not in session
 Memorial Day
 Senate reconvenes

June 26-July 7
 July 4
 July 10 (Mon.)

Senate not in session
 Independence Day
 Senate reconvenes

August 7-September 5

Senate not in session
 August Recess
 Labor Day
 Senate reconvenes

September 4
 September 6 (Wed.)

1989

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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26	27	28				

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S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

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16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1
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9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

HOUSE MEETING TIMES

January through May 15
 Noon Monday and Tuesday
 2 P.M. Wednesday, 11 A.M. Thursday and Friday
 May 16 through adjournment
 Noon Monday and Tuesday
 10 A.M. Wednesday, Thursday and Friday

BELLS

TWO BELLS — Recorded vote and automatic yeas and nays by electronic device
 TWO BELLS, PAUSE, FIVE BELLS — First fifteen minute vote in a series of two or more electronically recorded votes where subsequent votes may be reduced to five minutes
 THREE BELLS — Regular recorded quorum call in the House and in the Committee of the Whole
 ONE LONG BELL, PAUSE, THREE SHORT BELLS — Notice quorum call in the Committee of the Whole which will be vacated upon the appearance of a quorum of the Committee
 THREE BELLS, PAUSE, FIVE BELLS — Beginning of a regular recorded quorum call in the Committee of the Whole which may be followed by a five-minute vote

RECORDINGS:

Legislative Program — 225-2020
 Floor Program — 225-7430

TRENT LOTT

REPUBLICAN WHIP

225-0197 — 225-2800

1988

(Red days = House not in session)

1988	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S
JAN	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	JUL	3	4	5	6	7	8
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		10	11	12	13	14	15
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		17	18	19	20	21	22
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30		24	25	26	27	28	29
	31								31					
FEB	1	2	3	4	5	6		AUG	1	2	3	4	5	6
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		7	8	9	10	11	12
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		14	15	16	17	18	19
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		21	22	23	24	25	26
	28	29							28	29	30	31		
MAR	1	2	3	4	5			SEP	1	2	3	4	5	6
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		4	5	6	7	8	9
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19		11	12	13	14	15	16
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26		18	19	20	21	22	23
	27	28	29	30	31				25	26	27	28	29	30
APR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	OCT	1	2	3	4	5	6
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		2	3	4	5	6	7
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		9	10	11	12	13	14
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		16	17	18	19	20	21
	29	30	31						23	24	25	26	27	28
MAY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NOV	30	31				
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		1	2	3	4	5	6
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		6	7	8	9	10	11
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		13	14	15	16	17	18
	29	30	31						20	21	22	23	24	25
JUN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DEC	27	28	29	30	31	
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		4	5	6	7	8	9
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		11	12	13	14	15	16
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		18	19	20	21	22	23
	29	30	31						25	26	27	28	29	30

Congress Convenes — January 25
 Target Adjournment — October 5

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT



MASTER CALENDAR

1988 1989
MASTER CALENDAR December - March

SENSITIVE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				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

REVISED 12/7/88



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

MASTER CALENDAR

The Master Calendar is distributed by the Vice President's Scheduling Office and is updated bi-weekly.

The Master Calendar is a planning document. The document includes major invitations that have been extended to the Vice President, National and Ethnic Days, Festivals and Fairs, Anniversaries, Special Events, Traditional Observances of all kinds, Stats released by the Government such as Consumer prices index, Housing sales, GNP, and other useful information. Please note that only MAJOR events are reflected in the calendar block, for more detail please refer to the Month by Month list.

If you have any additions that you feel should be included in the Master Calendar, please call Windy White at 395-4245.

KEY

- I - TVP has been invited
- A - TVP has accepted
- VP - TVP has expressed interest in accepting
- * - under consideration
- R - regretted
- RS - Recommended Surrogate
- S - Surrogate
- C - Canceled
- M - Recommended Message
- V - Video

red
12/12

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				1 National Food Brokers Association	2 - Florida Tournament of Bands - First Night of Hanukah - Meeting of the Hartford Courant Key Issues Forum - National Food Brokers Association	3 - Armenian Assembly of American will Honor Governor Keukmejian - First Heart Transplant Anniversary - Army-Navy Football Game - Florida Tournament of Bands - National Food Brokers Association
4 - Snowflake Festival - Chemical Manufactures Association - Pac Rim '88 symposium - National 4-H Congress	5 - Martin Van Buren's birthday - Prohibition Repeal Anniversary - House of Representatives Caucuses (All Week) - Premiere of the Movie, "Twins" - Snowflake Festival - Chemical Manufactures Association - Pac Rim '88 symposium	6 - National Food Brokers Association 10th Anniversary of American Express Company - House Wednesday Group, Congress of the United States - Snowflake Festival - Chemical Manufactures Association - Pac Rim '88 symposium	7 - President Reagan's speech to American Enterprise Institute - Pearl Harbor Day - Snowflake Festival - Chemical Manufactures Association - Pac Rim '88 symposium	8 - John Lennon's Remembrance Day - Civil Rights Week - Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress - Georgetown University, Symposium on Internatl. Human Rights - Snowflake Festival - Chemical Manufactures Association	9 - Civil Rights Week - Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress - Georgetown University, Symposium on International Human Rights - Snowflake Festival	10 - Human Rights Week - Army and Navy Union Day - Nobel Peace Prize - Civil Rights Week - Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress - Georgetown University, Symposium on International Human Rights - Snowflake Festival
11 Hanukah Ends at Sunset - National Candlelight Vigil of Remembrance - Natl. Conf. of Republican County Officials - UNICEF Anniversary - Christmas Dinner Dance, WH Comm. Agency, - Human Rights Week - Civil Rights Week - Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress	12 - Congressional Ball - Third Annual Victory Awards - Human Rights Week - Civil Rights Week - Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress	13 - Human Rights Week - Civil Rights Week - Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress	14 - Senior Executives Association/Professional Development League - Human Rights Week - Civil Rights Week	15 - Christmas Tree Lighting, The White House - Human Rights Week	16 - USSS Annual christmas Party - Boston Tea Party Anniversary (1773) - Human Rights Week	17 - Wright Brothers Day - USSS Annual Christmas Party
18 Orphan Foundation Holiday Party	19 Meeting of the Electors Tenth Anniversary Reception, The Embassy of the People's Republic of China	20 Louisiana Purchase Day	21	22	23	24 Christmas Eve
25 Christmas Day	26	27	28	29	30	31



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

DECEMBER 1988

December	1			Economic Indicators: Leading Indicators - October
December	1	DC	R	First Annual Americans for Religious Liberty, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	1-6	CA		National Food Brokers Association, <u>San Francisco, California</u>
December	2			Economic Indicators: Employment Situation, Housing Sales - October
December	2	CT	R	Meeting of the Hartford Courant Key Issues Forum, <u>Hartford, Connecticut</u>
December	2			First Night of Hanukah
December	2-3	FL		Florida Tournament of Bands, <u>St. Petersburg, Florida</u>
December	2-4	AR		Ozark Christmas, <u>Mountain View, Arkansas</u>
December	3	PA	R	Army-Navy Football Game, <u>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</u>
December	3	AL		Christmas on the Coosa, <u>Wetumpka, Alabama</u>
December	3	AL		Christmas on the River, <u>Demopolis, Alabama</u>
December	3			First Heart Transplant Anniversary

December	3	CA		<u>Santa By Stage Coach Parade,</u> <u>El Centro, California</u>
December	3	CA	R	Armenian Assembly of American will Honor Governor Deukmejian, <u>Los Angeles, California</u>
December	3	OH	R	Northern Ohio Patrolmen's Benevolent Association Day of Hunger-Parma, <u>Middleburg Heights,</u> <u>Ohio</u>
December	3-11	NV		<u>National Finals Rodeo,</u> <u>Las Vega, Nevada</u>
December	4	DC	A	<u>Kennedy Center Honors,</u> <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	4	IL		<u>National 4-H Congress,</u> <u>Chicago, Illinois</u>
December	4-7	Hong Kong	R	<u>Pac Rim '88 symposium,</u> <u>Hong Kong</u>
December	4-8	FL		<u>Chemical Manufactures Association</u> <u>Fort Lauderdale, Florida</u>
December	4-10	OR		<u>Snowflake Festival,</u> <u>Klamath Falls, Oregon</u>
December	5	DC	A	Premiere of the movie, "Twins", (Eunice Kennedy Shriver), <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	5			Economic Indicators: Productivity - III rev
December	5			House of Representatives Caucuses (All Week)
December	5			International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development
December	5			Prohibition Repeal Anniversary
December	5	NY		Rockefeller Center Christmas Tree Lighting, <u>New York, New York</u>
December	5	CA		<u>Santa Ana's Toys on Parade,</u> <u>Santa Ana, California</u>
December	5			Martin Van Buren's Birthday

December	5-7	NV	R	American Osteopathic Academy of Scierotherapy, Incorporated, <u>Las Vegas, Nevada</u>
December	5-7	DC	R	Gannett Company's Year End Meeting, <u>Capitol Hilton, Washington, DC</u>
December	6	DC	R	House Wednesday Group, Congress of the United States, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	6	NY	R	10th Anniversary of American Express Company, <u>New York, New York</u>
December	6	DC	R	Information Security Oversight Office's Symposium, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	7	ND		North Dakota Wheat Producers, <u>Bismarck, North Dakota</u>
December	7	OK	R	Dedication of New Exhibit for the USS Oklahoma, <u>Oklahoma City,</u> <u>Oklahoma</u>
December	7			Pearl Harbor Day
December	7			President Reagan's speech to American Enterprise Institute
December	7	NY	A	General Secretary Gorbachev's Visit to the United States, <u>New York, New York</u>
December	8			John Lennon's Remembrance Day
December	8-10	DC	R	Georgetown University, Symposium on International Human Rights, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	8-13	MA		Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress, <u>Cambridge, Massachusetts</u>
December	8-14	MA		Civil Rights Week, <u>Massachusetts</u>
December	9	DC	R	National Orientation Conference for New State Legislators, <u>Washington, DC</u>

December	9 or 10	DC	R	Reception at the White House for 50 American Nobel Laureates and Corporation C.E.O.S., <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	9-11	CA		Stamp Expo '88/America, <u>Van Nuys, California</u>
December	9-11	MD		Sugarloaf's Winter Crafts Festival, <u>Gaithersburg, Maryland</u>
December	10	Norway		Nobel Peace Prize, <u>Oslo, Norway</u>
December	10	MA		Army and Navy Union Day, <u>Massachusetts</u>
December	10			Human Rights Day
December	10	NH	R	Human Rights Day Ceremony, <u>Manchester, New Hampshire</u>
December	10-11	WI		Christmas Craft Fair. USA: Indoor Show, <u>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</u>
December	10-16	DC		American Society of Association Executives, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	10-16			Human Rights Week
December	11	MD	M	White House Communications Agency, Andrews Air Force Base, <u>Maryland</u>
December	11	DC	R	Christmas Dinner Dance, Andrews Air Force Base, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	11	MN	R	National Candlelight Vigil of Rememberance, <u>Saint Paul, Minnesota</u>
December	11			UNICEF Anniversary
December	11	DC	R	National Conference of Republican County Officials, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	11			Hanukah Ends at Sunset
December	11	VA	R	The Roanoke County Sesquicentennial Committee Closing Ceremony, <u>Roanoke, Virginia</u>

December	11-14	HI		The Retired Officers Association, <u>Honolulu, Hawaii</u>
December	12	TX		Institute of Gas Technology U.S. Oil and Energy in the World Context <u>Houston, Texas</u>
December	12	DC	R	Third Annual Victory Awards, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	12	DC	A	Congressional Ball, The White House, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	13			Economic Indicators: Productivity - III rev
December	14			Economic Indicators: Mdse Exports & Imports - Oct.
December	14	TX	R	Christmas Chapel of the Episcopal High School, <u>Bellaire, Texas</u>
December	14	DC	R	Senior Executives Association/Professional Development League, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	14			Anniversary of George Washington's Death (1799)
December	15	VA	R	National American Wholesale Grocers Association Christmas Luncheon, <u>Falls Church, Virginia</u>
December	15	DC		Christmas Tree Lighting, The White House, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	16			Boston Tea Party Anniversary (1773)
December	16			Economic Indicators: Producer Prices, Housing Starts
December	16-17	DC	M	USSS Annual Christmas Party, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	17			Wright Brothers Day
December	18	DC	M	Orphan Foundation Holiday Party, <u>Washington, DC</u>

December	19	DC	R	Tenth Anniversary Reception, The Embassy of the People's Republic of China, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	19	NC	R	50th Electoral College of the State of North Carolina, <u>Julian, North Carolina</u>
December	19			Meeting of the Electors
December	20			Louisiana Purchase Day
December	20			Economic Indicators: GNP - III rev, Consumer Prices
December	21			Economic Indicators: Personal Income
December	22			Economic Indicators: Advance Durable Shipments & Orders
December	24			Christmas Eve
December	25			Christmas Day
December	27-30	OH		American Historical Association: Annual Meeting, <u>Cincinnati, Ohio</u>
December	30			Monitor Sinks: Anniversary (1862)
December	30			Economic Indicators: Leading Indicators, Housing Sales
December	31	TN		First Nightfest, <u>Knoxville, Tennessee</u>
December	31			New Year's Eve

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1 ► Tournament of Roses Kickoff	2 ► Mobile Cotton Bowl Classic	3	4	5	6 ► Women's Agenda Conference	7 ► Women's Agenda Conference
8 ► Women's Agenda Conference	9	10	11 ► American Insurance Association Annual Meeting	12	13	14 ► Salute to Greatness Dinner in Honor of Martin Luther King
15	16	17	18	19 ► Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council, Pre-Inaugural Brunch	20	21 ► The Associated Press Radio and Television Association of California and Nevada, Regional Conference
22	23	24	25	26	27	28 ► The Alfalfa Club, Dinner of the Executive Committee
29 ► World Alpine Ski Championships	30	31				



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JANUARY 1989

January	1			New Year's Day
January	1	CA	I	Tournament of Roses Kickoff, <u>Pasadena, California</u>
January	2	TX	I	Mobile Cotton Bowl Classic, <u>Dallas, Texas</u>
January	3	DC	A	Mock Swearing-In, Capitol Hill, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	4	DC	*	Speaker of the House formally counts Electoral College Vote, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	6-8	KS	I	Women's Agenda Conference, <u>Kansas City, Kansas</u>
January	9	DC	I	Citizen's Network's Dinner honoring Secretary Schultz, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	9	DC		The Conservative Network's 4th Annual <u>Reagan Revolution Medal of Honor, Washington, DC</u>
January	11	DC	I	American Insurance Association Annual Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	14	GA	R	Salute to Greatness Dinner in Honor of Martin Luther King, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
January	15-20	DC		U.S. Conference of Mayors Mid-Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	16			Martin Luther King's Birthday
January	18-21	CA		American Council on Education Annual Meeting, <u>San Diego, California</u>

January	19	DC	I	Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council, Pre-Inaugural Brunch, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	20-23	GA		Home Builders Association Annual Meeting, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
January	21	CA	I	The Associated Press Radio and Television Association of California and Nevada, Regional Conference, <u>Long Beach, California</u>
January	21-25	DC		Reserve Officers Association Mid-Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	22	FL		Super Bowl, <u>Miami Florida</u>
January	23	NY	I	Variety Childrens Lifeline Award, <u>New York, New York</u>
January	23	DC	I	Right To Life, March on Washington, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	24			George Burns' Birthday
January	24-30	DC	I	Hobby Industries of America Annual Convention, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	26	DC	I	Grand Opening of Signet Bank, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	27	CA	I	Installation of Officers and Citizen of the Year Award, <u>San Francisco, California</u>
January	27-29	FL	I	Choral Celebration of Freedom, <u>Lake Wales, Florida</u>
January	28	DC	A	The Alfalfa Club, Dinner of the Executive Committee, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January 28- February 2		DC		National Religious Broadcasters Association Annual Convention, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	29	CO	I	World Alpine Ski Championships, <u>Vail, Colorado</u>
January	29	DC		Conference on "Issues of the 90's", Hoover Institute, <u>Washington, DC</u>

MASTER CALENDAR**FEBRUARY 1989****Issue: 12/09/88****NSITIVE**

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12 Lincoln's Birthday	13	14 Valentine's Day	15	16	17	18
19	20 Washington Birthday Observed	21	22 Washington Birthday	23	24	25
26	27	28				



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FEBRUARY 1989

February			Black History Month
February			Small Business Legislative Council Annual Meeting
February	via Satelitte	I	Invitation to participate via satelitte in the PacRim '89 Symposium
February		TX I	Religious Emphasis Week Celebration, <u>Corpus Christi,</u> <u>Texas</u>
February or March		NC I	Durham County Lincoln Day Dinner, <u>Durham, North Carolina</u>
February	1-3		National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities Annual Meeting
February	1-28	NJ	Annual North American Invitational Model United Nations, <u>Princeton,</u> <u>New Jersey</u>
February	2	DC I	National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities Annual Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February	2	DC A	National Prayer Breakfast, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February	3	VA I	Richmond Forum Guest Speaker, <u>Richmond, Virginia</u>
February	6	DC I	International Communications Association Winter Seminar, <u>Washington, DC</u>

February	6			National Association of Automobile Dealers Annual Meeting
February	6			President Reagan's Birthday
February	8			Boy Scouts founded (1910)
February	8			Ash Wednesday
February	8	DC		Annual CPAC Banquet, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February	10	WA	I	Franklin County Annual Lincoln Day Dinner, <u>Pasco, Washington</u>
February	10-28	CA		Los Angeles Patent Law Association Meeting, <u>Brentwood, California</u>
February	11	MO	I	Founders Day Celebration, <u>Columbia, Missouri</u>
February	11-18	Mexico		YPO University, <u>Acapulco, Mexico</u>
February	12			Abraham Lincoln's Birthday
February	14			Valentine's Day
February	16			Washington's Birthday Observed
February	16			Elks founded (1868)
February	17			PTA founded (1897)
February	17	WI	I	Wisconsin International Law Society Annual Symposium, <u>Madison,</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>
February	17			Republican National Lawyers Association National Convention
February	17-18	AZ	I	Schatz Distributing Company, Inc., <u>Tuscon, Arizona</u>
February	18	TX	I	Texas Justice Awards Dinner, <u>Houston, Texas</u>
February	18	CA	I	First Men's Conference, <u>Santa Barbara, California</u>
February	18	AZ	I	12th Annual Pioneer Day Parade, <u>Welton, Arizona</u>

February 18	NY	I	Iwo Jima Survivors Association of New York, Annual Luncheon, <u>New Hyde Park, New York</u>
February 18	FL	I	King High School Law Fair Program, <u>Tampa, Florida</u>
February 18-20	AL	I	Intercollegiate National Conference at the University of Alabama,
February 22			George Washington's Birthday
February 22			Congressional Recess Period
February 23	TX	I	University of Texas Alumni Banquet, <u>San Antonio, Texas</u>
February 25	FL	I	Salute to American and Salute to America Cookbook, <u>Homosassa Springs, Florida</u>
February 25- March 3	DC		American Legion Legislative Conference, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February 26-28	DC		Annual NGA Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February 27-28	DC	I	Congress 101, Public Affairs Assembly, <u>Washington, DC</u>

MASTER CALENDAR**MARCH 1989****Issue: 12/09/88****SENSITIVE**

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17 St. Patrick's Day	18
19 Palm Sunday	20	21	22	23	24 Good Friday	25
26 Easter	27	28	29	30	31	



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MARCH 1989

March				Traditional Red Cross Month
March		WI	I	Bethlehem Lutheran Educational Center, Groundbreaking Ceremony, <u>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</u>
March or April		NY	I	Boy Power Dinner Speaker, <u>Schenectady, New York</u>
March				Association o Junior Leagues of America Meeting
March				National Association of Evangelicals Meeting
March	3-7	GA		Associated General Contractors Annual Meeting, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
March	3-7	DC		Veterans of Foreign War Legislative Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	4			Reagan's Wedding Anniversary
March	4	CA		Americana Ball (Reagans' Honorary invites), <u>Palm Springs, California</u>
March	4-7	DC		National Association of Counties Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	5	DC	I	Columbia University, Five Point Peace Plan, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	5-9	FL		World Business Council Annual Meeting, <u>Orlando, Florida</u>

March	6	FL		American Association of School Administrators Meeting, <u>Orlando, Florida</u>
March	6-8	DC		U.S. League of Savings Institutions Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	7-9	GA	I	International Deli-Bakery Association Convention, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
March	8	DC	I	Federal Office Systems Expo, Award Ceremony, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	9	NY	I	Oceanside Public Schools, 4th Annual Sixth Grade Conference, <u>Oceanside, New York</u>
March	11-14	DC		National League of Cities Conference, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	12-16	DC		Electronic Industries Association Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	13	DC		Presidential Panel on the National Initiative for Science and Technological Education, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	15			American Legion founded (1919)
March	17			Saint Patrick's Day
March	17	DC	I	Saint Patrick's Day Celebration, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	17	VA	I	Charlottesville High School Student's Against Drunk Driving (SADD), <u>Charlottesville, Virginia</u>
March	18			NATO founded (1949)
March	19	NY	I	10th Annual Queens Purim Parade, <u>Queens, New York</u>
March	19	DC		Associated Builders and Contractors Meeting, <u>Washington, D.C.</u>
March	20	TX	I	International Aviation Maintenance and Ground Support Equipment Tradeshow and Conference, <u>Dallas, Texas</u>

March	22	DC		National Association of Manufacturers Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	23	PA or NJ	I	Federal Criminal Investigators Association Meeting, <u>Philadelphia/Southern New Jersey</u>
March	24			Good Friday
March	26			Easter
March	28			Three Mile Island Anniversary (1979)
March April 1	29-	DC	I	American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, annual convention and photo opportunity, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	30			Anniversary of the Assassination Attempt on President Reagan
March	31	MA	I	New England School of Law Observance of Law Day, <u>Boston, Massachusetts</u>

MASTER CALENDAR

APRIL 1989

Issue: 12/09/88

SENSITIVE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20 Passover	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
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APRIL 1989

April		TX	I	Fort Worth Gridiron, The University of Texas at Arlington, <u>Arlington, Texas</u>
April		NY	I	Ulster County Conservative Party's Annual Dinner, <u>Kingston, New York</u>
April	1	DC		The Gridiron Club, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April	3-5	DC		American Business Conference Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April	5	NY		National High School Model United Nations, <u>New York, New York</u>
April	7	LA	I	Second Annual Acadiana Charity Ball, <u>Lafayette, Louisiana</u>
April	8	VA		National Guard Association's Convention, <u>Alexandria, Virginia</u>
April	9	PA	I	Centennial Celebration, <u>Oakmont, Pennsylvania</u>
April	12-13	IL		National Association of Realtors Meeting, <u>Chicago, Illinois</u>
April	14	FL	I	Naval Helicopter Association Annual Banquet Dinner, <u>Jacksonville,</u> <u>Florida</u>
April	14	CA		U.S. Customs Bi-Centennial Banquet, <u>San Diego, California</u>
April	15			Taxes Due

April	15			National Volunteers Week
April	19-22			National Society Daughters of the American Revolution Annual Meeting
April	20			Passover
April	20			Daylight Savings
April	20			California Speaker's Dinner
April	21	OR	I	Mount Vernon Ladies Association Reception, <u>Mount Vernon, Oregon</u>
April	24-26	IL	I	American Newspaper Publishers Association Annual Convention, <u>Chicago, Illinois</u>
April	25	OH	I	Park Districts Naturalists Award, <u>Dayton, Ohio</u>
April	29	DC	I	White House Press Corps 75th Anniversary, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April May 1	29-	DC		U.S. Chamber of Commerce Annual Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April May 3	29-	NV		National Association of Broadcasters Meeting, <u>Las Vegas, Nevada</u>
April	30	NY		200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration, <u>New York, New York</u>

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT



MASTER CALENDAR

1988 1989
MASTER CALENDAR December - March **SENSITIVE**

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				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

REVISED 12/7/88



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
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MASTER CALENDAR

The Master Calendar is distributed by the Vice President's Scheduling Office and is updated bi-weekly.

The Master Calendar is a planning document. The document includes major invitations that have been extended to the Vice President, National and Ethnic Days, Festivals and Fairs, Anniversaries, Special Events, Traditional Observances of all kinds, Stats released by the Government such as Consumer prices index, Housing sales, GNP, and other useful information. Please note that only MAJOR events are reflected in the calendar block, for more detail please refer to the Month by Month list.

If you have any additions that you feel should be included in the Master Calendar, please call Windy White at 395-4245.

KEY

- I - TVP has been invited
- A - TVP has accepted
- VP - TVP has expressed interest in accepting
- * - under consideration
- R - regretted
- RS - Recommended Surrogate
- S - Surrogate
- C - Canceled
- M - Recommended Message
- V - Video

red
12/12

MASTER CALENDAR

DECEMBER 1988

Issue: 12/09/88

SENSITIVE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				1 National Food Brokers Association	2 Florida Tournament of Bands First Night of Hanukah Meeting of the Hartford Courant Key Issues Forum National Food Brokers Association	3 Armenian Assembly of American will Honor Governor Keukmejian First Heart Transplant Anniversary Army-Navy Football Game Florida Tournament of Bands National Food Brokers Association
4 Snowflake Festival Chemical Manufactures Association Pac Rim '88 symposium National 4-H Congress	5 Martin Van Buren's birthday Prohibition Repeal Anniversary House of Representatives Caucuses (All Week) Premiere of the Movie, "Twins" Snowflake Festival Chemical Manufactures Association Pac Rim '88 symposium	6 National Food Brokers Association 10th Anniversary of American Express Company House Wednesday Group, Congress of the United States Snowflake Festival Chemical Manufactures Association Pac Rim '88 symposium	7 President Reagan's speech to American Enterprise Institute Pearl Harbor Day Snowflake Festival Chemical Manufactures Association Pac Rim '88 symposium	8 John Lennon's Remembrance Day Civil Rights Week Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress Georgetown University, Symposium on Internatl. Human Rights Snowflake Festival Chemical Manufactures Association	9 Civil Rights Week Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress Georgetown University, Symposium on International Human Rights Snowflake Festival	10 Human Rights Week Army and Navy Union Day Nobel Peace Prize Civil Rights Week Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress Georgetown University, Symposium on International Human Rights Snowflake Festival
11 Hanukah Ends at Sunset National Candelight Vigil of Remembrance Natl. Conf. of Republican County Officials UNICEF Anniversary Christmas Dinner Dance, WH Comm. Agency, Human Rights Week Civil Rights Week Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress	12 Congressional Ball Third Annual Victory Awards Human Rights Week Civil Rights Week Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress	13 Human Rights Week Civil Rights Week Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress	14 Senior Executives Association/Professional Development League Human Rights Week Civil Rights Week	15 Christmas Tree Lighting, The White House Human Rights Week	16 USSS Annual christmas Party Boston Tea Party Anniversary (1773) Human Rights Week	17 Wright Brothers Day USSS Annual Christmas Party
18 Orphan Foundation Holiday Party	19 Meeting of the Electors Tenth Anniversary Reception, The Embassy of the People's Republic of China	20 Louisiana Purchase Day	21	22	23	24 Christmas Eve
25 Christmas Day	26	27	28	29	30	31



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DECEMBER 1988

December	1			Economic Indicators: Leading Indicators - October
December	1	DC	R	First Annual Americans for Religious Liberty, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	1-6	CA		National Food Brokers Association, <u>San Francisco, California</u>
December	2			Economic Indicators: Employment Situation, Housing Sales - October
December	2	CT	R	Meeting of the Hartford Courant Key Issues Forum, <u>Hartford, Connecticut</u>
December	2			First Night of Hanukah
December	2-3	FL		Florida Tournament of Bands, <u>St. Petersburg, Florida</u>
December	2-4	AR		Ozark Christmas, <u>Mountain View, Arkansas</u>
December	3	PA	R	Army-Navy Football Game, <u>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania</u>
December	3	AL		Christmas on the Coosa, <u>Wetumpka, Alabama</u>
December	3	AL		Christmas on the River, <u>Demopolis, Alabama</u>
December	3			First Heart Transplant Anniversary

December 3	CA		<u>Santa By Stage Coach Parade,</u> <u>El Centro, California</u>
December 3	CA	R	Armenian Assembly of American will Honor Governor Deukmejian, <u>Los Angeles, California</u>
December 3	OH	R	Northern Ohio Patrolmen's Benevolent Association Day of Hunger-Parma, <u>Middleburg Heights,</u> <u>Ohio</u>
December 3-11	NV		National Finals Rodeo, <u>Las Vega, Nevada</u>
December 4	DC	A	Kennedy Center Honors, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December 4	IL		National 4-H Congress, <u>Chicago, Illinois</u>
December 4-7	Hong Kong	R	Pac Rim '88 symposium, <u>Hong Kong</u>
December 4-8	FL		Chemical Manufactures Association <u>Fort Lauderdale, Florida</u>
December 4-10	OR		Snowflake Festival, <u>Klamath Falls, Oregon</u>
December 5	DC	A	Premiere of the movie, "Twins", (Eunice Kennedy Shriver), <u>Washington, DC</u>
December 5			Economic Indicators: Productivity - III rev
December 5			House of Representatives Caucuses (All Week)
December 5			International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development
December 5			Prohibition Repeal Anniversary
December 5	NY		Rockefeller Center Christmas Tree Lighting, <u>New York, New York</u>
December 5	CA		Santa Ana's Toys on Parade, <u>Santa Ana, California</u>
December 5			Martin Van Buren's Birthday

December	5-7	NV	R	American Osteopathic Academy of Scierotherapy, Incorporated, <u>Las Vegas, Nevada</u>
December	5-7	DC	R	Gannett Company's Year End Meeting, <u>Capitol Hilton, Washington, DC</u>
December	6	DC	R	House Wednesday Group, Congress of the United States, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	6	NY	R	10th Anniversary of American Express Company, <u>New York, New York</u>
December	6	DC	R	Information Security Oversight Office's Symposium, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	7	ND		North Dakota Wheat Producers, <u>Bismarck, North Dakota</u>
December	7	OK	R	Dedication of New Exhibit for the USS Oklahoma, <u>Oklahoma City,</u> <u>Oklahoma</u>
December	7			Pearl Harbor Day
December	7			President Reagan's speech to American Enterprise Institute
December	7	NY	A	General Secretary Gorbachev's Visit to the United States, <u>New York, New York</u>
December	8			John Lennon's Remembrance Day
December	8-10	DC	R	Georgetown University, Symposium on International Human Rights, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	8-13	MA		Harvard University, Seminar for new members of Congress, <u>Cambridge, Massachusetts</u>
December	8-14	MA		Civil Rights Week, <u>Massachusetts</u>
December	9	DC	R	National Orientation Conference for New State Legislators, <u>Washington, DC</u>

December	9 or 10	DC	R	Reception at the White House for 50 American Nobel Laureates and Corporation C.E.O.S., <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	9-11	CA		Stamp Expo '88/America, <u>Van Nuys, California</u>
December	9-11	MD		Sugarloaf's Winter Crafts Festival, <u>Gaithersburg, Maryland</u>
December	10	Norway		Nobel Peace Prize, <u>Oslo, Norway</u>
December	10	MA		Army and Navy Union Day, <u>Massachusetts</u>
December	10			Human Rights Day
December	10	NH	R	Human Rights Day Ceremony, <u>Manchester, New Hampshire</u>
December	10-11	WI		Christmas Craft Fair. USA: Indoor Show, <u>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</u>
December	10-16	DC		American Society of Association Executives, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	10-16			Human Rights Week
December	11	MD	M	White House Communications Agency, Andrews Air Force Base, <u>Maryland</u>
December	11	DC	R	Christmas Dinner Dance, Andrews Air Force Base, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	11	MN	R	National Candlelight Vigil of Rememberance, <u>Saint Paul, Minnesota</u>
December	11			UNICEF Anniversary
December	11	DC	R	National Conference of Republican County Officials, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	11			Hanukah Ends at Sunset
December	11	VA	R	The Roanoke County Sesquicentennial Committee Closing Ceremony, <u>Roanoke, Virginia</u>

December	19	DC	R	Tenth Anniversary Reception, The Embassy of the People's Republic of China, <u>Washington, DC</u>
December	19	NC	R	50th Electoral College of the State of North Carolina, <u>Julian, North Carolina</u>
December	19			Meeting of the Electors
December	20			Louisiana Purchase Day
December	20			Economic Indicators: GNP - III rev, Consumer Prices
December	21			Economic Indicators: Personal Income
December	22			Economic Indicators: Advance Durable Shipments & Orders
December	24			Christmas Eve
December	25			Christmas Day
December	27-30	OH		American Historical Association: Annual Meeting, <u>Cincinnati, Ohio</u>
December	30			Monitor Sinks: Anniversary (1862)
December	30			Economic Indicators: Leading Indicators, Housing Sales
December	31	TN		First Nightfest, <u>Knoxville, Tennessee</u>
December	31			New Year's Eve

MASTER CALENDAR

JANUARY 1989

Issue: 12/09/88

CONFIDENTIAL

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1 • Tournament of Roses Kickoff	2 • Mobile Cotton Bowl Classic	3	4	5	6 • Women's Agenda Conference	7 • Women's Agenda Conference
8 • Women's Agenda Conference	9	10	11 • American Insurance Association Annual Meeting	12	13	14 • Salute to Greatness Dinner in Honor of Martin Luther King
15	16	17	18	19 • Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council, Pre-Inaugural Brunch	20	21 • The Associated Press Radio and Television Association of California and Nevada, Regional Conference
22	23	24	25	26	27	28 • The Alfalfa Club, Dinner of the Executive Committee
29 • World Alpine Ski Championships	30	31				



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

JANUARY 1989

January	1			New Year's Day
January	1	CA	I	Tournament of Roses Kickoff, <u>Pasadena, California</u>
January	2	TX	I	Mobile Cotton Bowl Classic, <u>Dallas, Texas</u>
January	3	DC	A	Mock Swearing-In, Capitol Hill, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	4	DC	*	Speaker of the House formally counts Electoral College Vote, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	6-8	KS	I	Women's Agenda Conference, <u>Kansas City, Kansas</u>
January	9	DC	I	Citizen's Network's Dinner honoring Secretary Schultz, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	9	DC		The Conservative Network's 4th Annual <u>Reagan Revolution Medal of Honor, Washington, DC</u>
January	11	DC	I	American Insurance Association Annual Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	14	GA	R	Salute to Greatness Dinner in Honor of Martin Luther King, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
January	15-20	DC		U.S. Conference of Mayors Mid-Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	16			Martin Luther King's Birthday
January	18-21	CA		American Council on Education Annual Meeting, <u>San Diego, California</u>

January	19	DC	I	Alcohol and Drug Abuse Council, Pre-Inaugural Brunch, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	20-23	GA		Home Builders Association Annual Meeting, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
January	21	CA	I	The Associated Press Radio and Television Association of California and Nevada, Regional Conference, <u>Long Beach, California</u>
January	21-25	DC		Reserve Officers Association Mid-Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	22	FL		Super Bowl, <u>Miami Florida</u>
January	23	NY	I	Variety Childrens Lifeline Award, <u>New York, New York</u>
January	23	DC	I	Right To Life, March on Washington, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	24			George Burns' Birthday
January	24-30	DC	I	Hobby Industries of America Annual Convention, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	26	DC	I	Grand Opening of Signet Bank, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	27	CA	I	Installation of Officers and Citizen of the Year Award, <u>San Francisco, California</u>
January	27-29	FL	I	Choral Celebration of Freedom, <u>Lake Wales, Florida</u>
January	28	DC	A	The Alfalfa Club, Dinner of the Executive Committee, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January 28- February 2		DC		National Religious Broadcasters Association Annual Convention, <u>Washington, DC</u>
January	29	CO	I	World Alpine Ski Championships, <u>Vail, Colorado</u>
January	29	DC		Conference on "Issues of the 90's", Hoover Institute, <u>Washington, DC</u>

MASTER CALENDAR**FEBRUARY 1989****Issue: 12/09/88****SENSITIVE**

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12 Lincoln's Birthday	13	14 Valentine's Day	15	16	17	18
19	20 Washington Birthday Observed	21	22 Washington Birthday	23	24	25
26	27	28				



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 1989

February			Black History Month	
February			Small Business Legislative Council Annual Meeting	
February	via Satelitte	I	Invitation to participate via satelitte in the PacRim '89 Symposium	
February	TX	I	Religious Emphasis Week Celebration, <u>Corpus Christi,</u> <u>Texas</u>	
February or March	NC	I	Durham County Lincoln Day Dinner, <u>Durham, North Carolina</u>	
February	1-3		National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities Annual Meeting	
February	1-28	NJ	Annual North American Invitational Model United Nations, <u>Princeton,</u> <u>New Jersey</u>	
February	2	DC	I	National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities Annual Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February	2	DC	A	National Prayer Breakfast, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February	3	VA	I	Richmond Forum Guest Speaker, <u>Richmond, Virginia</u>
February	6	DC	I	International Communications Association Winter Seminar, <u>Washington, DC</u>

February	6			National Association of Automobile Dealers Annual Meeting
February	6			President Reagan's Birthday
February	8			Boy Scouts founded (1910)
February	8			Ash Wednesday
February	8	DC		Annual CPAC Banquet, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February	10	WA	I	Franklin County Annual Lincoln Day Dinner, <u>Pasco, Washington</u>
February	10-28	CA		Los Angeles Patent Law Association Meeting, <u>Brentwood, California</u>
February	11	MO	I	Founders Day Celebration, <u>Columbia, Missouri</u>
February	11-18	Mexico		YPO University, <u>Acapulco, Mexico</u>
February	12			Abraham Lincoln's Birthday
February	14			Valentine's Day
February	16			Washington's Birthday Observed
February	16			Elks founded (1868)
February	17			PTA founded (1897)
February	17	WI	I	Wisconsin International Law Society Annual Symposium, <u>Madison,</u> <u>Wisconsin</u>
February	17			Republican National Lawyers Association National Convention
February	17-18	AZ	I	Schatz Distributing Company, Inc., <u>Tuscon, Arizona</u>
February	18	TX	I	Texas Justice Awards Dinner, <u>Houston, Texas</u>
February	18	CA	I	First Men's Conference, <u>Santa Barbara, California</u>
February	18	AZ	I	12th Annual Pioneer Day Parade, <u>Welton, Arizona</u>

February 18	NY	I	Iwo Jima Survivors Association of New York, Annual Luncheon, <u>New Hyde Park, New York</u>
February 18	FL	I	King High School Law Fair Program, <u>Tampa, Florida</u>
February 18-20	AL	I	Intercollegiate National Conference at the University of Alabama,
February 22			George Washington's Birthday
February 22			Congressional Recess Period
February 23	TX	I	University of Texas Alumni Banquet, <u>San Antonio, Texas</u>
February 25	FL	I	Salute to American and Salute to America Cookbook, <u>Homosassa Springs, Florida</u>
February 25- March 3	DC		American Legion Legislative Conference, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February 26-28	DC		Annual NGA Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
February 27-28	DC	I	Congress 101, Public Affairs Assembly, <u>Washington, DC</u>

MASTER CALENDAR

MARCH 1989

Issue: 12/09/88

SENSITIVE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17 St. Patrick's Day	18
19 Palm Sunday	20	21	22	23	24 Good Friday	25
26 Easter	27	28	29	30	31	



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

MARCH 1989

March			Traditional Red Cross Month
March		WI I	Bethlehem Lutheran Educational Center, Groundbreaking Ceremony, <u>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</u>
March or April		NY I	Boy Power Dinner Speaker, <u>Schenectady, New York</u>
March			Association o Junior Leagues of America Meeting
March			National Association of Evangelicals Meeting
March	3-7	GA	Associated General Contractors Annual Meeting, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
March	3-7	DC	Veterans of Foreign War Legislative Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	4		Reagan's Wedding Anniversary
March	4	CA	Americana Ball (Reagans' Honorary invites), <u>Palm Springs, California</u>
March	4-7	DC	National Association of Counties Winter Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	5	DC I	Columbia University, Five Point Peace Plan, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	5-9	FL	World Business Council Annual Meeting, <u>Orlando, Florida</u>

March	6	FL		American Association of School Administrators Meeting, <u>Orlando, Florida</u>
March	6-8	DC		U.S. League of Savings Institutions Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	7-9	GA	I	International Deli-Bakery Association Convention, <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>
March	8	DC	I	Federal Office Systems Expo, Award Ceremony, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	9	NY	I	Oceanside Public Schools, 4th Annual Sixth Grade Conference, <u>Oceanside, New York</u>
March	11-14	DC		National League of Cities Conference, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	12-16	DC		Electronic Industries Association Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	13	DC		Presidential Panel on the National Initiative for Science and Technological Education, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	15			American Legion founded (1919)
March	17			Saint Patrick's Day
March	17	DC	I	Saint Patrick's Day Celebration, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	17	VA	I	Charlottesville High School Student's Against Drunk Driving (SADD), <u>Charlottesville, Virginia</u>
March	18			NATO founded (1949)
March	19	NY	I	10th Annual Queens Purim Parade, <u>Queens, New York</u>
March	19	DC		Associated Builders and Contractors Meeting, <u>Washington, D.C.</u>
March	20	TX	I	International Aviation Maintenance and Ground Support Equipment Tradeshow and Conference, <u>Dallas, Texas</u>

March	22	DC		National Association of Manufacturers Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	23	PA or NJ	I	Federal Criminal Investigators Association Meeting, <u>Philadelphia/Southern New Jersey</u>
March	24			Good Friday
March	26			Easter
March	28			Three Mile Island Anniversary (1979)
March April 1	29-	DC	I	American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, annual convention and photo opportunity, <u>Washington, DC</u>
March	30			Anniversary of the Assassination Attempt on President Reagan
March	31	MA	I	New England School of Law Observance of Law Day, <u>Boston, Massachusetts</u>

MASTER CALENDAR

APRIL 1989

Issue: 12/09/88

SENSITIVE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20 Passover	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

APRIL 1989

April		TX	I	Fort Worth Gridiron, The University of Texas at Arlington, <u>Arlington, Texas</u>
April		NY	I	Ulster County Conservative Party's Annual Dinner, <u>Kingston, New York</u>
April	1	DC		The Gridiron Club, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April	3-5	DC		American Business Conference Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April	5	NY		National High School Model United Nations, <u>New York, New York</u>
April	7	LA	I	Second Annual Acadiana Charity Ball, <u>Lafayette, Louisiana</u>
April	8	VA		National Guard Association's Convention, <u>Alexandria, Virginia</u>
April	9	PA	I	Centennial Celebration, <u>Oakmont, Pennsylvania</u>
April	12-13	IL		National Association of Realtors Meeting, <u>Chicago, Illinois</u>
April	14	FL	I	Naval Helicopter Association Annual Banquet Dinner, <u>Jacksonville, Florida</u>
April	14	CA		U.S. Customs Bi-Centennial Banquet, <u>San Diego, California</u>
April	15			Taxes Due

April	15			National Volunteers Week
April	19-22			National Society Daughters of the American Revolution Annual Meeting
April	20			Passover
April	20			Daylight Savings
April	20			California Speaker's Dinner
April	21	OR	I	Mount Vernon Ladies Association Reception, <u>Mount Vernon, Oregon</u>
April	24-26	IL	I	American Newspaper Publishers Association Annual Convention, <u>Chicago, Illinois</u>
April	25	OH	I	Park Districts Naturalists Award, <u>Dayton, Ohio</u>
April	29	DC	I	White House Press Corps 75th Anniversary, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April May 1	29-	DC		U.S. Chamber of Commerce Annual Meeting, <u>Washington, DC</u>
April May 3	29-	NV		National Association of Broadcasters Meeting, <u>Las Vegas, Nevada</u>
April	30	NY		200th Anniversary of George Washington's Inauguration, <u>New York, New York</u>

December 15, 1988

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Proposal for a Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial

This is to propose that the President-Elect reify his pledge of a "new day" in civil rights by calling for the creation of a National Memorial to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

By happy coincidence, the 60th anniversary of King's birth, on January 15th, and the King national holiday on January 16th, both fall in the same week as the Inauguration.

This suggests that the President-Elect call for the building of a National Memorial in his Inaugural Address, if not on the holiday itself; and that Coretta Scott King figure prominently in the Inauguration ceremony.

The message in the President-Elect's proposal should be -- to use the central idea of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address -- a re-dedication of ourselves to Martin Luther King's dream. The connection with Lincoln should be explicit, both for the obvious historical reasons and to remind black Americans that it is the party of Lincoln that truly promotes individual opportunity for all Americans.

These historical reasons, and King's "I Have a Dream" speech, will inevitably suggest that a King Memorial be near the Lincoln Memorial or evoke the spirit of Lincoln. Politically, the project will suggest that the new Republican President is nearer to the first Republican President in his concern for the rights of every citizen; and that consequently, the Republican Party is nearer to implementing its mission of reaching out to new constituencies.

Concretely, the President-Elect could issue an Executive Order (if procedurally correct) on Inauguration Day to establish a National Commission for the Creation of a Memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Commission members would be appointed by the President. These appointments would incidentally serve as a way of presenting to the country new faces of persons in service to civil rights. Such a Commission would have as its object the

(over)

overseeing of funding, site-selection, design and building of the Memorial. As a way of further promoting the creative energies of the nation to a noble idea, an architectural competition to design the memorial could be launched, in addition to essays, poetry, music and the like.

The effect would be to capture the imagination of America, to honor a great American and to make concrete the President-Elect's call for a kinder, gentler nation. A memorial is "only" a symbol. Therefore the President-Elect might acknowledge that this project is only a prologue to the tangible gains in individual empowerment that he seeks, and that a "new day" in civil rights and individual opportunity will require actions, not just statues.

With that said, however, the good will, the artistic creativity, and the historical drama engendered by the President-Elect's proposal will be ample dividends for an idea worth doing for its own sake.

#

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

December 15, 1988

TO: _____

FROM:

REQUEST: President-Elect's appearance at the convening of the 101st Congress: Appear with the Vice-President-Elect in the Senate, then in the House; Reception afterwards for all new members of Congress in the Capitol.

PURPOSE:

- 1) To show intentions of good will toward the Congress,
- 2) to reassure the nation on the ability of the Congress and the President to work together, in particular on the deficit,
- 3) to demonstrate a spirit of action and movement,
- 4) to broach any appropriate policy initiatives, e.g. a line-item veto, a super-majority requirement in the Senate for new spending, a two-year budget cycle, etc.
- 5) to shift focus momentarily from the appointment process and heighten anticipation of the Inaugural Address.

BACKGROUND:

- o Making the visit a surprise should be considered
- o The President-Elect is permitted on the House of Representatives floor as a former-member.

DATE AND TIME: January 3, 1989; 12 noon

DURATION:

LOCATION: The Capitol

PARTICIPANTS: President-elect, Vice-President-Elect, Members of Congress, new Members of Congress (at the President-Elect's reception) -- see attachment

OUTLINE OF EVENT:

- I. President-Elect and Vice-President-Elect greet U.S. Senate in Senate chamber.
- II. President-Elect greets U.S. House of Representatives in House chamber.
- III. President-Elect hosts reception for new House and Senate members in the Capitol building.

REMARKS REQUIRED:

TBD

MEDIA COVERAGE:

RECOMMENDED BY:

OPPOSED BY:

NEW SENATE MEMBERS

Connecticut	Joseph I. Lieberman (D)
Florida	Connie Mack (R)
Mississippi	Trent Lott (R)
Montana	Conrad Burns (R)
Nebraska	Robert Kerrey (D)
Nevada	Richard H. Bryan (D)
Vermont	James M. Jeffords (R)
Virginia	Charles S. Robb (D)
Washington	Slade Gorton (R)
Wisconsin	Herbert Kohl (D)

€

NEW HOUSE MEMBERS

California	Tom Campbell (R)
	C. Christopher Cox (R)
	Dana Rohrabacher (R)
Florida	Craig T. James (R)
	Cliff Stearns (R)
	Porter Goss (R)
	Harry A. Johnston (D)
Georgia	Ben Jones (D)
Illinois	George E. Sangmeister (D)
	Glenn Poshard (D)
Massachusetts	Richard E. Neal (D)
Mississippi	Mike Parker (D)
	Larkin Smith (R)
Missouri	Melton D. "Mel" Hancock (R)
Nebraska	Peter Hoagland (D)
New Hampshire	Chuck Douglas (R)
New Jersey	Frank Pallone Jr. (D)
	Donald M. Payne (D)
New Mexico	Steven H. Schiff (R)
New York	Eliot L. Engel (D)
	Nita M. Lowey (D)
	Michael R. McNulty (D)
	James T. Walsh (R)
	L. William Paxon (R)
Ohio	Paul E. Gillmor (R)
Rhode Island	Ronald K. Machtley (R)
Tennessee	John J. Duncan Jr. (R)
	John Tanner (D)
Texas	Bill Sarpalius (D)
	Greg H. Laughlin (D)
Vermont	Peter Smith (R)
Washington	Jolene Unsoeld (D)
	Jim McDermott (D)

The following memorandum is a summary of the Heritage Foundation's Mandate for Leadership III, A Strategy for the First 100 Days. We don't necessarily endorse all of these proposals. We simply listed the ones that seemed interesting and plausible, innovative reforms which would show George Bush as an active President in the first 100 days.

12/6/88

MEMORANDUM

RE: Notable Ideas in Mandate for Leadership III, A Strategy for the First 100 Days

This memo is based on the Heritage Foundation's Mandate for Leadership III, A Strategy for the First 100 Days [hereafter "100 Days"], a summary of Mandate for Leadership III [hereafter "Mandate"]. It lists suggestions for possible Presidential or Executive Branch actions we can take in the first hundred days of the Administration. We have reviewed Mandate specifically with that point in mind; it is important to understand that this memo does not attempt to be an exhaustive treatment of all the good ideas from Mandate we may wish to adopt over the next four years.

We don't necessarily endorse all these proposals. We simply listed the ones that seem interesting and plausible, innovative reforms which would show George Bush as an active President in the first hundred days.

The Federal Budget

1. "Call for a new budget act" [100 Days, p. 10, Mandate, p. 66].

This would include some or all of the following items: a line-item veto for the President, strengthened recission authority, ending the practice of the "current service budget, adoption of a two-year budget cycle, and requiring a statement of the long-term budget impact of new spending.

The current budget act was passed in 1974, during a time of weak Presidential authority. It prohibits impoundment, yet Heritage points out that "Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon reduced federal appropriations by between five and eight percent each year by making liberal use of the impoundment power." A line-item veto, of course, is a strong commitment of the President-elect. Combining these and other items in a budget would make the point that the President sees reform of the system as a major step towards solving the deficit.

Presidential Authority and the Separation of Powers

2 and 3. "Revise and reissue Executive Order 12291 to assert the President's authority to exercise effective control over the content of all government regulations, not just the process of regulatory development" [100 Days, p. 3, Mandate, p. 96].

"Direct the Office of Management and Budget to establish and monitor a system for identifying the full costs of executive

branch responses to inquiries by individual members of Congress regarding such matters as contract and grant awards, construction projects, and research facilities [100 Days, p. 3, Mandate, p. 18].

The original Executive Order 12291 was a symbolic beginning to the Reagan Administration in 1981. It provided that all regulations should be subject to a cost-benefit analysis, and it set up the Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which the Vice President chaired.

Now, we could expand Executive Order 12291 by stating explicitly that the President has authority to review all regulatory actions in the Executive Branch. Currently, OMB's authority here is only implicit; Congress could delegate that power to agency heads if it chose.

Congress, particularly through such devices as a continuing resolution or a simple letter from a Member, often mandates that agencies undertake reports and studies about a variety of administrative matters or provide large amounts of information.

In a time of tight budgets, these requests cause great difficulty in administering agencies. These Congressional requests sometimes drive the administration process, to the point where agencies cannot undertake administrative reform because their staff are needed to act on Congressional requests. Heritage suggests that OMB should account for these costs and agencies should develop "innovative" ways of publicizing them. By showing how much money is spent on these studies, this would strengthen the case for the line-item veto.

The first suggestion is minor and would only codify existing practice. The second is more of a threat to Congress, since many of the requests for information are politically motivated (e.g, a request to determine why a particular contractor did not receive a contract).

Thus we should bear in mind that Congress, perhaps someone like Congressman Dingell, would likely object to these reforms. We have to consider whether we want to highlight the institutional differences between Congress and the Presidency at the beginning of the Administration, although we think it will be crucial over the course of the Administration how Congress' agenda differs from that of the President.

Department of Commerce and U.S. Trade Representative

4. Free Trade Areas [100 Days, p. 12, Mandate, pp. 164, 170-1].

Mandate suggests that the Administration begin negotiations with countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, and Thailand "that want and wish fair trade." The proposal in 1983 for a Free Trade Zone with the ASEAN countries is a good idea and should be revived when practical.

A better idea for the short-term would be to build on the President-elect's meeting with President Salinas and seek liberalization of trade with Mexico during his first hundred days. Comprehensive trade talks are unlikely to succeed at this point, but liberalization in a few sectors can be achieved and should be pursued.

Environmental Protection Agency

5. "Begin to consolidate all government environmental data at the EPA" [100 Days, p. 15, Mandate, p. 226].

Consolidation of data would reduce conflicting policy decisions and improve the cost-benefit analysis of environmental regulatory decisions. Since this proposal comes from Heritage, one should note that its adoption might send the wrong signal to environmentalists, who might think it was poisoned by its association with Heritage. We would need to make clear that this would not be an attempt to weaken environmental regulation. However, if it were presented in the context of reform, i.e. having one agency responsible for collecting environmental data instead of several, it could have appeal.

Health and Human Services

6. "Launch an information campaign to encourage Americans to purchase long-term care insurance" [100 Days, p. 16, Mandate, p. 240].

This would fulfill a campaign promise, and it would alleviate the need for long-term care planning in the future. With a larger market, companies could offer more innovative long-term care plans.

7. "Establish a comprehensive federal long-term care database" [100 Days, p. 16, Mandate, pp. 243, 251].

It is difficult to bring long-term care insurance policies to market for two reasons -- the small market currently existing, and a lack of accurate actuarial knowledge. The federal government could work with insurers to develop a database on long-term care, to help insurers bring their products to market.

This is a good reform for a somewhat chaotic long-term care information system.

8. "Extend the existing ban on the use of fetal tissue in federally funded bio-medical research" [100 Days, p. 17, Mandate, p. 249].

A temporary ban was placed upon the National Institutes of Health in early 1988. The President could make this permanent by Executive Order. Alternatively, he could place a ban on fetal tissue obtained from abortions, thus permitting research on fetal tissue obtained from miscarriages, with the consent of the mother. An Executive Order on fetal tissue research would be an appropriate action for National Right to Life Day, January 22.

The right wing of the Republican Party is still suspicious of the President-elect. At the beginning of the Administration, we would do well to err on the side of appealing to conservatives and their concerns.

9. "Ensure that regulations to put into effect the new welfare legislation expand the scope for state innovation and work requirements" [100 Days, p. 17, Mandate, pp. 263, 270].

While this reform is not a subject for direct Presidential action, nevertheless, the new appointees at HHS should monitor closely the process of developing regulations to comply with the new welfare reform law, encouraging more scope for state government authority and more work requirements for able-bodied recipients.

Housing and Urban Development

10. "Expand public housing resident management and ownership" [100 Days, p. 19, Mandate, pp. 294, 301].

Again, this would be a fulfillment of a campaign promise. It would probably be impossible to enact or regulate comprehensive reform in the first hundred days, but a start can be made, and the President can announce that tenant management and ownership is his goal.

11. "Take the offensive on homelessness" [100 Days, p. 19, Mandate, 292, 301].

We certainly believe that we should be on the offensive on homelessness in any event. New bills are being prepared on the

Hill now for introduction early in January. With the onset of winter and the Christmas season, we know the issue is coming. It is to our advantage to propose something first.

Heritage recommends that the Administration should encourage cities to abide by the 1963 Community Mental Health Act. That is a good point. One suggestion is to issue "regulations which tie federal grants to states for mental health with a requirement that community mental health facilities be provided and that state-licensed psychiatric professionals agree to devote a minimum number of hours per month to treat the homeless mentally ill." The President-elect mentioned the need for community-based mental health clinics in the Presidential debate. While it may not be possible for regulations to be issued in the first hundred days, a start can be made, with the goal of expanding the number of community-based mental health clinics.

Somewhat surprisingly, Heritage includes the recommendation that psychiatrists should be required to practice pro bono with the mentally ill homeless as a condition of licensure -- a provision that would cause strong opposition among physicians, who fear the precedent.

However, homelessness is a broader phenomenon than the homeless mentally ill. The President could use the "bully pulpit" and the force of his own presence to call attention to the problem of homelessness and encourage private aid as well as full funding of the McKinney Act.

Interior

12. "Link technical assistance funds to the U.S. oversees territories directly to progress in privatization efforts" [100 Days, p. 20, Mandate, p. 321].

We might not want to link funding solely to privatization efforts, but clearly we should seek ways to improve the private sector in the territories and encourage private investment there. Sitting as they do either in the Caribbean, close to the U.S. market, or in the Pacific, the potential is there for the U.S. territories (Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa, the Northern Marianas) and the Federated States of Micronesia to share in the prosperity of their regions. This would be a small initiative, but one with good conservative overtones. It would link the President-elect with the worldwide privatization movement and help solidify support on the right.

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Justice

13. "Propose legislation to improve enforcement of the Ethics in Government Act" [100 Days, p. 21, Mandate, p. 339, 342].

The President-elect has already promised that an ethics bill will be introduced early in his Administration. This should follow the lines suggested during the campaign: to cover Congress equally with the Executive Branch, to encourage the right people to enter government service, and to simplify ethics rules.

Labor

14. "Urge unions to expand their drive to eliminate drugs and alcohol abuse by their members" [100 Days, p. 23, Mandate, p. 357].

The President could make this an early feature of the public side of his anti-drug efforts. Unions are bitterly opposed to drug testing; this could give them a chance to show that they are serious about fighting drugs at the workplace. On the other hand, it would be difficult to institute drug testing programs if these efforts were already in place, since unions would argue that they should be given a chance to work.

Treasury

15. "Launch a national campaign to cut the top capital gains tax rate to 15 percent" [100 Days, p. 28, Mandate, 449, 458].

The President-elect may want to decide to begin a push for this campaign goal during the first hundred days. This could perhaps be linked with a proposal that we know will come from the Hill and one on which it might be to our advantage to seize the offensive: legislation to restrict highly leveraged buy-outs. This would link two proposals to promote the good side of capitalism.

16. "Propose a children's tax credit and order a Treasury study to devise a plan to achieve a \$,5600 children's exemption" [100 Days, p. 28, Mandate, 451, 457].

During the campaign, the President-elect proposed a \$1,000 children's tax credit for children under age four in low-income families. Child care bills will almost certainly be introduced early in the new Congress. To keep his ideas on the table, the President-elect may want to introduce his bill early as well.

Heritage's proposed tax exemption, it should be noted, is many times larger than the one proposed by the President-elect.

Western Europe

16. "Launch a 'Project Europe' at the United States Information Agency to explain and discuss U.S. foreign policy to the West European public" [100 Days, p. 37, Mandate, pp. 533, 536].

As the public reaction to such events as the projected deployment of Pershing II, the raid on Libya, and the denial of a U.S. visa to Yasir Arafat demonstrate, many Europeans do not understand or else seriously disagree with American policy actions. As Heritage notes, one solution is to improve our public diplomacy among our European allies. This would not be "propaganda"; it would merely attempt to explain how American policy helps the Alliance and how Americans and Europeans should work together. It would make the American point of view more easily obtainable in Europe.

South America

17. "Set up a multilateral anti-narcotics and terrorism task force" [100 Days, p. 39, Mandate, p. 559, 561].

This was a campaign promise of the President-elect. A beginning could be made in the first hundred days. This would be a dramatic gesture of our seriousness in fighting drugs and should be linked to the hemispheric summit on drugs which the President-elect proposed during the campaign.

12/16/88

MEMORANDUM

RE: Ideas for Inaugural and State of the Union/Address to Nation

I. Inaugural Address

Tab I.B in the Early Planning Volume notes several themes that have been prevalent throughout the history of Inaugural Addresses. To some degree, each of these themes should be reflected in George Bush's Inaugural Address. For instance, the celebration of the peaceful transfer of power should do two things: note that this speech is the Bicentennial Inaugural Address and that the chain of free elections has never been unbroken, and praise President Reagan for his accomplishments.

Beyond these broad points, we have listed a number of items which we feel should be in the Inaugural:

- o A "kinder, gentler" nation -- both the phrase itself and some of its manifestations: education, care for the environment, fighting drugs, voluntarism, "a thousand points of light," promoting values, living ethically
- o The notion that America is the United States of America. Coming out of a time of polarization (Vietnam, Watergate, etc.) to the dawn of a new era of good feelings and consensus for the first time since the early 60s.
- o A list of some challenges we face as a nation. We cannot allow ourselves to be forced into the position that the deficit is the only issue facing the country: "The deficit is important, but it is not everything."
- o The notion that a spirit of freedom, both political and economic, is sweeping around the world. There is a great deal of "new thinking" in the world, but we are confident that our time-tested ideas will continue to lead us into our third century. "The best new ideas are the ideas that have motivated America since 1776." We should not mention Gorbachev by name, but we should note that there are many new opportunities around the world to which America must respond.
- o A commitment to activism, reform, innovation, and the spirit of fair play. George Bush must seize the initiative and set the agenda for the 90s, always on the assumption that the Republicans are still on the cutting edge of change in America.

IIA. State of the Union/Address to the Nation -- Broad Themes

We don't know whether the President-elect will deliver a State of the Union message, but we should assume that he will deliver either a State of the Union message or an equivalent.

The State of the Union has two goals: to lay out the specifics of George Bush's agenda and to challenge Congress on the critical issue of the budget. Here are some themes which we feel should be included in such an address:

1. Strong economy/Deficit reduction/Budget reform

We need to think of this cluster as two separate issues-- deficit reduction and budget process reform.

The immediate goal of deficit reduction is difficult, gritty work with no glamor or political pizazz. Quite simply, it involves cutting popular programs. The only good aspect of this issue is that it does not involve raising taxes -- in fact, it affirmatively shows that the President-elect is not raising taxes. It could be thought of as the "Tax Increase Prevention Program." The President-elect can say simply that he is not going to throw the economy into a recession by raising taxes.

The second issue shows the President-elect as a reformer of the budget process. He is on the side of clean, open, accountable government through reform of the budget process. One can analogize his stance to that of a suburban reformer, here working against the machine politics in the House of Representatives, the national political equivalent of "rotten boroughs." The current budget process of iron triangles, continuing resolutions, and endless pork-barrel spending is bad and makes for wasteful spending.

But as the budget process is currently constituted, we really cannot cut pork effectively. So we need to change the incentives to work in favor of real budget reform.

We should treat the line-item veto as a political "sword of virtue." It should not be presented as a conservative Republican idea, but as a good government reform which would eliminate waste and permit money to be spent on worthwhile programs.

The President-elect does not have to bear personal responsibility for the deficit; popular perception blames this on President Reagan. Therefore, the President-elect should treat the deficit as an affliction on all Americans, shifting the debate from the origins of the deficit to finding solutions. He

can say that we Americans must make common cause in the effort to reduce the deficit. As part of our effort to place responsibility for the deficit on Congress, we should make it clear that the flexible freeze will work with the line-item veto, but it will not work without it. In that way, if Congress denies the line-item veto, the President can claim that his budget and budget reform plan were rejected by Congress.

In modern politics, one goal in a winning strategy is to appear reasonable while making one's opponent seem "obstructionist" or "intransigent." We need to set up the following duality: George Bush is a principled President who has a mandate to promote the national interest and oppose tax increases. Congress is obstructionist and intransigent in its desire for more spending and is the tool of special interests.

The average American does not think of himself as a special interest. Instead, he identifies with the broader national interest and thinks the President should do so as well. Even while the average American votes for a Member of Congress who will support a special interest, he does not think that all special interests should receive special treatment. The people would support a strong President who wants to reform the budget process to oppose wasteful spending by Congress. And the line-item veto is precisely the tool that would enable the President to stand up to the special interests in Congress.

Presidential leadership would provide a grand rhetorical hammer with which to beat the Congress on the issue of the budget. By adopting the issue of structural change in the budget process, we develop an abstraction and move the issue away from the simple question of whose programs are being cut in the current budget. As a fighter for good government, George Bush is looking beyond partisanship to lead a crusade and form a grand coalition in favor of good government. To this end, we will need the support of non-partisan figures, such as the leadership of Common Cause and the League of Women Voters. The President-elect needs to enlist the support of these groups now, in January, before the State of the Union.

On one level, this is not so different from President Reagan's strategy. But there are two main differences.

First, the deficit is not our fault. While there is a public perception that President Reagan is responsible for the deficit, the President-elect does not have to defend the deficit.

Second, we will present a better argument for budget reform. Instead of seeing the line-item veto as a partisan attack on the welfare state, we can present it as a vital good

government reform. In advertising terms, we will reposition the product, aiming for a different and broader market.

The President-elect should seize the opportunity in the State of the Union to challenge Congress to take strong action to reduce the deficit by cutting spending. He should establish in the public mind the framework for the debate. The real issue is Congressional overspending, not Executive Branch undertaxing.

To help imprint this framework in the minds of the American people, he should present some "tests" by which Congress can prove to the American people their seriousness on deficit reduction, such as the line-item veto, rescission authority, and multi-year budgeting. Almost certainly, Congress will "fail" these tests, and we will then have transferred the monkey of the deficit to Congress' back. This is the "blame game": to pin the deficit tail on the donkey. We should ask the question how Congress can say with a straight face that it is serious about deficit reduction if it is against a basic and obvious reform like the line-item veto?

Admittedly, this is a somewhat confrontational approach, but the alternative is Congressional domination of the agenda and a subsequent Administration cave-in on a tax increase. As we look to the long term, i.e. to 1992, we should remember that "running against Congress" is an effective strategy.

Some points for a strong economy/deficit reduction:

- o Keep the economy strong -- no new taxes
- o Focus on the Presidential line-item veto, an essential budget process reform necessary to make future budget agreements enforceable
- o On day one, name negotiators to represent the Executive Branch in decisive deficit negotiations with Congress
- o Balanced Budget Amendment

2. Initiatives for a "kinder, gentler" nation

We cannot let deficit reduction be the sole test of George Bush's Presidency. As outlined in #1, we should strive to lay blame for the deficit on Congress. Then, we can move on George Bush's vision for America. The ideal for each party is to blame the deficit on the other party but take credit for popular new programs and initiatives. The question is: Which party will seize the high ground first? We do not want to be in the posture of being blamed for deficit reduction while the Democrats propose popular initiatives.

Our approach to developing a kinder, gentler country is different. It is not a return to the Great Society, though in some areas like education and the environment more spending or regulation may be required. Instead, we will use conservative means to achieve liberal ends in such areas as increasing tenant ownership of public housing. This approach addresses the Schlesingerian swing of the pendulum, but it does not return America to the bad old days of tax and spend. Here is a list of our initiatives for a "kinder, gentler" nation:

- o Invest in Our Children, especially the Bush child care proposal
 - o Environment (Clean Air Act, global conference on global warming and other issues)
 - o Fighting drugs
 - o Civil rights/Martin Luther King memorial
 - o YES to America/Thousand Points of Light/A nation of strong values
 - o Homelessness
 - o Opportunities for disabled people
3. Significant Pentagon reform
- o Larger role for OMB?
4. Ethics
- o Establish White House Ethics Office
 - o Issue Executive Order/Presidential Memorandum raising ethical standards
 - o Introduce ethics legislation
5. Education
- o Set in motion education conference with governors, including business and academia
 - o New emphasis on special education and the handicapped
 - o Merit School program, increase funding for magnet schools
 - o Sharply increase Head Start funding
6. World Peace
- o There will be a chemical weapons conference in France in early 1989. We should tie into this the President-elect's desire to rid the world of chemical and biological weapons.

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- o As appropriate, move forward on arms control initiatives and building the NATO alliance.

IIB. Other Points for State of the Union

Further, there are other, secondary issues about which we should make some remarks in the State of the Union, or, at a minimum in the accompanying written message. The following list is not intended to be comprehensive; most of these are taken from the larger list in sections IIIA and B in the Early Planning Volume.

- o Crime
- o Drugs
- o Trade
- o Space
- o Energy
- o Science/Technology
- o Social Security
- o Health care
- o Veterans -- new Cabinet member
- o Savings and loan industry reform
- o AIDS -- show leadership on the issue
- o Promote adoption, oppose abortion
- o Agriculture -- push for expanded markets, alternative fuels
- o Major push on nuclear non-proliferation
- o If possible, an initiative in the Middle East
- o Update on U.S.-Soviet relations
- o A trip to Latin America? Asia?
- o Remind the nation of what President Bush has already done as President up to that point

Conclusion: One idea for the conclusion to the State of the Union follows on an idea President Reagan used very successfully in 1987. At that time, he highlighted the bicentennial of the Constitution in the State of the Union. This year, the Inaugural Address could highlight the bicentennial of the Presidency, and the State of the Union could highlight the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, pointing out how these rights have made America a special country and how few people around the world enjoy the basic rights that Americans do. This emphasis would fit in well with the "kinder, gentler" theme and also help erase any lingering suspicions from the campaign that the President-elect does not care about individual rights.

Emily dropped this
off - is ready to
discuss w/ you as needed
(Teeter, Pinkerton also have this)