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(Noonan)
January 6, 1989
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: FAREWELL ADDRESS
FRIDAY, JANUARY 20, 1988

My fellow Americans, this is the 34th time I'll speak to you from the Oval Office, and the last. We have been together 8 years now, and soon it will be time for me to go. But before I do, I wanted to share some thoughts, some of which I have been saving for a long time.

It has been the honor of my life to be your President. So many of you have written in the past few weeks to say thanks, but I could say as much to you. Nancy and I are grateful for the opportunity you gave us to serve.

One of the things about the Presidency is that you're always sort of a little apart. You spend a lot of time going by too fast in a car someone else is driving, and seeing the people through tinted glass -- the parents holding up a child, and the wave you saw too late and couldn't return. And so many times I wanted to stop, and reach out from behind the glass, and connect. And maybe I can do a little of that tonight.

People ask how I feel about leaving, and the fact is, parting is 'such sweet sorrow'. The sweet part is California, and the ranch, and freedom. You may have heard freedom's something I kind of prize. I'll be able to go to church again without interrupting everybody else's peace and quiet. I always figured it's hard enough unburdening yourself to your maker without having to go through the metal detector first.

The sorrow? The good-byes, of course, and leaving this beautiful place. You know, down the hall and up the stairs from this office is the part of the White House where the President and his family live. There are a few favorite windows I have up there that I like to stand and look out of early in the morning. The view is over the grounds here to the Washington Monument, and then the mall, and the Jefferson Memorial. But on mornings when the humidity is low, you can see past the Jefferson to the river, the Potomac, and the Virginia shore. Someone said that's the view Lincoln had when he saw the smoke rising from the battle of Bull Run. I see more prosaic things: The grass on the banks, the wind through the trees, and the morning traffic as the people of Virginia make their way to work....

I have been thinking a bit at that window. I've been reflecting on what the past 8 years have meant, and mean. And I realize that the biggest thing I'll miss is being in a position to implement the things we believe in. From Grenada to the Washington and Moscow Summits, from the recession of '81 to '82 to the expansion that began in late '82 and continues to this day, we've made a difference.

The way I see it there were two great triumphs, two things that I'm proudest of. One is the economic recovery, in which the people of America created -- and filled -- 19 million new jobs. The other is the recovery of our morale: America is respected again in the world, and looked to for leadership.

Something that happened to me a few years ago reflects some of this. It was back in 1981, and I was attending my first big

Bill
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D.C.
Not likely
Spaulding
25 miles

Recession
began
Aug of 81
ERP 1982
November
1982
Kitty Furlong
Chief Statistician
CEA

Ottawa Summit
July 20-21, 1981

- 8 including EC? - 3 -

economic summit, which was held that year in Canada. The opening meeting was a formal dinner for the ~~Heads of State~~ ^{an} ~~of the~~ ^{leaders (an Heads of} ~~Government)~~ ^{Government)} X
7 industrialized nations. I sat there like the new kid in school and listened, and it was all Francois this and Helmut that. At one point I sort of leaned in and said, "My name's Ron."

Tax Cuts
passed
Aug 4, 1981
Q. Almaraz / 91
November
1982

une 4-6, 82
Versailles
Economie
Zummit
Presde
p 733
1982 v. I

Well, the fact is it wasn't a miracle, because men don't make miracles -- and it was the men and women of America who for the past 8 years turned our country around. And in all that time I won a nickname -- 'The Great Communicator.' But I never thought it was my style or the words I used that made a difference -- it was the content. I wasn't a great communicator. I just communicated great things, and they didn't spring full blown from my brow, they came from the heart of a great Nation -- from our experience, our wisdom, and our beliefs.

They called it the Reagan Revolution, and I'll accept that, but for me it always seemed more like the Great Rediscovery: A rediscovery of our values and our common sense.

Common sense told us that when you put a big tax on something, people will produce less of it. So we cut the people's tax rates and the people produced more than ever before. The standard of living [✓] rose; the economy bloomed like a plant [✓] that had been cut back and could now grow quicker and stronger.

Common sense also told us that to preserve the peace we'd have to become strong again after years of weakness and confusion. So we rebuilt our defenses -- and this New Year we toasted the new peacefulness around the globe.

And you know what the central lesson of all this was? That we could seize control of our destiny -- that we weren't at the mercy of events -- that we could, together, lower ^{an} inflation, lower ^{an} interest rates, create opportunity, and increase the standard of living for the people of America.

Something else we learned: Once you begin a great movement there's no telling where it will end. We meant to change a nation and instead we changed a world.

Countries across the globe are turning to free markets and free speech -- and turning away from the ideologies of the past. For them, the Great Rediscovery of the 1980's has been that lo and behold, the moral way of government is the practical way of government. Democracy, the profoundly good, is also the profoundly productive.

Interest
1981 15.27
1987 8.22
Inflation
1981 8.9
1987 4.4
ERP 1988
P 330-331
m 317

III

As I come to the end of my participation in politics, I'd like to explain how this all came about. I had no desire to get into public life at all, quite the contrary. But I was raised to believe you had to pay your way for the blessings bestowed on you.

I was happy with my career in the entertainment world, but ultimately I went into politics because I wanted to protect something precious. I wrote it down on a scrap of paper recently when I was trying to express what had motivated me all these years. I wrote that, "Ours was the first revolution in the history of mankind that truly reversed the course of government, and with three little words: 'We the People.'"

'We the People' tell the government what to do, it doesn't tell us. 'We the People' are the driver -- the government is the car. And WE decide where it should go, and by what route, and how fast. Because 'We the People' are free.

This belief has been the underlying basis for everything I have tried to do these past 8 years.

Back in the 1960's when I began, it seemed to me that we had begun reversing the order of things -- that through more and more rules and regulations and edicts and confiscatory taxes, the government was taking more and more of our money, more of our options, and more of our freedom. I went into politics in part to put up my hand and say, 'Stop!'. I was a citizen politician, and it seemed the right thing for a citizen to do.

Newsweek
Boys
3-22-76
New Europe

I think we have stopped a lot of what needed stopping. And I hope we have once again reminded people that man is not free unless government is limited. There's a clear cause and effect here that is as neat and predictable as a law of physics: As government expands, liberty contracts.

IV

Nothing is less free than pure communism, and yet, we have for the past few years forged a satisfying new closeness with the Soviet Union. I leave feeling very good about that relationship. It is stable. It is based on mutual strength. It has been improving slowly but steadily. I've been asked if the new closeness isn't a gamble, and my answer is no, because we're basing our actions, not on words, but deeds.

The detente of the 1970's was based not on actions, but promises. They'd promise to treat their own people and the people of the world better, but the gulag was still the gulag, and the state was still expansionist, and they still waged in proxy wars in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

This time, so far, it's different: President Gorbachev has brought about some internal democratic reforms and begun withdrawal from Afghanistan. He has also freed prisoners whose names I've given him every time we've met.

But the world is a funny place, and life has a way of reminding you of big things through small incidents. Once, during the heady days of the Moscow Summit, Nancy and I decided to break off from the entourage one afternoon to visit the shops on Arbat Street, a little street just off Moscow's main shopping area.

Even though our visit was a surprise, every Russian there immediately recognized us, and called out our names, and reached for our hands. We were just about swept away by the warmth -- you could almost feel the possibilities in all that joy. But within seconds everything changed: A big K.G.B. detail pushed their way toward us and began manhandling the crowd. They showed little respect, pushing, shoving, and knocking people to the ground. Our people spirited us out there in one quick hurry.

It brought it all home: The man on the street in the Soviet Union may yearn for freedom, but he lives in a police state.

The people who run the Soviet Union are still communists, and they believe in communism. But my view is that President Gorbachev is like no other Soviet leader. He knows what's wrong with his society and is trying to fix it. We wish him well. We must not be afraid to seek new opportunities. And we should work to make sure that the Soviet Union that eventually emerges from this process is a less threatening one.

I want the new closeness to continue. But we must make it clear that we will only continue to act in a certain way as long as they continue to act in a helpful manner. If and when they

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Circled, Medin
Roughed
Up on
Plagiarism
5-29-88

don't, at first pull your punches. If they persist, pull the plug.

It's still trust -- but verify.

It's still play -- but cut the cards.

It's still watch closely -- and don't be afraid to see what you see.

There's another thing maybe worth mentioning. I've found it extremely helpful to be direct in my dealings with the Soviets. Back when I first met President Gorbachev at the Geneva Summit, I told him plainly that he would either have to take arms reductions seriously, or enter into an arms race that he simply could not -- would not -- win. It was blunt. But then so was his answer, which was: Alright.

There is a compliment in candor; honesty shows respect. So I would say to our diplomats of the future, speak the truth clearly, with each word carrying a meaning that cannot be confused -- while keeping in mind that you can call a spade a spade, without calling it a darn dirt shovel.

v

I've been asked if I have any regrets. I do.

The deficit is one. I've been talking a great deal about the little item lately, but tonight isn't for arguments and I'll be happy to hold my tongue.

But an observation: I've had my share of victories in the Congress, but what few people noticed is that I never won anything you didn't win for me. They never saw my troops; they never saw Reagan's Regiments, the American people. You won every battle with every call you made and letter you wrote demanding action.

Well, action is still needed. If we're to finish the job, Reagan's Regiments will have to become the Bush Brigades. Soon he'll be the Chief, and he'll need you every bit as much as I did.

I have a more personal regret. It's that in spite of the fact that we turned the economy around and lifted the standard of living for so many people -- in spite of that we never quite reached down into the heart of the horror and helped the permanent poor.

I feel that I never quite got across that there are conservative answers to the problems of poverty, and the conservative solution is not to look away. I believe in George Bush's 'kinder, gentler nation' too. And maybe he'll be able to make more progress than I did.

Finally, there is a great tradition of warnings in Presidential farewells, and I've got one that's been on my mind for some time.

Those of us who are over 35 or so years of age grew up in a different America. We were taught, very directly, what it means to be an American, and we absorbed almost in the air a love of country and an appreciation of its institutions. If you didn't

get these things from your family, you got them from the neighborhood, from the father down the street who fought in Korea, or the family who lost someone at Anzio. Or you could get a sense of patriotism from school.

If all these things failed, you could get it from the popular culture. The movies celebrated democratic values and implicitly reinforced the idea that America was special. T.V. was like that too through the mid 60's.

But now we're about to enter the 90's, and some things have changed. Some younger parents aren't sure that an unambivalent appreciation of America is the right thing to teach modern children. And as for those who create the popular culture, a heart-on-the-sleeve love for America is no longer the style.

The spirit of The People hasn't diminished -- in fact, there's been a magnificent rebirth of national pride the past 8 years. But we haven't quite reinstitutionalized it -- and I'm not sure we're training our children in what it means to be a citizen of America.

We've got to do a better job of getting across that America deserves our loyalty and love. That America is freedom -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of enterprise -- and freedom is special and rare. It's fragile, and needs protection. We've got to teach history based not on what's in fashion, but what's important: Why the pilgrims came here, who

Jimmy Doolittle was, and what those 30 seconds over Tokyo meant.

Doolittle
air raid
over Japan
Webster's Bios
P-284-285

If we don't know what we did, we won't know who we are. I am warning of an eradication of the American memory that could result, ultimately, in an erosion of the American spirit.

Thank goodness we still have new waves of immigrants to teach us, through their presence, what we are. When you meet someone who risked his life to get here, it says pretty eloquently that you must be something special.

Let's start with some basics -- more attention to American history and a greater emphasis on civic ritual. And let me offer lesson number one about America: All great change in America begins at the dinner table. So tomorrow night in the kitchen I hope the talking begins. And children, if your parents haven't been teaching you what it means to be an American -- let 'em know and nail 'em on it. That would be a very American thing to do.

And that's about all I have to say tonight. Except for one thing.

*Winthrop's
Diet. of
Am. Bio.
Scribner's
p. 403* The past few days when I've been at that window upstairs I've thought a bit of ^{the shining city} ~~on~~ ^{up on the} a hill'. The phrase comes from John Winthrop, who wrote it to describe the America he imagined. What he imagined was important because he was one of the earliest Pilgrims who came here hoping for a home that would be free. *an an*

I've spoken of the shining city all my political life, but I don't know if I ever quite communicated what I saw when I said it. But in my mind it was a tall proud city built on rocks stronger than oceans, wind-swept, God-blessed, and teeming with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace -- a city with

free ports that hummed with commerce and creativity, and if there were city walls, the walls had doors, and the doors were open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here.

That's how I saw it, and see it still.

And how stands the city on this winter night? More prosperous, more secure and happier than it was 8 years ago. But more than that: After 200 years, two centuries, she still stands strong and true on the granite ridge, and her glow has held steady no matter what storm.

And she's still a beacon, still a magnet for all who must have freedom, for all the Pilgrims from all the lost places who are hurtling through the darkness, toward home.

We've done our part. And as I 'walk off into the city streets', a final word to the men and women of the Reagan Revolution -- the men and women across America who for 8 years did the work that brought America back.

My friends, we did it. We weren't just marking time; we made a difference. We made the city stronger -- we made the city freer -- and we left her in good hands.

All in all not bad. Not bad at all.

And so, goodbye.

God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MILITARY HISTORY

from 3500 B.C. to the present

REVISED EDITION

R. ERNEST DUPUY AND TREVOR N. DUPUY

recourse was had to militia and volunteers, poorly trained and originally of short enlistment terms. The Confederate Army consisted of men enlisted for 1 year. The 286 U.S. Regular Army officers who resigned and went South were wisely used as leaven for its officer corps. In the North the remaining 780 U.S. Regular officers were mostly kept in their units, instead of being utilized to train the Union armies; political appointees, mostly without previous experience, were substituted instead.

The Confederacy had no naval vessels, but it had 322 of the 1,300 U.S. Navy officer corps and a vigorous Secretary of the Navy—**Stephen R. Mallory** of Florida, who left no stone unturned to build a fighting naval force. The U.S. Navy had some 90 wooden ships—sail and steam—42 of them in commission, and only 4 in Northern waters when the war broke out. **Gideon Welles** of Connecticut, competent U.S. Secretary of the Navy, set about extemporizing an enormous force, backed by the vast maritime resources of the North—resources which did not exist in the South. His assistant, **Gustavus Vasa Fox**, a former U.S. Navy officer, was of tremendous assistance in the task.

Confederate President Jefferson Davis was a West Pointer, a Mexican War hero, and had been Secretary of War; he had also been chairman of the Senate's Military Affairs Committee. He was well qualified for his position as Commander in Chief. U.S. President Abraham Lincoln had had no real military experience. Under political pressure he had rejected the recommendations of his senior military adviser. On the President fell the onus of producing and maintaining in the North the will to win, without which Southern victory would be inevitable. Yet he had no concerted plan of campaign. Lincoln's call for volunteers and his arbitrary immediate strengthening of the Regular Army were countered by Davis' authorization of Confederate privateering. Operations began on both sides of the Appalachians, at first piecemeal, later in force.

War in the East, 1861

1861, April 20. Loss of Norfolk Navy Yard.

Virginia militia, seizing this important station, secured for the Confederacy the fine steam frigate *Merrimack*, and a great quantity of naval stores and armament, including 52 modern 9-inch guns.

1861, May 24. Washington Menaced.

Virginia militia occupied the Alexandria area and hastily installed Confederate batteries controlled the Potomac approaches.

1861, June. Operations in West Virginia and Virginia.

Major General **George B. McClellan** with Ohio volunteers cleared western Virginia of local Confederate forces at **Philippi** (June 3) and **Rich Mountain-Carrick's Ford** (July 11-14). In eastern Virginia, there was a skirmish at **Big Bethel**, near Union-held **Fortress Monroe** (June 10).

1861, June-July. Focus on Washington and Richmond.

The main bodies of both Union and Confederacy gathered between the opposing capitals. Brevet Major General **Irvin McDowell**, with 38,000 Union

troops—less than 2,000 professional soldiers among them—moved from Washington (July 19) to attack a Confederate force of 20,000, under **Beauregard**, near **Centerville, Va.**

1861, July 21. First Battle of Bull Run.

McDowell found his enemy lying along **Bull Run**. Unaware that General **Joseph E. Johnston** had already arrived with most of his 12,000 men from the lower Shenandoah Valley to reinforce **Beauregard**, **McDowell**, who had 28,500 in the field, attempted to turn the Confederate left by a movement too complicated for his untrained troops and staff. After some progress, his attack was checked by the stand of Brigadier General **Thomas J. Jackson's** Virginia brigade, Jackson winning his sobriquet of "**Stonewall**." Johnston's skillful shift of troops from the original battle front culminated in success with the arrival of his last brigade by rail from **Winchester**. The Union enveloping force was itself enveloped and most of **McDowell's** army fled the field in panic, covered only by the dogged rear-guard action of Major



April 21, 1983

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Dear Mr. Kemp:

- if from Post
Recently, the White House published its third volume in a series of radio addresses to the American people given by President Reagan. This volume includes the text of the President's 1982 Christmas address excerpting the letter from Ordnance Man John Mooney which you so kindly brought to the President's attention. I thought you might like to have copies of these published addresses as mementoes.

As you know, the President was deeply impressed by your letter and by the spirit you displayed at a time when you yourself faced difficulties. He has asked me to express to you his best wishes and hope that the faith in America you have displayed will carry you to a brighter future. Once again, you have his heartfelt thanks.

Sincerely,

Anne Higgins
Special Assistant to the President
and Director of Correspondence

X
Mr. Gary A. Kemp
1437 Glenview Drive
Neenah, WI 54956

COPY
from ORM

Enclosures: 2 Radio Address Booklets

AVH:CAD:jfc--

See ID 114541

November 13, 1982

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Gary A. Kemp
1437 Glenview Drive
Neenah, Wisconsin 54956

Dear Mr. President:

SUBJECT: State of the Union Message.

I was moved to write this letter to you as I feel it is time to awake the emotions for those of us in this country who still believe in Patriotism. I have been unemployed for 17 months, and while I was hailing our space program over my morning coffee, I read a letter published in the Appleton, Wisconsin Post Crescent. The basic title of the letter was "An unusual day". It was written by John Mooney, ordnance man first class, U.S. Navy, aboard the carrier Midway in the South China Sea - October 15, 1982. The letter was sent to his parents Mr. & Mrs. Wallace Mooney at Kaukauna, Wisconsin.

I feel in my heart that if at all possible you could find time in a speech to the nation including this heartwarming letter:

"Dear Mom and Dad"

"Our destroyer spotted a boat in the water, and we rendered assistance," Mooney wrote. "We picked up 65 Vietnamese refugees. It was about a two-hour job getting everyone aboard, and then they had to get screened by intelligence and checked out by medical and fed and clothed and all that.

"But now they are resting on the hangar deck, and the kids - most of them seem to be kids from what I've seen - are sitting in front of probably the first television set they've ever seen, watching 'Star Wars.' "Their boat was sinking as we came alongside. They had been at sea five days, and had run out of water. All in all, a couple more days and the kids would have been in pretty bad shape.

"I guess once in awhile, we need a jolt like that for us to realize why we do what we do and how important, really, it can be. "I mean, it took a lot of guts for those parents to make a choice like that to go to sea in a leaky boat in hope of finding someone to take them from the sea. So much risk! But apparently they felt it was worth it rather than live in a Communist country.

(Continued)

December 6, 1982

Dear Mr. Kemp:

Thank you very much for your letter and for copying the sailor's letter. Reading that young man's account gave me a lump as he says between "the chin and the belly button." God bless him and bless you, too, for taking the time and trouble to get this to me. I am most grateful.

I hope with all my heart that your own situation improves very soon. I realize our critics are trying to portray us as doing nothing about our economic mess, but please know we are doing what we think will bring a real recovery. My daily prayer is that we can make it possible for everyone who wants a job to have one.

Again, my heartfelt thanks.

Sincerely,

COPY
from ORM

X
Mr. Gary A. Kemp
1437 Glenview Drive
Neenah, Wisconsin 54956

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RR Dictation

9

John Mooney's letter to his
parents about picking up Vietnamese
refugees on a Naval ship

HANDWRITING FILE

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A13
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Pennsylvania Avenue
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(Continued)

"For all of our 'problems', with the price of gas, and not being able to afford a new car or other creature comforts this year or our petty harping on our elected officials - whom, unfortunately, most of us don't bother to vote for, only complain about - I really don't see a lot of leaky boats heading out of San Diego looking for the Russian ships out there. "And I don't see many of our sailors jumping ship in Hong Kong." "We must really have something going for us." "The last time I felt this way was on my last visit to Hong Kong and I went on the train to the Red Chinese border. I saw the guards and the guns and the fence and I knew it wasn't meant to keep me OUT."

"After the refugees were brought aboard, I took some pictures, but as usual I didn't have my camera with me for the REAL picture - the one blazed in my mind. I had taken about two rolls of film already, and I had just put my camera away and was going across the hangar deck, headed for the compartment. I looked out the aircraft elevator door and saw one of the last trips of many our motor waleboat made, bringing these people to the carrier.

"As they approached the ship, they were all waving and trying as best they could to say 'Hello America sailor! Hello Freedom man!'" "It's hard to see a boat full of people like that and not get a lump somewhere between chin and bellybutton." "And, It really makes one proud and glad to have been lucky enough to be an American." "People were waving and shouting and choking down lumps and trying not to let other brave men see their wet eyes. Alieutenant next to me said, 'Yeah, I guess it's payday in more ways than one.' (We got paid today.) And I guess no one could really say it better than that. .

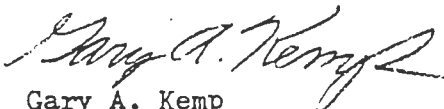
"It reminds us all of what America has always been - a place a man or woman can come to for freedom. I know we're crowded and we have unemployment and we have a real burden with refugees, but I honestly hope and pray we can always find room. We are a unique society, made up of castoffs of all the world's wars and oppressions, and yet we are strong and free. We have one thing in common - no matter where our forefathers came from, we believe in that freedom.

"I hope we always have room for one more person, maybe an Afghan or a Pole or someone else looking for a place to rest, where he doesn't have to worry about his family starving or a knock on the door in the night....." and where "all men who truly seek freedom and honor and respect and dignity for themselves and their posterity can find a place where they can rest and work and finally see their dreams come true and their kids educated and become the next generation's doctors and lawyers and builders and soldiers and sailors."

Love, John.

- - - - -

Very Truly,


Gary A. Kemp

9TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Christmas, 1982

Radio Address to the Nation.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1665

December 25, 1982

LENGTH: 939 words

Merry Christmas from the White House. Nancy and I wish we could personally thank the thousands of you who've sent us holiday cards, greetings, and messages. Each one is moving and tells a story of its own -- a story of love, hope, prayer, and patriotism. And each one has helped to brighten our Christmas.

Some of the most moving have come from fellow citizens who, unlike most of us, are not spending Christmas day at the family hearth, surrounded by friends and loved ones. I'm thinking of the 12 U.S. marines who sent us a card from Beirut, Lebanon, where they'll spend their Christmas helping to rebuild the shattered hopes for peace in a suffering land. And I'm thinking of the petty officer serving aboard the U.S.S. Enterprise who asked that we remember him and his shipmates this holiday season. "Christmas in the Indian Ocean is no fun," he writes, "but it's for a very good cause."

Well, that's right, sailor. You're serving a very good cause, indeed. On this, the birthday of the Prince of Peace, you and your comrades serve to protect the peace He taught us. You may be thousands of miles away, but to us here at home, you've never been closer.

One of my favorite pieces of Christmas mail came early this year, a sort of modern American Christmas story that took place not in our country's heartland, but on the troubled waters of the South China Sea last October. To me, it sums up so much of what is best about the Christmas spirit, the American character, and what this beloved land of ours stands for -- not only to ourselves but to millions of less fortunate people around the globe.

I want to thank Mr. Gary Kemp of Neenah, Wisconsin, for bringing it to my attention. It's a letter from Ordnance Man, First Class, John Mooney, written to his parents from aboard the aircraft carrier Midway on October 15th. But it's a true Christmas story in the best sense.

"Dear Mom and Dad," he wrote, "today we spotted a boat in the water, and we rendered assistance. We picked up 65 Vietnamese refugees. It was about a two-hour job getting everyone aboard, and then they had to get screened by intelligence and checked out by medical and fed and clothed and all that.

"But now they're resting on the hangar deck, and the kids -- most of them seem to be kids... are sitting in front of probably the first television set they've ever seen, watching 'Star Wars'. Their boat was sinking as we came alongside. They'd been at sea five days, and had run out of water. All in all, a couple of more days and the kids would have been in pretty bad shape.

Economic Policy

Despite hopes that President Reagan's strikingly different brand of economics would spur American business to new heights, 1981 ended with the United States buffeted by its second recession in two years.

Reagan's solution to the economic woes of the nation was a largely untested theory called supply-side economics. Simply put, supply-siders held that by returning taxes to businesses and workers and by restricting the growth of government, Americans would have more incentive to work harder and to save more. That would lead to increased investment, higher productivity and a decline in inflation, they said. (*Keynesians vs. supply-siders, box, next page*)

To aim the economy in the supply-side direction, the president March 10 requested that Congress cut more than \$10 billion from fiscal 1982 spending and reduce taxes by \$3.9 billion.

Using his considerable political acumen, Reagan was able to push through budget and tax bills that very closely mirrored his requests. His victory was short-lived, however. Later in the year, as the economy slipped into recession, the president was unable to generate congressional backing for a second round of massive budget cuts.

The Economy

Reagan inherited a sluggish economy, still beset by high inflation and high interest rates.

When he took office in January, the prime lending rate was hovering between 20 and 20-1/2 percent. Inflation, as measured by the Consumer Price Index (CPI) was rising, approaching 12 percent annually. The unemployment rate stood at 7.4 percent.

By the second quarter of 1981, inflation began abating. Final figures for 1981 showed that consumer prices rose only 8.9 percent during the year — the first time the annual rate had fallen below double digits since 1978.

But that was the only rosy signal. Interest rates, as affected by the prime lending rate, remained stubbornly high — not dipping below the 20 percent rate until September. These high interest rates infected the whole economy — but especially the rate-sensitive housing and automobile sectors.

Recession

High interest rates, coupled with a continued restrictive monetary policy being followed by the Federal Reserve Bank, started the economy on its downward slide, and by August the nation had entered a recession.

By December nine million Americans were unemployed — an 8.8 percent unemployment rate. In the final quarter of the year, the nation's "real" gross national product (GNP) — the total output of goods and services, adjusted for inflation — fell at an annual rate of 4.7 percent. Toward the end of the year interest rates began to ease. The prime rate at the end of December stood at 11 percent, but many economists warned that the relief

from high interest rates was only temporary.

Budget and Taxes

Before leaving office Jan. 20, Jimmy Carter sent Congress his last budget — a budget that reflected his belief that income tax cuts would increase inflation and that spending on domestic programs for the needy could not be substantially reduced.

The document was merely symbolic, however. For not long after Reagan was sworn in, he sent Congress his own budget blueprint — one that called for the largest tax cut in the history of the United States and for massive, across-the-board cuts in all areas of domestic spending except defense.

Reagan told the American people his program was "evenhanded" and could be accomplished "without harm to government's legitimate purpose or to our responsibility to all who need our benevolence."

Few would have believed that such a monumental shift in the role and focus of government would be accomplished as quickly as it was. But in little more than six months Congress approved the major elements of Reagan's proposals.

Reagan's success in achieving \$35.2 billion in budget cuts for fiscal 1982 — a total of \$130.6 billion in reductions in fiscal 1981-84 — stemmed in part from the unique use of a congressional budget-cutting tool known as reconciliation. The reconciliation vehicle allowed the House and Senate Budget committees to package together individual budget cuts proposed by authorizing committees into one bill, which they then sent to the floor for a single, up-or-down vote in each chamber.

The administration billed it as a vote on the Reagan economic program — an economic program that was the mandate of the last presidential election. The strategy worked. With a solid phalanx of Republican votes and enough help from Southern conservative Democrats, the administration was able to vanquish the Democratic-controlled House on key budget votes. In the Senate there was no question that the newly conservative-leaning body would support Reagan overwhelmingly.

On the tax front Reagan displayed the same political finesse that he had shown in the budget battle. Originally the president supported a tax cut that included only two elements: personal rate reductions totaling 30 percent over three years, and accelerated depreciation schedules for businesses to write off the cost of investing in plants and equipment more quickly.

During the give and take of the legislative process that lean tax measure grew fat with provisions considered crucial for victory. Democrats in the House engaged in the bidding war too. But in the end the power and pull of the president made the difference.

The final version of the bill was expected to deprive the Treasury of \$749 billion over the next five years. But its

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The Associated Press

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May 29, 1988, Sunday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 754 words

HEADLINE: Crowd, Media Roughed Up As Reagans Take Stroll

BYLINE: By TERENCE HUNT, AP White House Correspondent

DATELINE: MOSCOW

KEYWORD: Summit-Tough Stroll

BODY:

President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, out for a pleasant Sunday stroll, won cheers and applause in the city's showcase Arbat mall during a chaotic 10-minute episode in which grim-faced KGB agents roughed up members of the crowd and the press.

The agents knocked over a fruit stand as they steamrolled through the crowd.

The Reagans seemed stunned by the tumultuous scene and at times appeared to be jostled themselves. The president and first lady were completely encircled by KGB officers who locked arms in a tight circle, using elbows and shoulders to spew people out of their way.

Nancy Reagan stopped the procession at one point to rescue Helen Thomas, the White House correspondent for United Press International who was complaining loudly about the rough treatment. "She sort of put out her hand and pulled me in" to the presidential party, Miss Thomas said.

Tumult or not, the shirt-sleeved crowd of Sunday shoppers loudly cheered and applauded the president and first lady. Reagan shook hands with onlookers who managed to get close enough.

At one point, the president and Mrs. Reagan climbed atop an open carriage and waved to the crowd, drawing widespread cheers.

The unscheduled excursion occurred an hour after Reagan completed his first round of summit talks at the Kremlin with Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

It had been widely rumored that Reagan would have a surprise event Sunday evening, but his destination was not announced until after his motorcade left the U.S. embassy residence, where he is staying, en route to the shopping area known as the Arbat several hundred yards away.

The Associated Press, May 29, 1988

"It was a very heartwarming welcome, indeed. They all seemed very friendly," Reagan said. He said he was not surprised. "I have always heard that the Russian people are very friendly and outgoing."

The KGB, which has primary responsibility for Reagan's security here, was not informed of the walk until minutes before the president and first lady set out from the embassy residence, officials said.

In some ways, the event was similar to Gorbachev's unscheduled stop in a crowd in downtown Washington during the summit last December. To the delight of onlookers, the Soviet leader left his limousine and shook hands in the crowd. While there was an air of excitement, there was none of the turmoil that marked Reagan's event.

When Reagan and his wife stepped from their armored car, people nearby broke into smiles and began cheering. Word of their arrival spread quickly, and people began surging toward the party to get a look.

"Somebody must have spread the word in advance," Reagan said later.

The KGB agents seemed to panic at the crowd's reaction and began thrusting people out of the way. U.S. Secret Service agents appeared startled and pushed people with more force than they usually exert, though significantly less than the KGB.

Mutual Broadcasting reporter Peter Maer said he was punched in the stomach by a KGB officer, picked up and thrown over a barricade about the height of a bicycle rack.

A television sound technician said his jacket pocket was ripped off by the KGB, and a photographer said he was punched in the back.

Another photographer said his camera was broken, while a colleague complained he was bear-hugged and choked by his camera straps.

"General, tell your men to stop," White House assistant press secretary Mark Weinberg shouted repeatedly at the KGB officer in charge of the security detail.

American reporters tried to warn Soviets with children to stay back from the chaos. A fruit stand was overturned as agents pushed past, running and jumping over obstacles to catch up with the president.

Standing on the sidewalk outside the nearby U.S. embassy, the KGB officials were first briefed on the Reagans' plans and immediately held hurried consultations and sent agents down the street to the Arbat.

During the Reagans' walk, members of the presidential party, including spokesman Marlin Fitzwater and deputy chief of staff Kenneth Duberstein, were shut out from the circle around Reagan.

The scene calmed when the Reagans departed the market, electing to walk down the street back to the embassy instead of riding in their limousine.

The Associated Press, May 29, 1988

Reagan, chatting briefly with reporters, said he was pleased by the friendly reception he received from Soviet citizens as his motorcade drove into Moscow on his arrival from Helsinki, Finland. Thousands of people lined the route, and American and Soviet flags were suspended over the city on ropes attached to blimps.

5TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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Time

June 13, 1988, U.S. Edition

SECTION: NATION; Pg. 21

LENGTH: 1838 words

HEADLINE: A Gentle Battle of Images;
Behind all the ceremony was a more subtle form of posturing

BYLINE: By George J. Church. Reported by James O. Jackson/ Moscow, Barrett Seaman and Strobe Talbott with Reagan

BODY:

Ronald Reagan was born to campaign: he loves it and does it well. Last week, in the twilight of his presidency, he was back to his specialty, this time amid the onion domes of Moscow. Strolling around Red Square, talking to priests, writers, students and refuseniks, toasting his hosts at gala dinners, the President was unmistakably campaigning -- primarily on behalf of American-style human rights but also, and somewhat confusingly, on behalf of his opposite number and sometime adversary, the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

Mikhail Gorbachev has never had to run for office, at least not in the conventional sense. But he too is a natural campaigner, as anyone who saw him pick up a child in Red Square and tell him to "shake hands with Grandfather Reagan" would testify. He was running a kind of countercampaign, seeking to present himself as a radical reformer who is revitalizing the Soviet Union and toning down conflict between the superpowers -- but also as a confident leader who would not get pushed around by any Reagan sermonizing.

For both, it was a complex task. Reagan had to praise Gorbachev's drive for glasnost and perestroika while still making clear that it does not yet go nearly far enough, and he had to criticize the Soviet human-rights performance sharply without attacking Gorbachev personally. Gorbachev had to alternate between chumminess with Reagan and resentment of his unabashed preachiness.

Not surprisingly, each stumbled at times: Reagan by pulling his punches at the end and weakly blaming Soviet human-rights violations on "bureaucracy" rather than the Communist system or (heaven forbid!) his host; Gorbachev by taking now and then an almost contemptuous attitude toward Reagan. But like the seasoned troupers they are, they generally brought off their assignments with a surefooted panache.

Given their goals, it was not surprising that their fourth summit revolved around the ceremonial events rather than the one-on-one Reagan-Gorbachev meetings. With the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty ratified, the potential Strategic Arms Reduction Talks treaty bogged down and the Soviets pulling out of Afghanistan, there was not much top-level business to transact -- or at least not much that could get transacted given the constraints. Aides dutifully produced seven agreements, a procedure that has become de rigueur for summits lest they be popularly judged failures. But the agreements mostly concerned such minor matters as nuclear-testing procedures, fishing rights and exchanges of

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students. In effect, though certainly not in title, this was the Photo Opportunity Summit.

In the battle of images, Reagan several times appeared tired and disengaged, to the point that Gorbachev felt obliged to come to his rescue and cut off reporters' questions before one of their private sessions. Gorbachev is a generation younger, and looked it; he appeared constantly animated, bursting with ideas and emotions.

But it was the President who set the tone and the theme, and he did it almost as soon as he stepped off Air Force One. After a brief opening ceremony on Sunday, Reagan began his first private meeting with Gorbachev by handing him a list of cases involving Soviet people who are being denied the right to leave the U.S.S.R. or, in the U.S. view, unjustly imprisoned. Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater quoted him as telling Gorbachev that for Americans the issue of human rights "has pride of place" because they view it as being at the bottom of differences between the superpowers.

That appeal apparently had little effect, and later in the day Reagan got a lesson in U.S. and Soviet cultural differences. When he and Nancy went for an unscheduled walk around the Arbat, a quaint Moscow shopping mall, the friendly but thrusting crowds alarmed the KGB. Guards appeared out of nowhere to form a flying wedge around the Reagans and roughed up everyone from journalists to children. "It's still a police state," the President was heard to mutter. That night Reagan was expected to visit the Moscow apartment of Yuri and Tanya Ziemans, refuseniks who have been denied permission to emigrate. He hesitated after a Soviet official warned an American counterpart that such a visit would doom forever any chance that the Ziemans would be let go.

On Monday and Tuesday, Reagan took his human-rights campaign public. At the ancient Danilov Monastery, recently given back to the Russian Orthodox Church, he preached religious freedom: "We pray that the return of this monastery signals a willingness to return to believers the thousands of other houses of worship which are now closed, boarded up or used for secular purposes." At Spaso House, the American Ambassador's residence, the President was host to a meeting with 96 dissidents and refuseniks, including the Ziemans; some of them attended despite harassment and left fearing punishment. Said Reagan: "I wanted to convey . . . support to you that you might in turn convey to others, so that all those working for human rights throughout this vast land . . . might be encouraged and take heart."

Speaking to writers and intellectuals Tuesday morning, Reagan quoted from works of long-suppressed Russian authors. And at Moscow State University that afternoon, he developed a new theme: expanded human rights are essential to the economic revival that Gorbachev is trying to promote. "We are emerging from the economy of the industrial revolution, an economy confined to and limited by the earth's physical resources" into a new type of postindustrial economy in which the "freedom to create is the most precious natural resource," he said as Lenin's bust beamed down on the crowd.

In every speech, however, Reagan took care to compliment Gorbachev on the liberalization he has already achieved in Soviet society. To the dissidents he proclaimed that "this is a moment of hope . . . the freedom to keep the fruits of one's own labor, for example, is a freedom that the present reforms seem to be enlarging. We hope one freedom will lead to another." Aides left no doubt

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that Reagan was deliberately attempting to give a boost to Gorbachev, who faces key votes on further proposed reforms at a Communist Party conference beginning June 28. Reagan "believes that without Gorbachev there wouldn't be any of this" liberalization, says one adviser.

Gorbachev did not altogether appreciate the plug. The General Secretary and his aides repeatedly expressed resentment at Reagan's human-rights prodding, which some feared would play into the hands of Gorbachev's domestic rivals. Toasting Reagan at a state dinner, Gorbachev pointedly asserted that "we want to build contacts among people in all forums . . . but this should be done without interfering in domestic affairs, without sermonizing or imposing one's views or ways, without turning family or personal problems [a reference to refuseniks] into a pretext for confrontation between states." At other times, he treated the issue as an annoying distraction from more serious business, grumbling that he would prefer to talk "real politics" with Reagan.

Mostly, though, the Soviet reply to Reagan's human-rights pressure was suave, if a bit patronizing: the aged President, he implied, does not understand how rapidly events are moving in the Soviet Union, and is denouncing conditions of the past. Americans, said Gorbachev, "just do not know about the process of democratization in this country." Indeed, the Soviets put on an impressive show of glasnost for the world press. Public figures roamed though the press center offering comment on all manner of subjects, some having nothing to do with summitry. Gorbachev held a two-hour televised press conference, the first he has conducted in Moscow (though he has held such sessions abroad). Soviet officials staged a press conference for Andrei Sakharov, the celebrated dissident freed from internal exile by Gorbachev, and even arranged an interview for the BBC, CBS and ABC with Boris Yeltsin, who was sacked as Moscow Communist Party boss last November. Yeltsin called for the ouster of Yegor Ligachev, No. 2 in the Politburo, provoking a startled reaction from Gorbachev that will probably end what remains of Yeltsin's political career. All in all, it was an amazing lesson on the new scope of glasnost and also on its limits.

Face to face, Reagan and Gorbachev continued to get along, though sometimes with strain. At their first private session, Gorbachev proposed language for the closing communique that Reagan said seemed all right but thought he ought to discuss with his aides. They found the language filled with Soviet code words from the Nixon-Kissinger era of detente (peaceful coexistence, for example) that might be interpreted to prevent the U.S. from continuing to press for more Soviet human rights and to support anti-Communist insurgents in Third World countries. U.S. and Soviet experts worked out more noncommittal language. But at the last formal session on Wednesday, Gorbachev directly challenged Reagan: "You said you were for peaceful coexistence. Then why not put [those words] in the communique?" He went further to ask Reagan's aides, "What about you, George [Shultz], Frank [Carlucci]? Why not this language?" After a five-minute recess, Reagan stood toe to toe with Gorbachev and said quietly, "I'm sorry, this language is not acceptable." "Why not, Mr. President?" asked the Soviet leader. "We can't accept it," Reagan replied without elaboration. "O.K., I can see I'm not going to change your mind," said Gorbachev, quickly changing the subject.

On his way home from Moscow, Reagan got a victor's welcome both in London and at Andrews Air Force Base in Washington. In an exceptionally eloquent speech Friday in London's 550-year-old Guildhall, he pledged a "forward strategy of freedom" in dealing with Moscow, a "strategy of public candor about the

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moral and fundamental differences between statism and democracy, but also a strategy of vigorous diplomatic engagement." Back in the U.S., speaking to a flag-waving crowd, the President was more brief and personal. "We're a little tired," he said, "but we're exhilarated at what has happened."

Exhilaration is perhaps too strong. The superpower leaders had merely got through a summit that produced no breakthroughs but no backsliding either. Given the angry animosity that for so long divided the U.S. and U.S.S.R., however, that is no small achievement. As Reagan put it in his Guildhall speech, "To those of us who remember the postwar era, all of this is cause for shaking the head in wonder. Imagine, the President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Soviet Union walking together in Red Square, talking about a growing personal friendship." Even when summits end without any breakthrough on arms control -- even if, as Gorbachev said, they leave a vague sense of missed opportunity -- the fact that they now seem almost a matter of course may, in fact, be the most amazing thing about them.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, Reagan criticized Soviet human-rights violations without attacking Gorbachev personally, DAVID BURNETT -- CONTACT; Picture 2, In effect, though certainly not in title, this was the Photo Opportunity Summit, LESLIE GOODMAN

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May 30, 1988, Monday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1, Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1728 words

HEADLINE: THE MOSCOW SUMMIT: THE SOCIAL SIDE

Reporter's Notebook;
Presidential Stroll: Chaos and Applause

BYLINE: By BILL KELLER, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: MOSCOW, May 29

BODY:

While Yuri and Tatyana Ziman waited under siege in their apartment this evening, President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, took a chaotic stroll along Moscow's Arbat pedestrian mall.

The Arbat walkabout, the President's first attempt at summit spontaneity, turned into an onrush of entranced onlookers and quick-fisted security agents along the Soviet capital's liveliest thoroughfare.

The Ziman family, which has been waiting 11 years for permission to leave the Soviet Union, was the Reagan surprise that wasn't. According to United States officials, a visit by Nancy Reagan, possibly with her husband, to the Zimans this evening was to have been the first unannounced event in Moscow, a dramatic gesture on behalf of those kept in the country against their will.

Response to Gorbachev

The unannounced 10-minute walk on the Arbat was Mr. Reagan's answer to Mikhail S. Gorbachev's seemingly impromptu curbside chat during the Washington summit meeting in December.

Washington swooned when the Soviet leader unexpectedly leaped from his limousine to shake hands with an ecstatic throng at Connecticut Avenue and L Street.

And so the President, with his first Kremlin meeting completed and with a free evening before him, said he got the urge to see the vibrant mall that has become, depending on which generation of Muscovite you ask, a showcase of glasnost or a ruinous display of Western-style depravity. ✓

Boutiques and Break Dancing

The renovated pedestrian street is crowded with new cafes and boutiques, quick-sketch artists and kitsch dealers. There are impromptu guitar serenades and occasional displays of break dancing.

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A block from where the President walked, a psychologist offered stand-up Freudian consultations and Moscow's most famous psychic healer ran her regular clinic.

'We'd heard about that street and that little place where the children played and so forth,' the President told reporters afterward.

As soon as the Sunday crowds recognized the Reagans, they applauded and surged forward. The President shook hands as he and Mrs. Reagan made their way to a painted carriage set up by a photographer as a prop for souvenir photos.

The Reagans climbed aboard and waved, savoring their first close encounter with a public that views Mr. Reagan with misgivings but knows a historic event when it sees one.

But the Reagans's delighted smiles gave way to looks of apprehension as Soviet security agents, evidently panicked by the disorder, plunged into the crowd, elbowing and punching, to clear a path to the official limousine that had brought the Reagans from the United States Ambassador's residence a block away.

Several reporters trying to follow the Reagans through the crowd said they were hit or kicked, and White House aides exchanged shoves with arm-locked security agents before the Reagans made their exit.

Afterward, evidently dazed by the shoving match, the President mustered a chuckle and said, 'Someone must have spread the word in advance.'

Much Ado, Then Nothing

The plight of Yuri and Tatyana Ziman demonstrated a different hazard of spontaneity in summitry.

The Reagans never made it to the Zimans today, but a lot of other visitors did: dozens of police who informed the couple that the Reagans were coming, Soviet television and newspaper reporters who have never before shown interest in the family, a crew of painters and street workers who made the exterior of the apartment building presentable, and a crowd of several hundred neighbors who surrounded the apartment for hours awaiting a glimpse of - something.

According to United States officials, the Zimans were selected as perfect candidates when a White House advance team began scouting for ways that the Reagans could dramatize their concern for human rights.

Mrs. Reagan reportedly learned of their plight from Anya Feltsman, the wife of Vladimir Feltsman, the pianist who won permission to emigrate last year.

Their story embodies most of the familiar miseries of Soviet outcasts: families persecuted during Stalin's purges, careers - she is a linguist, he is a mathematician - built despite the barriers of anti-Semitism, and, finally, a deep insult that prompted the couple's decision to emigrate.

For Mr. Ziman, 50 years old, the insult came in 1977, when K.G.B. agents asked him to inform on his best friend, Tatyana Velikanova, the human rights advocate.

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The couple's application to leave was denied, and new requests have been rejected ever since on the grounds that Mr. Ziman once worked in an institute that handled classified information. Mr. Ziman said he never had access to the information.

Upon applying to leave, both lost their jobs. Mr. Ziman worked as a plumber at a maternity hospital until he came down with a neurological disorder last year.

Mrs. Ziman, who is active in a group that presses for emigration rights, said the couple knows of 400 more families who have not yet benefited from the more liberal Jewish emigration quotas. The families assume that there are others who avoid publicity to prevent damage to the careers of their children.

Mr. Ziman's daughter by an earlier marriage, Galina Khatutsky, was given permission to move to Boston last year.

As an added attraction for the White House advance men, the Zimans and their 12-year-old daughter, Vera, are articulate on the issue of human rights - and they make their arguments in good English.

Scouting Party

White house advance men inspected the three-room apartment of the Zimans early last week, swearing the couple to secrecy. Even today, as she served tea to a few Western reporters who got wind of the promised event, Mrs. Ziman refused to discuss what the White House told her.

According to a United States official, the planned visit began to fall apart when the White House decided that it would be proper manners to advise Soviet officials of the plan for the visit.

Last night and this morning, a parade of workmen materialized on Mariya Ulyanova Street.

'They painted the building,' Mr. Ziman said. 'They put down asphalt. They took away all the garbage. They washed the street, twice. They dug up the garden. All night they were working.'

This morning, Mrs. Ziman said, the police blocked off the street, took positions outside every window and announced that the Reagans would be arriving between 5 p.m. and 6 p.m. Reporters from the weekly Moscow News followed, and later a state television truck arrived outside.

By mid-afternoon, much of the neighborhood had gathered in clusters, exchanging rumors that the Reagans, and perhaps even Mr. Gorbachev himself, were coming.

But shortly after 6 p.m., when the Reagans were setting off for the Arbat, a police sedan cruised the street broadcasting word that 'nothing is going to happen.'

'Oh, that's good,' Mrs. Ziman said, peering nervously out the kitchen window at the gawkers on the sidewalk. 'Maybe now they'll go away.'

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The White house spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said tonight that a visit to the home of a dissident was an option several weeks ago but that such a visit was never on the President's final schedule.

Another United States official said the Reagans may have canceled the visit because of warnings from Soviet officials that it would be viewed as a major breach of etiquette.

Cable From Afar

Soviet television did not report the Arbat scuffle tonight, but a select group of Moscow residents had a chance to learn about it on American television. There were other all-American video curiosities, including a hyperactive weatherman, promotions for the Indianapolis 500 auto race and "the week's winners" in the stock market.

Under an agreement with Soviet state television and radio, Cable News Network has been broadcasting its international news channel over a special frequency in the heart of Moscow, giving some Moscovites their first look at uncensored Western news.

The broadcasts are in English and can only be picked up on foreign TV sets or on the latest Soviet models. Nonetheless, one Soviet official said many people in his central Moscow apartment building were glued to their sets.

Peter Arnett, the Moscow bureau chief for the Cable News Network, said the weeklong run is intended as a trial that the company hopes will lead to a permanent franchise here.

One problem so far, Mr. Arnett noted, is that some parts of the city cannot receive the signals because of electronic interference.

"I guess it's one way to tell if you're being bugged," he observed.

Words Hit Home

President Reagan scored one palpable political hit here even before he arrived in Moscow.

At the end of an interview taped in Washington last week and televised here Saturday night, Mr. Reagan, with studied offhandedness, said he wanted to add a few words on a subject "that is never discussed very much."

"I have a great admiration for the women of the Soviet Union," Mr. Reagan said. He commended them as "a great bulwark of strength and solidity in the maintaining of the home, and the things they stand for, the standing in lines to bring home what is necessary for the family, and all of that."

"And I just wonder," the President said, "if they are getting the credit within your country that I think they deserve."

In the Soviet Union, the emancipation of women has generally meant that they are expected to work alongside men and then fulfill the household duties that Lenin denounced as "barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery."

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Mr. Reagan's bid for the woman's vote seemed to irritate his male interviewers, and a Soviet official who considers himself a liberated man today called it "babyish."

"We don't need Reagan to tell the Russian women that they have a hard life, standing in line," the official said.

But several women interviewed this afternoon on Lenin Prospect, where a friendly crowd waited to glimpse the arriving Presidential motorcade, said they were charmed by the remark.

"I liked him, I liked his attitude toward women," said Lida Abramova, a doctor who drove three hours with her husband from the town of Vladimir for a look at the President.

"I especially liked what Reagan said about our women," said Tanya Karneyeva, a 17-year-old student who stopped to watch the motorcade. "We should get more respect."

GRAPHIC: Photos of President Reagan during a stroll on the Arbat (AP) (pg. 1); Yuri and Tatyana Ziman and their daughter, Vera, at their home in Moscow, where they hope for a visit from President and Nancy Reagan (AP) (pg. 8)

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; SUMMIT CONFERENCES

NAME: REAGAN, RONALD WILSON (PRES); REAGAN, RONALD WILSON (MRS); KELLER, BILL

GEOGRAPHIC: UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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June 13, 1988, U.S. Edition

SECTION: NATION; Cover Story; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 1471 words

HEADLINE: "Good Chemistry";

In an exclusive conversation, Reagan describes the intensely personal emotions that a veteran anti-Communist feels on visiting the Kremlin

BYLINE: By Hugh Sidey/ Moscow

BODY:

"There is no way I really can explain how I came to be here." It is Wednesday evening, his fourth day and final night in Moscow, and Ronald Reagan's voice is frazzled with fatigue. Yet it also conveys a sense of wonder at his remarkable odyssey. It is the voice of baseball on radio in Des Moines, of Hollywood flickering off the screen, of Sacramento, of Washington, and now of Moscow: friendly, unhurried in the midst of planned chaos. He ventures the thought that so many shared while watching him co-star with his fellow showman Mikhail Gorbachev in Red Square. "I never expected to be here," the President says.

The most powerful anti-Soviet crusader of the modern era has become its most determined summitter. "If we have accomplished something," Reagan says in a telephone conversation with TIME from Spaso House, the U.S. Ambassador's residence, "if we have made war more distant, then that is a source of satisfaction." He says it so simply, so matter-of-factly. His manner is still rooted nine time zones west, in the Cornbelt, but his sympathy seems to have shifted east by a continent or two. Reagan is now Gorbachev's hiking buddy around Red Square, his point man as Gorbachev goes into a contentious party conference.

Reagan is also a preacher -- or, perhaps, a traveling salesman. He believes that the mashed-potato circuit, and now the caviar circuit, is made for hustling. He came to Moscow firm in his intent to discuss human rights rather than wrestle with the details of arms control. And discuss he did. Partly this reflected his need to burnish his hard-nosed conservative credentials back home: there was worry that he seemed more glowing in his endorsements of Gorbachev than of George Bush. But mainly it was because Reagan enjoys being a missionary and a teacher.

"I wasn't speaking to the American Legion," Reagan says. "I wasn't speaking to the Chamber of Commerce. I was trying to explain America and what we are all about." In his speech to Moscow's cultural elite, he gave new insight into why he finds himself breaking out of his stereotype as an unvarnished foe of what he once called the "evil empire." "In the movie business, actors often get what we call typecast," he said. "The studios come to think of you as playing certain kinds of roles, and no matter how hard you try, you just can't get them to think of you in any other way. Well, politics is a little like that too. So I've had a lot of time and reason to think about my role."

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Reagan also touched on the soul of his nation. "Political leadership in a democracy requires seeing past the abstractions and embracing the vast diversity of humanity, and doing it with humility; listening as best you can, not just to those with high positions, but to the cacophonous voices of ordinary people, and trusting those millions of people, keeping out of their way . . . And the word we have for this is 'freedom.' "

His relentless lecturing on human-rights abuses in the U.S.S.R. sometimes jangled Soviet sensibilities. Reagan is defensive about that. "I did not want to kick anybody in the shins," he says. "I didn't think anything I said was too harsh."

Yes, he answers, he'd heard the great chorus of bells ringing especially for him from the Danilov Monastery, a spiritual island in the embrace of Moscow. There he had summoned all his stagecraft to read lines from Alexander Solzhenitsyn: "The secret of the pacifying Russian countryside . . . is in the churches . . ."

"George Shultz told me about Red Square," the President confides over the phone. "I wanted to see it. I asked the General Secretary if he could take me by for a look, and when we went there we had that little walk. I was very impressed by the size and expanse of the square. And there were several groups of people out there, and we stopped to talk with them. Here, too, they were so warm and enthusiastic, just like all the others I had met in the city."

But why hadn't he asked to go see the body of Lenin in the tomb on Red Square? He was so close. "The tomb is only open four days," Reagan says. "And the line was so long we did not want to interrupt it." The voice of Dutch Reagan seems to grow a little tentative. Was there an ideological limit to photo opportunities he would allow in this Kremlin pilgrimage? Was there a deal with his host, spoken or not, that Lenin and Reagan should lie and stand apart? Reagan doesn't say.

That Reagan believes Gorbachev is far removed from Lenin is plain. The friendship with Gorbachev, he admits, is real. "There is good chemistry between us," Reagan says. "I think progress has been made by us. I think that through this succession of summits there is a much better understanding. I think we made gains this time."

There is something so personal about this summit, the President explains. Systems may be brutish, bureaucrats may fail. But men can sometimes transcend all that, transcend even the forces of history that seem destined to keep them apart. The idea that he would ever go to Moscow was only a dim possibility until he met Gorbachev. Then it sprang to life in an intimate inkling.

At their Geneva summit in 1985, Reagan recalls, "we went down to the pool house which I had prepared and we sat in front of the open fire and talked. On the way back, I turned to him and said, 'You've never been to our country. I'd like you to see it.' And he said, 'All right. I'll go to Washington for a summit. But then let's have another one in Moscow and you can see our country.' When we went back and told the others about two summits they nearly fell out of their chairs. That was the first time I really had a feeling that I would see Moscow. "

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From then it was only a matter of time before Reagan would be face to face with Lenin's legacy. He and Nancy entered the Kremlin on a red carpet that led up a grand staircase toward St. George's Hall. Reagan looked up and the whole world seemed filled by the huge and powerful painting of Lenin addressing the Communist Youth League in 1920. Reagan never missed a step. "I sort of expected him to be there," Reagan says. "I knew I was going to see a lot of Lenin."

"The biggest thing about this visit," he declares, "the thing that impressed me the most, was the people. They were lined up along the street by the thousands. I was amazed by their sincere warmth and pleasure at us being there. At first I was trying to wave from inside the car. Then I decided to open the window a little bit and stick my hand out so that they could actually see there was a person in the car. They seemed to respond to that."

Because their son Ron had urged the Reagans to see the Arbat, Moscow's lively pedestrian mall, the first thing they did after the greetings was take a stroll through the area. It turned into a crunch. "We thought we could sneak out," Reagan relates. "But the word must have gotten around. A lot of people showed up and it was the same warm welcome. The damper was how the KGB security men treated their own people. Our problems are not people to people, they are government to government."

Inside the Kremlin, he noted the religious paintings that adorn the walls. He did his share of neck craning at the dinners and ceremonies, and the cameras, thus directed, followed his gaze to the figures of Christ and the Apostles. He wondered to himself whether, if something were to happen to the decorations, they could be restored. "I looked up at all the beautiful work," says Reagan, "and I thought about our great technology and our ability to build skyscrapers and all that, and I had to wonder if we could duplicate this. Could we find people in the world to do that kind of work?" This was, perhaps, another subtle reprimand for all nations that repress individuality, a theme he preached from the Danilov Monastery to Moscow State University.

When he mentions his visit to the university, Reagan seems to get a surge of enthusiasm. "That was very encouraging," he says. "Their interest was genuine. When I finished talking to the Soviet students, I met with 35 American students who are studying at the university. I can't believe this interrelationship does not affect governments. That's why I want to set up a program for more exchange, for thousands of students."

The summit meeting is waning, a remarkable free-form talkathon that flowed across the city from the elegant Kremlin chambers to the sullen, gritty streets. It may prove, when history looks back, to be Reagan's finest hour, not to be measured by the treaties and agreements signed, because they were of modest nature, but by the easing of tension and the nurturing of understanding between the suspicious superpowers. During his visit Reagan defined his presidency in more detail and feeling than he has ever done. He was making a bid for history to look up and take notice.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, RED SQUARE Sights! Camera! Action! Reagan the actor and Reagan the campaigner took his White House road show to Moscow for his fourth summit with Mikhail Gorbachev. With the Kremlin as his almost constant backdrop, the President seemed to be out on the stump for his host, praising the man and his reforms. Although there were seven signed agreements, those

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treaties were merely a sideshow: the main event was Ron and Mikhail. Gorbachev later complained about "missed opportunities," but no one could possibly have interpreted that as "missed photo opportunities," because none were., TASS; Picture 2, NO CAPTION, DAVID BURNETT -- CONTACT; Picture 3, WHAT THEY GAINED Reagan -- By putting the INF treaty into force, he secured a place in history as the first President to negotiate a true cut in nuclear weaponry. -- By speaking out against Soviet human-rights abuses, he emphasized crucial differences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and assured his more conservative supporters that he has not become too soft on the Soviets. At the same time, he institutionalized the subject as a valid topic for superpower discussion. -- He regained the unanimous approval of America's allies, who questioned his foreign policy expertise after the Reykjavik summit, the Iran-contra affair and other blunders. Gorbachev -- The summit focused international attention on economic and civil rights improvements won through his policies of glasnost and perestroika. -- By criticizing Reagan and others for meddling in internal Soviet affairs, he enhanced his reputation in the Communist world as a tough leader who cannot be intimidated. -- By dominating the summit and world attention, even without an arms-control breakthrough, he strengthened his hand for the Communist Party conference later this month., DIRCK HALSTEAD; Picture 4, NO CAPTION, DIRCK HALSTEAD; Picture 5, SMILES TURNED UPSIDE DOWN At first it promised to be different. A new beginning. No more stony encounters as at last December's Washington summit. Emerging from the Kremlin's Church of the Assumption last Sunday, Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev smiled and held hands like schoolgirls. Yet despite grins and embraces, neither masked her antipathy for long. Inside, Nancy could not resist a dig: Was the church available for religious services? "Nyet," came the curt reply. "Oh yes, the word nyet, " said Nancy. "That I understand." On Wednesday the First Ladies toured the famous Tretyakov Gallery. Instead of meeting her guest at the entrance, Raisa went upstairs -- to the waiting press. "Maybe we'll have a conversation since you're on time and the guests are late," she said. By the time Nancy arrived, Raisa had expounded on the gallery's icons, with no hint of their theological significance. When Nancy fielded a question, Raisa cut in. "I want to say something now, O.K.?" insisted Nancy. As Raisa frowned at her watch, Nancy was asked about the meaning of the icons. "I don't know how you can neglect the religious implications," she observed. "I mean, they are there.", NOVOSTI

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Facts on File World News Digest

December 16, 1988

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAGE: Pg. 927 E2

LENGTH: 1178 words

HEADLINE: Accord to Give Namibia Independence Is Concluded;
Angola, Cuba, South Africa Sign Pact

BODY:

Angola, Cuba and South Africa Dec. 13 in Brazzaville, Congo concluded and signed a U.S.-mediated agreement providing for the independence of Namibia (South-West Africa) and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. [See p. 87061]

The pact called for Namibia's transition to freedom, after 73 years of South African occupation and administration, to begin on April 1, 1989 under the supervision of the United Nations. The phased pullout of Cuba's 50,000 soldiers from Angola would begin around the same time and continue over a 27-month period, concluding in mid-1991.

The accord, called the Brazzaville Protocol, brought together the various elements hammered out since the four-power talks began in May in London. In particular, it confirmed the general principles initialed in July in New York and the agreements reached in August and November in Geneva on a truce and a timetable for the Cuban withdrawal.

The largely ceremonial signing of a final tripartite treaty was scheduled for Dec. 22 in New York. It would be joined by a bilateral Angolan-Cuban treaty formalizing the Cuban pullout and the details of its verification. Both treaties would then be put before the U.N. Security Council, which would have to approve them by authorizing the creation of military and civilian peacekeeping and observer forces to oversee the Namibian elections and the Cuban withdrawal.

If implemented, the agreement would be the Reagan administration's first major foreign policy success in Africa. Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker, the chief U.S. mediator, had been pursuing the "linkage" of the Angolan and Namibian issues for nearly eight years.

The final round of talks began Dec. 1 in Brazzaville, and the signing of the protocol had been expected to take place that weekend. But the South African delegation -- led by Foreign Minister Roelof F. (Pik) Botha and Defense Minister Magnus Malan -- unexpectedly and abruptly walked out and returned home for consultations Dec. 3.

The South Africans implied that they were having some last-minute difficulties over the issue of verifying the Cuban withdrawal. But diplomats later said that the problem had more to do with Pretoria's internal politics, and that President Pieter W. Botha had apparently called the delegation home to quiet right-wing doubts over the accord. South Africa's military establishment

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was known to be leery of giving up its strategic Namibian bases.

Details -- The prologue to the protocol signed Dec. 13 expressed "deep appreciation" to Congo's government and president, Col. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, for their contributions to the negotiations. It also urged "the international community to provide economic and financial support for the implementation of all aspects of this settlement."

The accord itself had four parts. In the first, the parties agreed to recommend to the U.N. that April 1, 1989 be set as the date for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. The second point concerned the final signing of the treaties in New York. The third point called for the "exchange of prisoners of war on the signing of the tripartite agreement."

The last part of the accord provided for the establishment of a special joint commission that would serve as a forum for complaints and discussion among the three parties. As detailed in an annex to the protocol, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. would have observer status on the commission, and Namibia would be invited to be full member upon achieving independence. The commission would be separate from, but not a substitute for, the U.N. entities monitoring the pact.

The timetable for the Cuban withdrawal was not released with the protocol, but Pik Botha disclosed details of the schedule to reporters. It called for some 3,000 Cubans to have departed by April 1, with the remainder of the Cuban forces to be redeployed north of the 15th parallel (about 190 miles $\pm$ 300 km) north of the Namibian border) over the following four months.

By Nov. 1, 1989, when Namibia's elections were to be held, half of Cuba's 50,000 men would have departed and the rest would have moved north of the 13th parallel. The remainder would return to Cuba in batches, with the withdrawal completed by July 1991, twenty-seven months after the start of the process.

Meanwhile, South Africa would reduce its estimated 60,000-man presence in Namibia to a 1,500-man garrison by July 1989, and complete its withdrawal from the territory within a week after the Nov. 1 elections.

The accord mentioned neither the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) nor the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). SWAPO, which had waged a low-level bush war against South Africa for more than two decades, was the odds-on favorite to win power in the Namibian elections. The prospects for reconciliation between Angola's Marxist government and the South African- and U.S.- backed UNITA rebels were less clear.

(In an earlier development, UNITA vice president Jeremias Chitunda Nov. 29 disputed the generally accepted estimate that there were 50,000 Cuban soldiers in Angola. He claimed that there were actually 60,000 troops, plus 20,000 "camouflaged Cubans" who had been given Angolan citizenship. The U.S. discounted UNITA's figures.)

'The End of a Sad Chapter' -- At the signing ceremony Dec. 13 in Brazzaville, Pik Botha blamed Germany for starting the problem by occupying South-West Africa in the 19th century. He referred to the "brotherhood" between black and white Africans and said the accord was "fundamentally an African agreement."

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"Southern Africa is like a zebra, you cannot put a bullet in the white stripe and think that the animal will not die," he said. He drew applause when he concluded: "A new era has begun. My government is removing racial discrimination . . . we want to be accepted by our African brothers. We need each other."

Crocker, in his remarks, said the accord "signifies the end of a sad chapter in Africa's modern history and the beginning of a new chapter." With Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin looking on, Crocker praised the "close, practical and effective cooperation with our Soviet counterparts" which "has been a case study of superpower effort to support the resolutions of regional conflicts."

Adamishin -- who had reportedly played a key behind-the-scenes role in pushing Angola and Cuba toward a settlement -- in turn lauded Crocker's "brilliant" mediation and praised "the reasonable position finally taken by the South African delegation."

Adamishin gave a further demonstration of Moscow's "new thinking" on foreign policy in his remarks at a later press conference. Asked what advice he would give SWAPO on the formation of a new political and economic order in Namibia, he replied: "There are few people in the Soviet Union who would advise them to build a socialist society in these particular conditions of Africa. Everybody has to deal with realities, and one of the realities is that Namibia has very strong ties to South Africa."

15TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Administration's Policies and Programs

Radio Address to the Nation.

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1137

August 18, 1984

LENGTH: 831 words

My fellow Americans:

Something very bright and happy and hopeful has been happening across our country in recent days. We've watched a grateful nation shower its affection on those who showered us with glory -- our Olympic athletes.

Theirs was a triumph of faith and hope. In honoring them, ours has been a celebration of the new patriotism. Nancy and I saw our athletes in Los Angeles the day after the Olympics ended. You could just feel their joy and energy. You could just feel their joy and energy. And when our famous gymnast, Mary Lou Retton, stood on her toes to give me a hug, I couldn't help thinking, "How can anyone not believe in the dream of America?"

Now, I've been accused of being an optimist, and it's true. All my life I've seen that when people like Mary Lou have a dream, when they have the courage and opportunity to work hard, when they believe in the power of faith and hope, they not only perform great feats, they help pull all of us forward as well.

Somehow, the idea that American progress begins with spirit and a willingness of the heart was ignored during the 1970's. The intellectual establishment was so busy demanding more power for government, more bureaucracy, regulation, spending and -- oh, yes -- more and more taxes, they forgot all about the secret of America's success -- opportunity for people, for all the people.

When the economy reached the point of collapse by the end of the seventies, they began talking about our crisis of spirit, about our malaise. But we hadn't given up hope; we just hadn't been allowed to hope.

So, when we came to Washington in 1981, we said, "Let us renew our faith and our hope. We have every right to dream heroic dreams." We put together an economic recovery program that made a radical break with past policies. For the first time since the administration of John Kennedy, we cut tax rates significantly for every working American. We told the people, "America's destiny is back in your hands. If you work harder and earn more than before, your reward will be greater than it was."

But from the beginning, the old guard establishment -- people who still make policy from abstract statistics, theories, and models rather than looking at the reality of human behavior -- have filled the airwaves with gloom, predicting our program couldn't meet our goals. And from the beginning, they've been wrong: When they said inflation and interest rates wouldn't come down, when they said recovery wouldn't come, when they said the expansion wouldn't last, and when they said the deficit wouldn't come down.

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1137

Recently, many liberal analysts have been reviewing our record and our prospects. Their message remains: "Hasn't worked; can't be done." So, when the Urban Institute came out with a study a few days ago, it was only natural that some of the press would look for the same old doom and gloom. For example, they didn't report that the study also said elderly Americans have clearly done better under our policies with real gains in disposable incomes, nor that the social safety net is still largely intact for the nonworking poor. Even the Urban Institute said there is no evidence that working welfare mothers who have been eliminated from the rolls are quitting their jobs to requalify for benefits, and that despite all the furor, it finds surprisingly few changes from 1980 with respect to the environmental, public lands, and water resources activities of the Federal Government.

And no one seems to mention that the centepiece of our policy, the tax cut, was not fully in place until 1983. Our program has just begun. But let's look at the record since it has: over 6 million jobs created; a surge in investment and productivity; a record 600,000 business incorporations; the biggest increase in real after-tax personal income since 1973; and perhaps most important, a new spirit of optimism and confidence about America's future. It's clear that once people get a chance to show what they can do, well, America got well and got strong.

What isn't clear is why those pessimists, with so little faith in people, so little understanding of incentives, and so many bad predictions, are not more humble and not treated a little more skeptically by the media.

In 1984 we face an historic choice. Will we heed the pessimists' agenda of higher taxes, more bureaucracy, and a bigger welfare state leading us right back to runaway inflation and economic decay, or will we continue on our new road toward a true opportunity society of economic growth, more jobs, lower tax rates, and rising takehome pay?

I believe the spirit we've seen during and after these Olympics reveals something very important about America. We believe in ourselves, we're hungry for real opportunity, and we're up to any challenge.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Expansion and
Welfare Reform

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1103

September 3, 1988

LENGTH: 819 words

My fellow Americans:

Labor Day weekend is a time to remember the importance of work and family in our nation's life. And on this Labor Day, we Americans have much to remember and to give thanks for.

Yes, today more of us have jobs than ever before. And just yesterday we learned that in August as great a proportion of us have jobs as ever before and the unemployment rate hovered just above the lowest it's been in 14 years. Since our recovery began, America has created more than 17 1/2 million jobs -- 2 1/2 times more jobs than France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Canada, and Japan put together. Our expansion has created jobs in nearly all sectors of the economy: more than a million in manufacturing; more than a million in construction; millions more still in services, from banking and insurance to computer programming. And you can find these new jobs in every region, from the industrial Midwest, where new industries are springing up and old industries are running at full capacity, to the South, where the economy is strong and getting stronger, to our coasts, where our success in opening international markets is helping America export more than ever before in history. And these rising exports and the declining trade imbalance will create even more jobs all around the Nation in the months ahead.

But not only do we have more jobs, we have better jobs at better pay. On average, the jobs created in our expansion pay more and require a higher level of skills than the jobs that existed when our expansion began. This is just one of the reasons why, if your family is like most families between 1977 and 1981, after taking out the sky-high inflation of those years, you saw your income fall almost 7 percent. But since 1981, that is since the year we came to office, your real income has soared more than 10 percent. To give one example of what this means, in the years we took office, the average family made only about 70 percent of what it needed to buy a new home. Today that family makes 110 percent of what it needs, and it can afford to buy the house.

Leaders all over the world have asked how we achieve this growth and prosperity. Well, my answer is simple: less government, more freedom, and moving toward a more open and equitable international economy.

Thanks to our expansion, nearly 3 million Americans have escaped poverty, but this week we got a warning. While we learned that last year family income went up and that the poverty rate dropped slightly, we also learned that some groups lagged behind in the past year. We've assisted many of our fellow citizens through the Job Training Partnership Act. Sponsored chiefly by Senator Dan Quayle, this legislation has been very effective in retraining citizens to become productive wage earners again. But there are still some Americans whom

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1103

our expansion has passed by, those caught in the welfare trap. Programs that were intended to help poor citizens have instead made them dependent on Government checks, unable to break away and become productive workers in a growing economy. In the name of compassion, too many Americans on welfare have been robbed of the one priceless item with which they could build a future: hope. It's time to return hope to those on welfare, which is why our administration has worked to reform the welfare system.

For starters, we took a simple principle: that Washington doesn't know everything. And instead of dictating reforms, we told the 50 States that we'd approve any experiment intended to reduce dependency. Our only conditions? That needs would continue to be met, that there'd be no net increase in Federal costs, and that results could be measured. One State after another responded, until now nearly half of the States have implemented or proposed widespread welfare reform plans that build upon some good old common sense: that the best way to learn to work is to work.

Our administration is trying to join with Congress to take what we've learned with the States and establish work requirements into the Federal law. Now Congress appears to be close to a decision about welfare reform, and I have a message for them: I will not accept any welfare reform bill unless it is geared to making people independent of welfare. Any bill not built around work is not true welfare reform. If Congress presents me with a bill that replaces work with welfare expansion and that places the dignity of self-sufficiency through work out of the reach of Americans on welfare, I will use my veto pen. While others have talked about good jobs at good wages, we've delivered. Now it's time for Congress to join with us in making sure that the opportunities created by this prosperity reach into every American home.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Radio Address to the Nation on the Budget Process and
Current Legislation

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1246

October 1, 1988

LENGTH: 834 words

My fellow Americans:

In the past few weeks, you and I and all Americans have won some major victories here in Washington. These victories didn't come easily, but each will help shape our nation in the years ahead.

One of the most important has to do with the Federal budget. Only once since 1948 has all of the budgeting of the United States Government been approved by Congress and signed by the President on or before the beginning of the fiscal year. And too often, when the budget process has reached an impasse, appropriations have been dumped into massive continuing resolutions. The worst of these came along last year. Congress poured all of the Government's appropriations into a single bill. The bill was 1,057 pages long, weighed 14 pounds, and arrived over 2 months after the fiscal year began. Not even Congress knew what was in it. I said in January that the next time Congress pulled such a stunt -- well, never again. Well, I'm happy to report that today, October 1st, marks the beginning of the fiscal year, and at this hour, for the first time in years, all the Government's budgetary work is done. The last of the Government's 13 appropriations bills have been delivered to me, and I have signed them. It was touch and go for a while whether we would actually meet the deadline. The appropriations bill for the District of Columbia provided financing of abortions, long after most other Federal abortion financing has stopped. We said public money should not be used for abortions. Many liberals said it should be. We won.

The Defense appropriations bill was also a close call. As you know, many liberals are opposed to our Strategic Defense Initiative. Why they would want to deny America a defense against nuclear missiles, a defense that the Soviets have been candid enough to say they're building for themselves -- why the liberals would want to do that, I don't know. They had, through various devices, restricted how we spent money on SDI research and development. These restrictions could have crippled critical parts of the program. But early this week, we got the restrictions removed from all bills, and research will go forward to find a way to end the nightmare of nuclear terror.

I hope the last 24 hours prove historic and mark the end of the "Perils of Pauline" budget games Congress played for so long. Another recent historic accomplishment is passage of a bill implementing the U.S.-Canada Free-Trade Agreement. When similar legislation is enacted in Canada, North America will be on its way to becoming the world's largest open market. Thanks in part to our successful policy, begun the day George Bush and I took office, of opening markets around the world to American goods, America is today in the longest peacetime economic expansion on record. Canada is also growing strongly. Opening our mutual border to uninhibited commerce will help that unprecedented

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1246

expansion continue into the next decade and the next century.

This week we won one other major victory in Congress, and took a giant step toward reforming a welfare system that is a trap for too many of our fellow citizens. I've often said that genuine welfare reform must be geared to making people independent of welfare; and that means, among other things, that those who receive welfare must be required to work. Too many liberals have fought this idea every step of the way. But yesterday we prevailed, and the welfare reform legislation that will arrive on my desk shortly includes a work requirement.

Even as we can take pride in these great victories, a couple of other legislative battles continue to rage over the textile bill, which I vetoed this week, and the drug bill. On the textile bill, the problem is that the bill is protectionist and would draw foreign retaliation against American products. With America exporting more than ever, protectionism means destroying American jobs, and I won't allow it. The House-passed drug bill provides for a Federal death penalty for drug-related killings. Liberals in Congress oppose the death penalty and other necessary improvements in the law and plan to kill the bill in the Senate. They've also recently cut funding for the Federal agencies that enforce our drug laws. It's time the liberals realized that the fight against drugs is not "Pee Wee's Big Adventure" but a serious and dangerous business. And our law enforcement officers should have all the tools they need to do their job. I urge the Senate to follow the House's lead and give America a strong drug bill. I urge Congress to act swiftly this week to restore full funding to drug law enforcement.

With your help, in the end, what is best for the Nation will win out. It has in many ways in the past few days. Let's hope Congress will do what's right on the textile and the drug bills.

Until next week, thanks for listening and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at a Luncheon With Community Leaders in Chicago,
Illinois

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1239

September 30, 1988

LENGTH: 2313 words

Thank you, Jim, and thank you all very much. And I'd like to just say a word myself about the late Al Mazewski. And, yes, I did know I was sitting beside her at lunch. And you all know he was a major supporter of the Polish Solidarity union, and he made such a contribution to our beloved America. Yes, we will always remember him.

Now, I'm also pleased to say that Congressman Jack Davis is here with us today. He's someone who has been in the forefront of our crusade to get tough on illegal drug use. Well, now, what can I say? Mrs. Wozniak and Stan, the food, the music -- this is all just wonderful. You know, as a boy growing up in Dixon, Illinois, this was the great city to the east that represented unimaginable levels of action, excitement and adventure -- and that was even before I'd heard of Chicago politics. [Laughter]

But actually, I'm very grateful to all of you. With your help, Vice President Bush and I carried Illinois in 1980 and 1984. And as for this year, let's just say that Victory '88 is more than just a slogan. It's a plan. It's a prediction. And come November, I think they'll be saying it was a prophecy.

But today I have to say, it's simply a pleasure; it's a pleasure to be here. As someone who's had the chance to do more than a little traveling, I can easily say Chicago is one of the great cities in the world. What can compare with the vibrance and good humor of Chicago? Frank Sinatra is right: "Chicago is my kind of town." From the sounds of the streets to the tidy homes that have passed from one generation to the next and the churches that anchor your great neighborhoods, you can sit on your front steps and see the world walk by and know that God has been good to America and that He certainly loves Chicago.

When His Holiness Pope John Paul II came to Chicago 9 years ago, he was met by a vast audience of some 1 1/2 million people. I know that many of you were there that October day in Grant Park. As the wind blew off Lake Michigan, the Holy Father spoke of our ancestors, and he said, "They came from many different countries" and had "thrown their destinies together and now write a common history."

Yes, to write a common history -- and for the past 8 years we've been writing what is one of its most exciting and remarkable chapters. We've brought employment to an all-time high and are now in the longest peacetime expansion ever recorded in our nation. But our strength as a nation, as you all know so well, is that we can march into the future, leading the world into a new age of growth, technology, and innovation. But we can do so without leaving behind the vital moral foundation: the basic values of faith and family that make ours a great nation and on which all that we accomplish has been built.

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Yes, the family is the bedrock of our nation, but it is also the engine that gives our country life. And it's the reason that we produce. It's for our families that we work and labor, so that we can join together around the dinner table, bring our children up the right way, care for our parents, and reach out to those less fortunate. It is the power of the family that holds the Nation together, that gives America her conscience, and that serves as the cradle of our country's soul.

You know, I've said before, there really are only two things the liberals don't understand: the things that change and the things that don't. The economy, technology -- these things change, and under us for the better. But America's basic moral and spiritual values -- they don't change.

Now, I should be careful here because I know that this is a bipartisan gathering. Some of you favor the Cubs, and others favor the White Sox. [Laughter] But in fact, as I watched a certain debate this past Sunday, it struck me that the difference between the liberals and Wrigley Field is that the liberals are still in the dark. You know, after the debate, I had to say, Isn't that just like an ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] member: He didn't even have a prayer when he needed one. And this is only the beginning. After the next debate, I think we'll be up 2 to nothing.

Well, the truth is that on issue after issue the liberals have, in the words of the writer G. K. Chesterton, submitted to "the modern and morbid weakness of always sacrificing the normal to the abnormal." They've turned principles at the core of our common culture and common history into partisan issues that hang in the balance as we prepare to elect a new President and Congress. Now, unlike some liberal organizations, we don't believe that separation of church and state requires ending the Catholic Church's tax exemption or removing the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance. And we don't favor the right to retail what they call nonobscene child pornography, nor do we think that the criminal penalties for selling marijuana should be repealed. We don't think tuition tax credits for children in parochial schools are unconstitutional or that prostitution should be legalized or that children should be denied the right to begin their schoolday by joining with their classmates in a voluntary prayer. No, that's not what we believe. And I think it's time for us to say that America's most basic and fundamental values are not unconstitutional.

Now, I'm not saying that all liberals agree with all of these views. But these issues -- and there are other examples -- raise an important question. You'll recall a few years back political figures had to disassociate themselves from groups on the right with far-out right views. Well, isn't it now time for responsible people to do the same thing with far-out groups on the left? [Applause]

Let me tell you what's exciting, what, in fact, is the big news of the 1988 campaign: that this campaign is developing on the issues and the American people are finding out what I said some time back -- that the politics of the opposition can be characterized as liberal, liberal, liberal. Now, I'm a former Democrat. But I think you know what I mean when I raise questions about the distinction between rank-and-file-Democrats and the liberal leadership of that party in Washington. The liberals may try to mouth some of our words, but when they talk about values and family, they mean something very different. For example, as part of their so-called profamily agenda, they have proposed a Federal child care assistance program. But under the liberals' program, if

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you want assistance and wish to leave your child with his or her grandmother that day, Grandma will have to be licensed by the Federal Government.

Audience. Boo!

The President. One of the liberal congressional staff members behind the bill was asked by a reporter if this was true -- that grandmothers would have to get Federal licenses to take care of their own grandchildren. And the reply came from that man, Yes, of course, it's true. After all, and here's the quote, "How else can you design a program that receives funds?" Licensing grandmothers -- can you believe that? [Laughter] Next thing you know, they'll say that grilling kielbasa is an environmental hazard.[Laughter] I don't know about you, but I enjoyed mine very much.

Now, there are other values that we should think about this year. I hope I'm not the only one here old enough to know that today is an important date. Today is the 50th anniversary of the Munich pact, the naive gesture of appeasement that brought us the great nightmare of this century: the Second World War. The vain boast that we had achieved "peace in our time" was followed 5 months later by Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia and 6 months after that of Poland. The lesson from Munich is too clear and too important to be forgotten. That sad lesson is that to be weak is to invite war. And that's why I say to you: America must never be weak; we must always be strong. And George Bush and I will not rest until freedom is restored to all the peoples of Eastern Europe.

But even today there are those who've forgotten the ancient principle of peace through strength. And their innocence and naivete would put in question all that we've achieved since Vice President Bush and I took office, all the progress toward ending the twin evils of totalitarianism and nuclear terror. Yes, they would break faith with anticommunist freedom fighters. They oppose a strategic defense against nuclear missiles. They would cancel essential defense systems and receive nothing in return. They're against the B-1 bomber, and they would wipe out -- their proposed budget would eliminate two carrier battle groups from the Navy. And even when they say they now favor weapons like the new Trident missile and Stealth bomber, listen closely and you hear them whisper that it's just in theory that they favor these systems. They're not prepared to deploy them.

And not long ago, I vetoed a defense authorization bill that Congress sent to me that embodied much of what the liberals want to do to our nation's defenses. Some liberals said I was playing politics. No, I was just defending America, which is what I shall continue to do. I remember the consequences of weakness, and I know you do, too. When freedom was threatened, it was boys on this block who took off their baseball caps and put on their helmets and donned their country's uniform and went to war. Those who would deny America the means to keep the peace have forgotten their history. They have forgotten our veterans and our war heroes, and they've forgotten the boys on this block. But America must not and will not ever forget.

Well, over the last 8 years, America has begun a great enterprise of resurrection. We've worked to recover the bedrock values that you and most Americans never departed from. We have rebuilt our defenses. Our country is at peace. Our economy is strong. And our future is bright. When I took office, on any given day, fully half of our military aircraft could not fly for lack of spare parts. Half of our naval vessels couldn't leave port for lack of

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spare parts or crew. Well, all that has changed. And incidentally, if you haven't had a chance to see some of them lately, today's young people in uniform, of all the things I'm proud of, I'm more proud of them than anything I've seen.

And there's one last issue, yes, more important than even all the other crucial matters we've already discussed. Ladies and gentlemen, just a few years ago, I wonder how many of us could really have believed then that so many of our fondest hopes and dreams for America could come true. And of those things that have happened, how many of us could have imagined 8 or even 4 years ago that one day a President of the United States would have an opportunity to stand, as I did a few months ago, there in the Lenin Hills at a podium at Moscow State University and tell the young people of the Soviet Union about the wonder and glory of human freedom? And I was talking to the ones I should have been talking to, because they couldn't get all the student body in the auditorium, so they had decided that the ones who could come to hear me were all members of the Young Communist League. [Laughter]

Well, what a great moment we have before us, and, oh, how future generations will dishonor us if now, in a moment of sudden folly, we throw it all away. So, let us go forth then, you and I, to tell the American people what really is at stake: the fate of generations to come, a hopeful vision of a world of freedom and a bountiful future of reverence and peace for our children and all the children of the world.

So, yes, some say that it's time for a change. Well, ladies and gentlemen, let's just remember we are the change. We started it 8 years ago, and we're going to continue it and extend it to Congress if you do the right thing at the polls on November 8th. I think George Bush had it right at the convention: If you have to change horses in midstream, doesn't it make sense to switch to the one who's going the same direction you are?

I can't leave you without admitting to you that I have a new hobby. I have discovered that the people of the Soviet Union make up stories, jokes, and tell them among themselves, which reveals they've got a great sense of humor, but also a little cynicism about their way of life. And just as I was coming home from the Moscow summit, I got another new one that was handed to me. This is their story. This is the way they treat it. And it shows a little difference between two systems.

The story has it that I and Gorbachev are in his limousine. And I had the head of our Secret Service unit, and he had his chief security man with him. And we were sightseeing. And we got out to where there was a waterfall. And we got out of the car to look at the waterfall. And the Secretary General Gorbachev said to my man, "Go ahead, jump. Go over the fall." And my man said, "I've got a wife and three kids." So he turned to his own man and said, "Go on, jump. Go over the fall." And he did. And my man went down the rocks around the fall to see if he could be of help. And there he was down there wringing out his shirt. And he said, "When he told you to jump and go over the falls, why did you do that?" He said, "I got a wife and three kids." [Laughter]

So, thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:49 p.m. at Wozniak's Casino. He was introduced by Gov. James R. Thompson. In his opening remarks, he referred to

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the late Aloysius Mazewski and his wife, Florence, who was seated beside the President; Representative Jack Davis; Stanley Wozniak, owner of the casino, and his mother, Theresa. These remarks were not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.

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September 30, 1988

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... worked to recover the bedrock values that you and most Americans never departed from. We have rebuilt our defenses. Our country is at peace. Our economy is strong. And our future is bright. When I took office, on any given day, fully half of our military aircraft could not fly for lack of spare parts. Half of our naval vessels couldn't leave port for lack of spare parts or crew. Well, all that has changed. And incidentally, if you haven't had a chance to see some of them lately, ...

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October 17, 1982, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 6; Page 32, Column 1; Magazine Desk

LENGTH: 4012 words

HEADLINE: THE GREAT STAGNATION

BYLINE: By Lester C. Thurow; Lester C. Thurow is a professor of economics and management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the author of "The Zero-Sum Society."

BODY:

... faced by the impossible - not one of those brief, isolated American recessions, but a long-term, worldwide malaise. The engines of economic growth have shut down here and across the globe, and they are likely to stay that way for years to come - particularly under a President who ...

... on investment we want, we stop investing, which is precisely what is happening today. Without the fuel of private investment to keep the boilers going, the engines of economic growth sputter to a halt.

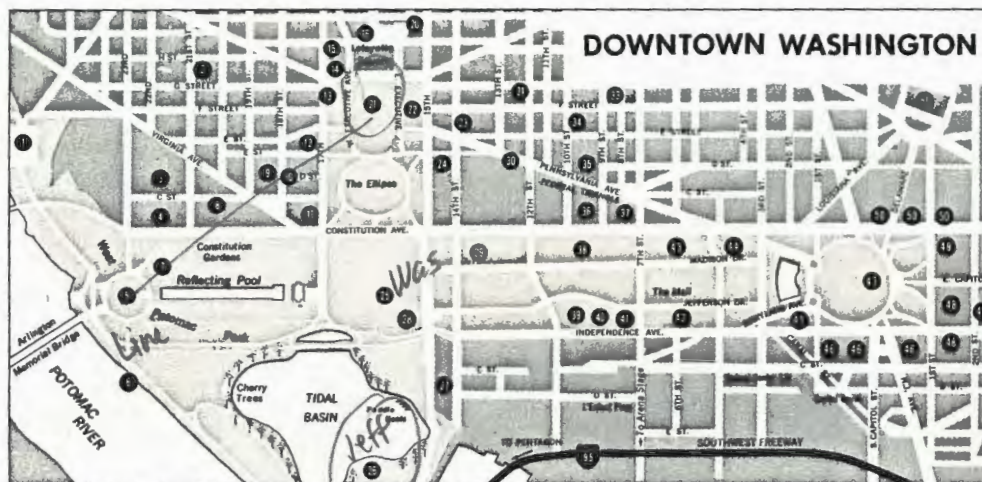
What's worse, once the world sinks into the quicksands of stagnation, the characteristics of the economic system change. The system's self-curative capacities, the spontaneous combustion that will get those growth engines restarted, are smothered by a kind of economic sprinkler system. A traditional path to recovery is by way of new ...

... a Bendix-Martin Marietta-United Technologies-Allied roundelay - as long as it is cheaper to buy old factories on the New York Stock Exchange than it is to build them in the rest of the country. Financial mud wrestling is a good clean spectator sport, and ...

... need many months of substantial earnings to repay their giant debts before they can undertake the new investments that will get the engines of economic growth started again. But where will the earnings come from in a period of stagnation? Stagnation leads to financial weakness, which in ...

... lost in terms of fewer exports. It also reduces international willingness to cooperate in any collective effort to get the engines of economic growth restarted. And some of that unwillingness is already in the air. Claude Cheysson, the French Foreign Minister, said last July that Western ...

... combustion cannot occur. The solution is a kind of Keynesian yank, whereby government pulls hard on the starter cord of the economy's engines of growth by stimulating demand for goods and services. That means tax cuts, spending programs for roads and the like and low interest ...



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Operations in Italy, 1944

ANZIO-RAPIDO CAMPAIGN

1944, January 5-15. Drive to the Rapido.

Stubborn assaults through the mountains, from the confluence of the Liri and Garigliano rivers north to the Apennines, advanced the Fifth Army nearly 7 miles to the final German Gustav Line along the Rapido, with Monte Cassino the key terrain obstacle in the bulge's center. Alexander planned a frontal attack, assisted by an amphibious landing at Anzio (Operation "Shingle"), some 60 miles from the Rapido front. The Anzio force would then advance inland to cut the German communications line. Although the 2 operations were beyond mutual-support capabilities, it was believed the dual operation would force evacuation of the Gustav Line. The Eighth Army, meanwhile, would continue its advance on Pescara, on the Adriatic coast.

1944, January 17-21. Rapido-Cassino Assaults. The X Corps attacked across the Garigliano, attaining a bridgehead. On its right the II Corps U.S. 36th Division attempted to force the Rapido, but was repulsed with heavy loss (January 17-19). The French corps nibbled north of Cassino to make slight but costly gains. As expected, German reserves were drawn to the Rapido front, and the amphibious operation was launched from Naples (January 21).

Anzio Operations, January 22-February 29

1944, January 22. The Landings. Major General John P. Lucas' VI Corps—some 50,000 Anglo-American troops, with 5,200 vehicles—began landing without opposition. Forty-eight hours later, most of the troops were ashore, the initial objectives attained, and a beachhead established, 7 miles deep. Lucas, however, made no attempt to drive inland toward the Alban Hills—the vital terrain. Instead, he consolidated his position, awaiting the landing of heavy weapons, tanks, and additional supplies. General Clark, who was present, concurred. But Kesselring's quick reaction brought German reinforcements from the north as well as from quiet sectors of the Gustav Line.

1944, January 23-February 16. German Build-up. Under General Hans Georg Mackensen the quickly extemporized Fourteenth Army pinned Lucas to his beachhead.

1944, February 16-29. German Counterattacks. A series of brutal blows drove back the outlying Allied units. Lucas was relieved (February 23) by Clark, Major General Lucius K. Truscott, Jr., U.S. 3rd Division commander, replacing him.

1944, March-May. Stalemate. The amphibious assault became a siege for 3 more months with all the elements of World War I trench warfare. All portions of the narrow beachhead were under continuous observation and fire, while the Luftwaffe swept the harbor area, disrupting supply and reinforcement efforts.

1944, February-May. Operations on the Rapido. Fifth Army battered at the Gustav Line. The U.S. 34th Division assaulted on Monte Cassino, the so-called First Battle of Cassino, was repulsed (February 12). The New Zealand Corps then tried, supported by aerial bombardment (General Bernard C. Freyburg mistakenly thought the Germans were using the monastery for observation), in the Second Battle of Cassino (February 15-18), and also failed. The Germans quickly occupied the ruined monastery and repulsed the New Zealanders. The most massive close air support attack attempted to date brought no different result in the Third Battle of Cassino (March 15-25).

COMMENT. Since the objective of the Anzio-Rapido operation was to pry the Germans out of the Gustav Line by utilizing Allied sea power to cut their line of communications, Anzio should have been the main effort, the Rapido merely a holding attack. But insufficient sea transportation (because of the demands of the 2 coming amphibious invasions of France) was available to ensure a sledge-hammer blow at Anzio. So the joint operation—and the responsibility must rest on Alexander—became a weak planning compromise: 2 main efforts, entirely incapable of mutual support, neither of them powerful enough to do the job alone. It can be argued that had Lucas immediately and boldly pushed ahead to his final objective—the Alban Hills—the Gustav Line must have collapsed, with Rome quickly occupied. But

ing near Britain in shallow coastal waters where the Allied detection equipment was unreliable. Shipping losses again mounted, though never approaching the serious situation of 1941 and 1942.

The Combined Bomber Offensive

1944, January-May. Unremitting Pressure on Germany. The U.S. Strategic Air Forces (commanded by Lieutenant General Carl Spaatz and comprising the Eighth AF, based in England, and the Fifteenth AF, based in Italy) intensified operations, in continuing close co-operation with Air Marshal Harris' RAF Bomber Command. Thousand-plane raids were frequent, with the British bombers continuing to operate at night and the Americans by day, often striking the same targets in pulverizing 1-2 punches.

1944, February 20-26. The "Big Week." The Americans by day, the British by night, ranged over Germany in 5 days of co-ordinated strikes against Germany's airplane and antiaircraft factories and assembly plants, crisscrossing Leipzig, Regensburg, Augsburg, Fürth, and Stuttgart. The Luftwaffe rose to meet them in a last bid for supremacy. American losses alone in these operations were 244 heavy bombers and 33 fighter planes, but the Germans lost 692 planes in the air and many more on the ground.

1944, March-May. Attriting the Luftwaffe. The Germans lost 2,442 fighters in action and another 1,500 through accident or other causes. Although the German aircraft industry recovered from the "Big Week" blows, the loss in trained pilots during the period was irreparable. Allied air supremacy was henceforth unchallenged.

1944, May-June. Preparations for "Overlord." (See p. 1106.) The strategic bombers joined the tactical air forces in operations designed to "isolate the battlefield" over a great arc in France, the Low Countries, and western Germany—too widespread in direction and targets to betray the selected landing area. Bridges, tunnels, marshaling yards, and roads were plastered and the railway system largely paralyzed. All air bases in France in a 130-mile radius from the assault beaches

were neutralized. By June 6, Normandy and Brittany were in effect isolated from the remainder of France. In all, some 4 million tons of bombs were dropped during the period, nearly 60 per cent by American aircraft.

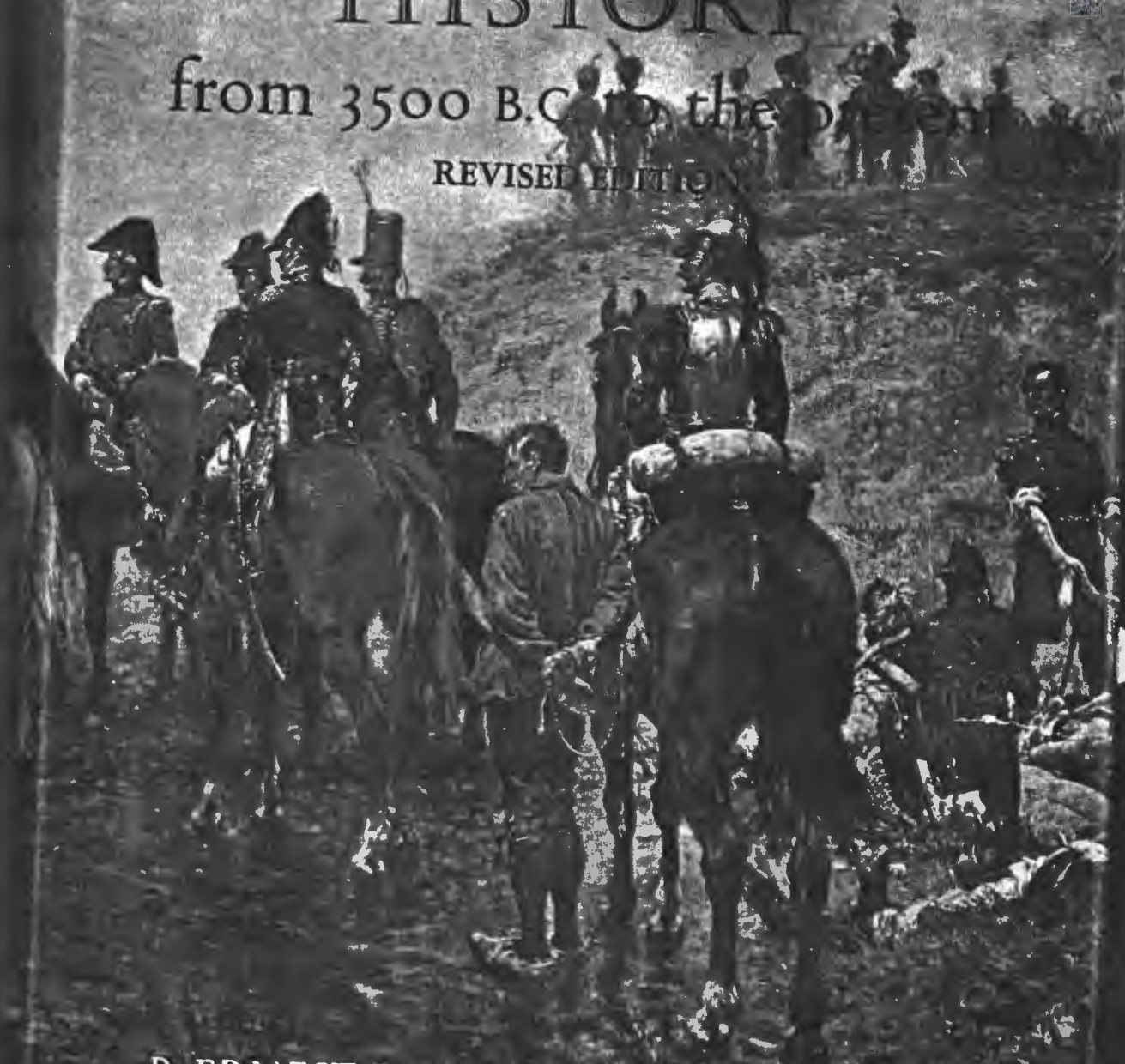
1944, June-August. Shuttle Bombing from Russia. To permit American bombers to strike farther east into Germany with greater bomb loads, and also to confuse German air-defense efforts, arrangements were made for them to fly east to bases behind the rapidly advancing Russian front. Despite operational success, the co-ordination with the Russians was never very effective. Also the Russian air defenses were unable to cope effectively with German counterraid on the American bases in Russia, resulting in severe American losses. The effort was therefore soon abandoned.

1944, July-December. Climax of the Strategic Air Offensive. The long-range bombers returned to their primary mission of attacking Germany's warmaking capacity, save for a few diversionary attacks on tactical targets to assist in the breakout from the Normandy beachhead (July; see p. 1107). The pattern of operations was as before, save that the growing number of planes permitted even more intensive operations. Principal targets were Germany's oil-production facilities and transportation system. All large industrial areas were struck, however, including steel plants, electric-power facilities, and weapon factories. The attacks on oil production drastically reduced the available fuel for airplanes, tanks, trucks, and submarines, thus affecting Germany's ability to fight on land, in the air, and at sea. Lack of fuel reduced the new fighter-pilot training, creating a vicious cycle; inadequately trained German pilots were quickly shot down by the attacking bombers and their fighter escorts. The attack on German transportation also had a wide effect, choking the flow of raw materials to factories, and of finished products to the German fighting forces and population. Finally the curve of German production began to drop sharply; the Combined Bomber Offensive was wrecking Germany's capability to continue the war.

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