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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON DRUGS: ALL NETWORKS
TUESDAY, SEPT. 5/9 P.M.

((GOOD EVENING.))

THIS IS THE FIRST TIME SINCE TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE THAT I FELT AN ISSUE WAS SO IMPORTANT, SO THREATENING, THAT IT WARRANTED TALKING DIRECTLY WITH YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ALL OF US AGREE THAT THE GRAVEST DOMESTIC THREAT FACING OUR NATION TODAY IS DRUGS.

DRUGS HAVE STRAINED OUR FAITH IN OUR SYSTEM OF JUSTICE. OUR COURTS, OUR PRISONS, OUR LEGAL SYSTEM ARE STRETCHED TO THE BREAKING POINT. THE SOCIAL COSTS OF DRUGS ARE MOUNTING. IN SHORT, DRUGS ARE SAPPING OUR STRENGTH AS A NATION.

TURN ON THE EVENING NEWS, OR PICK UP THE MORNING PAPER AND YOU'LL SEE WHAT SOME AMERICANS KNOW JUST BY STEPPING OUT THEIR FRONT DOOR: OUR MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM TODAY IS COCAINE, AND IN PARTICULAR, CRACK.

WHO'S RESPONSIBLE? -- LET ME TELL YOU STRAIGHT
OUT.

EVERYONE WHO USES DRUGS.

EVERYONE WHO SELLS DRUGS.

AND EVERYONE \ WHO LOOKS THE OTHER WAY.

TONIGHT, I WILL TELL YOU HOW MANY AMERICANS ARE
USING ILLEGAL DRUGS. I WILL PRESENT TO YOU OUR
NATIONAL STRATEGY TO DEAL WITH EVERY ASPECT OF THIS
THREAT. AND I WILL ASK YOU TO GET INVOLVED IN WHAT
PROMISES TO BE A VERY DIFFICULT FIGHT.

((PICK UP DRUGS)) THIS IS CRACK COCAINE SEIZED A
FEW DAYS AGO BY DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION AGENTS
IN A PARK JUST ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.
IT COULD EASILY HAVE BEEN HEROIN OR PCP. IT'S AS
INNOCENT LOOKING AS CANDY, BUT IT IS TURNING OUR CITIES
INTO BATTLE ZONES, AND IT IS MURDERING OUR CHILDREN.
LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE, THIS STUFF IS POISON. ((SET
DRUGS DOWN.))

SOME USED TO CALL DRUGS HARMLESS RECREATION. \\
THEY'RE NOT. DRUGS ARE A REAL AND TERRIBLY DANGEROUS
THREAT TO OUR NEIGHBORHOODS, OUR FRIENDS AND OUR
FAMILIES.

NO ONE AMONG US IS OUT OF HARM'S WAY. WHEN FOUR-
YEAR-OLDS PLAY IN PLAYGROUNDS STREWN WITH DISCARDED
HYPODERMIC NEEDLES AND CRACK VIALS -- IT BREAKS MY
HEART. WHEN COCAINE -- ONE OF THE MOST DEADLY AND
ADDICTIVE ILLEGAL DRUGS -- IS AVAILABLE TO SCHOOL KIDS
-- SCHOOL KIDS -- IT'S AN OUTRAGE. AND WHEN HUNDREDS
OF THOUSANDS OF BABIES ARE BORN EACH YEAR TO MOTHERS
WHO USE DRUGS -- PREMATURE BABIES BORN DESPERATELY SICK
-- THEN EVEN THE MOST DEFENSELESS AMONG US ARE AT RISK.

/\\

THESE ARE THE TRAGEDIES BEHIND THE STATISTICS.
BUT THE NUMBERS ALSO HAVE QUITE A STORY TO TELL. LET
ME SHARE WITH YOU THE RESULTS OF THE RECENTLY COMPLETED
HOUSEHOLD SURVEY OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON DRUG
ABUSE. IT COMPARES RECENT DRUG USE TO THREE YEARS AGO.
IT TELLS US SOME GOOD NEWS \\\ AND, SOME VERY BAD
NEWS. FIRST, THE GOOD. ((CAMERA CUTS TO SLIDE ONE.))
((PAUSE))

AS YOU CAN SEE IN THE CHART, IN 1985, THE
GOVERNMENT ESTIMATED THAT 23 MILLION AMERICANS WERE
USING DRUGS ON A "CURRENT" BASIS -- THAT IS, AT LEAST
ONCE IN THE PRECEDING MONTH. LAST YEAR, THAT NUMBER
FELL BY MORE THAN A THIRD. THAT MEANS ALMOST NINE
MILLION FEWER AMERICANS ARE CASUAL DRUG USERS. \\\ GOOD
NEWS. ((CAMERA BACK TO PRESIDENT.))

BECAUSE WE CHANGED OUR NATIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD DRUGS, CASUAL DRUG USE HAS DECLINED. WE HAVE MANY TO THANK: OUR BRAVE LAW-ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS, TEACHERS, COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS, AND LEADERS OF BUSINESS AND LABOR. \\ WE SHOULD ALSO THANK THE MEDIA FOR THEIR EXHAUSTIVE NEWS AND EDITORIAL COVERAGE; AND ADVERTISERS FOR RUNNING ANTI-DRUG MESSAGES. \\ FINALLY, I WANT TO THANK PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN FOR THEIR LEADERSHIP. \ ALL OF THESE GOOD PEOPLE TOLD THE TRUTH -- THAT DRUG USE IS WRONG AND DANGEROUS.

BUT, AS MUCH COMFORT AS WE CAN DRAW FROM THESE DRAMATIC REDUCTIONS, THERE IS ALSO BAD NEWS -- VERY BAD NEWS. \\ \\ ROUGHLY EIGHT MILLION PEOPLE HAVE USED COCAINE IN THE PAST YEAR, ALMOST ONE MILLION OF THEM USED IT FREQUENTLY \\ ONCE A WEEK OR MORE.

((CAMERA TO SLIDE TWO))

WHAT THIS MEANS IS THAT, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT OVERALL COCAINE USE IS DOWN, FREQUENT USE HAS ALMOST DOUBLED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS. AND THAT'S WHY HABITUAL COCAINE USERS -- ESPECIALLY CRACK USERS ARE THE MOST PRESSING, IMMEDIATE DRUG PROBLEM. ((PAUSE)) ((RETURN TO PRESIDENT.))

\\\\

WHAT, THEN, IS OUR PLAN? \\ TO BEGIN WITH, I TRUST THE LESSON OF EXPERIENCE: NO SINGLE POLICY WILL CUT IT, NO MATTER HOW GLAMOROUS OR MAGICAL IT MAY SOUND. TO WIN THE WAR AGAINST ADDICTIVE DRUGS LIKE CRACK WILL TAKE MORE THAN JUST A FEDERAL STRATEGY. IT WILL TAKE A NATIONAL STRATEGY, ONE THAT REACHES INTO EVERY SCHOOL, EVERY WORKPLACE, INVOLVING EVERY FAMILY.

EARLIER TODAY, I SENT THIS DOCUMENT, ((HOLD UP RED BOOK)) OUR FIRST SUCH NATIONAL STRATEGY TO THE CONGRESS. IT WAS DEVELOPED WITH THE HARD WORK OF OUR NATION'S FIRST DRUG POLICY DIRECTOR, BILL BENNETT. ((PUT BOOK DOWN)) /\ /\ IN PREPARING THIS PLAN, WE TALKED WITH STATE, LOCAL AND COMMUNITY LEADERS, LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS IN EDUCATION, DRUG PREVENTION, AND REHABILITATION. WE TALKED WITH PARENTS AND KIDS. WE TOOK A LONG HARD LOOK AT ALL THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE ABOUT DRUGS IN THE PAST: WHAT'S WORKED, AND -- LET'S BE HONEST -- WHAT HASN'T. TOO OFTEN, PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT ACTED AS IF THEIR PART OF THE PROBLEM -- WHETHER FIGHTING DRUG PRODUCTION, OR DRUG SMUGGLING, OR DRUG DEMAND -- WAS THE ONLY PROBLEM. BUT TURF BATTLES WON'T WIN THIS WAR. \ \ \ TEAMWORK WILL.

TONIGHT, I'M ANNOUNCING A STRATEGY THAT REFLECTS THE COORDINATED, COOPERATIVE COMMITMENT OF ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES. \ \ IN SHORT, THIS PLAN IS AS COMPREHENSIVE AS THE PROBLEM. WITH THIS STRATEGY, WE NOW FINALLY HAVE A PLAN THAT COORDINATES OUR RESOURCES, OUR PROGRAMS AND THE PEOPLE WHO RUN THEM.

OUR WEAPONS IN THIS STRATEGY ARE: THE LAW AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM; OUR FOREIGN POLICY; OUR TREATMENT SYSTEMS, AND OUR SCHOOLS AND DRUG PREVENTION PROGRAMS. SO THE BASIC WEAPONS WE NEED ARE THE ONES WE ALREADY HAVE. WHAT HAS BEEN LACKING IS A STRATEGY TO EFFECTIVELY USE THEM. \\\

LET ME ADDRESS FOUR OF THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF OUR STRATEGY.

*** FIRST, WE ARE DETERMINED TO ENFORCE THE LAW, TO MAKE OUR STREETS AND NEIGHBORHOODS SAFE. SO TO START, I'M PROPOSING THAT WE MORE THAN DOUBLE FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO STATE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT. AMERICANS HAVE A RIGHT TO SAFETY IN AND AROUND THEIR HOMES.

AND WE WON'T HAVE SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS UNLESS WE ARE
TOUGH ON DRUG CRIMINALS -- MUCH TOUGHER THAN WE ARE
NOW. SOMETIMES THAT MEANS TOUGHER PENALTIES. BUT MORE
OFTEN IT JUST MEANS PUNISHMENT THAT IS SWIFT AND
CERTAIN. WE'VE ALL HEARD STORIES ABOUT DRUG DEALERS
WHO ARE CAUGHT AND ARRESTED -- AGAIN AND AGAIN -- BUT
NEVER PUNISHED. \\\ WELL, HERE THE RULES HAVE
CHANGED: IF YOU SELL DRUGS, YOU WILL BE CAUGHT. AND
WHEN YOU'RE CAUGHT, YOU WILL BE PROSECUTED. AND ONCE
YOU'RE CONVICTED, YOU WILL DO TIME. CAUGHT.
PROSECUTED. PUNISHED. \\\\

/\\

I AM ALSO PROPOSING THAT WE ENLARGE OUR CRIMINAL
JUSTICE SYSTEM ACROSS THE BOARD -- AT THE LOCAL, STATE
AND FEDERAL LEVELS ALIKE. WE NEED MORE PRISONS, MORE
JAILS, MORE COURTS, MORE PROSECUTORS. SO TONIGHT, I'M
REQUESTING -- ALTOGETHER -- AN ALMOST BILLION-AND-A-
HALF DOLLAR INCREASE IN DRUG-RELATED FEDERAL SPENDING
ON LAW ENFORCEMENT.

AND WHILE ILLEGAL DRUG USE IS FOUND IN EVERY COMMUNITY, NOWHERE IS IT WORSE THAN IN OUR PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS. YOU KNOW, THE POOR HAVE NEVER HAD IT EASY IN THIS WORLD. BUT IN THE PAST, THEY WEREN'T MUGGED ON THE WAY HOME FROM WORK BY CRACK GANGS. AND THEIR CHILDREN DIDN'T HAVE TO DODGE BULLETS ON THE WAY TO SCHOOL. THAT IS WHY I'M TARGETING FIFTY-MILLION DOLLARS TO FIGHT CRIME IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS -- TO HELP RESTORE ORDER, AND TO KICK OUT THE DEALERS FOR GOOD.

*** THE SECOND ELEMENT OF OUR STRATEGY LOOKS BEYOND OUR BORDERS, WHERE THE COCAINE AND CRACK, BOUGHT ON AMERICA'S STREETS, IS GROWN AND PROCESSED. IN COLOMBIA ALONE, COCAINE KILLERS HAVE GUNNED DOWN A LEADING STATESMAN, MURDERED ALMOST TWO HUNDRED JUDGES AND SEVEN MEMBERS OF THEIR SUPREME COURT. THE BESIEGED GOVERNMENTS OF THE DRUG-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ARE FIGHTING BACK, FIGHTING TO BREAK THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG RINGS. BUT YOU AND I AGREE WITH THE COURAGEOUS PRESIDENT OF COLOMBIA, VIRGILIO ((VEER-HEEL-LEO)) BARCO, WHO SAID THAT IF AMERICANS USE COCAINE, THEN AMERICANS ARE PAYING \\ FOR MURDER. \\ AMERICAN COCAINE USERS NEED TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR NATION HAS ZERO TOLERANCE FOR CASUAL DRUG USE. WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY NOT TO LEAVE OUR BRAVE FRIENDS IN COLOMBIA TO FIGHT ALONE.

THE SIXTY-FIVE-MILLION DOLLAR EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE ANNOUNCED TWO WEEKS AGO WAS JUST OUR FIRST STEP IN ASSISTING THE ANDEAN NATIONS IN THEIR FIGHT AGAINST THE COCAINE CARTELS. COLOMBIA HAS ALREADY ARRESTED SUPPLIERS, SEIZED TONS OF COCAINE AND CONFISCATED PALATIAL HOMES OF DRUG LORDS. BUT COLOMBIA FACES A LONG, UPHILL BATTLE, SO WE MUST BE READY TO DO MORE.

OUR STRATEGY ALLOCATES MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A BILLION DOLLARS FOR NEXT YEAR IN MILITARY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE FOR THE THREE ANDEAN NATIONS OF COLOMBIA, BOLIVIA AND PERU. THIS WILL BE THE FIRST PART OF A FIVE-YEAR, TWO-BILLION DOLLAR PROGRAM TO COUNTER THE PRODUCERS, THE TRAFFICKERS AND THE SMUGGLERS.

I SPOKE WITH PRESIDENT BARCO LAST WEEK, AND WE HOPE TO MEET WITH THE LEADERS OF AFFECTED COUNTRIES IN AN UNPRECEDENTED DRUG SUMMIT, ALL TO COORDINATE AN INTER-AMERICAN STRATEGY AGAINST THE CARTELS. WE WILL WORK WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS -- ESPECIALLY OUR ECONOMIC SUMMIT PARTNERS -- TO DO MORE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS. I'M ALSO ASKING THE SENATE TO RATIFY THE U.N. ANTI-DRUG CONVENTION CONCLUDED LAST DECEMBER.

TO STOP THOSE DRUGS ON THE WAY TO AMERICA, I PROPOSE THAT WE SPEND MORE THAN A BILLION-AND-A-HALF DOLLARS ON INTERDICTION. \ \ GREATER INTERAGENCY COOPERATION, COMBINED WITH DEFENSE DEPARTMENT TECHNOLOGY CAN HELP STOP DRUGS AT OUR BORDERS.

OUR MESSAGE TO THE DRUG CARTELS IS THIS: \\ THE
RULES HAVE CHANGED. \\ WE WILL HELP ANY GOVERNMENT
THAT WANTS OUR HELP. WHEN REQUESTED, WE WILL FOR THE
FIRST TIME MAKE AVAILABLE THE APPROPRIATE RESOURCES OF
AMERICA'S ARMED FORCES. WE WILL INTENSIFY OUR EFFORTS
AGAINST DRUG SMUGGLERS ON THE HIGH SEAS, IN
INTERNATIONAL AIRSPACE AND AT OUR BORDERS. WE WILL
STOP THE FLOW OF CHEMICALS FROM THE UNITED STATES USED
TO PROCESS DRUGS. WE WILL PURSUE AND ENFORCE
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO TRACK DRUG MONEY TO THE
FRONT MEN AND FINANCIERS. AND THEN WE WILL HANDCUFF
THESE MONEY LAUNDERERS, AND JAIL THEM -- JUST LIKE ANY
STREET DEALER. AND FOR DRUG KINGPINS, THE DEATH
PENALTY.\\\\\\

*** THE THIRD PART OF OUR STRATEGY CONCERNS DRUG
TREATMENT. EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE TWO MILLION
AMERICAN DRUG USERS WHO MAY BE ABLE TO GET OFF DRUGS
WITH PROPER TREATMENT. BUT RIGHT NOW, ONLY 40 PERCENT
OF THEM ARE ACTUALLY GETTING HELP. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT
GOOD ENOUGH.

MANY PEOPLE WHO NEED TREATMENT WON'T SEEK IT ON THEIR OWN. AND SOME WHO DO SEEK IT ARE PUT ON A WAITING LIST. MOST PROGRAMS WERE SET UP TO DEAL WITH HEROIN ADDICTS, \ \ BUT TODAY, THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS COCAINE USERS. IT'S TIME WE EXPAND OUR TREATMENT SYSTEMS AND DO A BETTER JOB OF PROVIDING SERVICES TO THOSE WHO NEED THEM.

SO TONIGHT, I'M PROPOSING AN INCREASE OF THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE MILLION DOLLARS IN FEDERAL SPENDING ON DRUG TREATMENT.

WITH THIS STRATEGY, WE WILL DO MORE. WE WILL WORK WITH THE STATES. WE WILL ENCOURAGE EMPLOYERS TO ESTABLISH EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO COPE WITH DRUG USE. AND, BECAUSE ADDICTION IS SUCH A CRUEL INHERITANCE, WE WILL INTENSIFY OUR SEARCH FOR WAYS TO HELP EXPECTANT MOTHERS WHO USE DRUGS.

/\\

*** FOURTH, WE MUST STOP ILLEGAL DRUG USE BEFORE IT STARTS. UNFORTUNATELY, IT BEGINS EARLY -- FOR MANY KIDS, BEFORE THEIR TEENS. BUT IT DOESN'T START THE WAY YOU MIGHT THINK, FROM A DEALER OR AN ADDICT HANGING AROUND A SCHOOL PLAYGROUND. MORE OFTEN, OUR KIDS FIRST GET THEIR DRUGS FREE, FROM FRIENDS, OR EVEN FROM OLDER BROTHERS OR SISTERS. PEER PRESSURE SPREADS DRUG USE. PEER PRESSURE CAN HELP STOP IT.

I AM PROPOSING A QUARTER-OF-A-BILLION-DOLLAR INCREASE IN FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY PREVENTION PROGRAMS THAT HELP YOUNG PEOPLE AND ADULTS REJECT ENTICEMENTS TO TRY DRUGS. \\ AND I'M PROPOSING SOMETHING ELSE. \\ EVERY SCHOOL, COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY -- AND EVERY WORKPLACE -- MUST ADOPT TOUGH BUT FAIR POLICIES ABOUT DRUG USE BY STUDENTS AND EMPLOYEES. \\ THOSE THAT WILL NOT ADOPT SUCH POLICIES WILL NOT GET FEDERAL FUNDS. PERIOD.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR ALSO HAS A ROLE TO PLAY. I SPOKE WITH A BUSINESSMAN NAMED JIM BURKE WHO SAID HE WAS HAUNTED BY THE THOUGHT -- A NIGHTMARE REALLY -- THAT SOMEWHERE IN AMERICA, AT ANY GIVEN MOMENT, THERE IS A TEEN-AGE GIRL WHO SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL, INSTEAD OF GIVING BIRTH TO A CHILD ADDICTED TO COCAINE. SO JIM DID SOMETHING. HE LED AN ANTI-DRUG PARTNERSHIP, FINANCED BY PRIVATE FUNDS, TO WORK WITH ADVERTISERS AND MEDIA FIRMS. THEIR PARTNERSHIP IS NOW DETERMINED TO WORK WITH OUR STRATEGY BY GENERATING A MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF AIRTIME EVERY DAY FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS -- A BILLION DOLLARS TOTAL. THINK OF IT, A BILLION DOLLARS OF TELEVISION TIME, ALL TO PROMOTE THE ANTI-DRUG MESSAGE. \\\

AS PRESIDENT, ONE OF MY FIRST MISSIONS IS TO KEEP THE NATIONAL FOCUS ON OUR OFFENSIVE AGAINST DRUGS. SO NEXT WEEK I WILL TAKE THE ANTI-DRUG MESSAGE TO THE CLASSROOMS OF AMERICA IN A SPECIAL TELEVISION ADDRESS, ONE THAT I HOPE WILL REACH EVERY SCHOOL, EVERY YOUNG AMERICAN. BUT DRUG EDUCATION DOESN'T BEGIN IN CLASS OR ON T.V. IT MUST BEGIN AT HOME AND IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD. PARENTS AND FAMILIES MUST SET THE FIRST EXAMPLE OF A DRUG-FREE LIFE. AND WHEN FAMILIES ARE BROKEN, CARING FRIENDS, AND NEIGHBORS MUST STEP IN. \\\

THESE ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN OUR STRATEGY TO FIGHT DRUGS. THEY ARE ALL DESIGNED TO REINFORCE ONE ANOTHER, TO MESH INTO A POWERFUL WHOLE. TO MOUNT AN AGGRESSIVE ATTACK ON THE PROBLEM FROM EVERY ANGLE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, THAT WE TRULY HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE STRATEGY.

AS YOU CAN TELL, SUCH AN APPROACH WILL NOT COME CHEAPLY. LAST FEBRUARY, I ASKED FOR A SEVEN-HUNDRED-MILLION DOLLAR INCREASE IN THE DRUG BUDGET FOR THE COMING YEAR. OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS OF CAREFUL STUDY, WE HAVE FOUND AN IMMEDIATE NEED FOR ANOTHER BILLION-AND-A-HALF DOLLARS. WITH THIS ADDED 2.2 BILLION, OUR 1990 DRUG BUDGET TOTALS ALMOST EIGHT BILLION DOLLARS -- THE LARGEST INCREASE IN HISTORY.

WE NEED THIS PROGRAM FULLY IMPLEMENTED -- RIGHT AWAY. \\ THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR BEGINS JUST 26 DAYS FROM NOW. SO TONIGHT I'M ASKING THE CONGRESS -- WHICH HAS HELPED US FORMULATE THIS STRATEGY -- TO HELP US MOVE IT FORWARD IMMEDIATELY.

WE CAN PAY FOR THIS FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS WITHOUT RAISING TAXES OR ADDING TO THE BUDGET DEFICIT. WE HAVE SUBMITTED OUR PLAN TO CONGRESS THAT SHOWS JUST HOW TO FUND IT WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR BIPARTISAN BUDGET AGREEMENT.

I KNOW SOME WILL STILL SAY THAT WE ARE NOT SPENDING ENOUGH MONEY. BUT THOSE WHO JUDGE OUR STRATEGY ONLY BY ITS PRICE TAG, SIMPLY DON'T UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM. LET'S FACE IT, WE'VE ALL SEEN IN THE PAST THAT MONEY ALONE WON'T SOLVE OUR TOUGHEST PROBLEMS.

TO BE STRONG AND EFFICIENT, OUR STRATEGY NEEDS THESE FUNDS. BUT THERE IS NO MATCH FOR A UNITED AMERICA, A DETERMINED AMERICA, AN ANGRY AMERICA. OUR OUTRAGE AGAINST DRUGS UNITES US, BRINGS US TOGETHER BEHIND THIS ONE PLAN OF ACTION, \\ AN ASSAULT ON EVERY FRONT.

THIS IS THE TOUGHEST DOMESTIC CHALLENGE WE'VE
FACED IN DECADES. AND IT IS A CHALLENGE WE MUST
FACE -- NOT AS DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS, LIBERALS OR
CONSERVATIVES -- BUT AS AMERICANS. THE KEY IS A
COORDINATED, UNITED EFFORT. WE HAVE RESPONDED
FAITHFULLY TO THE REQUEST OF THE CONGRESS TO PRODUCE
OUR NATION'S FIRST NATIONAL DRUG STRATEGY. I'LL BE
LOOKING TO THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY AND OUR REPUBLICANS
IN CONGRESS FOR LEADERSHIP AND BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. AND
OUR CITIZENS DESERVE COOPERATION, NOT COMPETITION; A
NATIONAL EFFORT, NOT A PARTISAN BIDDING WAR.

TO START, CONGRESS NEEDS NOT ONLY TO ACT ON THIS
NATIONAL DRUG STRATEGY, BUT ALSO TO ACT ON OUR CRIME
PACKAGE ANNOUNCED LAST MAY; A PACKAGE TO TOUGHEN
SENTENCES, BEEF UP LAW ENFORCEMENT AND BUILD NEW
PRISION SPACE FOR 24,000 INMATES.

\\ YOU AND I BOTH KNOW THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
CAN'T DO IT ALONE. THE STATES NEED TO MATCH TOUGHER
FEDERAL LAWS WITH TOUGHER LAWS OF THEIR OWN -- STIFFER
BAIL, PROBATION, PAROLE AND SENTENCING.

AND WE NEED YOUR HELP. IF PEOPLE YOU KNOW ARE
USERS, HELP THEM GET OFF DRUGS. IF YOU ARE A PARENT,
TALK TO YOUR CHILDREN ABOUT DRUGS -- TONIGHT.

CALL YOUR LOCAL DRUG PREVENTION PROGRAM. BE A BIG
BROTHER OR SISTER TO A CHILD IN NEED. PITCH IN WITH
YOUR LOCAL NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH PROGRAM. WHETHER YOU
GIVE YOUR TIME OR TALENT, EVERYONE COUNTS.

\\//

EVERY EMPLOYER WHO BANS DRUGS FROM THE WORKPLACE.

EVERY SCHOOL THAT'S TOUGH ON DRUG USE.

EVERY NEIGHBORHOOD IN WHICH DRUGS ARE NOT WELCOME.

\\//

AND MOST IMPORTANT, EVERY ONE OF YOU WHO REFUSES
TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY. EVERY ONE OF YOU COUNTS.

OF COURSE, VICTORY WILL TAKE HARD WORK AND TIME.
BUT TOGETHER WE WILL WIN -- TOO MANY YOUNG LIVES ARE AT
STAKE. \\\

/\\

NOT LONG AGO, I READ A NEWSPAPER STORY ABOUT A LITTLE BOY NAMED DOONEY, WHO, UNTIL RECENTLY, LIVED IN A CRACK HOUSE IN A SUBURB OF WASHINGTON, D.C. IN DOONEY'S NEIGHBORHOOD, CHILDREN DON'T FLINCH AT THE SOUND OF GUNFIRE. AND WHEN THEY PLAY, THEY PRETEND TO SELL TO EACH OTHER SMALL WHITE ROCKS THEY CALL CRACK.

LIFE AT HOME WAS SO CRUEL THAT DOONEY BEGGED HIS TEACHERS TO LET HIM SLEEP ON THE FLOOR AT SCHOOL. AND, WHEN ASKED ABOUT HIS FUTURE, 6-YEAR-OLD DOONEY ANSWERS: "I DON'T WANT TO SELL DRUGS, BUT I WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO." ((PAUSE)) \\\

WELL, DOONEY DOES NOT HAVE TO SELL DRUGS. NO CHILD IN AMERICA SHOULD HAVE TO LIVE LIKE THIS. TOGETHER, AS A PEOPLE, WE CAN SAVE THESE KIDS. WE HAVE ALREADY TRANSFORMED A NATIONAL ATTITUDE OF TOLERANCE INTO ONE OF CONDEMNATION. BUT THE WAR ON DRUGS WILL BE HARD-WON, NEIGHBORHOOD BY NEIGHBORHOOD, BLOCK BY BLOCK, CHILD BY CHILD. \\\

IF WE FIGHT THIS WAR AS A DIVIDED NATION, THEN THE-
WAR IS LOST. ((PICK UP DRUGS, HOLD IT IN FRONT OF
YOU)) BUT, IF WE FACE THIS EVIL AS A NATION UNITED,
THIS WILL BE NOTHING BUT A HANDFUL OF USELESS
CHEMICALS. ((SET VIAL DOWN, OFF CAMERA))

VICTORY . . . ((PAUSE)) VICTORY OVER DRUGS IS
OUR CAUSE, A JUST CAUSE, AND WITH YOUR HELP, WE ARE
GOING TO WIN.

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU AND GOOD NIGHT.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release Until 9:00 P.M. EDT
September 5, 1989

FACT SHEET

NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL STRATEGY

The National Drug Control Strategy describes a coordinated and comprehensive plan of attack involving all basic anti-drug initiatives and agencies. The Strategy recommends the largest dollar increase in the history of the drug war -- nearly \$2.2 billion, 39 percent above the Fiscal 1989 level. Throughout, the Strategy emphasizes the principle of user accountability -- in law enforcement efforts focused on individual users; in decisions regarding sentencing and parole; in school, college, and university policies regarding the use of drugs by students and employees; in the workplace; and in treatment.

The Strategy also calls for increased efforts in cocaine source countries and a more active international campaign by the United States to engage other nations in the fight against drugs. Interdiction efforts will be better targeted on key individuals in the drug organizations and on high-value shipments.

Another major priority is increasing the capacity of the drug treatment system and making it more accountable for results. Significant emphasis is also given to providing increased support for prevention and education efforts aimed at helping young people and others resist and reject drugs.

The Strategy embodies the following elements:

Expand the criminal justice system

- o Provide funds for larger police forces, and increased numbers of jails, prosecutors, and courts.
- o Develop alternatives for incarceration such as boot camps to free up jail and prison space.
- o Require drug testing of prisoners, parolees, and arrestees.

Hold users, whether casual or heavy users, accountable for their actions

Undertake a vigorous program to eradicate domestically-grown marijuana

Mobilize communities in the war on drugs

- o Emphasize community-level prevention of drug use before it starts.
- o Require schools and colleges to implement firm drug-free policies in order to receive Federal funds.
- o Clean up and secure public housing.

Expand drug-free workplace policies

- o Promote drug-free workplace policies in the private sector.
- o Recommend testing for job applicants and employers in safety and sensitive positions.
- o Aggressively implement Executive Order 12564 to assure drug-free workplace plans and policies within the Federal government.

Expand treatment and target services to improve the number of individuals served and the effectiveness of treatment

- o Hold Federally-funded treatment programs accountable for their effectiveness by establishing performance criteria.
- o Require drug testing in treatment programs receiving Federal funds.
- o Explore expanded use of "civil commitment" whereby addicts are sent by the courts to residential treatment facilities.
- o Improve drug treatment services for pregnant women.

Place heavier emphasis on targeted international efforts closer to production and trafficking sources

- o Elevate the drug issue as a foreign policy priority.
- o Dismantle drug trafficking organizations.
- o Reduce trafficking profits by focusing increased efforts on money laundering.

Take a fresh approach to interdiction

- o Create interagency and interdisciplinary teams to analyze and target smuggling modes, methods, and routes.
- o Target key individuals and high-value shipments.
- o Enhance border interdiction systems, operations, and activities.

Improve the quality of research, information, and technological capabilities available for drug control efforts

- o Establish a Federal Drug Control Research and Development Committee.
- o Develop a more current and flexible information base.

Improve coordination of Federal anti-drug policy and intelligence support

- o Establish interagency working groups chaired by the Office of National Drug Control Policy to coordinate supply and demand reduction efforts.
- o Establish an interagency working group chaired by the Office of National Drug Control Policy to develop plans for an intelligence center to unite U.S. drug-related analytical capabilities, and to improve intelligence capabilities.

Recommend a \$2.2 billion increase in drug funding to \$7.9 billion in 1990. The major changes over 1989 are shown on the following chart:

Drug Resources, Fiscal Year 1990

Budget Authority (Millions of Dollars)

	FY1989 Enacted	Feb 9 Budget FY1990*	Feb 9 Budget Plus Drug Portion of Crime Bill**	Drug Strategy Sep FY1990**	FY89- FY90 % Increase	FY89- FY90 \$ Increase
Corrections	734	894	1,601	1,601	118%	867
International	250	306	306	449	80%	199
State and Local Grants	150	150	156	350	133%	200
Judiciary	209	242	250	250	20%	41
Other Law Enforcement	2,779	3,018	3,058	3,113	12%	334
Prevention/Education	943	1,041	1,041	1,176	25%	233
Treatment	604	735	735	925	53%	321
Total	5,669	6,386	7,147	7,864	39%	2,195

* These columns include resources for the U.S. Court and make other minor adjustments to the figures presented in the "Building a Better America" document issued in February, 1989.

** These columns include the "drug portion" (\$0.8 billion) of the President's \$1.2 billion crime initiative announced in May, 1989. The Administration supports enactment of the crime initiative (The Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1989) in its entirety.

The drug portion of prison construction is based on the projected share of drug offenders in Federal prison at the time the construction is completed. This new methodology reflects more accurately the likely impact of drug offenses. For consistency with prior years, the historical prison construction numbers have been adjusted to reflect this new methodology.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1989

Dear ^F3^,

September will be a busy month for the President.

I have enclosed the highlights of his schedule. Some of the precise themes and messages involved in these events have not been completely settled yet and I would appreciate your input if you have any ideas or suggestions.

Enjoy the August break!

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

P.S. I will be out of town through Labor Day, so give Ed a call or drop him a note with your thoughts.

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THE SCHEDULE

September

- | | | |
|-------|-------|---|
| | 4 | Return from Kennebunkport |
| | 5 | Drug Policy Speech |
| | 7 | Address American Legion Convention
Baltimore, Maryland |
| | 8 | Address National Baptist Convention
New Orleans, Louisiana |
| | 12 | Televised Address to Schools |
| | 14 | State Visit for King Fahd of Saudi Arabia
Washington, D.C. |
| (TBD) | 18 | Centennial Event
Sioux Falls, South Dakota |
| (TBD) | | Centennial Event
Helena, Montana |
| (TBD) | 19 | Environmental Address
Anchorage/Valdez, Alaska |
| (TBD) | 20 | Centennial Event
Puget Sound, Washington |
| (TBD) | 22 | Fundraising Luncheon for Jim Courter
Newark, New Jersey |
| | 23 | Red Mass Ceremony and Luncheon
Boston, Massachusetts |
| | 25-26 | Address United Nations
New York, New York |
| | 27-28 | Education Summit
Charlottesville, Virginia |
| | 29 | Retirement Ceremony for Admiral Crowe
Annapolis, Maryland |

August 15, 1989

Dear ^F3^,

Attached is an article that appeared in this week's Business Week. I think it does a good job of highlighting many of the President's accomplishments and also outlines some of the challenges he will face in the coming months.

As soon as the President returns from Maine he will be launching several new policy initiatives and will be doing a great deal of travelling. I will keep you up to date with our plans and schedules. Please stay in touch and I'll be sure to send you anything that looks interesting.

Enjoy the last few weeks of the summer.

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

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TO CONGRESS, BUSH LOOKED LIKE A PUSHOVER . . .

But the President used savvy and luck to dominate the Democrats

When the 101st Congress convened last January, House and Senate Democratic leaders sized up new President George Bush and exchanged knowing smiles. The Republican's campaign strategy of wrapping himself in the flag and Ronald Reagan's mantle offered few clues to his agenda—much less a mandate for action. So the Democrats figured they could seize the initiative on a host of measures, from mandated employee benefits to a minimum wage boost.

Yet just seven months after Bush loped into office, Democratic congressional leaders have been humbled by his surprising dominance of the policy agenda—though they have scored points by blocking several key nominations. Bush

has framed the debate on virtually every major issue, from the budget to the savings and loan bailout.

What's more, when Congress reconvenes in September, Bush still seems likely to be in the driver's seat. His clean-air proposal has won strong bipartisan support. Bush also retains the power and the soaring public-approval ratings to fend off a major tax increase. And a revolt by Sunbelt Democrats could result in legislation cutting the tax rate on capital gains, handing the President a major victory. The same holds true on defense. When Congress finally grapples with wildly differing House and Senate versions of a 1990 military budget, the outcome will look a lot like Bush's Pentagon spending plan. "The

bottom line is that George Bush is playing things out according to his script, not Congress," says Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution.

How did Bush manage his mastery of a Congress dominated by the opposition party? It was a combination of luck, skills acquired in his long apprenticeship in Washington, and hard work. His biggest windfall was the political paralysis of House Democrats. First they were hobbled by a lengthy fight over a 51% pay raise. Then came the crusher: a four-month ethics controversy that resulted in the agonizing fall of former House Speaker Jim Wright of Texas and former Majority Whip Tony Coelho of California. Stunned by the imbroglio, Democrats "lost control," says William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute. The resulting chaos "made Bush look good by comparison," says one White House aide.

STRUGGLING. It's just becoming clear how high a price the Democrats paid for the Wright affair. Although unpopular, Wright was adept at keeping his troops in line. During his downfall, Democrats reverted to their tendency to form fac-

tions, and new Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) is struggling to restore a semblance of order. Says Schneider: "There still is no sense of discipline or an agenda."

Both Foley and Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Me.) oppose a capital-gains tax cut, and they were caught flat-footed by Democratic support for the issue. Discipline evaporated on the House floor in July, when liberals defied the leadership and gutted the Administration's defense budget, handing the GOP a nifty political issue.

Democratic disarray is only one facet of Bush's success. The President has devoted a lot of energy to consulting Hill leaders, using the approach to co-opt many opponents. Perhaps more important, he has refused to frame issues in rigid ideological terms, as Reagan often did. "The fact that the Democrats haven't been able to develop a successful political is-

WHERE THE BIG ISSUES STAND



■ S&L BAILOUT

Bush got all he wanted—and managed to fend off Democratic demands that the full cost of rescuing the thrift industry be included in the federal budget. Chalk this up as a win for Bush



■ CLEAN AIR

Bush's proposal was well received, but Democrats may toughen auto emissions rules. The bill likely won't be enacted before 1990, but it has top priority with Democrats



■ EDUCATION

Bush's education bill is ready for Senate action. It includes more money for magnet schools, special excellence awards, and incentives for schools to enhance performance. The cost: \$450 million



■ CAPITAL GAINS

Despite opposition from Democratic leaders, some cut in capital-gains taxes could pass this year. Bush has House Dems on the run, but could face a fight in the normally pro-business Senate



■ CHILD CARE

This promises to be the major social policy bill to be enacted by yearend. Bush and Congress are at odds over the approach. Compromise will raise federal aid by as much as \$2 billion a year



■ DRUG POLICY

Drug czar William H. Bennett will soon propose a plan to fight drug use and trafficking. Democrats are likely to make their own proposals. Don't expect action until just before 1990 elections

Top of the News

sue against us is an indication that the policy [of cooperation] has succeeded," says a senior White House official.

'RHETORIC.' Democratic leaders have reacted to Bush's wooing with a mixture of admiration and frustration. Mitchell praises him for reaching out to Congress and redressing "the failed policies of the Reagan Administration." Yet he blasts Bush for failing to match his "lofty rhetoric" on such issues as the environment and education with cold cash.

But Bush's version of glasnost will be tested again this fall as Democrats try to reassert themselves. For starters,

they vow to recast Bush's clean-air bill into a costlier and more ambitious measure. Democrats will push through expensive legislation to boost federal spending for child care (page 37). Senate Labor Committee Chairman Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) will revive efforts to pass a minimum-wage increase.

Friction also looms on the budget front. Although the White House-Hill budget accord was a masterpiece of fiscal legerdemain, Congress must still slash the deficit to \$110 billion to avoid automatic spending cuts. That will lead to more wrestling over a modest reve-

nue bill, and any lingering hard feelings could thwart Bush's plans for a big multiyear deal later on.

But no matter how the rest of the session turns out, Bush is chalking up enough Hill wins to confound his critics—and make Democrats think twice before they again proclaim themselves the masters of the Washington agenda. It is a town that Bush has prowled for years—and he's showing that he knows the byways of power better than most.

By Douglas A. Harbrecht and Richard Fly in Washington, with bureau reports

RETAILING

NOW SEARS HAS EVERYDAY LOW PROFITS, TOO

Price-cutting and bloated costs have driven earnings down 14%

Shoppers can be a fickle bunch. Take Sears, Roebuck & Co. In March, Sears launched a national ad blitz trumpeting its new, wider array of brand names offered at everyday, supposedly rock-bottom prices. Curious consumers rolled in—and so did the bucks. Sears' first-quarter retailing revenues swelled 12% over the same quarter in 1988, prompting Chairman Edward A. Brennan to proclaim: "Everyday low pricing is an idea whose time has come."

Not so fast. After peaking in March, Sears' sales have headed due south. On Aug. 3, the world's largest retailer disclosed that its same-store sales actually slipped 2.4% in July from the same period last year, while its biggest competitors reported at least modest growth (chart). "It was a crummy month any way you look at it," says Richard Nelson, analyst at Duff & Phelps Inc.

More bad news may be in the offing. The novelty appeal of the "new Sears" is fading just as consumers have turned skittish about buying major durable goods. Those big-ticket, low-margin items—refrigerators, washers, and dryers—account for about 25% of Sears' merchandise sales. They also help make up for the retailer's relatively scant business in higher-margin areas such as women's apparel, footwear, and cosmetics. Other retailers, notably J. C. Penney Co., have jettisoned many hard-goods lines and emphasized apparel, whose sales tend to hold up better during economic slowdowns.

Problems in Sears' sales mix are putting Brennan's new strategy in doubt. With the retailer's bloated cost structure, the price-slashing gambit has left margins razor-thin. The result: Sears' retail earnings, excluding accounting

changes, slid 14% during the second quarter, to \$136 million on sales of \$7 billion, according to an estimate by A. G. Edwards & Sons Inc.

Those are short-term adjustments, insists a Sears spokeswoman. Brennan's blueprint, she says, will eventually reverse Sears' market share and earnings slide. Meanwhile, Brennan will stay the course, streamlining Sears' \$30.2 billion merchandise group and cutting costs mightily. But the pressure on margins won't let up anytime soon. Edwards estimates Sears' pretax margins this year will run about 3.7%—compared with some 7% for J. C. Penney and about 6.5% for Wal-Mart Stores Inc.

SNAZZY 'SUPERSTORES.' The pricing shift alone was never expected to generate a sales bonanza. Rather, Brennan was counting on sexy new brand names and spruced-up stores to lend some pizzazz to Sears' image. At one of its recently opened stores in Chicago, shoppers confront a collection of snazzy new "superstore" formats. At the Brand Central department, there's a neatly stacked array of Sony, General Electric, and Toshiba electronic gear.

Sears' competitors aren't ignoring those changes. Highland Superstores Inc., a national chain of appliance discount outlets, has responded to Sears' Brand Central rollout with hard-hitting comparative TV ads stating that Sears' "everyday low prices" still hover above those of Highland's. "We are doing everything we can" to counter them, says Ira Mondry, Highland's executive vice-president.

Those determined rivals, as well as Sears' own second-quarter results, send a clear message: It's crunch time. Says one Sears store manager, just back from a sales conference at headquarters: "The pressure to perform is definitely on us." And the key to performance lies in keeping the attention of ever-wavering consumers. Otherwise, the new Sears may start looking a lot like the old one.

By Brian Bremner in Chicago



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 6, 1989

Dear ^F3^,

Attached is an outline of the President's schedule for his July 9-18 trip to Europe. Keep an eye open for the trip news coverage and let me know what you think were the highlights and the weak points.

Also, July 20th is the six-month anniversary of the Inauguration. If you have any observations regarding the priorities and initiatives of the first six months or for the Fall, I would like to hear them.

Thanks for all your help.

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

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P.S. Please mail your comments through Ed Rogers. If you want to come in for a visit after the trip, give Ed a call at 456-6594.

TRAVEL OF THE PRESIDENT TO EUROPE

JULY 9 - 18, 1989

Sunday, July 9, 1989 (WASHINGTON/WARSAW)

7:00 am The President departs Andrews Air Force
Base en route Warsaw, Poland

(Time Change +6 hours)

9:50 pm Arrive Warsaw, Poland
 - Arrival Ceremony

Monday, July 10, 1989 (WARSAW)

8:45 am Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Tomb of the
Unknown Soldier

9:30 am Meetings with General Jaruzelski at the Belvedere
Palace

1:45 pm Polish Little League Baseball event

2:15 pm Meetings with Sejm (Legislative Body)

4:05 pm American Community Greeting at the American
Embassy

7:55 pm State Dinner at the Radziwill Palace hosted
by General Jaruzelski

Tuesday, July 11, 1989 (WARSAW/GDANSK/BUDAPEST)

10:10 am Depart Warsaw, Poland en route Gdansk, Poland

11:25 am Arrive Gdansk, Poland

12:45 pm Private Lunch with Lech Walesa

2:00 pm Wreath Laying and Remarks at the Solidarity
Workers' Monument

4:45 pm Depart Gdansk, Poland en route Budapest, Hungary

6:45 pm Arrive Budapest, Hungary

7:55 pm State Dinner at the Parliament Building

Wednesday, July 12, 1989 (BUDAPEST)

8:55 am Hungarian Leadership Meetings at the Parliament Building
1:15 pm Address students at Karl Marx University

Thursday, July 13, 1989 (BUDAPEST/PARIS)

7:45 am American Community Greeting at the Ambassador's Residence
8:50 am Depart Budapest en route Paris, France
11:25 am Arrive Paris, France
12:00 noon Bicentennial Ceremony at Palais du Trocadero
- Luncheon hosted by President Mitterrand
4:00 pm Bilateral Meetings with President Mitterrand
8:55 pm Dinner hosted by President Mitterrand at the Musee d'Orsay

Friday, July 14, 1989 (PARIS)

9:50 am View Bastille Day Parade from Place de la Concorde
1:40 pm Bicentennial Luncheon hosted by President Mitterrand at the Hotel de Lassay
4:55 pm Opening Session of the 25th Summit of Industrialized Nations at the Pyramide du Louvre
8:30 pm Working Dinner hosted by President Mitterrand at the Hotel de la Marine

Saturday, July 15, 1989 (PARIS)

9:50 am Plenary Session at the Arche de la Defense with Heads of State and Foreign Ministers
12:50 pm Working Luncheon
3:00 pm Plenary Session
6:30 pm Informal Working Session at the Pyramide du Louvre
8:00 pm Dinner hosted by President Mitterrand

Sunday, July 16, 1989 (PARIS)

8:45 am Church Service at the American Cathedral of Paris
10:00 am Plenary Session at the Arche de la Defense
1:00 pm Working Luncheon with Heads of State and Ministers
of Foreign Affairs
3:00 pm Plenary Session
5:20 pm Reading of Joint Communique
6:05 pm Press Conference at the Meridian Hotel

Monday, July 17, 1989 (PARIS/AMSTERDAM)

9:05 am Depart Paris, France en route The Netherlands
10:15 am Arrive Amsterdam, The Netherlands
11:10 am Tea with Queen Beatrix at the Noordeinde Palace
11:45 am Meeting with Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers at
the Parliament
7:55 pm State Dinner at the Noordeinde Palace

Tuesday, July 18, 1989 (PARIS/WASHINGTON)

7:50 am Breakfast with Party Leaders and Foreign Affairs
Committee Members at the American Ambassador's
Residence
9:55 am American Community Greeting at the American
Embassy
11:55 am Depart The Netherlands en route Washington, D.C.
(Time Change -6 hours)
2:10 pm Arrive Andrews Air Force Base
- Arrival Statement



The White House
Office of Public Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 22, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO AGENCY PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIRECTORS

FROM: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS

SUBJECT: NATIONAL SERVICE PACKAGE

Enclosed you will find a fact sheet and the President's address to the New York Partnership, announcing his "Points of Light" national service initiative. A copy of the President's address to a youth rally kicking off the "YES" -- Youths Engaged in Service -- initiative is also enclosed.

We hope you will find this information helpful.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 22, 1989

FACT SHEET

POINTS OF LIGHT INITIATIVE

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

CHALLENGE

Though America is at peace and more Americans are enjoying a greater degree of prosperity than ever before in our history, we still have work to do. As long as millions of Americans are illiterates, drop-outs, drug abusers, pregnant teens, delinquent or suicidal young people, AIDS victims and among the homeless and hungry, America has not yet fulfilled its promise. Our challenge is to overcome the disintegration of communities, large and small. While the government's role is critical, government cannot overcome this challenge alone.

MISSION

The President believes in the readiness and ability of every individual and every institution in America to initiate action as a "point of light." Meaningful one-to-one engagement in the lives of others is now required to overcome our most serious national problems. The growth and magnification of "points of light" must now become an American mission.

STRATEGY

- I. CLAIM PROBLEMS AS YOUR OWN
- II. IDENTIFY, ENLARGE AND REPLICATE WHAT IS WORKING
- III. DISCOVER AND ENCOURAGE NEW LEADERS

I. CLAIM PROBLEMS AS YOUR OWN

A. The President's Call for Action

The President calls on **all Americans and all American institutions**, large and small, to make service of central value in our daily life and work.

The President calls on the **heads of businesses and professional firms** to include community service among the factors considered in making hiring, compensation and promotion decisions.

The President calls on **newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, cable systems and other media institutions** to identify service opportunities, spotlight successful service initiatives and profile outstanding community leaders regularly.

The President calls on **state and local education boards** to uphold the value of service and to encourage students, faculty and personnel to serve others.

The President calls on **college and university presidents** to recognize the value of community service in considering applicants, to uphold the value of community service and to encourage students, faculty and personnel to serve others.

The President calls on **not-for-profit service organizations** to build the capacity to absorb increasing numbers of volunteers in purposeful roles.

The President challenges **all young people** to lead the nation in this movement of community service through the **"YES (Youth Engaged in Service) to America"** initiative. The President will call all young people to help overcome society's challenges by serving others through existing organizations or new initiatives.

He will also challenge:

- o Leaders from **all institutions** to engage their organizations in the development of young people;
- o Community leaders and students to reach out to **alienated young people** and develop community service opportunities which redirect their lives in a positive way;
- o **Community service organizations** to build the capacity to absorb large numbers of young people in purposeful community service.

Through the foundation, the President will:

- o **Select the President's National Service Youth Representatives** who will lead other young people in community service in their regions, suggest ways that other young people can engage in community service and assist in developing and implementing local programs;
- o **Initiate the President's National Service Youth Leadership Forums;** and
- o **Present the President's National Service Youth Leadership Awards** to honor outstanding youth community leaders.

YES to America is not a federal government program, but a nationwide service movement. It is:

- o A movement that is **grass-roots and community-based** rather than devised in and imposed from Washington;
- o A movement that does not compensate people with federal dollars for what should be an **obligation of citizenship;**
- o A movement that integrates service into young people's normal life and career pattern, developing in them a **lifelong commitment to service** rather than a temporary, one or two year involvement.

B. One-to-One Problem Solving

Every individual should "connect" with his or her institution - businesses, professional firms, the media, labor, education, religion, civic groups, associations of all kinds and not-for-profit service organizations - and engage in the lives of others in need on a one-to-one basis. Examples of the kinds of engagement the President calls for include:

- o starting a **literacy program** to teach every employee or member who wants to learn to read;
- o "adopting" a **school, class or single student**, providing tutoring, computers and other learning aids, food, clothing or shelter for each student who needs them;
- o "adopting" a **nursing home**, offering comfort and cheer;

- o starting a one-to-one mentoring program for **needy young people**;
- o forming a consortium to make decent, affordable housing available to the **homeless**;
- o contributing and distributing surplus food to soup kitchens each day to feed the **hungry**.

Individuals wishing to help another in any of the above ways independently of an institution are encouraged to establish a **one-to-one relationship** with an individual in need.

II. IDENTIFY, ENLARGE AND REPLICATE WHAT IS WORKING

The President will serve as Honorary Chairman of a foundation called the "Points of Light Initiative."

The President will convene an advisory committee to make recommendations (within 45 days of its first meeting) on the structure and composition of the foundation and the legislation most appropriate to accomplish the purposes of the President's national service initiative.

The President will seek a Congressional appropriation of \$25 million annually for the foundation, which will, in turn, seek to match that amount from private sector contributions.

The President will challenge each Governor to replicate this initiative in each state and encourage state and local leaders to develop **"Points of Light Working Groups"** composed of community leaders. These groups will marshal resources within their communities and deploy them to overcome local problems.

The President believes that virtually every problem in America is being solved somewhere. There are already countless service initiatives working successfully throughout America. However, these successful initiatives are too often isolated and unknown to others. **These initiatives must be replicated over and over again by individuals and teams until everyone is connected to someone, one-to-one.**

A. Peer-to-Peer Working Groups

Through a foundation initiative to be called the **"ServNet Project"**, corporations, professional firms, unions, schools, religious groups, civic groups and not-for-profit service organizations will be asked to donate the services of some of their most talented and promising people for a period of time.

These extraordinary individuals will **form and lead peer-to-peer working groups**, e.g., lawyers going to fellow lawyers, teachers to fellow teachers, union members to fellow union members, bringing examples of successful initiatives and providing training, technical assistance and other support to enable other institutions to devise similar initiatives.

B. Linking Servers to Needs

One of the foundation's objectives is to help to improve existing **methods of matching** would-be volunteers with purposeful service opportunities.

Over time, through an initiative called the **"ServLink Project"** the foundation will stimulate the development through private sector resources of **"technology links"** between those who wish to serve and those who need service (e.g., telephone calls, interactive computers, etc.).

Volunteer centers should be easily accessible to all Americans in their neighborhoods, **matching people with service opportunities**. Such contact points may be in a place of worship, union hall, library, fire station, business building, service group headquarters or neighborhood home.

In addition, every bank, credit card issuer, telephone and utility company will be asked to **include in billing and statement envelopes** printed information about how people and their institutions can become engaged in serving others.

C. Recognition and Awards

In order to encourage others to engage in service, every newspaper, magazine, radio and television station will be asked to **identify service opportunities, spotlight successful service initiatives and profile outstanding community leaders** regularly.

The **"President's Build A Community Awards"** will honor those people and institutions who have worked together to rebuild families or to revitalize communities.

Through the foundation, the President will **recognize and present awards and other forms of commendation** to talented community leaders and successful initiatives that are solving the nation's most critical social problems.

III. DISCOVER AND ENCOURAGE NEW LEADERS

America's community service movement must have the **strongest, most creative leadership** nationally and locally. Such leadership must be constantly recruited.

The foundation, with the help of existing organizations, will **identify the most promising new leaders** in all walks of life, who are not now engaged in community service, and **encourage them** to devote part of their talent and energy to community service.

The foundation will give special attention to **young people** and to **those who have not had the opportunity** to fulfill their leadership potential.

IV. CONCLUSION

The President's national service initiative focuses on the most critical domestic challenges facing the nation today. These problems were long in coming and cannot be solved overnight. But if each American citizen and each American institution responds to the President's call to engage "one-to-one" in the life of another person in need, this initiative will be the most comprehensive and inclusive movement of our time. This movement can dramatically reverse negative trends on many fronts and ensure the fulfillment of America's promise.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York City, New York)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 1:25 P.M. EDT
THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1989

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NEW YORK PARTNERSHIP

New York Hilton Hotel
Grand Ballroom
New York City, New York

June 22, 1989

It is indeed an honor to address the members and guests of the New York Partnership and the Association for a Better New York. For already, you have enriched fields from business and labor to education and the media. We meet today to go still further: To join hands, and link hearts, to light the American sky.

I begin with a single, simple statement: There is no problem in America that is not being solved somewhere. Think of that.

Today, millions of Americans, the quiet Americans, the selfless Americans, are giving of their time and of themselves. They work at day-care centers, inner-city schools, homes for the elderly. Anywhere there is a need. Anytime they are needed -- making a difference in the lives of those for whom the American Dream seems an Impossible Dream.

Already, this involvement -- what we term national, or community, service -- has helped countless Americans find self-respect and dignity.

But the job is far from complete. Too many Americans still endure a living nightmare of want and isolation. That must stop. Ladies and gentlemen: We must bring back those who feel unwelcome. We must reawaken their hope for the future.

We know that government can't rebuild a family, or reclaim a sense of neighborhood. We know that during the past two decades we have spent more money, on more social programs, than at any time in our history. And some problems aren't better. In fact, they're worse.

Most Americans understand that the key to constructive change is building relationships, not bureaucracies. And they know that those who say, "It's government's problem," are really part of the problem themselves.

All my life I've believed that government could not substitute for "do unto others." Barbara and I, like all of you here, have tried to do our small part. In Midland, with the YMCA and United Way. Coaching Little League, helping to build a theater. And dating back to my days at Yale, raising funds for the United Negro College Fund.

We've all done these things, and as we participated we fulfilled ourselves. Learning that we are not what we drive, or where we live, or what kind of clothes we wear. Rather, learning that America's greatness rests on the goodness of her people.

These beliefs are beyond any individual, for they are timeless. Today, more than ever, we need community service to help drop-outs, pregnant teens, and drug abusers. The homeless and AIDS victims. The hungry and illiterate. Often they are disadvantaged, and as their communities disintegrate around them, they become disconnected from society.

Our challenge, then, is to raise their spirits and their expectations by engaging each citizen, school and business, church and synagogue, service organization and civic group. For this is what I mean when I talk of "a thousand points of light" -- that vast galaxy of people and institutions working together to solve problems in their own back yard.

I am here today to ask that both sectors, private and public -- and all branches and all levels of government -- join this great movement to extend national service into every corner of America. For it is a movement -- bold, and unprecedented. Not a program. Not another bureaucracy.

Let me tell you the strategy of this movement. First, to issue a call to action, and to claim problems as your own. Second, to identify, enlarge, and recreate what is working. And third, to discover and encourage new leaders.

First, our call to action. It is individual, and collective. And it begins this afternoon, with you.

So today, I ask all Americans and all American institutions, large and small, to make service central to your life and work. I urge all business leaders to consider community service in hiring, compensation, and promotion decisions. I call upon non-profit and service groups to open your doors to all those who want to help, irrespective of age, background, or level of experience. And leaders of high schools and colleges, I urge you to uphold the values of community service and to encourage students, faculty, and personnel to serve others.

To every corporation, large and small, I say: Begin a literacy program that teaches each employee how to read. And to every member of a body of higher learning: Start a Big Brother or Big Sister program for kids in your neighborhood. Of every church and synagogue, I ask: Become an around-the-clock community center. And of every restaurant and grocery store: Distribute surplus food to soup kitchens and local shelters.

And to the youth of America, I issue a special appeal.

Yesterday, on the South Lawn of the White House, we held a kickoff rally for a key element of our strategy: the YES Initiative -- or "Youth Engaged In Service" to America. It was attended by thousands of kids -- some of those points of light I like to talk about. I challenged every young American to fight against self-absorption. And to emulate those leaders who have shown that there is no problem in America that is not being solved somewhere.

Their presence reminded me of the saying, "Life is not a state of time -- life is a state of mind." So is our call to community service. It summons the young, and the old. I believe American will listen to that call. The poet Emerson once said, "The greatest gift is a portion of thyself." Well, today, across our 50 States, groups and individuals are giving of, not to, themselves.

Americans like these are missionaries, and they are heroes. Our mission is to achieve, nationally, what they are doing, locally. To complete it will require a catalyst. This brings me to the second part of our strategy. And I am proud to announce it now: A new effort to identify service programs that work -- and carry them to America.

We call this catalyst the "Points of Light Initiative" -- a Foundation, of which I will serve as honorary chairman, and that will help make our movement a reality.

I will soon ask Congress for \$25 million annually to support this Initiative, which, in turn, will seek matching funds from the private sector. But I will also name an advisory committee to report to me within 45 days of its first meeting on the structure, composition, and legislation needed to achieve the Foundation's goals. And I am proud to announce today that Governor Tom Kean of New Jersey, one of this nation's most dedicated and caring public servants, has agreed to head this committee.

But, a Federal effort alone cannot succeed. Therefore, today we invite each governor -- and, through them, the mayors of all municipalities -- to join our movement by forming State and local Points of Light working groups composed of outstanding leaders.

These individuals will become a vehicle to solve problems locally. And to help solve problems nationally, the "Points of Light Initiative" will be a magnet for the best ideas, and brightest programs, in community service. For while countless service initiatives are already working successfully, they are too often isolated and unknown to others. Our Foundation will change all that: By bringing success stories to other communities, we will repeat them across the Nation.

We will repeat them through a Foundation initiative to be called the "ServNet Project." Professional firms, corporations, unions, schools, religious, civic, and not-for-profit groups will be asked to donate the services of some of their most talented and promising people for a period of time.

These extraordinary individuals will form and lead peer-to-peer working groups. For example: Lawyers going to fellow lawyers, teachers to fellow teachers, union members to fellow union members. ServNet will provide training and technical assistance -- showing what works, and what doesn't.

But we also have to improve current methods of matching people with meaningful service opportunities.

"Volunteer centers" should be directly accessible to all Americans in their neighborhoods. Such contact points may be in a place of worship, union hall, library, fire station, business building, service group headquarters, or neighborhood home.

Over time, through an initiative called the "ServLink Project," the Foundation will stimulate the development through private sector resources of "technology links" between those who wish to serve and those needing service in the inquirer's own community. And in addition, we will ask banks, credit card issuers, telephone and utility companies to include in statement envelopes information about how people and their institutions can become engaged in serving others.

Like the Foundation itself, these efforts can help individuals -- and institutions -- provide new hope to America. And so can the third part of our movement's strategy: Our initiative to discover and encourage new leaders of every age in every town and city. And to inspire them to devote their talents and energies to national service. And then, to honor those who excel.

Through the Foundation, the YES Initiative will annually select two college-aged youth from each State as "President's National Service Youth Representatives." They will spend one year traveling their regions as service ambassadors -- urging other young Americans to get involved. And "Points of Light" will convene youth and regional "Presidential Leadership Forums," uniting young people, educators, and community activists.

From such action will come achievement. And such achievement should be rewarded. We will ask media from small-town weeklies to network television to profile the brightest stars of community service. And our Foundation will also recognize successful community initiatives and outstanding leaders through two new Presidential Awards. The "National Service Youth Leadership Awards" -- given each year to individuals. And the "Build A Community Awards" -- honoring "partnerships" which work together to strengthen families and decaying neighborhoods in America.

All of this will fulfill us as Americans. By asking us to combat problems like loneliness and poverty, drug abuse and homelessness, we cannot afford to fail, and we won't. For as Americans, we know what is at stake.

We know that volunteerism can help those free-falling through society. We know that as citizens, and institutions, we can use "one-to-one" caring to truly "love thy neighbor."

We know, finally, that from now on, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. And we must resolve to carry this belief to every person in the land.

Two centuries ago last year, Alexander Hamilton sent a letter urging General Washington to seek the Presidency. He wrote him: "The point of light in which you stand. . . will make an infinite difference . . ."

National service will succeed. It can make "an infinite difference" in the life of these United States. For "a thousand points" can light the lives of a people, and a Nation.

Remember, there is no problem that is not being solved somewhere in America. You -- you in this room -- can prove that statement a thousand times over. It's in our hands.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 21, 1981

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO
YOUTH ENGAGED IN SERVICE GROUP

The South Lawn

11:24 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: You'd better watch that guy -- he might be president someday. (Laughter and applause.)

Well, first let me thank Mike Love and Bruce -- the Beach Boys -- for being with us and providing this marvelous presence and entertainment. Robert Lamb as well. We're privileged they give of themselves to help others, and I'm just delighted that they're here with us today.

I also want to thank Carissa and Dale and Michael and Ron. Thanks for sharing those stories with us -- those remarkable stories.

You know, this is a wonderful sight. The guy I was sitting next to up here said, "There's a lot of people here." And he's right. A lot of people. But your problems and possibilities are as diverse as the nation itself. But all of you share a precious inheritance because, as I see it, you are the future of America. (Applause.) But to understand the future, sometimes we need to look to the past, so think back for a moment with me to a small-town tradition that America must never forget -- a simpler time, a time when there was trouble or a neighbor needed help -- every town had a way to send that message out to all the townspeople. Someone raced to the top of the town hall or the church steeple and rang a bell, and when people heard that bell, they didn't stop to ask why it was ringing, they just came -- horseback or foot, by buggy or bicycle, honking the horn of a Model T, they just came -- whatever the problem, whoever was in need of help, they were ready to help.

And I've asked you here today -- invited you to this marvelous White House lawn because I need your help -- because America needs your help. And the bells have been silent too long. So let them ring in your hearts and across the land.

And I know you're ready, whatever the problem -- whoever is in need. We need you now.

And I know that presidents have called on the young people of this country before. In time of war, our young have rushed to answer the call -- to fight and die for our freedoms, if necessary.

Today, we're fortunate. We live in a time of peace -- time of great and growing prosperity. And there's no need for that kind of call to arms.

But it is time for a call to action. It's a time of need for millions of Americans. The storm clouds of war fortunately are not on the horizon -- but you and I know that the storm clouds of a different kind are gathering. A simple fact in America today is that too many people are free-falling through society with no prospect of landing on their feet. No one, young, old, white, brown or black, should be permitted to go through life unclaimed. You must show us

MORE

how to reclaim these lives. We need you.

And so today, I call on you to commit yourselves -- listen to the bells -- make it your mission to make a difference in somebody else's life.

And I don't have to tell you that youth gets blamed its share, and more, for society's problems. Pick up the newspaper, turn on the television and there's another story about youth gone wrong.

You don't hear often enough about the good that you can do -- the good that you already are doing. And I know better, and you know better. Your commitment can convince yourselves and your nation that you're not the problem -- you are the solution. (Applause.)

Take a look at what's happening today -- what's happening to kids like you. One-third of all victims of violent crime haven't reached their 20th birthday -- one-third. The three leading causes of death for teenagers are accidents, many involving drugs or alcohol, suicide and murder. On a tragically typical day, almost 1,700 high school students drop out. Over 4,000 teenagers run away from home; 2,700 become pregnant. Over a dozen will take their own lives.

And these aren't simply cold statistics. Some of them are kids in your school, kids who live on your street. Some of them are your friends. And some of them may be about you right here today.

You heard Michael Johnson and his Big Brother Dale. You heard Carissa and Ron. You heard their message -- how much it means to know that someone cares, and how much it means to care for somebody else.

And you can carry that message across this country -- from the inner city out to farm country, and every community in between. You can let the phrase "one-to-one" symbolize all American commitment to each other. And regardless of the life that you are living there is something special about each and every one of you. And your gifts are all different. But you each have a gift that America needs and I'm asking you to give that gift now.

You know, I've talked to hundreds of kids over the years and my own kids growing up. And I've asked them, what is it you're looking for? What is it that you want to be? What is it that you want from life?

And so many times I hear the same answer. It isn't money. It's how you look -- what kind of car you drive. You've all thought about it. You know that's not what it's all about.

When it comes right down to it, what you want -- what we all want out of life -- are two things: meaning and adventure. Meaning -- a sense of purpose in life -- to be a part of something that counts, something that matters.

And adventure -- excitement -- matters, too. There are lots of ways to find adventure. Some are self-destructive. And so bring a sense of self-enrichment and satisfaction beyond belief. Your choice is up to all of you.

And I'm telling you today, you can find what you're looking for in helping others. If you walk this path with me, I can promise you a life full of meaning and adventure.

And that's why I've asked you all here. You represent millions like you, all across this country. That's why I'm asking you to be a part of an initiative that Mike mentioned, called Youth Engaged in Service to America -- YES to America. I'm not talking

MORE

about another government program. Another bureaucracy is the last thing we need. Believe me, I understand that. Youth Engaged in Service is a movement -- a way of looking at life.

And tomorrow, I'm going up to New York to announce a nationwide initiative for national service, to encourage volunteer of all ages, all backgrounds, all abilities. But today, let me tell you what YES is all about -- and what it's for, who it's for.

It's for young people of all ages -- five to 25. Even the youngest of us have gifts to give. Let me ask you today. Don't worry whether it's a lot or a little. Do what you can. Get in the habit of helping others -- and that's one habit that you'll never ever break.

And all of you have something to offer. Kids from tough neighborhoods, kids from broken homes, kids who have grown up on food stamps and hand-me-downs -- and maybe you think you've got nothing anyone wants. You're wrong. The gifts I'm talking about are more precious -- your energy and experience, your time and talents -- gifts that come right here from the heart. And if you've got the will to help -- you really have all that you need.

So first, YES is voluntary -- truly voluntary. You do not need to be bribed with incentives and threatened with penalties to get engaged in community service. And that's not what the idea of service is all about anyway. Service is its own reward -- satisfaction guaranteed. Didn't you feel it when those kids were talking to us a few minutes ago?

And second, serving others shouldn't be a detour on your career path. It's not something you do when you're young, and then you outgrow when you're a little bit older. It's a way of life -- something you start when you're young and stick with it -- all life long.

And third, YES means getting involved where you know you can make a difference in your own community. I want service organizations in the cities and towns where you live to open their doors -- to make room for people your age to contribute.

And some of you may be saying -- oh, I know it, I can hear it -- Mr. President, I'm ready. I'm willing. I'm able. But what can I do -- what should I do?

The fact is, you don't have to go far to find people who need your help. They're right there in your own community.

There's an elderly man -- facing nothing but empty days and isolation. And he needs you.

There's a man who can't read, living behind a locked door of illiteracy. That person needs you.

There's a family with no home, no place to sleep. That family needs you.

There's a boy or girl less fortunate than you, without family, without a friend, without hope in the future. And they need you. I ask you, what would it be like going through life without a single friend? You can be that friend.

There's a woman in a hospital bed, battling hard against her illness. She needs you.

Millions of people -- people in the cities and towns where you live -- just like them. America needs you.

Maybe you've never been asked before. Well, I'm asking you -- say YES to America.

MORE

Make a commitment. Reach out a hand to people in need.
Build a better future for yourselves -- a better future for America

So listen to the sound of those bells -- like long ago
ringing in the hearts of Americans across this country -- ringing in
the inner city, out in farm country, and every community in between
And I ask each of you -- all young people in America -- answer the
call. From now on, make it your mission to serve others in need.

Thank you. Thank you for coming to the White House. God
bless you, and God bless America. Thank you all very, very much.

END

11:36 A.M. EDT

CLEAN AIR PROPOSAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1989

Dear ^F3^,

Attached please find the President's clean air proposal that was unveiled in Yellowstone National Park today.

You probably have seen the news coverage it has received and I wanted you to have the specific details of the plan.

The President has gotten good reviews from both sides of the aisle but I expect the actual enactment could be a tough fight.

I hope this is helpful. Please let me know if you have any thoughts or suggestions.

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

^F1^

^F2^

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1989

FACT SHEET:

PRESIDENT BUSH'S CLEAN AIR PLAN

Fulfilling a major campaign commitment, President Bush today proposed a comprehensive program to provide clean air for all Americans.

The President's plan calls for the first sweeping revisions to the Clean Air Act since 1977, and represents the first time an Administration has put forward a proposal since that time.

The President's plan is designed to curb three major threats to the nation's environment and to the health of millions of Americans: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.

While emissions of some pollutants -- such as sulfur dioxide, urban ozone, and carbon monoxide -- have been reduced since passage of the 1970 law, progress has not come quickly enough. The President's plan will dramatically accelerate the pace of pollution reduction and put America on the path toward markedly cleaner air by the end of the century.

The President's plan will:

- o Cut sulfur dioxide emissions virtually in half by the year 2000. The plan calls for a 10 million ton reduction in SO₂, and a 2 million ton cut in nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions, for a total reduction of 12 million tons in acid-rain causing emissions.
- o Bring all cities currently not meeting the health standards for ozone and carbon monoxide into attainment. Most cities will attain the standard by 1995, and the plan is designed to ensure attainment in all but the most severely impacted cities by the year 2000.
- o Require factories and plants emitting toxic compounds into the air to employ the best technology currently available in order to achieve in the near term a cut estimated at 75 to 90 percent in pollutants suspected of causing cancer. Taken together with efforts to reduce cancer-causing emissions from cars and trucks, it is estimated that the plan will eliminate in its first phase over three-fourths of the annual cancer deaths that air toxics are suspected of causing.

Fundamental Principles

Five goals underlie the President's clean air proposals and the means for accomplishing them:

- o Protecting the Public's Health. The goal of the legislation is to prevent public exposure to cancer-causing agents and to protect those citizens, especially vulnerable populations, such as the elderly, asthmatics and children, who live in cities with dirty air that does not conform to national health standards.
- o Improving the Quality of Life. The proposal will improve the quality of life for all Americans by exercising responsible stewardship over the environment for future generations.
- o Achieving Early Reductions and Steady Progress. The proposal establishes realistic timetables to meet air quality standards, but contains provisions to cut substantial amounts of air pollution in the near term, while requiring steady progress toward reducing emissions that are harder to control.
- o Harnessing the Power of the Marketplace. The proposal calls for the use of marketable permits to achieve acid rain reductions and emissions trading to achieve reductions from automobile pollution, so as to clean the air to a definite standard while minimizing the burden on the American economy.
- o Employing Innovative Technologies. The proposal encourages development of clean coal technology, alternative fuel systems for automobiles, and other cost-effective means of using new technology to cut pollution.

The President's plan allows for both environmental protection and economic growth, two long-standing concerns often considered at odds with each other. By incorporating both concerns in his proposal, the President seeks to break the gridlock which has characterized the debate on clean air for the past several years.

ACID RAIN

Highlights

- o Requires sulfur dioxide reductions of 10 million tons and nitrogen oxide reductions of 2 million tons.
- o Calls for five million tons of reductions in the first phase by the end of 1995.
- o Establishes a system of marketable permits to allow maximum flexibility for utilities to achieve required reductions in the most efficient and least costly manner.

Background

"Acid rain" occurs when sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and nitrogen oxide (NO_x) emissions undergo a chemical change in the atmosphere and return to the earth in rain, fog, or snow.

Approximately 20 million tons of SO₂ are emitted annually in the U.S., three-quarters from the burning of fossil fuels by electric utilities; 20 percent from other, more widely dispersed industrial sources; and 5 percent from transportation sources. The source of most SO₂ emissions causing acid rain are old (pre-1971) electric power plants, not subject to the existing Clean Air Act's strict emissions requirements on newer plants. Fifty power plants are responsible for about half of all SO₂ emissions.

Acid rain causes damage to lakes, forests, and buildings, contributes to reduced visibility, and is suspected of causing damage to human health.

Since 1970, the U.S. has spent \$225 billion to control air pollution. American industry spends about \$33 billion a year on air pollution controls (\$10 billion by the electric utility industry). One result of this expenditure is that SO₂ emissions have been reduced by almost 20% since 1977, despite a substantial increase in coal consumption during the period since then.

Any acid rain control program will increase electricity rates for affected utilities. Generally speaking, however, proposals with greater flexibility will result in smaller rate increases. Thus, the President's proposal to allow trading among utility companies will ensure that protection from acid rain is achieved in a less costly fashion than many of the more traditional "command and control" proposals that have been advanced.

The President's plan represents a major new innovation in harnessing the power of the marketplace to protect the environment.

The President's proposal calls for:

- A reduction of 10 million tons of sulfur dioxide by the year 2000, using a baseline year of 1980 for tons of SO₂ emitted, primarily from coal-fired power plants.
- A two-phase program in order to ensure early reductions. A reduction of five million tons is required during the first phase, by the end of 1995. All dates assume enactment of this legislation by December 31, 1989.
- A 2 million ton reduction of NO_x in Phase II.. The plan would allow utilities to trade reductions of NO_x for reductions of SO₂ or vice versa, and thus represents a call for a total reduction of 12 million tons in acid rain-causing pollutants.
- A three-year extension of the Phase II deadline for plants adopting clean coal repowering technologies, combined with regulatory incentives designed to smooth their transition into the marketplace. This will allow the United States to make good on the major investment the President has called for in clean coal, and will ensure that coal continues to play an important role in America's energy future.
- Freedom of choice in cutting pollution. The plan requires all plants above a certain size in affected states to meet the same emissions standard, but does not dictate to plant managers how the standard should be met. The plan requires the largest polluting plants to make the greatest cuts in pollution. The emissions standard would be set at the rate necessary to achieve five million tons in the first phase. The plan envisions a standard of 2.5 lbs. per million BTU, which would affect 107 plants in 18 states. The standard would then be tightened to approximately 1.2 lbs. per million BTUs so as to achieve a ten million ton reduction in Phase II.
- Maximum flexibility in obtaining reductions. The plan would allow utilities to trade required reductions so that they will be achieved in the least costly fashion. In the first phase, trading would be allowed among electric plants within a state or within a utility system. In addition, full interstate trading would be allowed in phase II.
- The estimated cost of the President's proposal would be \$3.8 billion annually in the second phase, and approximately \$700 million per year in the first phase. While this represents an increase of over two percent by the year 2000 in the nation's \$160 billion a year electricity bill, the flexibility built into the

President's plan reduces, by up to half, the cost of various competing proposals mandating the use of specific technologies.

URBAN AIR QUALITY

Highlights

- o Employs a mix of Federal measures and state initiatives to cut sharply air pollution in our Nation's cities. The Federal measures alone will cut emissions that cause urban ozone -- the primary contributor to urban air pollution -- nearly in half, and help bring all cities into compliance with air quality standards.
- o Sets realistic timetables for attaining the standards but is designed to ensure steady progress toward meeting that goal.
- o Contains new initiatives to promote alternative fuels to reduce pollution from cars, buses, trucks and motor fuels, and to harness the power of the marketplace to ensure cost-effective reductions.

OZONE

Background

Based on data measured during the summers of 1985 to 1987, over 100 million people live in 81 urban areas across the country that exceed the health standard for ozone. In some cities, such as Los Angeles, the situation is persistent and severe (176 days in violation of the health standard in 1988); in other cities the problem is marginal (Lancaster, PA, is listed as a non-attainment area, but, in fact, has exceeded the Federal standard for only a few hours in the last 3 years).

The President's plan is designed to ensure that over two-thirds of the cities now out of attainment -- all but about 25 cities -- come into attainment by 1995. All but the three most seriously polluted areas (Los Angeles, Houston, and New York) will come into attainment by the year 2000; and these special cases will be given until 2010 -- contingent upon a requirement in the President's plan that they show significant annual progress toward cleaning the air and meeting the health standard.

Ozone is formed when volatile organic compounds (VOCs) are mixed with nitrogen oxides (NOx) in the presence of sunlight. Heat speeds up the reaction, and therefore concentrations are usually higher in the summer months. Exceedances of the ozone standard (.12 parts per million) grew sharply during the especially hot summer of 1988. If a city exceeds the standard for at least one

hour on four or more days during a three year period, it is judged to be "out of attainment" with the standard.

Exposure to ozone causes short term effects, such as shortness of breath, coughing, and chest pains, that are particularly acute for asthmatics, children, and senior citizens. Moreover, ozone is suspected of playing a role in the long-term development of chronic lung diseases and permanent lung structure damage. In addition to health effects, ozone has effects on vegetation, including crops such as soybeans, wheat and corn; is damaging forests in California; and is suspected as a contributing agent in damage to forests in the Southeastern U.S.

The major sources of VOCs, the most important ozone pre-cursor, are motor vehicles (40%); small "area sources," e.g., bakeries, dry cleaners, and consumer solvents (40%); large point sources, e.g., petroleum refineries (15%); and gasoline refueling (5%).

Many large point sources have already been required to reduce emissions by roughly 80 percent from uncontrolled levels under the Clean Air Act, and tailpipe emissions from new vehicles have been reduced by 96 percent. The smaller "area" sources are largely uncontrolled.

VOC and NOx emissions have decreased nationally since 1978 -- VOCs by 17 percent and NOx by 8 percent -- despite growth in population, travel and industrial activity. As a consequence, the trend in ambient ozone concentrations declined by 9 percent from 1979 to 1987. Increases occurred again, however, in the hot summers of 1987 and 1988.

The deadline for meeting urban ozone standards set back in 1977 under the existing Clean Air Act has already expired. Despite this progress in reducing ozone, the health standards have not been met within the deadlines. Without new legislation, the EPA will be required by law to impose Federal Implementation Plans (FIPs) on several major American cities. Courts are, for example, already preparing to impose such requirements on Chicago and Los Angeles. These FIPs could involve extraordinary controls that would sharply curb economic growth and dramatically alter the lifestyles of local residents.

Over the next decade, both EPA and the Federal Highway Administration estimate that growth in automobile use will begin to outstrip reductions occurring from fleet turnover, so that VOC emissions will increase after 2000.

Thus, additional measures to reduce ozone-causing emissions are needed if Americans are to have air that is clean enough to meet the health standard. The President's plan sets forth these additional clean air measures.

Some measures required under current law will help reduce VOC's. These include:

- o The effect of tightened automobile and truck tailpipe emission standards, which will continue to cut emissions as older cars are replaced with new ones;
- o The implementation of required inspection and maintenance programs for motor vehicles by state and local governments;
- o Volatility controls on gasoline. Earlier this year, the Bush Administration required a reduction of gasoline volatility (to a standard of 10.5 pounds per square inch);
- o Selected stationary source controls on refineries and other factories.

It is estimated that these measures will reduce VOC emissions from baseline levels by 18% by 2005. They will bring 23 cities into attainment by 1995, but without additional controls, increased automobile use would cause many of these to slip back out of attainment, leaving 72 cities out of attainment by 2005.

Additional Federal Measures Under the President's Proposal

In an ambitious effort to bring all cities into attainment, the President's proposals call for:

- o Further tightening the volatility requirements for gasoline nationwide during the summer months to reduce evaporative emissions which cause ozone formation. This will reduce VOC emissions by an estimated 8 percent.
- o Reductions in vehicle evaporative emissions caused by automobile running losses, which will cut VOC emissions by an estimated 4.2%.
- o Federal regulations to control emissions from treatment, storage, and disposal of hazardous wastes, which will cut VOC emissions by 3.2%.
- o Providing EPA with the authority to regulate VOC emissions from small sources and consumer products, such as consumer solvents and paints, which EPA estimates will cut VOC emissions by 2.5%.
- o Tightening hydrocarbon emission tailpipe standards for automobiles by almost 40%. The current standard will be tightened to the level soon to be required on all California vehicles (from .41 to .25 grams per mile). This will cut VOC emissions by 0.4%.

- o A first time requirement for light duty trucks to meet the same tailpipe standard now required of automobiles (.41 gpm). This will cut VOC emissions by 0.2%.
- o Expanded vehicle inspection and maintenance programs in serious non-attainment areas, which will cut VOC emissions by 1.2%.
- o Controls to reduce evaporative emissions which occur during refueling of motor vehicles. These "stage II" controls would require refueling stations to install special nozzles on gasoline pumps in non-attainment areas, and are expected to reduce VOCs by up to 2% in such areas.
- o Provide EPA new authority to issue control technology guidelines (CTGs) to major stationary source emitters (factories and plants). The most cost-effective control guidelines will be issued first. These guidelines are expected to result in a 3.5% reduction in VOC emissions.
- o Provide for the use of alternative fuels -- such as clean burning methanol, natural gas, and ethanol -- in the most serious non-attainment areas. The President's plan is designed to ensure that one million clean-fueled vehicles per year are introduced into America's most polluted cities by the year 1997. The program will not only reduce VOC emissions by an additional 2 to 5%, it will dramatically reduce toxic air emissions such as benzene, toluene, and xylene.
- o It is estimated that these new federal measures to curb ozone pollution will add \$3 to \$4 billion in annual costs to the economy when fully implemented.

The Long-Term Clean Fuels Program

The clean fuels program proposed by the President is perhaps the most innovative and far-reaching component of his proposal. It is designed to provide a long-term reconciliation of the environment and the automobile -- so that Americans can continue to enjoy economic growth, freedom in using their motor vehicles, and clean air.

The Administration proposes to replace a portion of the motor vehicle fleet in certain cities with new vehicles that operate on clean burning fuels. In the 9 major urban areas where current data shows the greatest concentration of ozone, the Administration's plan calls for a ten-year program for the phased-in introduction of alternative fuels, and clean-fueled vehicle sales according to the following schedule:

-9-

500,000 vehicles in 1995
750,000 vehicles in 1996
1,000,000 vehicles each year from 1997 through 2004

The major metropolitan areas affected by the plan are: Los Angeles, Houston, New York City, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Greater Connecticut, San Diego, and Chicago. If these areas are able to demonstrate that they can achieve analogous reductions in VOC's and toxic air chemicals through other measures, the plan would allow them to "opt out" of the clean-fueled vehicle and alternative fuels program, in which case the vehicle target numbers would be scaled down proportionately. The plan would also allow other cities to be included in the program at their request.

The President's alternative fuels program, combined with other motor vehicle and fuel measures in the plan, will shrink the contribution of vehicles to the ozone problem from the current 40 percent to ten percent. This represents not only an alternative to some of the more disruptive driving controls currently being considered by some states, but also a bold and innovative means of reconciling continued use of the automobile by a growing society with the need for cleaner air.

Effect of the Federal Measures Proposed by the President

Taken together, the Federal measures proposed by the President, combined with the effect of measures being pursued under current law, will cut ozone-causing VOC emissions nearly in half. EPA estimates the program will reduce annual emissions by 45% by the year 2005. In and of themselves, these measures will bring all but about 20 cities into attainment of the ozone standard.

Because of the President's commitment to ensuring clean air in all American cities, however, his plan calls for additional measures to be undertaken by the states in order to meet the standard for healthy air.

State Measures Under the President's Proposal

Under the President's proposal, the roughly 20 cities with the most serious ozone pollution problems would be required to take steps to cut ozone-causing emissions by 3 percent per year beginning with enactment of the legislation.

This will guarantee that, even as more realistic deadlines for meeting the standard are set, those cities with the most significant air pollution problems will be on a steady path toward cleaner air.

Because of ozone transport, some areas may be unable to attain the standard in spite of adequate efforts to control their own pollution. Cities under 200,000 in population, which are not part of regional airsheds but whose attainment is prevented as a result of ozone pollution transported from other cities or regions, will not be subject to sanctions under these circumstances.

Emissions Trading: Harnessing the Power of the Marketplace to Protect the Environment

The President has also directed the EPA to develop rules and regulations which will provide companies with the maximum flexibility in achieving the pollution reductions called for in his plan.

Specifically, the President's plan would require the Administrator to issue regulations within 18 months to allow automobile manufacturers to engage in "emissions trading" and refiners to engage in "fuel pooling" to the maximum extent feasible. Such regulations shall establish performance standards for vehicles and transportation fuels marketed in the most serious and severe non-attainment areas. Companies would then be able to choose to engage in "emissions trading" and "fuel pooling" so long as they can demonstrate to EPA that the combination of measures they select will allow them to achieve the same emissions reductions as the control measures outlined in the President's program.

This "emissions trading" concept is already being considered by the State of California. It represents a market-based means of reducing both VOCs and reactive aromatics in the most cost-effective way. The EPA would publish these regulations at the same time as it publishes regulations implementing the other control measures in the President's plan. If companies cannot demonstrate alternative means of achieving the same amount of pollution reduction, they would be required to implement the control measures outlined above.

CARBON MONOXIDE

Background

Carbon monoxide (CO) is a colorless, odorless gas that tends to reduce the oxygen carrying capacity of the blood. It is a particularly serious health threat to individuals who suffer from cardiovascular disease, especially those with angina or heart disease. Unlike ozone, carbon monoxide problems are worse in cold weather.

Two-thirds of CO emissions come from motor vehicles. Emissions of carbon monoxide decreased 25 percent from 1978 to 1987, despite a 24 percent increase in vehicle miles travelled during that period, largely because of controls already in place on emissions from cars, buses, and trucks. Some improvement from these

controls will continue, as older, more heavily polluting cars are gradually replaced on America's roads by newer, cleaner vehicles. Currently, cars purchased before 1981 amount to only 38 percent of the vehicles miles traveled (VMT), but they account for over 86 percent of CO emissions.

As use of the automobile continues to grow, however, it is expected that many American cities will not attain the health-based carbon monoxide standard. That standard is 9 parts per million (ppm), measured over an 8-hour period. If a representative reading of monitors in an area shows that it exceeds the standard for two or more 8-hour periods, it is classified in "non-attainment."

There are currently about 50 American cities not meeting the standard. As with ozone, in some cases cities exceed the standard only moderately. About 6 urban areas, however, have a carbon monoxide problem classified by EPA as "serious".

EPA estimates that even as vehicle miles travelled (VMT) grow, the effect of fleet turnover will bring almost half of those cities currently violating the standard into attainment. Several of the measures in the President's proposal designed to curb ozone-causing emissions will also help reduce carbon monoxide. These include the measures described above to tighten tailpipe standards for light duty trucks, and to improve state and local inspection and maintenance programs.

Even with these measures, however, several American cities will continue to have a carbon monoxide problem. To bring these cities into compliance with the health-based standard, the President's proposal contains several important measures designed to cut carbon monoxide emissions.

Specifically, the President's plan calls for:

- o A major new program to promote the use of clean-burning oxygenated fuels, which emit dramatically less carbon monoxide. The plan would require those cities with the most serious carbon monoxide problems to use gasoline blended with oxygenated fuels during the winter months. Oxygenated fuels include ethanol, methanol, ETBE, and MTBE.

Blending oxygenates into fuel will not only reduce carbon monoxide, it will also sharply reduce toxic air emissions caused by aromatics in conventional gasoline.

Ethanol and ETBE are generally produced in the US from corn, wheat and potato crops. They offer the opportunity both to clean the air and to provide expanded markets for America's farmers.

The President's plan would allow cities to "opt out"

of the oxygenated fuels requirement, if they could demonstrate to EPA that they would come into attainment of the carbon monoxide standard using other measures.

EPA estimates that requiring oxygenated fuels in areas with serious carbon monoxide problems will reduce carbon monoxide emissions by an additional 18% in these areas.

- o Giving EPA the authority to issue regulations for a carbon monoxide cold temperature standard. Carbon monoxide problems are exaggerated when motor vehicles start in exceptionally cold weather. This standard has the potential to reduce carbon monoxide emissions by 7 to 12 percent.

The President's plan will bring the vast majority of cities into attainment with the carbon monoxide standard by 1995, and will bring all American cities into attainment by the year 2000.

PARTICULATE MATTER

Background

Particulate matter (PM10) includes acid sulfates, toxic organics and metals, and insoluble dusts that come from traditional stack emissions, as well as area sources such as wood stoves and open burning. Construction, roadways and mobile sources also contribute to the problem.

PM10 can cause premature death in elderly and ill persons, aggravation of existing respiratory disease, increased respiratory illness and other effects.

Particulate matter (PM10) standards were revised in 1987 to address smaller particulate matter particles most likely to penetrate the lungs.

The President's program will:

- o Require reasonably available control measures to meet the standard.
- o Ensure that the majority of cities meet the standard by 1994, and that all cities meet PM10 standards by 2001.

TOXIC AIR POLLUTANTS

Highlights

- o Dramatically accelerates progress in controlling major

toxic air pollutants.

- o Uses best technology available to cut air toxics.
- o Promises certifiable progress in regulating sources of toxic air emissions on a set schedule.

Background

The emission of toxic chemicals into the air is believed to cause cancer and other health effects in humans.

Since 1974, EPA has been required to regulate such emissions in order to provide an "ample margin of safety" to the public. Because this margin has been difficult to define and has been the subject of continued litigation, EPA has had difficulty proceeding with regulation under the law. Since passage of the statute, it has published regulations for only seven toxic air pollutants.

Because the statute has proven unworkable, the President has proposed a major revision of the law in order to guarantee greatly accelerated progress in reducing the damaging effects of toxic air pollution.

Data recently released by the EPA indicate that 2.7 billion pounds of toxic chemicals are emitted into the air each year. EPA estimates that these emissions contribute to approximately 1500-3000 fatal cancers annually. Toxic chemical emissions are associated also with respiratory disease and birth defects.

Motor vehicles and stationary sources each account for approximately half of air toxic emissions. The measures in the President's plan designed to curb VOC emissions and promote alternative fuels will sharply reduce emissions from motor vehicles.

The President's plan also includes a major new initiative to reduce air toxic emissions from stationary sources (factories, plants, and other such sources).

A majority of identified carcinogens are emitted by about 30 industrial categories, including steel mills (coke ovens), rubber, pulp and paper, chromium electroplating, and solvent users. The President's plan is designed to reduce quickly emissions from these sources.

The President's program will:

- o Establish a set schedule for regulating major sources of toxic air pollution. Under the plan, EPA will publish regulations for controlling ten source categories within two years, 25 percent of source categories within four years, 50 percent of source

categories within seven years, and all necessary additional categories of air toxics within ten years.

- o Require emitters of toxic air pollution to use the Maximum Available Control Technology (MACT) to sharply cut pollution. This means that EPA would set a standard based on the best technology currently available. Plants would then be required to meet that standard, with some exceptions to add flexibility for those who have already reduced most air toxics and for very small plants.
- o Encourage voluntary reductions early, before standards are even published, by providing credit for those reductions against the MACT requirement.
- o After Phase I is implemented, the EPA Administrator shall assess any remaining risk after reductions from state-of-the-art technology and determine if there is a need for further controls. Based on his assessment, the EPA Administrator would set additional standards to prevent the public from being exposed to "unreasonable risk", which would allow considerations of cost and technical feasibility as well as health-based risks.

It is estimated that the President's air toxics initiative will eliminate in the first phase about three-quarters of the cancer deaths caused by toxic air emissions from factories and plants.

The annual costs of the program are difficult to estimate until actual standards are published, but current EPA estimates center at about \$2.0 billion per year.

#

U.S. PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD SOVIET AND ARMS CONTROL POLICY: RECENT SURVEY FINDINGS*

A solid 78% majority of Americans approve of President Bush's job at handling relations with the Soviet Union, and another 70% approve of how he is dealing with our NATO allies. Americans' approval of the President's performance in these two areas is much stronger than in any other current policy challenge tested, and somewhat stronger than the 64% approval they give of his job overall.

The President faces high standards for his performance in these areas: the public has had high expectations for both President Bush, and Republican leadership in a generic sense, to do well at leading this country's foreign policy. More specifically, Americans have also expected the President and Republicans to protect the U.S. from the threat to national security embodied in the Soviet Union. The President's approach so far is clearly meeting these tough standards.

The President's overall job approval is significantly influenced by his performance at handling Soviet relations, but approval or disapproval of NATO relations is not found to affect his overall approval. This likely reflects a tendency of Americans to interpret national security issues as dependable allies versus dangerous adversaries, and to discount the importance of our relations with our security partners.

Americans' Perceptions of the Soviet Threat

Despite the Soviet's stepped-up campaign to win over at least European public opinion, the trend of decreasing American fear of the Soviet Union appears to have paused during the past six months. At this time, a 55% majority of Americans consider the Soviet Union to be either a minor threat or no threat at all to the U.S., while 45% think of the U.S.S.R. as a serious, or very serious threat.

Perceptions of the Soviet Union's threat to national security are strongly related to socio-economic status: the less educated, lower income and minority voters remain wary of the Soviets. Women, too, remain cautious: a 51% majority call the Soviets a serious threat, while only 37% of men concur with this appraisal.

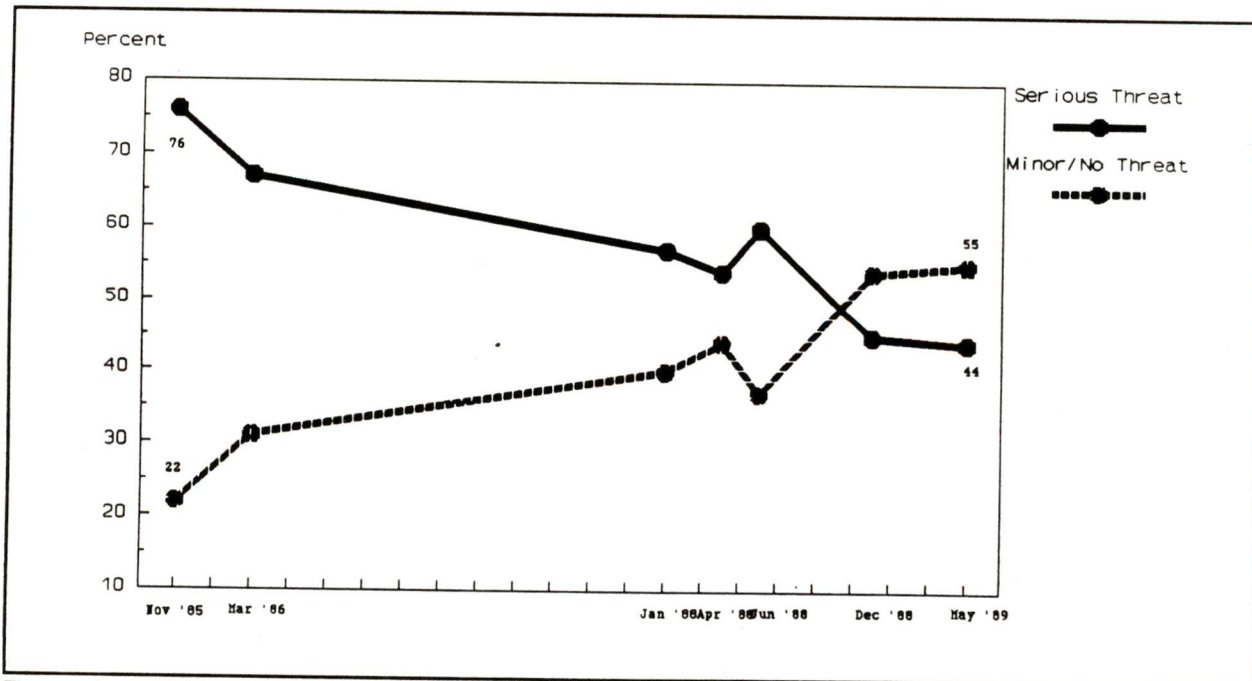


Figure 1 Trend of Perceived Soviet Threat to U.S. Security

* 1,000 U.S. Adults interviewed May 15-17, 1989. Margin of error at the 95% Confidence Level: $\pm 3.1\%$

Majority of Americans Support Pace of Arms Control Negotiations

When asked to judge the pace of President Bush and his Administration's negotiations with the Soviets on arms control, a 51% majority favored the evaluation that the Administration's pace was 'about right'. A third of the public is impatient with the rate of progress, while 10% said that the Administration was proceeding too quickly with negotiations.

Swing voters, holding sway over consensus support for the President's policies, favor the current pace of arms control negotiation by a 52% majority. In addition, conservative elements of the President's core of support do not seem to feel that negotiations are progressing too rapidly: only 8% of this core group agree with that assessment.

No clear consensus of either urgency or caution has developed around U.S. arms control policy and the Soviet threat to national security. A 32% plurality of Americans consider the Soviet threat as minor, and think that the President's approach to arms control with the U.S.S.R. is appropriately paced.

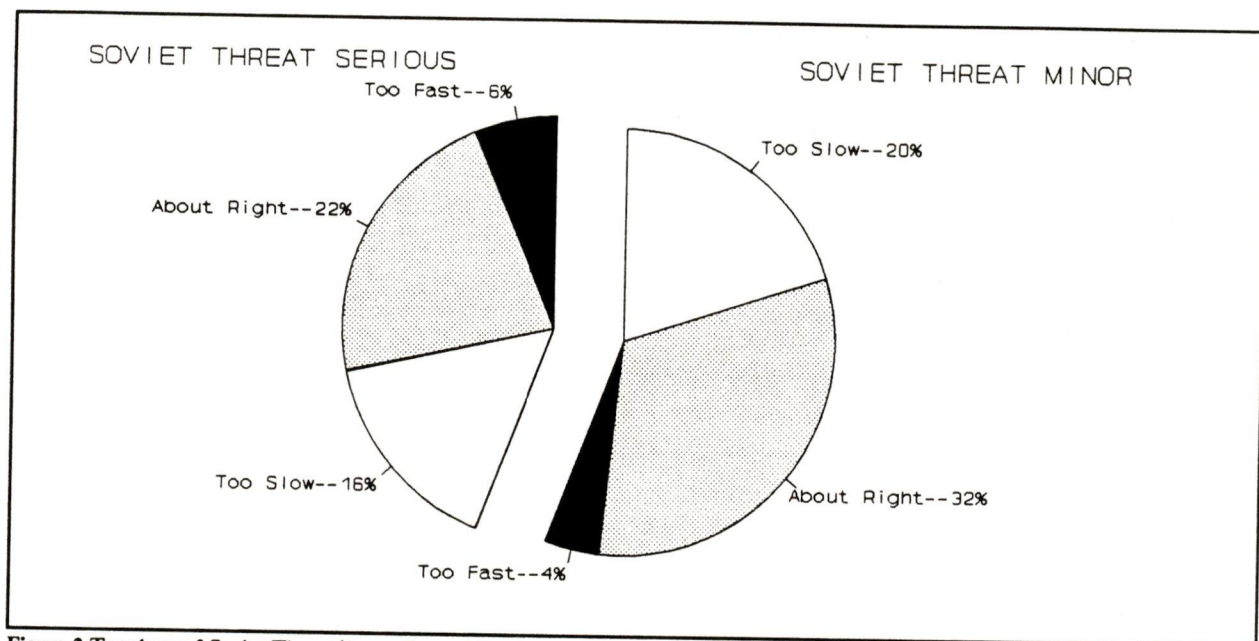


Figure 2 Topology of Soviet Threat/Arms Control Progress Opinion

87% Favor Cautious U.S. Policy Response to Gorbachev and Changes in Soviet Society

Americans are uniformly very skeptical that U.S. policy should be driven yet by Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost*: 87% preferred an evaluation that the U.S. should proceed slowly, and wait to see on developments in the Soviet Union, while only 11% think that 'these changes [in the U.S.S.R.] are real and that we should change our policies toward the Soviet Union'.

There is no gender gap, nor does partisanship do much to describe who favors caution and who favors reaction in U.S. policy. Again, the more educated the respondents, the more believing they are of fundamental change having occurred in the Soviets Union -- but even with adults with post-graduate work, or 'intellectuals', only 27% favor changes in U.S. policy in response to changes in Soviet society.

Competing Arguments over the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and the Defense of Europe

Four of five Americans essentially feel that the U.S. should keep the pressure on the Soviets to negotiate and remain skeptical of their trustworthiness. Besides being broadly held, this sentiment is also very intense. Sixty and fifty-five percent majorities of Americans say they *strongly* agree with the following statements:

We should go more slowly in our negotiations to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union to reduce our forces until we can be sure the changes in the Soviet Union are real, and that the Soviets will keep the agreements they make;

and,

We should continue to modernize and maintain a strong military force in Europe to guarantee the defense of Europe and keep the pressure on the Soviets to negotiate in good faith.

Modernization and the defense of Europe are the more politically polarizing issues, yet three quarters of the hardest core of the Democratic and Anti-Bush public agree with this the test statement.

Though Americans are fundamentally skeptical of Gorbachev and the Soviet Union, the message that changes in the U.S.S.R. offers a chance for both arms control progress and a reduction in our European military forces is on the surface somewhat appealing. However, this attitude is not strongly held, and while a 63% majority of the public agrees with the following statement, other data suggests that Americans are strongly cross-pressured by conflicting attitudes of seeking peace versus remaining cautious, responsible world involvement versus weariness of overseas military presence, etc.:

Gorbachev and the changes in the Soviet Union offer an opportunity to make real progress on arms control and improved relations. We should move to take advantage of the situation by making our proposals for reducing our military forces in Europe.

Finally, the argument that the United States is losing its position of leadership in the world to Gorbachev and the Soviets is firmly rejected by Americans, 71% disagreeing with this statement, while 26% agree with it.

Why Play Gorbachev's Game?

Today's conventional wisdom, repeated daily by the nation's herd of independent minds, is that the administration has been timid, slow, entirely inadequate in responding to the Gorbachev challenge. The cry, left, right and center, is for a foreign policy of boldness and vision.

The complaint starts with the Bush style: In the face of a virtuoso performance by the traveling Gorbo circus—like the wholly insignificant and breathlessly received SNF (short-range nuclear forces) cuts he announced last week—the president's PR has been woeful. Sure, he unveiled a carrot-and-stick policy toward Poland and Eastern Europe at Hamtramck. Sure, he has advanced proposals for drastic asymmetrical cuts in conventional arms in Europe. Sure, last week at Texas A&M, he outlined a new post-Cold War vision of the "integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations." But the perception, you see, is that he is footdragging, and perceptions are ultimately what count in the politics game.

Savor the irony. After eight years of caterwauling about Reagan's Wizard of Oz, perception-is-reality, media manipulation, the press is now demanding it, in the name of national security, no less. Without a blush or a memory, the press is now on Bush's tail for poor Deaverism: no stage presence, weak backdrops, lousy scheduling. Bush goes to Texas and gives one of the most important foreign policy speeches of the decade, and the host of one political talk show is obsessed with the fact that he gave it at 4 p.m. Friday, bad for sound-bite coverage.

When the complainers get around to substance, the charge is timidity. Bush is not advancing bold and decisive enough negotiating positions. Translated, this generally means that Bush has adopted an incorrect position on SNF in Europe. The Bush (and British) policy is that so long as the Soviets maintain a vastly superior conventional force in Europe, we need to modernize our few remaining nuclear weapons there. The Germans, who inhabit the battlefield for these SNF nukes (that is the price a nation pays for starting World War II), are naturally anxious to get rid of them. They are, therefore, pushing hard for immediate SNF negotiations.

That is not surprising. What is surprising is that so many Americans, from Paul Nitze to Joe Biden, take their view. It is a prescription for political grief. We know exactly what the Soviets want from any SNF negotiations: their elimination. After all, the Soviets, being a continental European power and conventionally superior, do not need short-range nukes to deter war in Europe. We do. Which is why they are the last thing that we should be trading away.

If we caved in to the German position, it will be the first. SNF negotiations will be short. Much shorter than the negotiations on conventional arms, which are immensely complicated and harder to verify. With an SNF agreement in sight, and conventional talks dragging on, Biden's next op-ed piece will write itself: "The intransigence of the Bush administration, niggling over details of conventional arms reduction, is today holding up the promise of a Central Europe entirely free from the nuclear nightmare. How long can we tolerate . . ."

The other conventional wisdom complaint against Bush is his failure to respond to Gorbachev's (announced) unilateral concessions—troop and nuke reductions in Europe—with unilateral concessions of his own. But doing so would be strategically stupid. Russia is a European power. Only by accident, not by nature, is America a European power. When we pack to go home, we will not be coming back, absent a Pearl Harbor II. The Soviets, when they will, can come back with little effort.

Soviet concessions may be unilaterally undone. Not so American concessions. Shevardnadze offered proof of that earlier this week when, in a crude effort to bully Bush, he

threatened to violate the INF Treaty and stop dismantling Soviet missiles. It is inconceivable that an American secretary of state could ever make such a threat or ever carry it out.

But the best reason for not making unilateral American concessions is that we do not have to. We are not in economic crisis. We are not reeling from the ruin of a newly acquired external empire of Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Vietnam. We are not spending 13 to 19 percent of GNP on defense. (We spend 6.7 percent.) We have not by foolish overmilitarization—the Soviets explicitly admit this in their own press—created an opposing alliance that includes all the great powers of the world. We are winning. It is the Soviets who are suing for peace in the Cold War. It is for suers to make unilateral concessions.

In the Texas speech, Bush said that the United States will respond if the Soviets meet certain tests of good faith. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is dismayed. "How would we like it if Mr. Gorbachev laid down tests for us?" he asks. We would not like it, but who cares? Liking is not a particularly useful category of thought in international relations. We wrote Japan's constitution. Would we have liked it if they had written ours? In this same article, Schlesinger insists that we have won the Cold War. Well, when you win a war, you do not care one way or the other whether the loser likes your conditions. What is important is that he respond to them.

And for PR, Bush has allowed his foreign policy to be called "status quo plus." It is the right idea (when the other guy is committing suicide, stand aside) but a tough sell. He should send for the genius who invented the term "affirmative action" and get him to think up a virile, New Frontier-like name to embellish the Bush foreign policy. Washington—pining for Reagan, yearning for show—will hail him as a statesman.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1989

Dear ^F3^,

Attached please find a copy of the President's Monday speech on crime. I hope you will take the time to review it.

The President proposes some pretty bold initiatives and they will probably produce alot of public debate.

If you have a minute, I would appreciate you dropping me a note telling me what you think.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Regards,

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

P.S. Send your comments to Ed Rogers' attention so we can avoid the delay in the mailroom. Thanks!

^F1^

^F2^

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 15, 1989

FACT SHEET

COMBATTING VIOLENT CRIME

The President outlined today a comprehensive program to combat violent crime. The program is designed to strengthen the nation's criminal justice system and the Federal, State and local law enforcement partnership.

The program is grounded in the President's belief that greater certainty of apprehension, prosecution, and punishment will help deter crimes of violence. It includes proposals to strengthen current Federal, State and local laws, to step up enforcement, and to hold perpetrators of crimes fully accountable for their actions.

The President is proposing a common sense approach to crime with initiatives to limit access to weapons by criminals, to reform the criminal justice system, to enhance enforcement and prosecution, and to expand prison capacity to ensure both the certainty and severity of punishment.

Fundamental Principles

Four principles underlie the goals of our criminal justice system and the means for accomplishing them.

- o A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. Americans deserve to live in a society in which they are safe and feel secure.
- o Those who commit violent criminal offenses should, and must, be held accountable for their actions.
- o Our criminal justice system must have as its objective the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of those who break the law.
- o Success in accomplishing our criminal justice system goals requires a sustained, cooperative effort by Federal, State and local law enforcement authorities.

The President today proposed a comprehensive four-part program to strengthen current laws, enhance enforcement and apprehension of criminals, facilitate prosecutions, and expand Federal prison capacity.

COMPREHENSIVE CRIME CONTROL ACT OF 1989

I. STRENGTHENING CURRENT LAWS

To ensure that those who commit violent criminal offenses are held fully accountable for their actions, it is essential to eliminate certain gaps in existing law and to strengthen some existing statutes.

A. Enhanced Penalties for Firearms Violations

The President proposed seven changes in Federal firearms laws which would:

1. Double the mandatory penalty from five to ten years under 18 U.S.C. 924(c) for the use of a semi-automatic firearm during the commission of a violent crime or drug felony.
2. Amend the Armed Career Criminal statute to count as predicate offenses acts of juvenile delinquency which if committed by an adult would constitute a serious drug offense. Many youthful repeat offenders now escape the enhanced career criminal penalties because most of their prior offenses were charged as juvenile delinquency.
3. Allow for pre-trial preventive detention of defendants in cases involving certain serious Federal firearms and explosive offenses.
4. Authorize criminal penalties and mandatory minimum sentences for theft of a firearm.
5. Enhance penalties for smuggling firearms into the United States while engaged in, or in the furtherance of, drug trafficking.
6. Require mandatory revocation of Federal supervised release for those possessing a firearm anytime before the term of their supervised release expires.
7. Double the current penalty for a knowing and materially false statement on ATF Form 4473 to a maximum sentence of ten years imprisonment.

The President also urged all States to adopt model legislation providing mandatory minimum sentences for criminal offenses involving firearms to parallel Federal mandatory minimum provisions.

He directed the Attorney General to provide the States with related technical assistance through the Law Enforcement Coordinating Committees (LECCs). At present, thirty States have some provision for mandatory terms of imprisonment for use of firearms in the commission of a crime.

The President proposed providing a five percent bonus to the formula portion of drug law enforcement grants for those States which adopt this model legislation.

B. Restricting Plea Bargaining

If our criminal justice system is to achieve its objective of ensuring that those who commit violent firearms offenses are held fully accountable for their actions, plea bargaining practices nationwide must be reformed. Too often, serious felons walk away from court after pleading guilty to minor offenses and misdemeanors because overburdened prosecutors have accepted plea agreements rather than going to trial. The lesser charges result in lesser sentences or probation and repeat offenders continue to beat the system. To speed an end to such plea bargaining:

1. The President directed the Attorney General to issue and fully implement guidelines for Federal prosecutors regarding plea bargaining under the Sentencing Reform Act to ensure that Federal charges always reflect both the seriousness of the defendant's conduct and the Department's commitment to statutory sentencing goals and procedures. This will ensure that Federal prosecutors seek minimum mandatory penalties for all violent firearms offenses.
2. The President urged State and local governments to reform their plea bargaining and sentencing practices along similar lines and to devote increased resources to prosecutions.

C. Enacting Death Penalty Procedures

The criminal justice system must accord paramount importance to the protection of innocent life. The murderous "assault weapon" armed gang member, the terrorist, the traitor and the assassin, who threaten American lives and the nation's security, must know that they will face the death penalty for their crimes.

The President proposed to restore an enforceable death penalty for the most aggravated Federal crimes. His proposal includes adequate standards and constitutionally sound procedures for applying the Federal death penalty provisions that now appear in Federal statutes for homicide, espionage, and treason. It would also authorize the death penalty for a number of new offenses, such as murder for hire. In direct response to the increase in firearms-related violence, the proposal specifies that the use of a firearm in committing the offense or a previous conviction of a violent felony involving a firearm, constitute aggravating factors justifying capital punishment.

D. Restricting Imported Weapons

When the study of imported weapons by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms is completed, the Administration will make permanent the temporary suspension on the imported weapons, if any, that fail to meet the criteria specified in the Gun Control Act of 1968 (18 U.S.C. 925).

E. Preventing Circumvention of Import Laws

The Administration will propose an amendment to ensure that actions taken under the provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968 shall not be circumvented by domestic assembly of such weapons or any combination of domestic and foreign assembly of such weapons.

F. Restricting Gun Clips and Magazines

The Administration will propose legislation prohibiting the importation, manufacture, transfer, or sale of gun magazines of over 15 rounds for use by private citizens.

G. Limiting Access to Weapons by Criminals

In addition to greater penalties for misusing firearms, it is also important to limit access to weapons by criminals. This can be facilitated in three ways:

1. Strengthening and Expanding Prohibitions on Access to Weapons by Criminals
 - a. The President proposed to bar the sale of firearms to, or possession of firearms by, persons convicted of any violent offense, expanding the existing prohibition to cover individuals convicted of violent misdemeanor offenses.

- b. The President also proposed to bar the sale of firearms to, or possession of firearms by, persons who are convicted of any serious drug offense.

2. Improving Mechanisms for Identifying Criminals Who Attempt to Purchase Firearms

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 requires the Attorney General to develop a system for the immediate and accurate identification of felons and others who attempt to purchase firearms but are barred by Federal law [18 U.S.C. 922(g)(1)] from buying or possessing firearms. The initial stage of the study must be completed by November 18, 1989.

- a. The President directed the Attorney General to expand the National Criminal Records Identification System Implementation study to include a review and evaluation of State and local procedures which have effectively limited criminal access to firearms, and based on that review and in consultation with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, to develop recommendations for model State legislation and procedures to complement and enhance efforts to reduce felons' access to firearms.

Model State legislation or procedures might include a reasonably structured waiting period, or use other devices to facilitate accuracy in determining whether an individual seeking to purchase a weapon from a licensed gun dealer is ineligible by reason of Federal law. At present, more than twenty States have waiting periods, identification requirements, or other procedures which effectively limit criminal access to weapons.

- b. The President urged States to transfer criminal history conviction, sentencing, and other case disposition records to the proper Federal authorities. He also directed the Attorney General to recommend additional improvements in the criminal records data system. The quality of criminal history data is a critical factor in crime control and prevention. At present, the only criminal history records consistently reported by States and localities are arrest records.

Timely and accurate reporting of conviction, sentencing and other case disposition records is essential to the effective operation of the nation's criminal justice system.

To improve the national data base, States should make such criminal record reporting mandatory and take steps to ensure that centralized State criminal history repositories are adequately funded and managed. In addition, States should maintain records and report on all serious crimes committed by juveniles who frequently continue their criminal careers into adulthood, but often escape early identification as repeat offenders and recidivists because their juvenile records are not reported.

3. Eliminating Loopholes and Clarifying Existing Offenses

The President also proposed to eliminate loopholes and clarify existing offenses related to the sale or transfer of firearms, in order to:

- a. facilitate the prosecution of unlicensed gun dealers engaged in illegal weapons transfers to aliens or transients;
- b. expand Federal jurisdiction to permit prosecution of transactions in stolen firearms and weapons lacking serial numbers in cases where the firearms have previously moved in interstate or foreign commerce (present law requires the firearms be moving in interstate commerce at the time of the offense);
- c. provide a uniform standard to determine whether a person is under Federal firearms disabilities based upon State convictions;
- d. require that persons convicted under State law of a serious drug offense or violent felony apply to Federal authorities in order to have their firearms rights restored;
- e. amend provisions regarding the disposal of forfeited firearms; and
- f. clarify the definition of burglary in the Armed Career Criminal Act to eliminate loopholes caused by differing State laws.

H. Making Drug Testing a Condition of Release

The President also proposed to authorize and fund nationwide implementation in 1990 of drug testing as a mandatory condition of Federal probation, parole or supervised release. It is estimated that 81,500 people will be on some form of Federal supervised release in 1990. The Justice Department and the Federal Judiciary will coordinate implementation of this program.

The President urged States to adopt similar mandatory drug testing programs as a condition of parole.

II. AUGMENTING ENFORCEMENT

A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. This requires the sustained cooperative commitment of Federal, State and local law enforcement officials. Apprehending violent offenders requires increased enforcement personnel, improved cooperation among law enforcement authorities, and not permitting the exclusion of evidence on legal technicalities.

A. Additional ATF Special Agents

The President proposed to increase funds for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to provide for the hiring, training and equipping of 375 ATF special agents, inspectors and support personnel to investigate assault weapon and other firearms violations by armed career criminal and repeat offenders.

B. Additional U.S. Marshals

The President proposed to increase funds for the U.S. Marshals to provide for about 150 additional positions for the Marshals Fugitive Investigations and Court Orders Program. This would direct greater Federal efforts to capturing fugitives and career criminals.

C. Additional FBI Agents

The President proposed to increase funds for the FBI to provide for about 300 additional positions for the Bureau's Violent Crime and Major Offenders Program and Organized Crime Program and to assist States and localities improve their efforts in fighting violent crime through greater Federal/State cooperation.

D. Coordinated Task Forces

The President directed the Attorney General and Secretary of the Treasury to develop a coordinated strategy for the deployment of the additional U.S. Marshals, ATF and FBI agents. Their deployment will emphasize working closely with State and local authorities in task forces to target and investigate career criminals who are subject to prosecution as repeat offenders under Federal firearms laws and related statutes.

E. State and Local Resources

The President urged State and local authorities to increase their law enforcement resources devoted to identifying and apprehending violent criminal offenders.

F. Exclusionary Rule Reform

The President proposed to establish a general "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule which would permit evidence to be admitted if the officers carrying out a search or seizure acted with an objectively reasonable belief that their conduct was in conformity with Fourth Amendment requirements. The reform legislation would clarify that in the absence of explicit statutory authority for doing so, Federal courts may only exclude evidence on the basis of constitutional violations.

III. ENHANCING PROSECUTION

In order to assure that criminals are held accountable for their offenses, certainty of prosecution must accompany severity of punishment. Federal, State and local authorities must expand and coordinate their prosecutorial efforts.

A. Additional Assistant U.S. Attorneys

The President proposed to increase funds for the U.S. Attorneys Offices to support 1,600 additional positions to handle the increased number of Federal defendants and to prosecute more drug cases, weapons offenses, and other priority matters.

B. Additional Criminal Division Attorneys

The President proposed to increase funds for the Justice Department Criminal Division to support 168 additional positions to focus on drug cases, weapons offenses, and other priority matters, including activities to foster State and local cooperation and coordinated law enforcement strategies.

C. Additional Housing for Unsented Prisoners

The President proposed additional funds for the U.S. Marshals Service to provide transportation and 300,000 added jail days for unsentenced prisoners and pre-trial detainees.

D. Additional Judicial Branch Resources

The President proposed increasing the Administration's budget request for the Judiciary by \$40 million for FY 1990 to cover costs associated with processing increased numbers of criminal defendants and for additional Federal criminal prosecutions.

E. Habeas Corpus Reform

The President proposed immediate enactment of habeas corpus reform to establish a general one-year time limit on Federal applications by State prisoners; and to require deference in Federal proceedings to the results of fair and reasonable State court determinations. This will correct the existing system of review, under which over 10,000 cases are annually filed in Federal court.

IV. EXPANDING PRISON CAPACITY

Prison overcrowding remains a national problem. The most acute problem is at the Federal level. At both the Federal and State level prison overcrowding is a factor in sentencing. At the State and local levels it is often responsible for the early release of convicted criminals.

A. Expanding Federal Prison Construction

The President proposed an additional \$1 billion for Federal prison construction, bringing the total 1990 budget to over \$1.5 billion. This will increase prison capacity by about 77 percent, adding over 24,000 new Federal prison beds. The present rated Federal prison capacity is 30,951 beds, the present Federal prison population is approximately 48,000.

B. Converting Unused Federal Properties

The President directed the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Education, and the Administrator of the General Services Administration to work with the Attorney General to identify expeditiously properties and facilities suitable for conversion for use as Federal prisons or jails.

C. Deporting Criminal Aliens

The President proposed to provide the Attorney General with \$14.0 million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the Executive Office for Immigration Review in order to expedite the deportation of convicted criminal aliens.

Crimes committed by aliens are rising disproportionately in relation to the general population and entailing more violent and drug-related crime.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons has identified 9,254 aliens in its facilities, 20.6 percent of its total inmate population.

D. Encouraging State Prison Construction

The President commended and encouraged State prison construction efforts. States currently have construction of 63,452 new bedspaces underway. An additional 78,094 bedspaces are planned, and funding has been secured for their construction. Moreover, States have requested construction of 72,190 additional bedspaces.

E. Review of Court-Ordered Prison Caps

The President directed the Attorney General to conduct a review of the role of court orders and consent decrees in prison crowding situations, including an assessment of the scope of judicial authority in formulating and issuing such orders, the impact of such orders on the operation of prison systems and public security, and non-judicial means of addressing prison crowding. The Attorney General will report his findings to the President and recommend any necessary remedial actions.

Legislation to implement elements of this initiative will be transmitted shortly by the Attorney General.

Funding Summary**Enforcement:**

BATF	\$18.8 million
U.S. Marshals	\$12.0 million
FBI	\$19.5 million

Prosecution:

U.S. Attorneys	\$49.6 million
Criminal Division	\$ 5.4 million
Unsentenced Prisoner Support	\$13.0 million
Courts	\$40.0 million

Drug Testing:

Mandatory Testing	\$10.7 million
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Criminal Alien Deportation:

INS	\$12.5 million
EOIR(Executive Office for Immigration Review)	\$ 1.6 million

State Grant Bonus:

Office of Justice Programs (Bonus)	\$ 6.0 million
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SUBTOTAL (non-prison)

	\$189.1 million
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Prisons:

Federal Prison Construction	\$1.0 billion
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This will bring the total 1990 prison construction budget to over \$1.5 billion, which includes \$115 million available from the Special Forfeiture Fund available to the Office of National Drug Control Policy, and \$401 million in the original Bush Budget.

TOTAL INCREASE

	\$1.189.1 billion*
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* This total can be accommodated within the overall domestic discretionary spending cap set in the Bipartisan Budget Agreement.

REMARKS: PEACE OFFICERS MEMORIAL DAY
U.S. CAPITOL -- WEST FRONT
MONDAY, MAY 15, 1989
12:00 NOON

LAST FALL, A RETIRED NEW YORK POLICE LIEUTENANT GAVE ME BADGE NUMBER 14072 -- THE BADGE HIS SON WORE THE DAY HE WAS GUNNED DOWN BY A GANG OF COCAINE COWARDS. MATTHEW BYRNE ASKED ME TO KEEP EDDIE'S BADGE AS A "REMINDER OF ALL THE BRAVE POLICE OFFICERS...WHO PUT THEIR LIVES ON THE LINE FOR US EVERY DAY."

MATT, YOUR SON'S BADGE IS KEPT IN MY DESK IN THE OVAL OFFICE. DURING THE DEBATE ON GUN-RELATED VIOLENCE THAT HAS RAGED IN THIS COUNTRY THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, NEITHER IT, NOR WHAT IT REPRESENTS, HAS EVER BEEN FAR FROM MY MIND. I'VE HEARD THE MANY VOICES, THE COURAGEOUS AND THE COMPASSIONATE, THE WOUNDED AND THE WIDOWED.

WE GATHER TODAY TO RESPOND TO THOSE VOICES, AND TO HONOR THE FALLEN BY LAUNCHING A NEW NATIONAL STRATEGY -
- A PARTNERSHIP WITH AMERICA'S CITIES AND STATES -- TO TAKE BACK THE STREETS.

IT CALLS FOR A RETURN TO COMMON SENSE. AND IT BEGINS WITH A CLEAR-EYED VISION OF THE KIND OF PROBLEMS WE FACE, THE KIND OF PEOPLE WE ARE, THE KIND OF VALUES WE HOLD -- AND THE KIND OF NATION WE INTEND TO BEQUEATH TO OUR CHILDREN.

THE PROBLEM IS VIOLENT CRIME -- AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE BLOOD THAT'S BEEN SHED BY INCREASINGLY SOPHISTICATED GUNS IN THE HANDS OF A NEW CLASS OF CRIMINALS. USUALLY, BUT NOT ALWAYS, THE DEATHS ARE TIED TO A CYCLE OF DOLLARS AND DRUGS AND DEPENDENCY.

THE PRINCIPLES ARE SIMPLE. MY GENERATION WELL REMEMBERS WHAT SOME BELIEVE WAS F.D.R.'S FINEST SPEECH: THE "FOUR FREEDOMS" ADDRESS TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS. THE LAST, OFTEN FORGOTTEN, BUT ARGUABLY MOST FUNDAMENTAL OF THOSE FREEDOMS WAS SIMPLY THIS: FREEDOM FROM FEAR. OUR SWORN DUTY TO "INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY" IS AS OLD AS THE REPUBLIC ITSELF, PLACED IN THE CONSTITUTION'S PREAMBLE EVEN BEFORE THE COMMON DEFENSE AND THE GENERAL WELFARE. WHEN WE ASK WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DESERVE, OUR GOAL MUST BE A NATION IN WHICH LAW ABIDING CITIZENS ARE SAFE AND FEEL SAFE.

TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, PEOPLE MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS. THAT'S COMMON SENSE. MOST AMERICANS ARE LAW ABIDING, AND MOST BELIEVE THAT THERE IS SUCH A THING AS RIGHT AND WRONG -- GOOD AND EVIL. WHETHER IT'S THE BRUTALIZATION OF A YOUNG RUNNER IN A PARK OR TERRORIZING A YOUNG MAN ONTO A CROWDED HIGHWAY, THESE ARE ACTS THAT CANNOT BE EXCUSED, OR EXPLAINED AWAY.

A COMMON SENSE APPROACH TO CRIME MEANS THAT IF WE ARE GOING TO AFFECT PEOPLE'S BEHAVIOR, WE MUST HAVE A CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN WHICH THERE IS AN EXPECTATION THAT:

-- IF YOU COMMIT A CRIME, YOU WILL BE CAUGHT.

-- AND IF CAUGHT, YOU WILL BE PROSECUTED.

-- AND IF CONVICTED, YOU WILL DO TIME.

FOR FAR TOO LONG, A PRIVILEGED CLASS OF VIOLENT AND REPEAT OFFENDERS HAVE CALCULATED THAT CRIME REALLY DOES PAY -- THAT OUR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IS A CRAPSHOOT WHERE THE RISKS ARE WORTH THE REWARDS. WELL, IT'S TIME WE CHANGE THE ODDS -- AND UP THE STAKES ENORMOUSLY.

WE WILL LEAD THE WAY. WE WILL DO OUR PART -- AND THEN SOME. BUT NO FEDERAL EFFORT CAN SUCCEED WITHOUT THE FULL PARTNERSHIP OF THE CITIES AND STATES YOU REPRESENT. UNFORTUNATELY, NOWHERE IS YOUR FRONT LINE ROLE MORE EVIDENT THAN IN THE HONOR ROLL THAT WILL BE READ TODAY: OF THE 161 OFFICERS KILLED IN THE LINE OF DUTY LAST YEAR, 152 WERE STATE OR LOCAL COPS. YOU ARE THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE -- AND YOUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO ADOPT TOUGH LEGISLATION AND PROVIDE THE RESOURCES -- IN POLICE, PROSECUTORS AND PRISONS -- TO FULLY BACK YOU UP.

AT THE TRIAL OF EDDIE BYRNE'S EXECUTIONERS, THERE WAS TESTIMONY THAT THE HIT WAS ORDERED FROM PRISON TO SEND A "MESSAGE" TO THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE BADGE. ONE WITNESS SAID THEY HOPED TO SEE THE ATTACK ON THE TV NEWS AT RIKER'S ISLAND.

TODAY WE HAVE A MESSAGE OF OUR OWN: WE'RE GOING TO TAKE BACK THE STREETS. BY TAKING CRIMINALS OFF THE STREETS.

IT'S AN ATTACK ON ALL FOUR FRONTS -- NEW LAWS TO PUNISH THEM, NEW AGENTS TO ARREST THEM, NEW PROSECUTORS TO CONVICT THEM, AND NEW PRISONS TO HOLD THEM.

I AM ANNOUNCING TODAY A COMPREHENSIVE NEW OFFENSIVE FOR COMBATTING VIOLENT CRIME. FOR EDDIE BYRNE, FOR EVERY OFFICER WE HONOR HERE TODAY, AND FOR AMERICA.

THE FIRST FRONT OF THIS CAMPAIGN -- NEW LAWS -- STARTS WITH THE SEMI-AUTOMATIC AND SO-CALLED "ASSAULT" WEAPONS THAT CRIMINALS HAVE TAKEN AS THEIR GUN OF CHOICE.

AGAIN, COMMON SENSE HAS TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN THIS DISCUSSION. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS, NEARLY HALF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN THIS COUNTRY HAVE GUNS. GUNS ARE ALREADY OUT THERE, AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY ARE LEGITIMATELY OWNED FOR LEGITIMATE PURPOSES.

BUT IN CONTRAST TO LEGITIMATE GUN OWNERSHIP IS THE CHILLING FACT THAT SOMETHING LIKE 80 PERCENT OF ALL FIREARMS USED BY FELONS ARE STOLEN OR OTHERWISE UNLAWFULLY OBTAINED. THROUGHOUT OUR NATION'S HISTORY, THE HARD LESSON WE'VE LEARNED IS THAT CRIMINALS WILL GET GUNS.

SO LET ME BE VERY CLEAR ABOUT OUR RESPONSE: THE RIGHT TO OWN GUNS IS NOT A LICENSE TO HARM OTHERS.

FIRST, I AM CALLING ON CONGRESS TODAY TO DO FOR DANGEROUS FIREARMS WHAT IT HAS WISELY DONE FOR DANGEROUS DRUGS -- TO DOUBLE THE MANDATORY MINIMUM PENALTIES FOR THE USE OF SEMI-AUTOMATIC WEAPONS IN CRIMES INVOLVING VIOLENCE OR DRUGS.

THE MATH IS SIMPLE. ANYONE WHO USES A SEMI-AUTOMATIC FOR CRIME -- OR SO MUCH AS HAS ONE ON THEM DURING A CRIME -- WILL DO AN AUTOMATIC 10 EXTRA YEARS IN FEDERAL PRISON. NO PROBATION. NO PAROLE. NO MATTER WHICH JUDGE THEY GET.

SECONDLY, WE JUST CAN'T PLEA BARGAIN AWAY THE LIVES OF OUR COPS AND KIDS. I AM DIRECTING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO ADVISE AMERICA'S PROSECUTORS TO END PLEA BARGAINING FOR VIOLENT FEDERAL FIREARMS OFFENSES. THOSE WHO USE GUNS WILL DO TIME -- HARD TIME.

THIRD -- WHEN A CRIMINAL CARRIES A GUN -- AND SOMEONE DIES -- THEY MUST PAY WITH THEIR OWN LIVES.

WE ARE CALLING ON CONGRESS TODAY TO ENACT THE STEPS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THE DEATH PENALTY -- AND TO NEWLY DESIGNATE THE USE OF A FIREARM AS AN "AGGRAVATING FACTOR" FOR DETERMINING WHETHER THE DEATH SENTENCE SHOULD BE IMPOSED.

AND I CALL ON AMERICA'S GOVERNORS TO MATCH THIS FEDERAL INITIATIVE AND PROPOSE THESE SAME THREE STANDARDS AT HOME -- MANDATORY TIME, NO DEALS WITHOUT COOPERATION, THE DEATH PENALTY WHERE APPROPRIATE. YOUR STATES OWE IT TO THOSE HERE TODAY.

FOURTH -- TWO MONTHS AGO, AT MY DIRECTION, THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS SUSPENDED THE IMPORTATION OF CERTAIN, SO-CALLED "ASSAULT" WEAPONS. ATF IS CONTINUING ITS EXAMINATION TO DETERMINE WHICH -- IF ANY -- OF THESE WEAPONS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE UNDER THE STANDARDS IN EXISTING LAW. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THIS STUDY -- AND AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION -- WE WILL PERMANENTLY BAN ANY IMPORTS THAT DON'T MEASURE UP TO THESE STANDARDS.

RECENTLY, THE U.S. NEWS COVER STORY ON GUNS SUMMED UP A RELATED CHALLENGE -- "THE DIFFICULTY IN DRAFTING LAWS THAT WILL SEPARATE ASSAULT WEAPONS USED IN CRIME FROM SEMI-AUTOMATICS FREQUENTLY USED" FOR LEGITIMATE HUNTING AND SPORT.

THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL CONTROVERSY AND DEBATE ON THIS POINT. BUT ONE THING THAT WE DO KNOW ABOUT THESE "ASSAULT" WEAPONS IS THAT THEY INVARIABLY ARE EQUIPPED WITH UNJUSTIFIABLY LARGE MAGAZINES. THE NOTORIOUS AKS-47, FOR EXAMPLE, COMES WITH A MAGAZINE THAT PUMPS OFF 30 EXPLOSIVE BURSTS WITHOUT RELOADING.

AND THAT IS WHY -- FIFTH -- WE STAND ON THE STEPS OF CONGRESS AND ASK ITS SUPPORT FOR LEGISLATION PROHIBITING THE IMPORTATION, MANUFACTURE, SALE, OR TRANSFER OF GUN MAGAZINES OF MORE THAN 15 ROUNDS.

THE CURRENT DEBATE WAS FIRST SPARKED WHEN AN UNSTABLE GUNMAN IN STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA PURCHASED AN AKS-47 OVER THE COUNTER -- AND USED IT TO LAY WASTE TO AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PLAYGROUND.

PATRICK EDWARD PURDY HAD NO BUSINESS BUYING THAT GUN. HE WAS ARRESTED ON HIS FIRST WEAPONS CHARGE BEFORE HIS 15TH BIRTHDAY. BY HIS FOURTH FIREARMS ARREST, PURDY HAD FINALLY TURNED 18, AND WITH IT CHALKED UP THE FIRST OF TWO ADULT CONVICTIONS. ALTHOUGH FOR VIOLENT AND WEAPONS OFFENSES, BOTH CONVICTIONS WERE MISDEMEANORS. PURDY CRAWLED THROUGH THE LOOPHOLE THAT BARS ONLY FELONS FROM BUYING GUNS -- AND GOT THAT DEADLY AKS-47. THAT'S OUTRAGEOUS.

AND THEREFORE, WE ALSO PROPOSE THAT CONGRESS CLOSE THE PURDY LOOPHOLE, AND OTHERS LIKE IT THAT ALLOW DEADLY WEAPONS TO FALL INTO DEADLY HANDS. AGAIN, THAT'S JUST COMMON SENSE.

BUT WE NEED TO DO MORE THAN JUST ENACT NEW LAWS. IN A RECENT MOVIE ABOUT THE L.A. GANG WARS, A WOMAN SHOUTS ENCOURAGEMENT TO A COP ON PATROL, TELLING HIM: "YOU GET THEM OFF THE STREET." HE ANSWERS: "LADY, WE'RE TRYING." AND THE WOMAN OFFERS A FOUR WORD SOLUTION: "YOU NEED MORE HELP."

BELIEVE ME, WE KNOW IT. OUR POLICE NEED MORE HELP. AND I'M HERE TODAY TO TELL YOU THAT WE'RE PREPARED TO MATCH RHETORIC WITH RESOURCES -- AND CALL ON OUR CITIES AND STATES TO DO THE SAME.

THE SECOND FRONT OF OUR NEW OFFENSIVE CALLS FOR INCREASED MANPOWER AND A NEW STRATEGY ON GUNS -- A STRATEGY BASED ON MODELS OF PROVEN EFFECTIVENESS. I HAVE DIRECTED THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE TREASURY SECRETARY, WORKING TOGETHER WITH STATE AND LOCAL ENFORCEMENT, TO LAUNCH A COMPREHENSIVE, COORDINATED OFFENSIVE AGAINST OUR NATION'S MOST VIOLENT CRIMINALS.

I AM REQUESTING FUNDING FOR HIRING 825 NEW FEDERAL AGENTS AND STAFF -- 375 AT ATF, 300 AT THE FBI, AND 150 DEPUTY U.S. MARSHALS. MANY OF THESE HIRINGS WILL PERMIT EXPERIENCED INVESTIGATORS FROM ALL THREE AGENCIES TO PROMPTLY COMBAT VIOLENT CRIME IN THE FIELD.

OF COURSE, ARRESTING THESE THUGS DOESN'T HELP IF WE DON'T HAVE THE MUSCLE TO PROSECUTE EACH CRIMINAL TO THE FULLEST EXTENT OF THE LAW. THAT'S WHY THE THIRD FRONT OF THIS CAMPAIGN CALLS FOR CONGRESS TO BACK UP THESE NEW TROOPS WITH 1,600 NEW PROSECUTORS AND STAFF.

NOW, THERE PROBABLY ISN'T A COP HERE WHO HASN'T SEEN A CASE WHERE A DANGEROUS FELON -- PROPERLY ARRESTED, FULLY PROSECUTED, AND SENTENCED TO THE MAXIMUM -- WALKED OUT OF JAIL EARLY, SOMETIMES YEARS EARLY, BECAUSE PRISONS ARE BURSTING AT THE SEAMS. THAT'S NOT RIGHT.

PART OF OUR COMMON SENSE APPROACH IS A SIMPLE RECOGNITION THAT IT DOESN'T DO ANY GOOD TO PROVIDE NEW FEDERAL AGENTS, NEW ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEYS, AND NEW LAWS WITH LONG-TERM PENALTIES -- IF WE DON'T HAVE THE PRISON CELLS TO KEEP CRIMINALS WHERE THEY BELONG. A CHAIN IS ONLY AS STRONG AS ITS WEAKEST LINK.

AND SO, AS THE FOURTH FRONT IN THIS COMPREHENSIVE EFFORT, I AM CALLING ON CONGRESS TO AUTHORIZE AN ADDITIONAL \$1 BILLION -- OVER AND ABOVE THE \$500 MILLION ALREADY SLATED FOR 1990 -- FOR FEDERAL PRISON CONSTRUCTION. THESE 24,000 NEW BEDS WILL BOOST FEDERAL PRISON CAPACITY BY NEARLY 80%.

NOT SINCE LINCOLN HAS A PRESIDENT STOOD IN FRONT OF THE CAPITOL AND BEEN JUST A FEW MILES FROM THE FRONT LINE OF A WAR. NEVER WAS THE TOLL MORE VISIBLE THAN IN THE FACES OF THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN -- THE FAMILIES -- GATHERED HERE TODAY. AND WHEN I FIRST STOOD HERE AS PRESIDENT -- ONLY MOMENTS AFTER TAKING THE OATH -- I MADE A PROMISE: "THIS SCOURGE WILL STOP." AND THAT'S A PROMISE WE INTEND TO KEEP.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I OFFER MY CONDOLENCES FOR YOUR FALLEN LOVED ONES AND FELLOW OFFICERS. I SALUTE YOUR COMMITMENT AND YOUR COURAGE. AND AS A CITIZEN GRATEFUL FOR THE PROTECTION YOU HAVE PROVIDED FOR MY FAMILY AND MY COUNTRYMEN, I THANK YOU AND WISH YOU GODSPEED. AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 3:00 P.M. CDT
4:00 P.M. EDT
FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1989

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

G. Rollie White Coliseum
College Station, Texas

May 12, 1989

My sincerest congratulations go to every graduate, and to your parents. In this ceremony, we celebrate nothing less than the commencement of the rest, and the best, of your life.

When you look back to your days at Texas A&M, you will have a lot to be proud of -- a university that is first in baseball and first in service to our Nation. Many are the heroes whose names are called at Muster. Many are those you remember in Silver Taps.

We are reminded that no generation can escape history. Parents -- we share a fervent desire for our children, and their children, to know a better world, a safer world. Students -- your parents and grandparents have lived through a world war, and helped America to rebuild the world. They witnessed the drama of postwar nations divided by Soviet subversion and force, but sustained by an Allied response most vividly seen in the Berlin Airlift.

Wise men -- Truman and Eisenhower, Vandenberg and Rayburn -- Marshall, Acheson and Kennan -- crafted the strategy of containment. They believed that the Soviet Union, denied the easy course of expansion, would turn inward and address the contradictions of its inefficient, repressive and inhumane system. And they were right. The Soviet Union is now publicly facing this hard reality.

Containment worked. Containment worked because our democratic principles, institutions and values are sound, and always have been. It worked because our alliances were and are strong; and because the superiority of free societies and free markets over stagnant socialism is undeniable.

We are approaching the conclusion of an historic postwar struggle between two visions -- one of tyranny and conflict, and one of democracy and freedom. The review of U.S.-Soviet relations that my Administration has just completed outlines a new path toward resolving this struggle.

Our goal is bold -- more ambitious than any of my predecessors might have thought possible. Our review indicates that forty years of perseverance have brought us a precious opportunity. Now it is time to move beyond containment, to a new policy for the 1990s -- one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world, and in the Soviet Union itself.

In sum, the United States now has as its goal much more than simply containing Soviet expansionism -- we seek the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations. As the Soviet Union moves toward greater openness and democratization -- as they meet the challenge of responsible international behavior --

- more -

we will match their steps with steps of our own. Ultimately, our objective is to welcome the Soviet Union back into the world order.

The Soviet Union says it seeks to make peace with the world, and criticizes its own postwar policies. These are words we can only applaud. But a new relationship cannot be simply declared by Moscow, or bestowed by others. It must be earned. It must be earned because promises are never enough. The Soviet Union has promised a more cooperative relationship before, only to reverse course and return to militarism. Soviet foreign policy has been almost seasonal -- warmth before cold, thaw before freeze. We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust.

We hope perestroika is pointing the Soviet Union to a break with the cycles of the past -- a definitive break. Who would have thought we would see the deliberations of the Central Committee on the front page of Pravda, or dissident Andrei Sakharov seated near the councils of power? Who would have imagined a Soviet leader who canvasses the sidewalks of Moscow and Washington, D.C.? These are hopeful -- indeed, remarkable -- signs. Let no one doubt our sincere desire to see perestroika continue and succeed. But the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. We look for enduring, ingrained economic and political change.

While we hope to move beyond containment, we are only at the beginning of our new path. Many dangers and uncertainties are ahead. We must not forget that the Soviet Union has acquired awesome military capabilities. That was a fact of life for my predecessors. That has always been a fact of life for our allies. And that is a fact of life for me.

As we seek peace, we must also remain strong. The purpose of our military might is not to pressure a weak Soviet economy, or to seek military superiority. It is to deter war. It is to defend ourselves and our allies, and to do something more -- to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism -- to convince the Soviet Union that reward lies in the pursuit of peace.

Western policies must encourage the evolution of the Soviet Union toward an open society. This task will test our strength. It will tax our patience. And it will require a sweeping vision -- let me share with you my vision. I see a Western Hemisphere of democratic, prosperous nations, no longer threatened by a Cuba or a Nicaragua armed by Moscow. I see a Soviet Union that pulls away from ties to terrorist nations -- like Libya -- that threaten the legitimate security of their neighbors. I see a Soviet Union which respects China's integrity, and returns the Northern Territories of Japan; a prelude to the day when all the great nations of Asia will live in harmony.

But the fulfillment of this vision requires the Soviet Union to take positive steps, including:

FIRST: Reduce Soviet forces. Although some small steps have already been taken, the Warsaw Pact still possesses more than 30,000 tanks, more than twice as much artillery and hundreds of thousands more troops in Europe than NATO. They should cut their forces to less threatening levels, in proportion to their legitimate security needs.

SECOND: Adhere to the Soviet obligation -- promised in the final days of World War II -- to support self-determination for all the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. This requires specific abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine. One day it should be possible to drive from Moscow to Munich without seeing a single guard tower or a strand of barbed wire. In short, tear down the Iron Curtain.

THIRD: Work with the West in positive, practical -- not merely rhetorical -- steps toward diplomatic solutions to regional disputes around the world. I welcome the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Angola agreement. But there is much more to be done around the world. We're ready. Let's roll up our sleeves and get to work.

FOURTH: Achieve a lasting political pluralism and respect for human rights. Dramatic events have already occurred in Moscow. We are impressed by limited, but freely contested, elections. We are impressed by a greater toleration of dissent. We are impressed by a new frankness about the Stalin era. Mr. Gorbachev, don't stop now.

FIFTH: Join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace, and dangers to the environment. We can build a better world for our children.

As the Soviet Union moves toward arms reduction and reform, it will find willing partners in the West. We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms control and arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies. However, arms control is not an end in itself, but a means of contributing to the security of America, and the peace of the world. I directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviets have agreed.

Our basic approach is clear. In the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war. In the companion Defense and Space Talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses when they are ready. In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force. We will continue to seek a verifiable global ban on chemical weapons. We support NATO efforts to reduce the Soviet offensive threat in the negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe. And, as I've said, fundamental to all of these objectives is simple openness.

Make no mistake, a new breeze is blowing across the steppes and cities of the Soviet Union. Why not, then, let this spirit of openness grow, let more barriers come down. Open emigration, open debate, open airwaves -- let openness come to mean the publication and sale of banned books and newspapers in the Soviet Union. Let the 19,000 Soviet Jews who emigrated last year be followed by any number who wish to emigrate this year. Let openness come to mean nothing less than the free exchange of people, books and ideas between East and West. And let it come to mean one thing more.

Thirty-four years ago, President Eisenhower met in Geneva with Soviet leaders who, after the death of Stalin, promised a new approach toward the West. He proposed a plan called "Open Skies," which would allow unarmed aircraft from the United States and the Soviet Union to fly over the territory of the other country. This would open up military activities to regular scrutiny and, as President Eisenhower put it, "convince the world that we are . . . lessening danger and relaxing tension."

President Eisenhower's suggestion tested Soviet readiness to open their society. The Kremlin failed that test. Let us again explore that proposal, but on a broader, more intrusive and radical basis -- one which I hope would include allies on both sides. We suggest that those countries that wish to examine this proposal meet soon to work out the necessary operational details, separately from other arms control negotiations.

Such surveillance flights, complementing satellites, would provide regular scrutiny for both sides. Such unprecedented territorial access would show the world the meaning of the concept of openness. The very Soviet willingness to embrace such a concept would reveal their commitment to change.

Where there is cooperation, there can be a broader economic relationship. But economic relations have been stifled by Soviet internal policies. They have been injured by Moscow's practice of using the cloak of commerce to steal technology from the West. Ending discriminatory treatment of U.S. firms would be a helpful step. Trade and financial transactions should take place on a normal commercial basis.

And should the Soviet Union codify its emigration laws in accord with international standards and implement its new laws faithfully, I am prepared to work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, opening the way to extending Most Favored Nation trade status to the Soviet Union. The policy I have just described has everything to do with you.

Today you graduate. You will start careers and families. And you will become the leaders of America in the next century. What kind of world will you know? Perhaps the world order of the future will truly be a family of nations.

It is a sad truth that nothing forces us to recognize our common humanity more swiftly than a natural disaster. I am thinking of Soviet Armenia, just a few months ago -- a tragedy without blame, warlike devastation without war.

My son took our 12-year-old grandson to Yerevan. At the end of a day of comforting the injured and consoling the bereaved, father and son sat down together amid the ruins and wept. How can our two countries magnify this simple expression of caring? How can we each convey the goodwill of our people?

Forty-three years ago, a young Lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue, Class of 1945 at Texas A&M, was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the banks of the Elbe River. Once again, we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. Once again, it is a time for peace.

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