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FAMILIES

The family is the basic unit of our society, the heart of our free democracy. It provides love, acceptance, guidance, support, and instruction to the individual. Community values and goals that give America strength also take root in the home. In times of change and challenge, families keep safe our cultural heritage and reinforce our spiritual foundation.

National Family Week, 1981 Proclamation

11/3/81

Families stand at the center of society. They're the vanguards of America's future. Yet, how can families and family values flourish when big government, with its power to tax, inflate, and regulate, has absorbed their wealth, usurped their rights, and too often crushed their spirit? This Nation's greatest transfer program is not welfare; it's the annual turnover of you and your neighbor's income to Uncle Sam.

Remarks at a Rally in Support of the Proposed Constitutional Amendment for a Balanced Federal Budget

Washington, DC

7/19/82

What government must always keep in mind as it legislates and administers is the sanctity of the family, our basic social unit. If it is not sound, then our society is not sound. And the world at times may seem cold and dark, but the family is the light in the window. It guides us and offers warmth. Family, faith, and freedom are the cornerstones of American life.

Remarks at the San Gennaro Festival

Flemington, NJ

9/17/82

FAMILIES (con't)

As President I've often talked of the need to reaffirm the faith and the principles that made America great, and the family is basic to our nation's inner spirit. The family is our school of conscience, of service, of democracy, of love, of all things that we as a people esteem and treasure. Our basic values determine how well our Republic holds together, whether it transmits to new generations sources of its inspiration and strength.

Remarks in Signing the National Family Week Proclamation

The State Dining Room 11/12/82

More children with permanent homes mean fewer children with permanent problems.

National Adoption Week Proclamation

11/13/84

Strong families are the foundation of society. Through them we pass on our traditions, rituals, and values. From them we receive the love, encouragement, and education needed to meet human challenges. Family life provides opportunities and time for the spiritual growth that fosters generosity of spirit and responsible citizenship.

National Family Week Proclamation

11/15/84

Family experiences shape our response to the larger communities in which we live. The best American traditions

FAMILIES (con't)

echo family values that call on us to nurture and guide the young, to help enrich the lives of the handicapped, to assist less fortunate neighbors, and to cherish the elderly. Let us summon our individual and community resources to promote healthy families capable of carrying on these traditions and providing strength to our society.

IBID

The family is the moral core of our society, the repository of our values, and the preserver of our traditions. The family's like a tree with its roots in the experience of past generations and its branches reaching boldly out into the future. Our families are the safe haven where we're taught charity, generosity, and love and from which spring our most cherished concepts of human dignity and the worth of each individual life. It's there that we learn to nourish the young and care for the elderly.

Remarks to Citizen's Groups on Tax Reform

The East Room

5/29/85

And despite the pressures of our modern world, family and community remain the moral core of our society, guardians of our values and hopes for the future. Family and community are the co-stars of this great American comeback. They are why we say tonight: Private values must be at the heart of public policies.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 2/4/86

If we ask ourselves what has held our nation together, what has given it the strength to endure and the spirit to achieve, we find the answer in our families and those basic family values of work, hope, charity, faith, and love.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

6/14/86

FARMING

Agricultural productivity has permitted us to develop human values and to put those values into practice. And this just didn't happen by accident. Our abundance is a product of the hard work of our farmers, our skill and technological know-how that we put into agriculture and, most important, the freedom of which we're so proud here in America.

Remarks to Representatives of Future Farmers of America

The Rose Garden

7/29/83

In a short period of time, the United States has developed from an agricultural economy with scattered rural outposts, clinging to life in the New World, to an efficient production system in which only three percent of the Nation's people feed and clothe the entire population. This rapid growth has been made possible through the unparalleled productivity and cooperation of farm and city people working in close harmony.

National Farm-City Week, 1983 Proclamation 10/13/83

Our farmers and ranchers product the most wholesome and varied range of foodstuffs known anywhere. In fact, our agricultural community has been so successful, it's too often been taken for granted. Few advances in modern technology can surpass the miracle of American agriculture. In 1820 a farmer in this country produced enough food to feed four people. By 1940 one American farmer fed 11 people. Today the same farmer can produce enough food for himself and 75 other people.

Remarks at a White House Ceremony
Commemorating National Agriculture Day

The East Room

3/20/84

FARMING (con't)

Some would say that American agriculture is nothing short of magic. Well, it's not magic; it's the miracle of freedom.

IBID

Our farm program costs have quadrupled in recent years. Yet I know from visiting farmers, many in great financial distress, that we need an orderly transition to a market-oriented farm economy. We can help farmers best not by expanding Federal payments but by making fundamental reforms, keeping interest rates heading down, and knocking down foreign trade barriers to American farm exports.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

2/6/85

What farmers need and we're determined to provide is less dependence on politicians to supply their incomes and greater independence to supply their own incomes.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

2/23/85

The answer to our farm problems cannot be found in sticking with discredited programs and increasing government controls. The answer can only be found in our ability to help our entire agriculture industry stand on its own feet again. You know, this country is nothing without the farmer. And those who work the land have the right to know that there's a future in farming. Their children have the right to know that they'll still be able to work the family farm generations from now and make a decent living.

Radio Address to the Nation

Rancho del Cielo, CA 8/17/85

FARMING (con't)

Farming is hard work, maybe the hardest. The strength of our farmers has always been the strength of their dreams for the future -- dreams that a son or a daughter working the fields, tending the herds, might decide to stay on that farm and be able to make a go of it.

There is no price tag on traditions like these, only the stark realization that to lose our farmers would be to lose the best part of ourselves, the heart and soul of America. Well, we cannot let that happen. We cannot permit the dreams of our farmers to die. We must have compassion for these men, women and their families, so important to all of us.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

9/14/85

I want you to know that I've been thinking about the problems of the farm these past few years. In fact, we're, all of us here in this big house, constantly concerned about the challenges faced by American farmers during these difficult days. We're a farming nation. We always have been. The American farmer not only feeds this country that is 238 million strong, the American farmer feeds the world.

Remarks to Future Farmers of America

The Rose Garden

9/18/85

We all know that American farmers are more than competitive in world markets -- if only those world markets give our farmers the chance to compete fairly.

> Remarks to the State President of the American Farm Bureau Foundation

The Roosevelt Room 7/13/88

FATHERHOOD

Fathers also provide that discipline that begins with concern and commitment and example. Children have the right to learn that love is the foundation of a good family, and that love cannot exist apart from such qualities as respect, consideration, responsibility, and loyalty. Fathers provide for their loved ones in an atmosphere of warmth and kindness that accepts and preserves the uniqueness of each as an individual person while building the unity of the home.

Father's Day, 1984 Proclamation

4/18/84

Fatherhood can sometimes be walking the floor at midnight with a baby that can't sleep. More likely, fatherhood is repairing a bicycle wheel for the umpteenth time, knowing that it won't last the afternoon. Fatherhood is guiding a youth through the wilderness of adolescence toward adulthood; fatherhood is holding tight when all seems to be falling apart; and it's letting go when it is time to part. Fatherhood is long hours at the blast furnace or in the fields, behind the wheel or in front of a computer screen, working a 12-hour shift or doing a six-month tour of duty. It's giving one's all, from the break of day to its end -- on the job, in the house, but most of all in the heart.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

6/14/86

On this, your 75th anniversary, I ask you to redouble your efforts to break apart and ultimately cripple the criminal syndicates in America. I also ask that you continue to give the highest priority to deterring and countering hostile intelligence activities within the United States. The F.B.I.'s record of fidelity, bravery, and integrity is a long and distinguished one. At each turn in your history, when criminals have engaged in new or advanced forms of criminal activity, you have led the law enforcement community in responding to these threats. Once again, you're being asked by the American people for that kind of leadership, that kind of selfless dedication. I want to say to you that I know that you will respond as you always have -- with excellence and with fervor.

Remarks in Observance of the 75th Anniversary of the F.B.I.

Washington, DC

7/26/83

During the past three-quarters of a century, the FBI has fought against gangsters, foiled Axis-inspired espionage and sabotage, dealt serious blows to organized crime, worked to stem racial violence, and undertook the responsibility of safeguarding America against threats of hostile intelligence agents and efforts to subvert our form of government. Beyond this, today's FBI is not only preeminent in scientific investigative support, but has demonstrated great vision and distinction in the performance of its duties and the training of its Special Agents.

FBI Day, 1983 Proclamation

7/26/83

FEDERALISM

Everything that can be run more effectively by state and local government we shall turn over to state and local government, along with the funding sources to pay for it. We are going to put an end to the money merry-go-round where our money becomes Washington's money, to be spent by state and cities exactly the way the Federal bureaucrats tell us it has to be spent.

Presidential Nomination Acceptance Address -- Republican National Convention

Detroit, MI

7/17/80

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the states or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal government did not create the states; the states created the Federal government.

Inaugural Address

Washington, DC

1/20/81

The designers of our Constitution realized that in federalism there's diversity. The Founding Fathers saw the federal system as constructed something like a masonry wall: The States are the bricks, the National Government is the mortar. For the structure to stand plumb with the Constitution, there must be a proper mix of that brick and mortar. Unfortunately, over the years, many people have come increasingly to believe that Washington is the whole wall -- a wall that, incidentally, leans, sags, and bulges under its own weight.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Conference of State Legislators

Atlanta, GA

7/30/81

FEDERALISM (con't)

Our economic package, which consists of tax cuts, spending cuts, block grants, and regulatory relief, is a first phase in our effort to revitalize federalism. For too long, the Federal Government has preempted the States' tax base, regulatory authority, and spending flexibility. It has tried to reduce the States to mere administrative districts of a government centralized in Washington. And with our economic proposals, we're staging a quiet federalist revolution. It's a revolution that promises to be one of the most exciting and noteworthy in our generation.

IBID

The greatest threat to freedom, even in today's perilous times, comes from no foreign foe. It comes from a dangerous habit many of our leaders fell into over several generations -- letting the power and the resources that are the basis of freedom slip from the grassroots America into the hands of a remote central authority. Today we have the opportunity to turn that centralization of power around.

Remarks at the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisor's Town Meeting

Los Angeles, CA 3/3/82

Would you not agree that we have strayed much too far from that noble beginning and that the whole idea of our Revolution -- personal freedom, equality of opportunity, and keeping government close to the people -- is threatened by a Federal spending machine that takes too much money from the people, too much authority from the States, and yes, too much liberty with our Constitution?

Address Before a Joint Sessions of the Alabama State Legislature

Montgomery, AL

3/15/82

FEDERALISM (con't)

I believe the extent of the problems that we face today is in direct proportion to the extent to which we have allowed the Federal government to mushroom out of control. Ignoring careful checks and balances, Federal bureaucrats now dictate where a community will build a bridge or lay a sewer system. We've lost the sense of which problems require national solutions and which are best handled at the local level.

> Remarks to the National Association of Counties

Baltimore, MD 7/13/82

(I)t is by clearly restricting the duties of government that we make government efficient and responsive. By preventing government from overextending itself we stop it from disturbing that intricate but orderly pattern of private transactions among various institutions and individuals who have different social and economic goals. In short, like the founding fathers, we recognize the people as sovereign and the source of our social progress.

> Remarks at the John M. Ashbrook Memorial Dinner Ashland, OH 5/9/83

Power has stopped flowing to Washington and begun to flow back where it belongs -- to the states. This country is great and our freedom is sure as long as we continue to have a federation of sovereign states. And to those who, over the last half century in Washington, have worked and worked trying to make the states administrative districts of the Federal Government -- no way, that's no way to preserve what the Founding Fathers gave us.

> Remarks to the American Legislative Exchange Council

Washington, DC

12/12/86

FEDERALISM (con't)

If there is a revolution that is taking place here in Washington, it is that we have continued to try and limit the scope of the Federal Government. So, now it's time for resources, initiatives, and public initiative to shift back to the States still more definitely, still more dramatically; in other words, to alter the balance of power permanently in favor of levels of government that are closer to the people.

IBID

FOREIGN POLICY

Our foreign policy is a policy of strength, fairness, and balance. By restoring America's military credibility, by pursuing peace at the negotiating table wherever both sides are willing to sit down in good faith, and by regaining the respect of America's allies and adversaries alike, we have strengthened our country's position as a force for peace and progress in the world.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

1/26/82

Building a more peaceful world requires a sound strategy and the national resolve to back it up. When radical forces threaten our friends, when economic misfortune creates conditions of instability, when strategically vital parts of the world fall under the shadow of Soviet power, our response can make the difference between peaceful change or disorder and violence . . . Our foreign policy must be rooted in realism, not naivete or self-delusion.

IBID

As we've rebuilt America's military and strategic strength, we've also adopted a foreign policy that speaks openly and candidly about the failures of totalitarianism, that advocates the moral superiority of Western ideals like personal freedom and representative government -- a foreign policy that calls for a global crusade for personal freedom and representative government. It's this combination of strategic strength and rhetorical candor that for the first time in years has taken American foreign policy off the defensive.

Remarks to Members of Ohio Veterans Organizations

Columbus, OH

10/4/82

In foreign policy, we've let the world know once again that America stands for the political, religious, and economic freedom of mankind. And something else: Under this administration, our Nation is through wringing its hands and apologizing. Americans don't put up walls to keep people in. We don't have armies of secret police to keep them quiet. we don't put political and religious dissidents in jail, and we would never cold-bloodedly shoot a defenseless airliner out of the sky.

Remarks at the Reagan-Bush Campaign Reunion

Washington, DC 11/3/83

America's foreign policy is once again based on bipartisanship, on realism, strength, full partnership, in consultation with our allies, and constructive negotiation with potential adversaries.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 1/25/84

America's foreign policy supports freedom, democracy, and human dignity for all mankind, and we make no apologies for it. The opportunity society that we want for ourselves we also want for others, not because we're imposing our system on others but because those opportunities belong to all people as God-given birthrights and because by promoting democracy and economic opportunity, we make peace more secure.

> Remarks at Conservative Political Action Conference's 11th Annual Dinner

Washington, DC

3/2/84

All Americans share two great goals for foreign policy: a safer world, and a world in which individual rights can be respected and precious values may flourish. These goals are at the heart of America's traditional idealism, and our aspirations for world peace. Yet, while cherished by us, they do not belong exclusively to us. They're not made in America. They're shared by people everywhere.

Remarks to the Georgetown Center for International and Strategic Studies

Washington, DC

4/6/84

Military force, either direct or indirect, must remain an available part of America's foreign policy. But clearly the Congress is less than wholly comfortable with both the need for a military element in foreign policy, and its own responsibility to deal with that element. Presidents must recognize Congress as a more significant partner in foreign policymaking, and, as we've tried to do, seek new means to reach bipartisan Executive, Legislative consensus. But legislators must realize that they, too, are partners. They have a responsibility to go beyond mere criticism to consensus-building that will produce positive, practical and effective action.

IBID

The American people remain committed to a world of peace and freedom. They want an effective foreign policy, which shapes events in accordance with our ideals and does not just react, passively and timidly, to the actions of others. Backing away from this challenge will not bring peace. It will only mean that others who are hostile to everything we believe in will have a freer hand to work their will in the world.

From the Report Entitled "Freedom, Regional Security, and Global Peace"

Transmitted to Congress 3/14/86

If America stays committed, we are more likely to have diplomatic solutions than military ones.

If America stays committed, we are more likely to have democratic outcomes that totalitarian ones.

If America stays committed, we will find that those who share our goals can do their part, and ease burdens that we might otherwise bear alone.

If America stays committed, we can solve problems while they are still manageable and avoid harder choices later.

And if America stays committed, we are more likely to convince the Soviet Union that its competition with us must be peaceful.

IBID

These three realities of the 80's -- the new thrust of Soviet interventionism, the need for free nations to join together, the democratic revolution -- are inseparable. Soviet power and policy cannot be checked without the active commitment of the United States. And we cannot achieve lasting results without giving support to -- and receiving support from -- those whose goals coincide with ours.

IBID

Our involvement should always be prudent and realistic, but we should remember that our tools work best when joined together in a coherent strategy consistently applied. Diplomacy unsupported by power is mere talk. Power that is not guided by our political purposes can create nothing of permanent value.

IBID

A foreign policy that ignored the fate of millions around the world who seek freedom would be a betrayal of our national heritage. Our own freedom, and that of our allies, could never be secure in a world where freedom was threatened everywhere else. Our stake in the global economy gives us a stake in the well-being of others.

IBID

Our foreign policy, then, has been an attempt both to reassert the traditional elements of America's postwar strategy while at the same time moving beyond the doctrines of mutual assured destruction or containment. Our goal has been to break the deadlock of the past, to seek a forward strategy -- a forward strategy for world peace, a forward strategy for world freedom. We have not forsaken deterrence or containment, but working with our allies, we've sought something even beyond these doctrines. We have sought the elimination of the threat of nuclear weapons and an end to the threat of totalitarianism.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Town Hall of California

Los Angeles, California 8/26/87

FREEDOM

The price of freedom may be high, but never so costly as the loss of freedom. This is our moment to make our stand, to renew our revolution — the real revolution. We are a nation under God. Freedom is not granted to us by government; it is ours by divine right.

Remarks at a Rally in Support of the Proposed Constitutional Amendment for a Balanced Federal Budget

Washington, DC

7/19/82

The task that has fallen to us as Americans is to move the conscience of the world, to keep alive the hope and dream of freedom. For if we fail or falter, there'll be no place for the world's oppressed to flee to. This is not a role we sought. We preach no manifest destiny. But like the Americans who brought a new nation into the world 200 years ago, history has asked much of us in our time. Much we've already given. Much more we must be prepared to give.

Remarks to the Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

Washington, DC

2/18/83

Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals

Orlando, Florida

3/8/83

One of our great national treasures is our right as Americans to criticize government without fear of reprisal. There's a story about a Soviet citizen who was telling an American traveler that people in Russia are free to speak just like they are in the United States. The difference is that in the United States, they're free after they speak.

Remarks to Regional Editors and Broadcasters

The East Room

9/21/83

The struggle between freedom and totalitarianism today is not ultimately a test of arms and missiles, but a test of faith and spirit. And in this spiritual struggle, the Western mind and will is the crucial battleground. We must not hesitate to express our dream of freedom; we must not be reluctant to enunciate the crucial distinctions between right and wrong -- between political systems based on freedom and those based on a dreadful denial of the human spirit.

Remarks to a Joint Session of the National Parliament of Ireland

Dublin, Ireland

6/4/84

History is the work of free men and women, not unalterable laws. It is never inevitable, but it does have directions and trends; and one trend is clear -- democracies are not only increasing in number, they're growing in strength. Today they're strong enough to give the cause of freedom growing room and breathing space, and that's all that freedom ever really needs...Freedom is the flagship of the future and the flashfire of the future. Its spark ignites the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human soul.

Those who think the Western democracies are trying to roll back history are missing the point. History is moving in the direction of self-government and the human dignity that it institutionalizes, and the future belongs to the free.

In these moments, let us remember and draw strength from the most powerful enduring truth in human history: Free men and women are not destined to be powerless victims of some capricious historical tide; free men and women are themselves the driving force of history.

> Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group

Washington, D.C. 9/25/84

Tonight, we declare anew to our fellow citizens of the world: Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few; it is the universal right of all God's children. Look to where peace and prosperity flourish today. It is in homes that freedom built. Victories against poverty are greatest and peace most secure where people live by laws that ensure free press, free speech, and freedom to worship, vote, and create wealth.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

2/6/85

History makes clear that progress is swiftest when people are free to worship, create, and build -- when they can determine their own destiny and benefit from their own initiative. The dream of human progress through freedom is still the most revolutionary idea in the world, and it is still the most successful. It is the priceless heritage America bestows on each new generation, with the hope that succeeding generations the world over will come to better know its fruits.

International Youth Year Proclamation, 1985

We champion freedom not only because it is practical and beneficial but because it is morally right and just.

> Address Before the 40th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, N.Y.

10/24/85

A little more than two years ago, I walked along a beach in France where American and other forces first landed in 1944 to begin their crusade in Europe. Those Americans fought and many of them died for the freedom that we cherish today. Every one of them knew, and we must never forget, that freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. know that freedom is something that we all must join together to preserve, protect, and defend. And our first line of defense is not our weapons or our military, but our right to decide who governs us. That's a right the soldiers who fought against our men at Normandy didn't have. That's a right that those on the other side of the Iron Curtain today don't have.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

10/18/86

There is a power in the flame of liberty. It can melt the chains of despotism and change the world. It build our country into a mighty engine of progress and opportunity and made us a beacon of hope to all those who would be free. Today we must stand strong, because we are the keepers of that flame.

> Remarks to the Annual Republican House/Senate Fundraising Dinner

Washington, D.C. 4/29/87

As I see it, 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, not trying to act the all-wise and all-powerful, not letting government act that way. And the word we have for this is freedom.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Leaders of the Cultural and Art Community

Moscow

5/31/88

THE FUTURE

(T)he future belongs to the flexible. It belongs to those who look at the problem and see an opportunity; to those who look at the unknown and see an adventure; to those who look at the untried and see a challenge; to those who have shed the weight of structural rigidities and protective subsidies and face the future with energy and excitement.

Remarks at Annual Meeting of Atlantic Council
Washington, DC 6/13/88

GOVERNMENT

I will not accept the excuse that the Federal government has grown so big and powerful that it is beyond the control of any President, any Administration or Congress. We are going to put an end to the notion that the American taxpayer exists to fund the Federal government. The Federal government exists to serve the American people.

Presidential Nomination Acceptance Address -- Republican National Convention

Detroit, MI

7/17/80

(M)y view of government places trust not in one person or one party, but in those values that transcend persons and parties. The trust is where it belongs -- in the people. The

responsibility to live up to that trust is where <u>it</u> belongs, in their elected leaders. That kind of relationship, between the people and their elected leaders, is a special kind of compact.

IBID

(I)t's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work -- work with us, not over us, to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

Inaugural Address

Washington, DC

1/20/81

GOVERNMENT (con't)

Our government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

IBID

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if not one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together -- in and out of government -- must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

IBID

GOVERNMENT (con't)

If we do nothing else in this administration, we're going to convince this city that the power, the money, and the responsibility of this country begins and ends with the people and not in some puzzle palace here on the Potomac.

Remarks at the Inaugural Anniversary Dinner Washington, DC 1/20/82

(O) ur country today is at a turning point. We've lived too long by the maxims of past decades, lost in a jungle of government bureaucracy, tangled in its web of programs and regulations. And almost all of those government initiatives

GOVERNMENT (con't)

were intended to relieve suffering, enforce justice, or preserve an environment threatened by pollution. But for each ounce of blessing, a pound of freedom was quietly stolen.

Address Before a Joint Session of the Iowa State Legislature

Des Moines, IA

2/9/82

We've always done well when we've had the courage to believe in ourselves and in our capacity to perform great deeds. We got in trouble when we started looking to government for too many answers, when we listened to those who insisted that making a government bigger would make America better. Well, forgive me, but I happen to believe that the best view of big government is in the rear view mirror as you're driving away from it. (Laughter)

Remarks at a Meeting with Chief Executive Officers of National Organizations

The East Room

3/24/82

Did we forget that government is the people's business, and every man, woman, and child becomes a shareholder with the first penny of tax paid? Did we forget that government must not supersede the will of the people or the responsibilities of the people in their communities? Did we forget that the function of government is not to confer happiness on us, but just to get out of the way and give us the opportunity to work out happiness for ourselves?

IBID

GOVERNMENT (con't)

Government exists to ensure that liberty does not become license to prey on each other. We haven't been perfect in living up to that ideal, but we've come a long way since those first settlers reached these shores asking nothing more than the freedom to worship God. They asked that He would work His will in our daily lives, so America would be a land of fairness, morality, justice, and compassion.

> Remarks at the Alfred M. Landon Lecture Series on Public Issues

Manhattan, KS

9/9/82

Sometimes I think that government is like that old definition of a baby: an enormous appetite at one end and no sense of responsibility at the other. (Laughter)

> Remarks at the National Association of Manufacturers Annual Meeting

Washington, D.C. 5/24/85

(I) have often said that a government program once launched is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this Earth.

Remarks to Regional Press Representatives

State Dining Room 2/10/86

GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS

The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction plan, if passed, will be a landmark victory for responsible government. The need for structural reform has been evident to some of us for quite some time, and that's why we've been raising our voices in support of a balanced budget amendment. What we haven't realized, however, and what is clear now is that there is also need for a transition to that point where structural change is possible. And that's what Gramm-Rudman-Hollings is all about. This farsighted and practical proposal gives us an enforceable method of reducing the budget deficit each year, leaving us with a balanced budget by 1990. An end to deficits can be made permanent with an amendment to the U.S. Constitution requiring a balanced budget and preventing us from ever getting behind the eight ball again.

Remarks at a White House Briefing
Washington, DC 10/18/85

The passage of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings will be an affirmation to the entire country -- well, yes, even to the world -- that we Americans have finally gotten serious about deficit spending. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings will replace no way with can do. We can, if we have the will to do it, bring the deficit down without raising taxes and without undermining our national security.

IBID

(W) hile Gramm-Rudman-Hollings gives us some guidelines and directions, it doesn't take us to our destination. It's essential as we embark on this journey toward a balanced budget that we keep a clear sense of our priorities and hold our first purposes firmly in mind. We must not allow Gramm-Rudman-Hollings to become an excuse to avoid the tough decisions entailed in cutting back on runaway domestic spending.

GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS (con't)

We will not only be held responsible for cutting the deficit: ultimately, we will be judged on how we reduce the deficit.

Remarks to Congressional Supporters of Balanced Budget Legislation

The State Dining Room 12/18/85

GRENADA

Grenada, we were told, was a friendly island paradise for tourism. Well, it wasn't. It was a Soviet-Cuban colony, being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy. We got there just in time.

Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada

The Oval Office

10/27/83

In Grenada, the thugs who seized power in a bloody coup have already been replaced by administrators of good will who will prepare the country for democratic elections. We've had broad and bipartisan support for our actions in Grenada. Yes, there were some critics, but I'd like to suggest that those critics take a moment to listen to interviews with Grenadians rejoicing at their new freedom, or to meditate on the photo of an American medical student rescued by U.S. Rangers, kissing the good earth of South Carolina after he got off the plane at Charleston Air Force Base.

Remarks to the Reagan-Bush Campaign Reunion Washington, DC 11/4/83

Unbelievably, the other day, a reporter asked me, "What was the difference between our invading Grenada and the Soviets invading Afghanistan?" (Laughter) And the question, sort of, touched my temperature control. (Laughter) I answered. And among the things I said was that there was no comparison between the savage invasion of Afghanistan with its slaughter of innocent men, women, and children -- civilians, and the heroic rescue mission of our young Americans. Our troops are already leaving Grenada. But don't hold your breath waiting for the Soviets to leave Afghanistan. (Applause)

Remarks to St. George Medical School Students

The South Lawn

GRENADA (con't)

(I) was very pleased when some tourists of ours came back from Grenada and showed me a packet of postcards they had bought there. The postcards are color photographs of the graffiti on walls all over Grenada. But it isn't, Yankee, go home! It's Yankee, come back! and God bless America!

Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Brunch
Boca Raton, FL 9/23/88

HANDICAPPED

There is an urgent need for the private sector to take the lead in offering jobs that provide individual dignity and enable disabled men and women to support their families. There is also a need for state and local governments to employ fresh approaches and renewed energy in cooperation with the private sector to expand handicapped employment opportunities, and for the Federal government to streamline regulations in order to afford maximum benefit for handicapped persons with a minimum of administrative burden.

We need to affirm the dignity and worthy of all people in our society, whether or not they suffer from physical or mental disabilities, and we must firmly reject attitudes that deny the worth of handicapped individuals.

National Employ the Handicapped Week Proclamation, 1982

9/13/82

Our Nation's history is rooted in the struggle to attain independence: the right of free choice by free citizens in a society that honors the efforts of individuals. The movement of disabled people to full participation in our society, with all its benefits and responsibilities, is an ideal whose time has surely come.

National Employ the Handicapped Week Proclamation, 1983

9/28/83

The handicapped may face limitations, but they have no limitations on their courage to do what others say cannot be done. Our disabled citizens want what all of us want -- the opportunity to contribute to our communities, to use our creativity and to go as far as our God-given talents will take us. They deserve no less. And I believe that we can make their dream come true.

Remarks at Dedication of Santa Maria Towers

Buffalo, NY

HANDICAPPED (con't)

All of us must constantly strive for full acceptance of disabled people, so that we begin to see people rather than disabilities. We must first learn, and then seek to inculcate in others, especially the young, a deep respect for the human person, whatever that person's handicaps. By doing so, we reaffirm the timeless American principle of equality of opportunity and help build a future in which the unique attributes of every citizen are recognized and allowed to develop for the good of all.

National Employ the Handicapped Week Proclamation, 1985

9/30/85

HEALTH CARE

American medicine is making miracles commonplace, and that's good news as America prepares for the 21st century. But while our quality is the highest in the world, so are our prices. Last year medical costs climbed seven times faster than the rate of inflation. It's getting to where many patients feel that the recovery room should be next to the cashier's office. Doctors, patients, insurers -- everyone feels sick about the rising cost of getting well.

Remarks at a Luncheon for Members of the College of Physicians

Philadelphia, PA

4/1/87

I said that American medicine is the best in the world, and on that we need no second opinions, because there are no other opinions. Our competitive system has produced the finest health care in history. And with each year that passes, it saves more lives, finds cures to more diseases, makes life better for more people than ever before.

IBID

HISPANIC AMERICANS

To every cynic who says the American dream is dead, I say look at the Americans of Hispanic descent who are making it in the business world. With hard work and no one to rely on but themselves, entrepreneurs of Hispanic descent are not just building corporations, they're building a better America for all of us.

> Remarks to the Hispanic Economic Outlook Preview Luncheon

Los Angeles, CA 8/25/83

Americans of Hispanic descent have every right to be proud of the contributions that they've made and are making to our way of life. The strength of your values, even in the face of discrimination and hardship, is an inspiring story of dignity and courage. The emergence of Americans of Hispanic descent in business and government proves that the American dream is alive and well if we just give it a chance. And we're going to keep on giving it a chance.

> Remarks at a White House Luncheon Honoring the National Hispanic Leadership Conference

The State Dining Room 4/17/84

HOLOCAUST

The millions of deaths, the gas chambers, the inhuman crematoria, and the thousands of people who somehow survived the lifetime scars are all now part of the conscience of history. Forever must we remember just how precious is civilization, how important is liberty, and how heroic is the human spirit.

Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust, 1981 Proclamation

4/2/81

The tragedy that ended 36 years ago was still raw in our memories, because it took place, as we've been told, in our lifetime. We share the wounds of the survivors. We recall the pain only because we must never permit it to come again. And yet, today, in spite of that experience, as an entire generation has grown to adulthood, who never knew the days of World War II, and we remember ourselves, when we were younger, how distant history seemed, anything that came before our time -- and so the signs do exist; the ugly graffiti, the act of violence, the act of terrorism here and there, scattered throughout the world and not quite large enough in dimension for us to rally as we once did in that war.

Remarks at the First Annual Commemoration of the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust

The East Room

4/30/81

We in America have learned the lesson of the Holocaust; we shall never allow it to be forgotten. Oppression will never extinguish the instinct of good people to do the right thing.

Remarks at the B'nai B'rith Organization's International Convention

Washington, DC

9/6/84

HOLOCAUST (con't)

Even as we herald the glory of the Jewish heritage, we commemorate as well Jewish suffering in this era. It is up to us to show the way out of this shameful cycle. We must remember the sins of the past and rededicate ourselves to shaping a future marked by tolerance, respect, and compassion. We must rededicate ourselves to the proposition that the Holocaust will remain a solitary horror and that its like will never be repeated.

Jewish Heritage Week, 1985 Proclamation

4/19/85

Here, death ruled, but we've learned something as well. Because of what happened, we found that death cannot rule forever, and that's why we're here today. We're here because humanity refuses to accept that freedom of the spirit of man can ever be extinguished. We're here to commemorate that life triumphed over the tragedy and the death of the Holocaust -- overcame the suffering, the sickness, the testing and, yes, the gassings. We're here today to confirm that the horror cannot outlast hope, and that even from the worst of all things, the best may come forth. Therefore, even out of this overwhelming sadness, there must be some purpose, and there is. It comes to us through the transforming love of God.

Remarks at Visit to Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp

Federal Republic of Germany

5/5/85

HUMAN RIGHTS

Mankind's best defense against tyranny and want is limited government — a government which empowers its people, not itself, and which respects the wit and bravery, the initiative, and the generosity of the people. For, above all, human rights are rights of individuals: rights of conscience, rights of choice, rights of association, rights of emigration, rights of self-directed action, and the right to own property. The concept of a nation of free men and women linked together voluntarily is the genius of the system our Founding Fathers established.

Bill of Rights Day, Human Rights Day, and Week, 1981 Proclamation

12/4/81

Hatred, envy, and bigotry are as old as the human race itself, as too many tragic passages in the history of the world bear witness. What is new and daring and encouraging about the American experiment is that from the beginning, men and women strove mightily to undo these evils and to overcome the prejudice and injustice of the old world in the virgin soil of the new.

Remarks to the National Conference of Christians and Jews

New York, NY

3/23/82

This faith in the dignity of the individual under God is the foundation for the whole American political experiment. It is central to our national politics.

Remarks at the Centennial Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus

Hartford, CT

8/3/82

HUMAN RIGHTS (con't)

From our beginning, regard for human rights and the steady expansion of human freedom have defined the American experience. And they remain today the real, moral core of our foreign policy.

> Remarks at a Ceremony for the Signing of the International Human Rights Day Proclamation

Washington, DC 12/10/84

For the first time in the history of nations, our Founding Fathers established a written Constitution with enumerated rights based on the principle that the rights to life and liberty come not from the prerogative of government, but inherit in each person as a fundamental human heritage. Americans believe that all persons are equal in their possession of these unalienable rights and are entitled to respect because of the immense dignity and value of each human being. With these great principles in mind, the Founding Fathers designed a system of government limited in its powers, based upon just laws, and resting upon the consent of the governed.

> Bill of Rights Day, Human Rights Day and Week, 1984 Proclamation

> > 12/10/84

Only in an intellectual climate which distinguishes between the city of God and the city of man and which explicitly affirms the independence of God's realm and forbids any infringement by the state on its prerogatives, only in such a climate could the idea of individual human rights take root, grow, and eventually flourish.

> Remarks to the Delegates to the Conference on Religious Liberty

Washington, D.C. 4/16/86

HUMAN RIGHTS (con't)

The defense of human rights is a humanitarian concern, and a practical one as well. Peace and respect for human rights are inseparable. History demonstrates that there can be no genuine peace without respect for human rights, that governments that do not respect the rights of their own citizens are a threat to their neighbors as well.

Proclamation on Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 1986

10/10/86

This, as I said, is our hope; yet whatever the future may bring, the commitment of the United States will nevertheless remain unshakeable on human rights. On the fundamental dignity of the human person, there can be not relenting, for now we must work for more, always more.

Remarks to Soviet Dissidents at Spaso House

Moscow 5/30/88

Respect for human rights is the first and fundamental mission of this body, the most elementary obligation of its members. Indeed, wherever one turns in the world today, there is new awareness, a growing passion for human rights. The people of the world grow united; new groups, new coalitions form, coalitions that monitor government, that work against discrimination, that fight religious or political repression, unlawful imprisonment, torture, or execution.

Address Before the 43rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, NY

9/26/88

INDUSTRY

We must increase productivity. That means making it possible for industry to modernize and make use of the technology which we ourselves invented. That means putting Americans back to work. And that means above all bringing government spending back within government revenues, which is the only way, together with increased productivity, that we can reduce and, yes, eliminate inflation.

Address to the Nation on the Economy

The Oval Office 2/5/81

We're leading a revolution in technology, pushing back the frontiers of space. And if we give our workers the tools they need, in industries old and new, well, I've always believed, and I believe now -- you give American workers the proper tools, and they will out-produce, out-compete, and out-sell anybody, anytime, anywhere in the world.

Remarks to Reagan-Bush '84 Rally Cleveland, OH 11/2/84

The centrally planned state can dig metal out of the ground or pump oil. Though less efficiently than a free economy, it can operate hugh factories and run assembly lines. But it cannot fabricate the spirit of enterprise. It cannot imitate the trial and error of free markets, the riot of experiment that produces knowledge and progress. No government can manufacture the entrepreneur or light that spark of invention. All they can do is let their people go -- give them freedom of mind and spirit.

Remarks to Members of the City Club
Cleveland, Ohio 1/11/88

INDUSTRY (con't)

Quality products and good service are also part of the trade equation. And in the last few years, American industry has been going through an unprecedented period of renovation, computerization, and modernization. The commitment behind the dramatic changes I'm talking about resulted from the rude shock American business experienced when hit by the wave of imports some years ago. But our corporate leaders and working men and women did not give up, not in the least. They slimmed down. They became more efficient. They shut down obsolete plants. They worked to develop a new spirit of cooperation between management and labor, and placed much greater emphasis on quality and getting the job done right.

Remarks Announcing the "Export Now" Partnership Washington, D.C. 2/24/88

INFLATION

Inflation rates didn't reach 18 percent because of our program. Nearly 8 million people didn't get thrown out of work because of anything that happened in the last 5 months. Twenty percent interest and 15 percent mortgages didn't begin on the morning of January 20th, 1981.

> Remarks at the Annual Convention of the United States Jaycees

San Antonio, TX 6/24/81

Just 3 years ago, our nation was an economic disaster area. Double-digit inflation, record interest rates, huge tax increases, and too much regulation were destroying growth, drying up opportunities, and freezing those at the bottom of our society into a bleak existence of dependency. And that's why economic recovery without inflation was our top priority. We cut taxes, reduced the growth of the Federal budget, eliminated useless regulations, and passed an historic reform called tax indexing. Indexing means government can never again profit from inflation at your expense.

> Remarks at the Young Leadership Conference of the United Jewish Appeal

Washington, DC 3/13/84

Inflation was not some plague borne on the wind; it was a deliberate part of (the Democrats) official economic policy, needed, they said, to maintain prosperity. They didn't tell us that with it would come the highest interest rates since the Civil War.

> Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the 1984 Republican National Convention

Dallas, TX

8/23/84

INFLATION (con't)

(I) believe we have the chance to combine progrowth tax reform with spending restraint and a balanced budget. Inflation will become a memory of the distant past, rather than a slumbering beast, always ready to be awakened by overspending.

Remarks to the American Retail Federation
Washington, DC 5/22/86

INF TREATY

The INF agreement signed at this summit will bring about the first mutual reduction in Soviet and American nuclear arsenals ever, and the first step back toward a safer world has been agreed to. The word historic is frequently used in describing the INF agreement, and I know that adjective is overused, but in this case I think it's appropriate. This is the most important action since World War II in reducing the arms race. Instead of trying to put a ceiling on future growth of the number of weapons, both sides are now focused on ways to mutually reduce our nuclear forces. And we're in a better position to make tangible gains in arms reduction than at anytime in the last 40 years.

> Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session with Regional Press Representatives

Washington, D.C.

12/11/87

Now, I understand there's a certain degree of apprehension about reaching any agreement with the Soviet Union, but I believe that once the details have been closely examined the consensus will be that the INF treaty is a solid step forward, a recognizably positive move for America. The treaty is consistent with the goal set out by the administration from its first days. Building up our defensive strength was designed to convince the Soviet leadership that they couldn't win an arms race. The second half of the formula is reaching agreements to reduce weapons on both sides to an equal and verifiable level. Such reductions are in our interest and the interest of world peace. This treat accomplishes exactly what we set out to do.

> Remarks Announcing Senator Dole's Endorsement of the INF Treaty

The Briefing Room 12/17/87

INF TREATY (con't)

Under this agreement, the Soviets are required to eliminate deployed INF missile systems capable of carrying almost four times as many nuclear warheads as the deployed systems we will eliminate. Furthermore, the INF treaty provides for the most stringent verification in the history of arms control. The asymmetrical reductions to achieve an equal U.S.-Soviet level and the comprehensive verification provisions of the INF treaty provide important precedents for future arms reduction agreements.

Statement on Soviet-United States Nuclear and Space Arms Negotiations

1/14/88

The Treaty is an unprecedented arms control agreement in several respects. It marks the first time that the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to eliminate, throughout the world, an entire class of their missile systems. Significantly, the eliminations will be achieved from markedly asymmetrical starting points that favored the Soviet Union. The Treaty includes provisions for comprehensive on-site inspections, including the continuous monitoring of certain facilities, to aid in verifying compliance. To a much greater extent than in earlier arms control agreements, between the United States and the Soviet Union, detailed information has been, and will continue to be, exchanged by the Parties in order to facilitate verification of compliance. Finally, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed on cooperative measures to enhance verification by national technical means.

> Message to the Senate Transmitting the Soviet Union-United States Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty

> > 1/25/88

IRAN-CONTRA ISSUE

If illegal acts were undertaken, those who did so will be brought to justice. If actions in implementing my policy were taken without my authorization, knowledge, or concurrence, this will be exposed and appropriate corrective steps will be implemented.

I recognize fully the interest of Congress in this matter and the fact that in performing its important oversight and legislative role Congress will want to inquire into what occurred. We will cooperate fully with these inquiries.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office 12/2/86

But though we've made much progress, I have one major regret: I took a risk with regard to our action in Iran. It did not work, and for that I assume full responsibility. The goals were worthy. I do not believe it was wrong to try to establish contacts with a country of strategic importance or to try to save lives. And certainly it was not wrong to try to secure freedom for our citizens held in barbaric captivity. But we did not achieve what we wished, and serious mistakes were made in trying to do so. We will get to the bottom of this, and I will take whatever action is called for.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

1/27/87

First, let me say I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my Administration. As angry as I may be about activities undertaken without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities. As disappointed as I may be in some who served me, I am still the one who

IRAN-CONTRA ISSUE (con't))

must answer to the American people for this behavior. And as personally distasteful as I find secret bank accounts and diverted funds, as the Navy would say, this happened on my watch.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office 3/4/87

As the Tower Board reported, what began as a strategic opening to Iran deteriorated in its implementation into trading arms for hostages. This runs counter to my own beliefs, to Administration policy, and to the original strategy we had in mind.

IBID

There are reasons why it happened, but no excuses. It was a mistake. I undertook the original Iran initiative in order to develop relations with those who might assume leadership in a post-Khomeini government. It's clear from the Board's report, however, that I let my personal concern for the hostages spill over into the geo-political strategy of reaching out to Iran. I asked so many questions about the hostages' welfare that I didn't ask enough about the specifics of the plan.

IBID

I let my preoccupation with the hostages intrude into areas where it didn't belong. The image -- the reality -- of Americans in chains, deprived of their freedom and families so far from home, burdened my thoughts. And this was a mistake.

My fellow Americans, I've thought long and often about how to

IRAN-CONTRA ISSUE (con't)

explain to you what I intended to accomplish, but I respect you too much to make excuses. The fact of the matter is that there's nothing I can say that will make the situation right. I was stubborn in my pursuit of a policy that went astray.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

8/12/87

Since I have been so closely associated with the cause of the contras, the big question during the hearings was whether I knew of the diversion. I was aware the resistance was receiving funds directly from third countries and from private efforts, and I endorsed those endeavors wholeheartedly; but -- let me put this in capital letters -- I did not know about the diversion of funds. Indeed, I didn't know there were excess funds.

IBID

IRELAND

The spell cast on us by a small island 3,000 miles away began more than a century ago when Irish immigrants first came to this land -- immigrants whose sweat and labor built our economy, whose hearts and minds shaped our literary and intellectual history, whose smiles and mirth gave us the gift of laughter, whose conscience and spirituality reminded us of the importance of religious faith in our lives.

Statement by the President

Washington, DC

2/17/82

I didn't know much about my family background. Not because of lack of interest, but because my father was orphaned before he was six years old. And now thanks to you and the efforts of good people who have dug into the history of a poor immigrant family, I know at least whence I came. And this has given my soul a new contentment. And it is a joyous feeling. It is like coming home after a long journey. (Applause)

Remarks to Citizens of Ballyporeen
Ballyporeen, Ireland 6/3/84

And today I come back to you, as a descendant of people who are buried here in pauper's graves. Perhaps this is God's way of reminding us that we must always treat every individual, no matter what his or her station in life, with dignity and respect. (Applause) And who knows? Someday that person's child or grandchild might grow up to become the Prime Minister of Ireland, or President of the United States. (Applause)

IBID

IRELAND (con't)

When I stepped off Air Force One at Shannon a few days ago and saw Ireland -- beautiful and green, and felt again the warmth of her people -- something deep inside began to stir. Who knows but that scientists will someday explain the complex genetic process by which generations seem to transfer across time and even oceans their fondest memories. Until they do, I will have to rely on President Lincoln's words about the "mystic chords of memory" -- and say to you that during the past few days at every stop here in your country, those chords have been gently and movingly struck.

Remarks to a Joint Session of the National Parliament of Ireland

Dublin, Ireland 6/4/84

I know Ireland faces a serious challenge to create jobs for your population, but you've made striking gains, attracting the most advanced technology and industries in the world, and improving the standard of living of your people. And you've done all of this while maintaining your traditional values and religious heritage, renewing your culture and language, and continuing to play a key role in the world community.

IBID

I'm not being overly optimistic when I say today that I believe you will work out a peaceful and democratic reconciliation of Ireland's two different traditions and communities. Besides being a land whose communities. Besides being a land whose concern for freedom and self-determination is legendary, Ireland is also a land synonymous with hope. It is this sense of hope that saw you through famine and war, that sent so many Irish men and women abroad to seek new lives and to build new nations, that gave the world the saints and scholars who preserved Western culture, the missionaries and soldiers who spoke of human dignity and freedom, and put much of the spark to my own country's quest for independence and that of other nations.

The United States and Israel share similar beginnings as nations of immigrants, yearning to live in freedom and to fulfill the dreams of our forefathers. We have both sought to establish societies of law, to live in peace, and to develop the full potential of our lands. We share a devotion to democratic institutions, responsible to the wills of our citizens. Our peoples embrace common ideals of self-improvement through hard work and individual initiative. Together, we seek peace for all people. In partnership, we're determined to defend liberty and safeguard the security of our citizens. We know Israelis live in constant peril. But Israel will have our help. She will remain strong and secure, and her special character of spirit, genius, and faith will prevail.

Remarks at Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Menaheim Begin of Israel

The South Lawn

9/9/81

The time has come for a new realism on the part of all the people of the Middle East. The State of Israel is an accomplished fact; it deserves unchallenged legitimacy within the community of nations. But, Israel's legitimacy has thus far been recognized by too few countries, and has been denied by every Arab state except Egypt. Israel exists; it has a right to exist in peace behind secure and defensible borders; and it has a right to demand of its neighbors that they recognize those facts.

Address to the Nation

Burbank, CA

9/1/82

This administration, like those before it, is firmly committed to the security of the State of Israel. We will help Israel defend itself against external aggression. At the same time, the United States believes, as it has always believed, that

ISRAEL (con't)

permanent security for the people of Israel and all the peoples of the region can only come with the achievement of a just and lasting peace, not by sole reliance on increasingly expensive military forces.

Radio Address to the Nation

Rancho del Cielo 8/27/83

In Israel free men and women are every day demonstrating the power of courage and faith. Back in 1948 when Israel was founded, pundits claimed the new country cound never survive. Well today, no one questions that Israel is a land of stability and democracy in a region of tyranny and unrest.

> Remarks at the Young Leadership Conference of the United Jewish Appeal

Washington, DC 3/13/84

How does life continue in the face of this crime against humanity? The survivors swore their oath: Never again. the American people also made that pledge: Never again. we've kept it. We kept it when we supported the establishment of the State of Israel, the refuge that the Jewish people lacked during the Holocaust, the dream of generations, the sure sign of God's hand in history. America will never waver in our support for that nation to which our ties of faith are unbreakable.

> Remarks at a White House Ceremony Commemorating Jewish Heritage Week

The Roosevelt Room

4/19/85

ISRAEL (con't)

If we show ourselves willing to abandon our friends so close to home, how soon before the Soviets turn their full attention to Israel, that lonely outpost of democracy in the Middle East? Freedom is indivisible. The moral foundation of our support for Israel is our support for freedom and democracy, and that support must always remain rock-solid wherever freedom and democracy are endangered.

Remarks at a White House Briefing to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Washington, DC

3/5/86

We're reminded of Jewish unity and diversity by the eight separate branches of the menorah coming together as one. And as the menorah's light grows stronger, with one candle being lit each day, we can feel the flame of freedom burning in your hearts. And that flame should inspire people everywhere.

> Remarks During a Visit to the Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington

Rockville, MD

12/4/83

Through both its spiritual ideals and its significant practical efforts, the Jewish community has contributed much to our country's greatness. So many of the values and ethics we proudly espouse in America are derived from the laws and traditions of the Jewish people: That there should be one law for the homeborn and the foreigner; that education and self-discipline are to be continually cultivated; and that family and community are the cornerstones of society. And individually -- as committed citizens, soldiers in the armed forces, laborers and professionals, artists and entrepreneurs -- American Jews have given of their heart, soul and might so that this Nation may prosper.

Jewish Heritage Week, 1984 Proclamation

5/7/84

From the ashes of the Holocaust emerged the miracle of Israel and another miracle, that the survivors began life again. They came to new lands, many to Israel and many, thank God, to America. They built new families and with each child gave us the greatest symbol of this faith in the future. They brought to us the eloquence of a people who, in surviving

JEWS (con't)

such suffering, asked only for the right to remember and be remembered, a people who did not permit themselves to descend into the pits and quagmires of hatred, but lifted themselves instead -- and with them all of humankind -- out of darkness up toward a time when hatred is no more and all nations and all people are as one.

Remarks at a White House Ceremony
Commemorating Jewish Heritage Week

The Roosevelt Room

4/19/85

JUDICIAL BRANCH

Law is the handmaiden of liberty, essential to preserving order in freedom. And we cannot have order unless people are certain of their full scope of their rights and legal protections. Vague or excessive laws, or inconsistent judicial decisions, threaten our freedom.

Remarks at the 105th Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association

Atlanta, GA

8/1/83

So I intend to go right on appointing highly qualified individuals of the highest personal integrity to the bench -- individuals who understand the danger of short-circuiting the electoral process and disenfranchising the people through judicial activism. I want judges of the highest intellectual standing who harbor the deepest regard for the Constitution and its traditions -- one of which is judicial restraint.

Remarks to U.S. Attorneys

Washington, DC

10/21/85

The independence of the courts from improper political influence is a sacred principle. It must always be guarded. And let me assure you, it always will be guarded while this administration is in office. But as you know, the Founding Fathers knew that, like any other part of the government, the power of the judiciary could be abused. They never intended, for example, that the courts preempt legislative prerogatives or become vehicles for political action or social experimentation, or for coercing the populace into adopting anyone's personal view of utopia.

JUDICIAL (con't)

Now, during the past two presidential elections, I have made it clear to the American public that I felt the courts had sometimes gone too far in interfering with the Constitutional prerogatives of other branches of government, even while they neglected their Constitutional duty of protecting society from those who prey on the innocent. Well, this is still my belief.

IBID

KAL - 007 MASSACRE

Beyond these emotions, the world notes the stark contrast that exists between Soviet words and deeds. What can we think of a regime that so broadly trumpets its vision of peace and global disarmament and yet so callously and quickly commits a terrorist act that sacrifices the lives of innocent human beings? What can be said about Soviet credibility when they so flagrantly lie about such a heinous act? What can be the scope of legitimate mutual discourse with a state whose values permit such atrocities? And what are we to make of a regime which establishes one set of standards for itself and another for the rest of humankind?

Remarks to Reporters upon Departure

Point Mugu Naval Air Station, CA

9/2/83

The tradition in the civilized world has always been to offer help to mariners and pilots who are lost or in distress on the sea or in the air. Where human life is valued, extraordinary efforts are extended to preserve and protect it, and it's essential that as civilized societies, we ask searching questions about the nature of regimes where such standards do not apply.

IBID

And make no mistake about it, this attack was not just against ourselves or the Republic of Korea. This was the Soviet Union against the world and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere. It was an act of barbarism, born of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life and seeks constantly to expand and dominate other nations.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

Rather than tell the truth about the Korean Air Lines massacre, rather than immediately and publicly investigate the crash, explain to the world how it happened, punish those guilty of the crime, cooperate in efforts to find the wreckage, recover the bodies, apologize and offer compensation to the families, and work to prevent a repetition, they have done the opposite. They've stonewalled the world, mobilizing their entire government behind a massive coverup, then brazenly threatening to kill more men, women, and children should another civilian airliner make the same mistake as KAL 007.

The Soviets are terrified of the truth.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office 9/10/83

Instead of offering assistance to a lost civilian airliner, the Soviet Union attacked. Instead of offering condolences, it issued denials. Instead of offering reassurances, it repeated its threats. Even in the search for our dead, the Soviet Union barred the way. This behavior chilled the entire world.

Address to the Korean National Assembly

Seoul, Korea

11/12/83

Now as the years have passed, we know our vision was the proper one. North Korea is one of the most repressive societies on earth. It does not prosper, it arms. The rapid progress of your economy and the stagnation of the North has demonstrated perhaps more clearly here than anywhere else the value of a free economic system. Let the world look long and hard at both sides of the 38th Parallel, and then ask: "Which side enjoys a better life?"

Address to the Korean National Assembly Seoul, Korea 11/12/83

The endeavors of today's workers and their unions assure that our country will have an even brighter future. Yet the bounty we have reaped from these labors is not limited to mere products and services. Our workers have been one of the cornerstones of our democratic system. The values they have passed down from generation to generation have strengthened America as the land of opportunity.

Even though the nature of our labor has changed over the years, Americans still believe that all work is noble. In celebrating the efforts of American workers, past and present, we honor this fundamental truth as well.

Message Commemorating Labor Day, 1983

9/4/83

America's workers continue to display the spirit, ingenuity, and adaptability to new conditions that labor and employers alike need if our economy is to continue to grow. This willingness to meet every challenge speaks volumes about the health and vitality of our way of life. Let us always remember that so much of what we are, we owe to working men and women. God gave us this land, but, under His good graces, the labor of our people has helped it flourish and pour forth its plenty for ourselves and the world.

Message on the Observance of Labor Day

8/31/88

LEBANON

Let me ask those who say we should get out of Lebanon: If we were to leave Lebanon now, what message would that send to those who foment instability and terrorism? If America were to walk away from Lebanon, what chance would there be for a negotiated settlement, producing a unified democratic Lebanon?

If we turned our backs on Lebanon now, what would be the future of Israel? At stake is the fate of only the second Arab Country to negotiate a major agreement with Israel.

> Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada

The Oval Office 10/27/83

The bloodshed we have witnessed in Lebanon over the last several days only demonstrates once again the lengths to which the forces of violence and intimidation are prepared to go to prevent a peaceful reconciliation process from taking place. If a moderate government is overthrown because it had the courage to turn in the direction of peace, what hope can there be that other moderates in the region will risk committing themselves to a similar course? Yielding to violence and terrorism today may seem to provide temporary relief, but such a course is sure to lead to a more dangerous and less manageable future crisis.

Statement by the President

2/7/84

LIBERALS

Now, some of you who go back with me to that campaign in 1964 can remember how easily the liberals dismissed our warnings then about the dangers of deficit spending -- we were told it would bring prosperity. Others of you know how passionately the liberals believed in the use of high and punitive tax rates to redistribute income. And, finally, all of us can remember how liberals found in the post-Vietnam syndrome a form of religious exercise, a kind of spiritual ecstasy, however much that syndrome paralyzed American foreign policy and jeopardized freedom.

Remarks at Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

Washington, DC

1/30/86

And as for defense, let me assure you the liberals haven't changed a bit; they're still looking at America's defense budget with lust in their hearts. (Laughter) A lust to strip it bare and use the funds for more of their social experiments.

IBID

I don't have to tell any of you about far left ideology and the power that it once wielded here -- an ideology that automatically identified anyone wearing fatigues, carrying a rifle, and spouting marxist slogans as a liberator of his nation -- an ideology that permitted many liberals to practice selective indignation to hold to a double standard for certain dictators -- to judge these dictators, no matter how repressive or cruel, less harshly because they called themselves socialists, marxists, or communists. But as I say, I think all this is fading now and realism is returning.

Remarks to Groups Supporting the President's Central American Policies

Washington, DC

3/10/86

LIBERALS (con't)

Liberals called on government to play an ever-increasing role in the lives of our people. They relied on central planning, regulations, and bureaucracy. Is there any doubt about why our country in the late 1970's seemed to be humming along with all the efficiency of a Bulgarian shoe factory? (Laughter)

> Remarks at a Dinner for the Congressional Leadership

Washington, DC 3/10/86

Our opponents are putting together a campaign that is subtle and clever. The American people understand what liberalism means and don't like it. So, our opponents plan to go to the voters incognito. They're putting on political trench coats and sunglasses -- (laughter) -- and will never, even in the lowest whisper, mumble the "L" word again. (Laughter)

> Remarks at a White House Briefing for Conservative Political Leaders

Washington, DC

7/5/88

The liberal view is suspicious of free markets and private enterprise. It holds that it's the job of government to intervene in the economy, and to intervene constantly -taxing, regulating, spending more and more of your dollars. And, yes, it's this liberal view that nearly wrecked our economy the last time the Domocrats were in charge.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

7/16/88

LIBERALS (con't)

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

> Remarks to Reagan Administration Political Appointees

Washington, DC 8/12/88

When the liberals say "family," they mean "Big Brother in Washington." (Laughter) When we say "family" we mean honor "thy father and mother."

Remarks at a Republican Party Rally

Waco, Texas

9/22/88

By providing material support to terrorists groups which attack U.S. citizens, Libya has engaged in armed aggression against the U.S. under established principles of international law, just as if it had used its own armed forces. We have urged repeatedly that the world community act decisively and in concert to exact from Qadhafi a high price for his support and encouragement of terrorism . . . Terrorists, and those who harbor them, must be denied sympathy, safe haven, and support.

Text of a Statement by the President

1/7/86

LIBYAN RAID

I have no illusion that tonight's action will ring down the curtain on Qadhafi's region of terror. But this mission, violent though it was, can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women. We will persevere.

> Address to the Nation (regarding U.S. Air Strike Against Libya)

The Oval Office

4/14/86

We Americans are slow to anger. We always seek peaceful avenues before resorting to the use of force -- and we did. We tried quiet diplomacy, public condemnation, economic sanctions, and demonstrations of military force. None succeeded. Despite our repeated warnings, Qadhafi continued his reckless policy of intimidation, his relentless pursuit of terror. He counted on America to be passive. He counted wrong.

TBID

The United States is slow to anger, and we use force only as a last resort. We tried quiet diplomacy. We tried public condemnation. We tried economic sanctions. And, yes, we tried a show of military might. but Qadhafi intensified his terrorist war, sending his agents around the world to murder and maim innocents. He mistook our love of peace for passivity, and restraint for lack of resolve. He mistook our traditional respect for law and for the human rights that are safeguarded by law for a lack of will to defend against lawlessness. We hope Mr. Qadhafi will not mistake us again.

> Remarks at a White House Ceremony Commemorating Law Day U.S.A.

Washington, DC 4/16/86

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Martin Luther King, Jr., showed us how much good a single life, well-led, can accomplish. His death proved how much harm a single hand intent on evil can inflict. Let each of us honor his memory by pledging in our own lives to do everything we can to make America a place where his dream of freedom and brotherhood will grow and flourish from sea to shining sea.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

1/15/83

Martin Luther King, Jr., burned with the gospel of freedom, and that flame in his heart lit the way for millions. What he accomplished -- not just for black Americans, but for all Americans -- he lifted a heavy burden from this country. As surely as black Americans were scarred by the yoke of slavery, America was scarred by injustice. Many Americans didn't fully realize how heavy America's burden was until it was lifted. Dr. King did that for us, all of us. Abraham Lincoln freed the black man. In many ways Dr. King freed the white man.

Remarks at a Reception in Honor of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday

The East Room

1/15/83

He was a great man who wrested justice from the heart of a great country, and he succeeded because that great country had a heart to be seized.

Remarks to Students and Faculty of Martin Luther King, Jr. Elementary School on the Birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Washington, DC

1/15/86

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (con't)

Martin Luther King's words were eloquent because they were borne not by his tongue alone but by his very being; not by his being alone but by the beings of every one of his fellow black Americans who felt the lash and the sting of bigotry; and not by the living alone but by every generation that had gone before him in the chains of slavery or separation. He brought light to the victims of segregation, but he brought light as well -- in a way, illumined by faith, more sorely needed -- to its perpetrators.

Martin Luther King, Jr., Day, 1988 Proclamation

1/12/88

Cooperation and respect between the United States and Mexico will do much in our efforts to promote peace and improve the standard of living of our people. As adversaries, our horizons would be limited. As friends, equal in each other's eyes and drawing from each other's strength, a universe of opportunity awaits.

> Remarks at Arrival Ceremony for President De La Madrid of Mexico

The South Lawn

5/15/84

The goodwill between us goes far beyond the transitory issues of the day. Our people recognize that issues, even those that seem important at the moment, will someday pass from the scene. What will not change are the many gifts and mandates given to us by God that serve as the basis of our societies. I can't believe that the Lord brought us to this level of political, social, and economic development, that he located us -- the Mexican and American people -- in such proximity, and did not intend us to be friends.

> Remarks in an Exchange of Toast with President de la Madrid of Mexico

State Dining Room 5/15/84

MIDDLE EAST

Tragic turmoil in the Middle East runs back to the dawn of history. In our modern day, conflict after conflict has taken its brutal toll there. In an age of nuclear challenge and economic interdependence, such conflicts are a threat to all the people of the world, not just the Middle East itself. It is a time for us all -- in the Middle East and around the world -- to call a half to conflict, hatred and prejudice; it is a time for us all to launch a common effort for reconstruction, peace and progress.

Address to the Nation

Burbank, CA

9/1/82

Our involvement in the search for Mideast peace is not a matter of preference; it's a moral imperative. The strategic importance of the region to the United States is well known, but our policy is motivated by more than strategic interests. We also have an irreversible commitment to the survival and territorial integrity of friendly states. Nor can we ignore the fact that the well-being of much of the world's economy is tied to stability in the strife-torn Middle East. Finally, our traditional humanitarian concerns dictated a continuing effort to peacefully resolve conflicts.

IBID

Can the United States or the free world stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc? What of Western Europe and Japan's dependence on Middle East oil for the energy to fuel their industry? Do we remember the oil embargo and the lines at our own gas stations? And didn't we assume a moral obligation to the continued existence of Israel as a nation back in 1948? I've never heard anyone in this country ever suggest that we should abandon that obligation.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David, MD

10/8/83

MIDDLE EAST (con't)

(E) very President who has occupied this office in recent years has recognized that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern to our nation and, indeed, to our allies in Western Europe and Japan. We've been concerned because the Middle East is a powderkeg; four times in the last 30 years, the Arabs and Israelis have gone to war. And each time, the world has teetered near the edge of catastrophe.

Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada

The Oval Office

10/27/83

MINORITIES

My administration will root out any case of government discrimination against minorities and uphold and enforce the laws that protect them. I emphasize that we will not retret on the nation's commitment to equal treatment of all citizens. Now, that, in my view, is the primary responsibility of National Government.

> Remarks at the Annual Convention of the NAACP

Denver, CO

6/29/81

This Government will meet its responsibility to help those in need. But policies that increase dependency, break up families, and destroy self-respect are not progressive, they are reactionary. Despite our strides in civil rights, blacks, hispanics, and all minorities will not have full and equal power until they have full economic power.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 2/6/85

The truth is, quotas deny jobs to many who would have gotten them otherwise, but who weren't born a specified race or sex. That's discrimination pure and simple and is exactly what the civil rights laws were designed to stop. Quotas also cast and shadow the real achievements of minorities, which makes quotas a double tragedy.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

6/15/85

MINORITIES (con't)

If there's any lesson now being learned, it is that there is a relationship between human freedom and the progress of man. The discrimination and prohibitions suffered by minorities in this country were undoubtedly some of the greatest impediments to the forward thrust of our nation.

Remarks at the Tuskegee University
Commencement Ceremony

Tuskeqee, AL

5/10/87

The truth is, our economic expansion has done more for minorities than any big spending program could ever hope to accomplish. Indeed, one economic observer has written that, and I'll quote, "On every front, jobs, income, every household wealth -- the years 1981 to 1986 represent the best five years in black history." Well, I listened to those speeches and I couldn't help thinking that this is what the difference between (the Democrats and) us comes down to -- they talk and we deliver.

Remarks before Meeting with Republican Congressional Leaders

The Cabinet Room

7/26/88

MISCELLANEOUS

I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing.

Inaugural Address

Washington, DC

1/20/81

We live today in a time of climactic struggle for the human spirit, a time that will tell whether the great civilized ideas of individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God will perish or endure.

> Remarks at Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

Washington, DC

2/26/82

We passed thousands and thousands of laws in our two centuries as a nation -- millions, maybe -- and yet if we simply adhere to the Ten Commandments that Moses brought down from the mountains -- and he didn't just bring down 10 suggestions -and the admonition of the Man from Galilee to do unto others as you would have them do unto you, we could solve an awful lot of problems with a lot less government.

> Remarks at the Alfred M. Landon Lecture Series on Public Issues

Manhattan, KS

9/9/82

Let's begin at the beginning. God is the center of our lives; the human family stands at the center of society; and our greatest hope for the future is in the faces of our children.

> Remarks at the National Religious Broadcasters Association Annual Convention

Washington, DC 1/30/84

MISCELLANEOUS (con't)

In the political world, the cult of the state is dying; so, too, the romance of the intellectual with state power is over. Indeed, the excitement and energy of the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom, on the importance of transcendent and enduring values.

> Remarks to Students and Faculty at Eureka College

Eureka, IL

2/6/84

(W)e all need to believe in things that are bigger than us: to believe in the importance of religion and the central importance of the family; to believe there is a God to be worshiped and ideals to be honored; to believe in the principles upon which this nation was founded, and have pride, honest pride, in the success of those principles. These are things which, in the past few years have been renewed and reborn -- taken out and looked at again, considered again as a new thing, a helpful thing by which we live.

Remarks at a Reagan-Bush Rally

Cincinnati, OH

8/20/84

To move the world towards enduring love and brotherhood is the continuing vocation of the human soul.

> Address on the Observance of Martin Luther King, Jr., Day

(Taped in) The Roosevelt Room 1/15/88

When people tell me that I became President on January 20th, 1981, I feel I have to correct them. You don't become President of the United States. You are given temporary custody of an institution called the Presidency, which belongs to our people. Having temporary custody of this office has been for me a sacred trust and an honor beyond words or measure.

Remarks at the Republican National Convention

MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood is both a great responsibility and one of the most unique, rewarding, and pleasurable experiences life has to offer. Just as the family is the basis of a strong nation, so dedicated mothers are frequently the key to strong families. The quality and scope of their activities, as well as their overriding concern for the well-being of their families and the future of our country, inspire and strengthen us as individuals and as a Nation.

Mother's Day, 1984 Proclamation

4/3/84

There is no love like a mother's -- she who carries the child that God knits in the womb, she who nourishes and guides, she who teaches and inspires, she who gives of her heart and soul and self for the good and the happiness of her children and her family.

Mother's Day, 1987 Proclamation

4/28/87

MX MISSILE

The MX Peacekeeper missile and our program to develop a new, small, single-warhead missile are critical to our country's present and future safety. They will maintain state-of-the-art readiness against the Soviets' already modernized systems. They will also ensure stability and deterrence, making it clear that aggression by the Soviet Union would never pay. And they've an essential incentive for the Soviets to negotiate seriously for genuine arms reductions so that we can move to a more stable world in which the risk of war is reduced.

Remarks at the 65th Annual Convention of the American Legion

Seattle, Washington 8/23/83

Without Peacekeeper, the MX, the incentive for the Soviets to return to the negotiating table is greatly reduced. The Soviets hope that, once again, our modernization efforts will be curtailed. To falter now would only encourage the Soviet Union to ignore our arms control efforts.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session with Reporters on Foreign and Domestic Issues

The Briefing Room 5/14/84

The MX Peacekeeper missile has been part of the consensus and with good reason: Time and again, America exercised unilateral restraint, good will, and a sincere commitment to arms reductions. As a result, many of the missiles protecting our security at this very moment are older than the Air Force men and women taking care of them. They're missiles of the sixties, originally equipped with 1950's aerotechnology. It's sort of like a 1963 jalopy with some new parts. You know as well as I do that in many States automobiles that old will

MX MISSILE (con't)

soon qualify as antiques, but the Soviets don't deal in antiques. Their response was the same as it's always been: no restraint, just build, build and build.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

3/9/85

The Soviet leadership views the current debate on the MX as a key test of American resolve. If the Congress acts responsibly, our negotiators will have a chance to succeed, but if we don't have the courage to modernize our land-based strategic missile systems, the Soviets will have little reason to negotiate meaningful reductions. And why should they? We would be signaling to them that they can gain more through propaganda and stonewalling than through serious negotiations.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

3/9/85

Perhaps NASA's greatest gifts have been the moments of greatness that you've allowed all of us to share. All of us — whether we were schoolteachers, actors, government employees, farmers, factory hands, secretaries, or the crop on the beat — all of us were along on those early Mercury missions. We were part of the NASA team launching probes into deep space to chart the unknown, to photograph the rings of Saturn and the surface of Mars. We were there, and our hearts were filled with such pride when Neil Armstrong, an American, the first person to set foot on the Moon, said, "One small step for a man; one giant leap for mankind." And we saluted right along with him when he planted Old Glory in the lunar soil.

NASA's done so much to galvanize our spirit as a people, to reassure us of our greatness and of our potential.

Remarks at NASA's 25th Anniversary Celebration

National Air and Space Museum Washington, D.C. 10/19/83

It was 25 years ago when a 31-pound, cylinder-shaped satellite was launched -- Explorer One, the first American satellite. And later that year, NASA was formed to oversee our space efforts: to ensure our leadership in aerospace science, to enhance cooperation with other nations in the peaceful application of space technology, to expand human knowledge of the atmosphere and space, and to pursue the practical benefits gained from these activities in order to improve the lot of mankind.

Men and women of NASA: Well Done! Your accomplishments in these two and a half decades have already served your country and the people of this planet well. Today, we're reaping the returns that we've realized from our investment in space. And let me add, when the figures are put together we're not only getting our money's worth; our commitment to space has been one of the best investments we've ever made as a nation.

NASA (con't)

America has always been greatest when we dared to be great. We can reach for greatness again. We can follow our dreams to distant stars, living and working in space for peaceful, economic, and scientific gain. Tonight, I am directing NASA to develop a permanently manned space station and to do it within a decade.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 1/25/84

NATIONAL SECURITY

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

Inaugural Address

Washington, DC 1/20/81

You know, there was a time when our national security was based on a standing army here within our own borders and shore batteries of artillery along our coasts, and, of course, a navy to keep the sealanes open for the shipping of things necessary to our well-being. The world has changed. Today, our national security can be threatened in faraway places. It's up to all of us to be aware of the strategic importance of such places and to be able to identify them.

> Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada

The Oval Office 10/27/83

Our national security is no less vital than our citizens' personal security and was no less ill-managed in the last decade. Defense spending in real terms was permitted in the 1970's. Weapons systems were unilaterally canceled. The real pay of our military personnel dropped as inflation took off. The CIA was gutted, as longtime agents were let go. Those in charge seemed to be operating under the notion that a weaker America is a more secure America. Well, I don't buy that, and I don't think you do, either. Peace through strength is not a slogan; it is a fact of life.

But let's not kid ourselves, national security has a price tag. It's an expensive proposition, and it's been made even more so because we've been playing catchup -- making up for the irresponsibility of the past.

> Remarks at the Independence Insurance Agents of America Association's National Legislative Conference

Washington, D.C. 3/27/84

NATIONAL SECURITY (con't)

For 35 years the defense policy of the United States and her NATO allies has been based on one simple premise; We do not start wars; we maintain our conventional and strategic strength to deter aggression by convincing any potential aggressor that war could bring no benefit, only disaster. Deterrence has been and will remain the cornerstone of our national security policy to defend freedom and preserve peace.

Remarks at the Georgetown University Center for International and Strategic Studies National Leadership Forum

Washington, D.C.

4/6/84

I'm willing to consider more defense savings in noncritical areas, but I cannot compromise on the defense programs that are vital to our security.

The first responsibility of an American President is to see that this country is securely defended in a world in which trouble is, unfortunately, not the exception but the rule. All the great leaders of our time, from Winston Churchill to John Kennedy, have understood that to maintain the peace we must maintain our strength. If we don't, our adversaries will be inspired to wild action by our weakness.

Remarks to the Students and Faculty of St. John's University

3/28/85

If our country's not secure, nothing else has any meaning. Today, we as a nation face a challenge to our south. If we have the courage to do what is right, we can avoid a crises. Inaction and lack of resolve are not the answer.

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senator Mack Mattingly

Atlanta, GA

6/5/85

NATIONAL SECURITY (con't)

Today, your work continues not only to prevent conflict but to fight terrorism, protect our security from hostile intelligence threats, guard the men and women of our Armed Forces around the world, and generally protect the values that we, our friends, and our allies hold dear. Without the product of your painstaking and dedicated efforts, we would, in a dangerous world, be blind and deaf. Without your long hours of selfless duty, often in far and forgotten corners of the world, we could neither protect America nor advance the cause of freedom. Without your success in guarding our vital communications, information and technology, our adversaries would rob us of the secrets we need to be strong and secure.

Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the New National Security Agency Facilities

Fort Meade, MD

9/26/86

When it comes to America's national security, politics must stop at the water's edge. America must remain united in spirit and strong in purpose. We must resist together the threat to our security and freedom posed by an aggressive, Soviet-sponsored regime on the American mainland.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

11/15/86

(0) ur allies remain united in a common effort to strengthen both deterrence and the prospect for arms reduction through negotiations. They recognize the dangers to allied unity of Soviet propaganda and thinly veiled threats -- at causing NATO to abandon its dual-track decision to modernize and negotiate. If we lack the will to provide a credible deterrent, then we could look forward to ever more aggressive Soviet behavior in the future. Because NATO understands this, NATO will persevere.

Remarks at the 65th Annual Convention of the American Legion

Seattle, WA 8/23/83

The United States would consider an attack on its NATO Allies as an attack on itself. This is a commitment which is enshrined in the North Atlantic Treaty. It is a commitment which the United States has reiterated many times and enjoys broad support in the U.S. Congress and among the American people.

Response to Questions Submitted by <u>Le Figaro</u>
Magazine

1/7/84

For us, our NATO partnership is an anchor, a fixed point in a turbulent world. And it's our sincere hope that the Soviet Union will soon come to understand the profound desire for peace which inspires us. And I hope that the Soviet leadership will finally realize it is pointless to continue its efforts to divide the Alliance. We will not be split. We will not be intimidated. The West will defend democracy and individual liberty. And the West will protect the peace.

Remarks Following a Meeting with the NATO Foreign Ministers

The Rose Garden 5/31/84

NATO (con't)

A strong NATO is no threat to the Soviet Union. NATO is the world's greatest peace movement. It never threatens; it defends.

Radio Address to the Nation (broadcast from) County Mayo, Ireland

6/2/84

NATO was a triumph of organization and effort, but it was also something very new and very different. For NATO derived its strength directly from the moral values of the people it represented, from their high ideals, their love of liberty, and their commitment to peace.

Address to a Special Session of the European Parliament

Strasbourg, France 5/8/85

NATO's strategy for peace has always been simple: Prevent aggression before it starts. Be strong enough, be determined enough so that no adversary would think even for a moment that war might pay.

Address to Western Europe

The White House 2/23/88

The United States remains steadfastly committed to the NATO strategy of flexible response, and we in the United States will do our part to ensure that NATO maintains all the modern forces, both conventional and nuclear, needed to uphold that

NATO (con't)

strategy. After all, our goal is not a nuclear-free or a tank-free, or an army-free Europe but a war-free Europe. A war-free Europe is what we have today; a war-free Europe is what we want to preserve.

IBID

So long as the difference between East and West is the difference between oppression and freedom; so long as Europeans in the East cannot worship and speak freely; so long as gigantic armies are poised in Eastern Europe, facing west, training to attack first -- just as NATO's troops are trained only to defend when attacked; so long as this is the state of our world. NATO's strategy and reason for being must remain to stop aggression before it happens.

IBID

NICARAGUA

The only Caribbean nation which has totally enveloped itself in Marxism, a philosophy alien to this hemisphere, suffers economic deprivation and political repression. Its citizens flee by the thousands at every opportunity, even risking death in the process. The expansion of state control is not the road to progress; it's the road to serfdom. And for every serf, there is a master. Failing miserably to develop its own economy, the Marxist model in this hemisphere has become totally dependent on a dole handed out by a faraway, totalitarian power. the strings attached to that subsidy make a mockery of national independence.

Toasts at a Working Dinner

Kingston, Jamaica

4/7/82

The government of Nicaragua has imposed a new dictatorship. It has refused to hold the elections it promised. It has seized control of most media and subjects all media to heavy prior censorship. It denied the bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church the right to say Mass on radio during Holy Week. It insulted and mocked the Pope. It has driven the Miskito Indians from their homelands -- burning their villages, destroying their crops, and forcing them into involuntary internment camps far from home. It has moved against the private sector and free labor unions. mob action against Nicaraqua's independent human rights commission and drove the director of that commission into exile.

> Remarks in an Address to a Joint Session of Congress

Washington, DC 4/27/83

NICARAGUA (con't)

There are those who say America's attempt to encourage freedom in Nicaragua interferes with the right of self-determination of the Nicaraguan people. Self-determination, you wonder what the ghosts of the Miskito Indians would say to that. You wonder what the journalists who cannot print the truth and the political prisoners who cannot speak it would say about self-determination and the Sandinistas. I think they would say that when a small communist clique seizes a country there is not self-determination, and no chance of it.

Remarks at Dinner for Nicaraguan Refugee Fund
Washington, DC 4/16/85

Nicaragua today is an imprisoned nation. It is a nation condemned to unrelenting cruelty by a clique of very cruel men -- by a dictator in designer glasses and his comrades, drunk with power and all its brutal applications. They stripped the Nicaraguan people of their rights by a state decree (several months ago), yet that decree only made official, and by their reckoning permissible, the theft of liberty that took place years ago.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

12/14/85

Defeat for the contras would mean a second Cuba on the mainland of North America. It'd be a major defeat in the quest for democracy in our hemisphere, and it would mean consolidation of a privileged sanctuary for terrorists and subversives just 2 days driving time from Harlingen, Texas.

Remarks at a White House Meeting with Private Sector Supporters of Aid to the Contras

The Cabinet Room

3/3/86

NICARAGUA (con't)

The facts are clear, and the facts are compelling. The days of pretending Nicaragua is some aggrieved, misunderstood country, an innocent lamb of peace wishing only to live in harmony with its people and neighbors, have long passed. Nicaragua is a country held captive by a cruel clique of deeply committed Communists at war with God and man from their very first days.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David, MD

3/8/86

Of all the nations in Central America, only Nicaragua suspends all civil rights; only Nicaragua suppresses political parties and refuses any dialog with its opponents; only Nicaragua murders political dissenters and indoctrinates children with class hatred; only Nicaragua persecutes the Catholic Church, humiliates its Cardinal and the Pope, and tortures believers of other religions, from Mormons to Evangelicals to Miskito Indians. Above all, only Nicaragua has become a wedge of aggression that intimidates and undermines its neighbors.

IBID

History will know what we did, and it will know what we didn't do. And history will judge.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Private Sector Supporters

Washington, DC

3/14/86

NICARAGUA (con't)

The Sandinistas will widen and deepen another port while we debate: Is it for commercial vessels or Soviet submarines? The Sandinistas will complete another airstrip while we argue: Is it for 707's or backfire bombers? A Soviet training brigade will come to Nicaragua. Half will leave and half will stay. And we will debate: Are they soldiers or engineers?

Eventually, we Americans have to stop arguing among ourselves. We will have to confront the reality of a Soviet military beachhead inside our defense perimeters, about 500 miles from Mexico.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

6/24/86

The United States will support any negotiated settlement or Contadora treaty that will bring real democracy to Nicaragua. What we will not support is a paper agreement that sells out the Nicaraguan peoples' right to be free. That kind of agreement would be unworthy of us as a people; and it would be a false bargain, for internal freedom in Nicaragua and the security of Central America are indivisible. A free and democratic Nicaragua will pose no threat to its neighbors or to the United States. A Communist Nicaragua, allied with the Soviet Union, is a permanent threat to us all.

IBID

In recent weeks, the Communist regime in Nicaragua -- the regime the freedom fighters are opposing -- has stalled the Arias peace plan, expelled the American Ambassador to Nicaragua, shut down the independent press, and brutally suppressed a peaceful protest. Regarding Nicaragua, the leadership of the other party advocates policies of disengagement and unconcern, policies that would surely permit the Communists to consolidate their power. Indeed, they would permit a Communist lock on a nation right there in our own hemisphere.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

8/13/88

NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUES

Many have been attracted to the idea of a nuclear freeze. That would be fine if we were equal in strategic capability. We're not. We cannot accept an agreement which perpetuates current disparities.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

4/17/82

Today, I know there are a great many people who are pointing to the unimaginable horror of nuclear war. I welcome that concern. Those who've governed America throughout the nuclear age and we who govern it today have had to recognize that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

IBID

(W)e will never compromise our principles an standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And we will never stop searching for a genuine peace. But we can assure none of these things America stands for through the so-called nuclear freeze solutions proposed by some.

The truth is that a freeze now would be a very dangerous fraud, for that is merely the illusion of peace. The reality is that we must find peace through strength.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals

Orlando, FL

3/8/83

NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUES (con't)

A freeze would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. It would prevent the essential and long overdue modernization of United States and allied defenses and would leave our aging forces increasingly vulnerable. And an honest freeze would require extensive prior negotiations on the systems and numbers to be limited and on the measures to ensure effective verification and compliance. And the kind of a freeze that has been suggested would be virtually impossible to verify. Such a major effort would divert us completely from our current negotiations on achieving substantial reductions.

IBID

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.

IBID

(I) have no higher priority than reducing and ultimately removing the threat of nuclear war and seeking the stability necessary for true peace. To achieve that objective, we must reduce the nuclear arsenals of both the United States and the Soviet Union. We must achieve greater stability; that is, we must be sure that we obtain genuine arms reductions, not merely agreements that permit a growth in nuclear arsenals or agreements that proclaim good intentions without the teeth necessary to verify and enforce compliance.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

7/16/83

NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUES (con't)

The United States has already reduced the number of its nuclear weapons worldwide, and, while replacement of older weapons is unavoidable, we wish to negotiate arms reductions and to achieve significant, equitable, verifiable arms control agreements. And let me add, we must ensure that world security is not undermined by the further spread of nuclear weapons. Nuclear nonproliferation must not be the forgotten element of the world's arms control agenda.

Address Before the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, NY

9/26/83

People of the Soviet Union, there is only one sane policy, for your country and mine, to preserve our civilization in this modern age: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The only value in our two nations possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they will never be used. But then would it not be better to do away with them entirely?

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

1/25/84

(W)e come to one of those unique crossroads of history where nations decide their fate. Our choices are clear. We can hold firm to our policies of modernizing to maintain our deterrent strength that has preserved the peace for 40 years or we can shrink from the challenge by offering a host of excuses. We can strengthen the hand of our negotiators in Geneva to achieve deep, equitable, and verifiable reductions or, by unilaterally reducing our forces, we can make a mockery of the only process that leads us toward meaningful arms control.

Message to the Congress Regarding the Strategic Modernization Program

NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUES (con't)

Nations don't distrust each other because they're armed; they're armed because they distrust each other.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Political Activists

Washington, D.C. 6/29/87

For you see, the basic differences between East and West have nothing to do with the level of arms. We do not distrust each other because we're armed' we're armed because we distrust each other. It's a question of values, of beliefs, of moral principles.

Address to Western Europe

The White House 2/23/88

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

In the commitment to freedom and independence, the peoples of this hemisphere are one. In this profound sense, we are all Americans. Our principles are noted in self-government and nonintervention. We believe in the rule of law. We know that a nation cannot be liberated by depriving its people of liberty. We know that a state cannot be free when its independence is subordinated to a foreign power. And we know that a government cannot be democratic if it refuses to take the test of a free election.

Remarks to the Organization of American States
Washington, DC 2/24/82

We, the peoples of the Americas, have much more in common than geographical proximity. For over four hundred years, our peoples have shared the dangers and dreams of building a new world. From colonialism to nationhood, our common guest has been fro freedom. Most of our forebears came to this hemisphere seeking a better life for themselves; they came in search of opportunities and, yes, in search of God.

IBID

OLDER AMERICANS

Yes, our generation has made mistakes and possibly fallen short at times. But we need apologize to no one. Only a few times in history is a single generation called upon to reside over a great period of transition, and our generation, yours and mine, has been one of those rare generations. We have gone literally, in our lifetime, from the horse and buggy to journeys to the moon. We have known four wars and a great

worldwide depression in our lifetime. We have fought harder and paid a higher price for freedom and done more to advance the dignity of man than any people who ever lived.

Remarks at the 1981 White House Conference on Aging

Washington, DC

12/1/81

As we have come to appreciate the reservoir of experience and depth of knowledge possessed by our older citizens, we must recognize the importance of continuing to draw on them. Older Americans have much to give, both through employment and volunteer work. In paying homage to the contributions and continued potential of older Americans, we also recognize there are those among them who require assistance from others to enhance the quality of their golden years.

Older Americans Month, 1982 Proclamation

4/2/82

OLDER AMERICANS (con't)

One of the great challenges of our time is to improve the quality of life for all Americans and especially our older citizens. The folks who've paid their dues, who kept the world going during the tough years of the thirties and the Depression, and the forties and the war, and the fifties and sixties and seventies, and beyond — all of you have earned the right to sit back and take it easy and let the world take care of itself. But you don't. You're in there swinging. You're contributing to things that no one else could. You're our most valuable asset, and I'm proud to be one of you. I'm proud we're still in their slugging together.

Remarks to Chapter Presidents of the Catholic Golden Age Association 8/31/84

For all they have achieved throughout life and for all they continue to accomplish, we owe older citizens our thanks and a heartfelt salute. We can best demonstrate our gratitude and esteem by making sure that our communities are good places in which to mature and grow older -- places in which older people can participate to the fullest and can find the encouragement, acceptance, assistance, and services they need to continue to lead lives of independence and dignity.

National Senior Citizens Day, 1988 Proclamation 8/19/88

PALESTINE

In our discussions today, we also reaffirmed the urgent need for a just and lasting resolution of the Palestinian problem. The United States will continue to work actively in the pursuit of a comprehensive peace that would realize the

legitimate political aspirations of Palestinians while safeguarding the legitimate security concerns of Israel. None of us can afford diplomatic stalemate, from which only extremists on all sides will benefit.

Remarks Following Discussions with the Prime Minister of Kuwait

The East Room

7/12/88

PEACE

Peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with conflict by peaceful means. I believe we can cope. I believe that the West can fashion a realistic, durable policy that will protect our interests and keep the peace, not just for this generation, but for your children and grandchildren.

I believe such a policy consists of five points: military balance, economic security, regional stability, arms reduction, and dialogue. These are the means by which we can seek peace with the Soviet Union in the years ahead.

Remarks at Eureka College Commencement Ceremony

Eureka, IL

5/9/82

I've heard the history of the famous cathedral of Cologne -how those beautiful soaring spires miraculously survived the
destruction all around them, including part of the church
itself.

Let us build a cathedral as the people of Cologne built theirs -- with the deepest commitment and determination. Let us build as they did -- not just for ourselves but for the generations beyond. For if we construct our peace properly, it will endure as long as the spires of Cologne.

Address Before the Bundestag

Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany 6/9/82

The bedrock of our strength is America's moral and spiritual character. Peace with freedom is the highest aspiration of the American people. We negotiate for peace. We sacrifice for it. We will never surrender for it.

Remarks at the Congressional Medal of Honor Society's Annual Convention

New York, NY

12/12/83

PEACE (con't)

Peace is our highest aspiration. A lasting peace must be anchored by courage, realism, and unity. We must go beyond the control of nuclear weapons to actual reductions. And my dream is to see a day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the Earth all together. We remain flexible in our bargaining. I've repeatedly stressed this to the Soviets, and we're beginning to see some positive signs. But I must make one thing plain: As Commander in Chief, I have an obligation to protect this country, and I will never allow political expediency to influence these crucial negotiations.

Remarks at an Iowa Caucus Kickoff Rally Waterloo, IA 2/20/84

In the coming campaign, Republicans should have no hesitation about bringing the issue of peace and security to the American people. There are many patriotic Democrats who will join us in supporting our efforts t rebuild our country's defenses, and we must reach out to them. They know that wearing love beads and touting our sincerity will not make for a safer world. Peace through strength is not a slogan, it's a fact of life. Four wars in my lifetime and none of them came about because the United States was too strong.

Remarks to the "Salute to Victory" Dinner
New York, NY 3/6/84

This is my deepest commitment, to achieve stable peace, not just by being prepared to deter aggression, but also by assuring economic strength helps to lead the way to greater stability through growth and human progress — being prepared with the strength of our commitment to pursue all possible avenues for arms reduction; and being prepared with the greatest strength of all, the spiritual strength and self-confidence that enables us to reach out to our adversaries.

PEACE (con't)

also clay. Common sense can tell the difference between right and wrong. Common sense forgives error, but it always recognizes it to be error first.

Remarks at a Veterans Day Wreath-Laying Ceremony

Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, VA 11/11/85

All through history, it has been the dictatorships and the tyrannies that have surrendered first to the cult of militarism and the pursuit of war. Countries based on the consent of the governed, countries that recognize the inalienable rights of the individual, do not make war on each other. Peace is more than just the absence of war. True peace is justice, true peace is freedom. And true peace dictates the recognition of human rights.

Remarks to the 41st General Assembly of the United Nations

New York, NY

9/22/86

Peace is not simply an absence of war, it's the presence of justice. Human rights, human freedom are its indispensable elements.

Remarks in Meeting with Human Rights Leaders

The Cabinet Room

10/7/86

PEACE (con't)

To them, and to all of you who have always been our dear and trusted friends, I tell you today from my heart, America is prepared for peace. (Applause)

> Remarks to a Joint Session of the National Parliament of Ireland

Dublin, Ireland

6/4/84

Well, (my opponents) seem to think that they have a similar answer to warfare that if we just lay down our weapons and stand back empty handed that somehow peace will come to the world. They haven't stopped to figure it might be the peace of the grave.

> Remarks in Question and Answer Session with the Press

London, England 6/10/84

Strength is a condition that declares actions have consequences. Strength is a prudent warning to the belligerent that aggression need not go unanswered. fails when we forget what we stand for. It fails when we forget that our Republic is based on firm principles, principles that have real meaning, that with them, we are the last, best hope of man on Earth; without them, we're little more than the crust of a continent.

Peace also fails when we forget to bring to the bargaining table God's first intellectual gift to man: common sense. Common sense gives us a realistic knowledge of human beings and how they think, how they live in the world, what motivates them. Common sense tells us that man has magic in him, but

PERSIAN GULF

Peace is at stake here, and so too is our own nation's security and our freedom. Were a hostile power ever to dominate this strategic region and its resources, it would become a chokepoint for freedom — that of our allies and our own. And that's why we maintain a naval presence there. Our aim is to prevent, not to provoke, wider conflict, to save the many lives that further conflict would cost us.

Remarks at the Memorial Service for Crewmembers of the U.S.S. Stark

Jacksonville, FL

5/22/87

Mark this point well: The use of the vital sea lanes of the Persian Gulf will not be dictated by the Iranians. These lanes will not be allowed to come under the control of the Soviet Union. The Persian Gulf will remain open to navigation by the nations of the world. Now, I will not permit the Middle East to become a choke point for freedom or a tinderbox of international conflict. Freedom of navigation is not an empty cliche of international law. It is essential to the health and safety of America and the strength of our alliance.

Remarks Outlining U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf
The Briefing Room 5/29/87

PERSONAL

After I heard and learned about all the series of miracles that intervened to save my life when I was shot three years ago, I decided whatever time I had left belonged to Someone Else.

Interview with "Family Weekly" Magazine

6/10/84

I have to conclude with one little story I've waited a long time to tell because I figured it had to be told in Iowa. In 1949, for the first time in my life, I found myself in England. I was making a movie over there. And on weekends, never having been there, I would hire a driver and car and go out and see the countryside. And I made it plain to the driver, too, that I wanted to see -- and don't think I have bad habits when I say this -- but I wanted to see some of those 700-year-old pubs that you hear about.

Well, I had a couple of people with me one weekend, and he took us. And he apologized because the pub was only 400 years (Laughter) So, we went into what we'd call it here is a old. mom and pop place. An elderly woman and her elderly husband, they were sole proprietors and hired-help together, altogether, just the two of them. And after a while and us talking among ourselves, she said to us, "You're Americans, aren't you?" I said, "Yes." "Oh," she says, "there were a great bunch of your chaps just down the road here during the They were based down there." and she said, "Every night they would come in here and have a songfest." And by this time, she's not looking at us, she's kind of looking beyond us into memory. And pretty soon, there's a tear there. and she said, "It was a Christmas Eve. And me and the old man were here all alone." She said, "They called me mom and they called him pop." She said, "We were alone and the door burst open and in they come. And they had presents for us." And then -- now the tears were very evident -- she said, "Big strapping lads, they was, from a place called Ioway." (Laughter)

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by WOC Radio and Quad-Cities Chamber of Commerce

Davenport, IA

7/14/88

(W) hat do you say about someone who gives your life meaning? What do you say about someone who's always there with support and understanding, someone who makes sacrifices so that your life will be easier and more successful? Well, what you say is that you love that person and treasure her. I simply can't imagine the last 8 years without Nancy. The Presidency wouldn't have been the joy it's been for me without her there beside me. And that second-floor living quarters in the White House would have seemed a big and lonely spot without her waiting for me every day at the end of the day.

Remarks at a Luncheon Honoring Mrs. Reagan at the Republican National Convention

New Orleans, LA

8/15/88

(W) hen I pack up my bags in Washington, don't expect me to be happy to hear all this talk about the twilight of my life.

Twilight? Twilight? Not in America. Here, it's a sunrise every day -- fresh new opportunities, dreams to build. Twilight? That's not possible, because I confess there are times when I feel like I'm still little Dutch Reagan racing my brother down the hill to the swimming hole under the railroad bridge over the Rock River. You see, there's no sweeter day than each new one, because here in our country, it means something wonderful can happen to you. And something wonderful happened to me.

Remarks at the Republican National Convention

New Orleans, LA 8/15/88

There's still a lot of brush to clear out at the ranch, fences that need repair, and horses to ride. But I want you to know that if the fires ever dim, I'll leave my phone number and address behind just in case you need a foot soldier. Just let me know, and I'll be there, as long as words don't leave me and as long as this sweet country strives to be special during its shining moment on Earth.

POLAND

The Polish nation, speaking through Solidarity, has provided one of the brightest, bravest moments of modern history. The people of Poland are giving us an imperishable example of courage and devotion to the values of freedom in the face of relentless opposition. Left to themselves, the Polish people would enjoy a new birth of freedom. But there are those who oppose the idea of freedom, who are intolerant of national independence, and hostile to the European values of democracy and the rule of law.

The President's News Conference

The East Room

12/17/81

There was hope that the people of Poland could develop a freer society. But the Soviet Union has refused to allow the people of Poland to decide their own fate, just as it refused to allow the people of Hungary to decide theirs in 1956, or the people of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

If martial law in Poland is lifted, if all the political prisoners are released, and if a dialogue is restored with the Solidarity Union, the United States is prepared to join in a program of economic support. Water cannons and clubs against the Polish people are hardly the kind of dialogue that gives us hopes. It is up to the Soviets and their client regimes to show good faith by concrete actions.

Remarks at Eureka College Commencement Ceremony

Eureka, IL

5/9/82

POLAND (con't)

In the center of Warsaw there is a sign that notes the distances to two capitals. In one direction it points toward Moscow. In the other it points toward Brussels, headquarters of Western Europe's tangible unity. The marker says that the distances from Warsaw to Moscow and Warsaw to Brussels are equal. The sign makes this point: Poland is not East or West. Poland is at the center of European civilization. It has contributed mightily to that civilization. It is doing so today by being magnificently unreconciled to oppression.

Remarks to the British Parliament

London, England

6/8/82

To the leaders of Solidarity, to the people of Poland, to all those who are denied freedom, we send a message today: Your cause is not lost. You are not forgotten. Your guest for freedom lives on in your hearts and in our hearts. God willing, we will see a day when we shall speak together of the joys of freedom and of the wheat that grows on stones.

Remarks on Signing Captive Nations Week, 1981 Proclamation

The Rose Garden

7/19/82

These days of light and hope are over and the cold night of repression has descended on Poland. But, despite the threats, the provocations and the imprisonments, the spirit of independence and resistance to tyranny, a spirit that has characterized the Polish people for more than a thousand years still burns brightly in Poland today. It is the fervent hope of the American people that that spirit will again, someday soon, enjoy full expression. It is the fervent hope of the American people that the Warsaw authorities will realize, and sooner rather than later, that continued repression can only prolong the political alienation and economic stagnation that characterizes Poland today.

Remarks at the Human Rights Signing Ceremony

The East Room

12/10/82

POLAND (con't)

There is only one way for the Polish government to gain the confidence and trust of its own people. And that is to end martial law, to release political prisoners, to restore freely formed trade unions, and to embark on a path of genuine, national reconciliation.

Remarks to Representatives of the Polish-American Community

Chicago, IL

6/23/83

If there's a lesson to be learned from the history books, it is that Poland may be beaten down, but it is never defeated. It may be forced into submission, but it will never give up. It may be pressured to acquiesce, but it will never accept foreign domination and the suppression of God-given freedom. After two decades of brutal foreign domination, we witnessed, just a short time ago, a resurrection of the indomitable spirit of the Polish people.

Remarks at a White House Luncheon Marking the Fortieth Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising

The State Dining Room 8/17/84

The most special characteristic of the Polish people, wherever they may be, has always been a loyal and courageous passion for faith and freedom. Poland's devotion shines so brightly through the centuries, in years of peace and in times of hardship, war, and occupation, and it inspires the people of free nations to a deeper appreciation of their liberty and the people of captive nations to a higher plane of hope.

Polish American Heritage Month, 1988 Proclamation

9/22/88

POVERTY

One of the accomplishments of which I am most proud is the turnaround that we've seen in poverty. When I campaigned here and throughout the country back in 1980, I said, and still firmly believe, the best cure for poverty is a strong and growing economy. The answer to helping those in need is not more welfare, government programs and dependency -- the answer is growth, jobs, and opportunity. (Applause)

Remarks to the Citizens of Concord
Concord, NH 9/18/85

Work means hope and prosperity will ultimately vanquish poverty.

Remarks at a Republican Party Fundraising Dinner Houston, TX 9/22/88

POW's - MIA's

(T)here is that one group that deserves our thanks most of all -- the real heroes in this: The fathers and mothers, the wives, the sons and daughters, and other relatives of our POW's and MIA's. They never gave up; they never stopped loving. And on behalf of every American, I want to promise each of them today, we mean to end your heartache and uncertainty; we will vigorously pursue the answers you seek and deserve. We will apply every resource we can to achieve the fullest possible accounting of your relatives still missing in Southeast Asia.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

6/19/86

All Americans, after all, have a common goal in this endeavor: Freedom for any prisoner who may still be held in Southeast Asia and justice for all of the families who have worked so long to resolve the fate of our POW's and MIA's in Vietnam. They were our loved ones and our fellow Americans; and they were, I'm certain time will tell, part of a noble cause and history's heroes.

IBID

In Southeast Asia, we will write no final chapters, we will close no books, until we have a return of all who may be alive, a fullest accounting of all those missing in action, and repatriation of the remains of those who died serving our nation. Like the Marines, America will not leave its men on the battlefield.

Remarks at the Anniversary of the Founding of the United States Marine Corps

The Rose Garden

11/10/86

POW's - MIA's (con't)

We also take inspiration from the courage of the families of those who remain missing or unaccounted for. The fortitude they display in the face of uncertainty is heroic, like the acts of those whose fates they seek to learn. We as a Nation will not rest in our efforts to secure the release of any U.S. personnel who may still be held against their will, to obtain the fullest possible accounting of those still missing, to repatriate all recoverable American remains, and to relieve the suffering of the families.

National POW-MIA Recognition Day, 1987 Proclamation

8/22/87

Those who want to close the door on the true history of the Vietnam war, to escape accountability and leave important questions unanswered — they would close the book on those Americans still missing. Well, this is more than a betrayal of the men. It's more than a breach of faith with their families and their loved ones. It's a denial of the truth. And to them I say: America cannot move forward by leaving her missing sons behind.

Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National League of POW/MIA Families

Washington, DC

7/29/88

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES

What we're asking you to do is to help rediscover America -not the America bound by the Potomac River, but the America
beyond the Potomac River, the America whose initiative
ingenuity, and industry made our country the envy of the
world, the America whose rich tradition of generosity began
with simple acts of neighbor caring for neighbor.

We're asking you to build on this heritage to encourage greater contributions of voluntary effort and personal involvement, to form a partnership between the private and public sector for the good of America. We want you to seek out models for private sector initiatives -- schools, churches, civic groups, businesses, unions, the foundations -- and give them the recognition that they deserve. Help us identify the obstacles government has placed in the way of private initiative and make recommendations to me for the removal of those obstacles and the introduction of needed incentives.

Remarks at a Luncheon Meeting With Members of the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives

The State Dining Room 12/2/81

Together we've begun to mobilize the private sector, not to duplicate wasteful and discredited government programs, but to bring thousands of Americans into a voluntary effort to help solve many of America's social problems.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 1/26/82

Our Private Sector Initiatives Task Force is seeking out successful community models of school, church, business, union, foundation, and civic programs that help community needs. Such groups are almost invariably far more efficient than government in running social programs.

PSI (con't)

Private sector initiatives are as basic as the American traditions of neighbor helping neighbor, as selfless as are millions of volunteers and as simple as a helping hand. But these private actions are part of a national movement that is sweeping across the country like a prairie fire. The American people have developed a new way of thinking about how to solve social and economic problems.

Remarks in Luncheon with Advisory Council on Private Sector Initiatives

State Dining Room

6/28/83

It seems that during the 1970's, people began looking at government not as the tool of last resort, but as the first and foremost solution to our problems. Paid government employees began to replace volunteers. Some people acted as if funding ever-expanding government programs with taxpayer dollars was an act of personal charity. Well, I've always thought that charity is what people decide to do with their own time and money by themselves.

IBID

The truth is, when we first came to office talking about private sector initiatives, there were a lot of skeptics out there. In those days people had been conditioned to always look to government first. But the funny thing was, the more they depended on government, the more disappointed they invariably became. To steal a phrase from the private sector, they were using it more, but enjoying it less.

Remarks at C-Flag Ceremony

The Rose Garden

6/18/86

PROTECTIONISM

Protectionism . . . costs consumers billions of dollars, damages the overall economy, and destroys jobs. Instead of closing down markets at home and throwing Americans out of work, we should be stepping up our efforts to open markets abroad and create American jobs by increasing exports.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

9/7/85

We do not seek an America that is closed to the world; we seek a world that is open to America. We do not dream of protecting America from others' success; we seek to include everyone in the success of the American dream.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

9/14/85

Short-term protectionist measures now ill undermine the chances of economic growth, not only in friendly countries, but here as well. Protecting an industry here by imposing trade restrictions will inevitably result in counter measures that will cost the jobs of Americans in other industries. Those who claim to be concerned about the American farmer, for example, should realize that protectionism is the greatest single threat to the well being of American agriculture.

Remarks to Fundraising Luncheon for Senator Gorton

Seattle, WA

12/2/85

PROTECTIONISM (con't)

You see, trade barriers and protectionism only put off the inevitable. Sooner or later, economic reality intrudes and industries protected by the government face a new and unexpected from of competition. It may be a better product, a more efficient manufacturing technique, or a new foreign or domestic competitor. By this time, of course, the protected industry is so listless and its competitive instincts so atrophied, that it can't stand up to the competition. And that, my friends, is when the factories shut down and the unemployment lines start.

Radio Address to the Nation

Rancho del Cielo, CA 6/28/86

I don't call it protectionism; I call it destructionism.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David 8/2/86

QADHAFI

Colonel Qadhafi is not only an enemy of the United States. His record of subversion and aggression against the neighboring States in Africa is well-documented and well-known. He has ordered the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries. He has sanctioned acts of terror in Africa, Europe and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere.

Address to the Nation (Regarding U.S. Air Strike Against Libya)

The Oval Office

4/14/86

(L) ibyans are ashamed and disgusted that this man has made their country a synonym for barbarism around the world. The Libyan people are a decent people caught in the grip of a tyrant.

IBID

Long before I came into this office, Colonel Qadhafi had engaged in acts of international terror, acts that put him outside the company of civilized men. For years, however, he suffered no economic or political or military sanction; and the atrocities mounted in number, as did the innocent dead and wounded.

IBID

RACISM

There is no room for racism, anti-Semitism or other forms of ethnic and racial hatred in this country.

I know you have been horrified, as have I, by the resurgence of some hate groups preaching bigotry and prejudice. Use the mighty voice of your pulpits and the powerful standing of your churches to denounce and isolate these hate groups in our midst. The commandment given us is clear and simple: "Thou shalt love they neighbor as thyself."

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals

Orlando, FL

3/8/83

REGULATORY REFORM

I always liked -- when I think about regulations, I always remember one of the favorite stories I had about bureaucracy long before I was here in Washington. And that was a fellow here in Washington that sat at a desk, and papers came to him, and he looked at them and decided where they should go, initialed them, and sent them on. And one day a classified document arrived at his desk. Well, he accepted it, saw where it should go, initialed it, sent it on. Twenty-four hours later, it came back to him. It said, "You weren't supposed to see this. Erase your initials and initial the erasure."

Remarks on Signing a Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Small Business

Washington, DC

3/19/84

This Administration understands that American life is burdened by too much regulation and that true regulatory reform must involve regulatory reduction. Today, more than 100 Federal agencies maintain thousands of regulations that have an enormous impact on how we live and what we do. Regulations tell us what is safe and what we can buy. Government regulates how we make, price, sell, transport, use, and discard the products of everyday American life.

This pervasive government power can be used for good or ill. And as regulation grew over the past 5 decades, government "red tape" became a great burden on our free enterprise system. Over the last 7-1/2 years, we have substantially reduced that burden, cutting red tape and slowing the pace of new regulation.

Message to the Congress Reporting on Regulatory Reform

9/15/88

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

A state is nothing more than a reflection of its citizens; the more decent the citizens, the more decent the state. If you practice a religion, whether you're Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or guided by some other faith, then your private life will be influenced by a sense of moral obligation, and so, too, will your public life. One affects the other. churches of America do not exist by the grace of the state; the churches of America are not mere citizens of the state. The churches of America exist apart; they have their own vantage point, their own authority. Religion is its own realm; it makes its own claims.

Remarks at an Ecumenical Prayer Breakfast

Dallas, TX

8/23/84

We establish no religion in this country, nor will we ever. We command no worship. We mandate no belief. But we poison our society when we remove its theological underpinnings. We court corruption when we leave it bereft of belief. All are free to believe or not believe; all are free to practice a faith or not. But those who believe must be free to speak of and act on their belief, to apply moral teaching to public questions.

Remarks at an Ecumenical Prayer Breakfast

Dallas, TX

8/23/84

Religion is one of the traditional values which deserves to be preserved and strengthened. We are and must remain a pluralistic society. When we speak of church and religion, we speak of them with a small "c" and a small "r," so as to include within the consitutional protection all churches and all religions. The unique thing about America is that every single American is free to choose and practice his or her own religion, or to choose no religion at all, and that right must not and shall not be questioned or violated by the state.

> Remarks at the 66th Annual Convention of The American Legion

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (con't)

You can judge any new government, any new regime, by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you can be sure it's an enemy of mankind, for it's attempting to ban what it most beautiful in the human heart.

Remarks to the Delegates to the Conference on Religious Liberty

Washington, DC

4/16/85

I believe that the most essential element of our defense of freedom is our insistence on speaking out for the cause of religious liberty. I would like to see this country rededicate itself whole-heartedly to this cause. I join you in your desire that the Protestant Churches of America, the Catholic Church and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries. We are our brothers keepers, all of us. And I hope the message will go forth from this conference: To prisoners of conscience throughout the world, take heart, you have not been forgotten. We, your brothers and sisters in God, have made your cause our cause. And we vow never to relent until you have regained the freedom that is your birthright as a child of God.

Remarks at Conference on Religious Liberty

Washington, DC

4/16/85

The history of the 20th century has too often been brutal and tragic, but it has taught us one lesson that should fill our hearts with hope and joy, for we have found that the more religion is oppressed, the greater the attempt to extinguish that life principle, that divine spark -- the more it glows. History is etched with stories of those who suffered religious persecution, yes, but it also tells of transcendence, devotion, and sanctity, even conversion.

Remarks at a White House Briefing on Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union

The East Room

REPUBLICAN PARTY

Let us remain united and true to the Republican vision of progress, a vision that begins with the people and their families, churches, synagogues, schools, and neighborhoods. We don't ask them to trust us. We say trust yourselves, trust the values that made us a good and loving people.

Remarks in Teleconference with Republican Northeast Regional Leadership

Diplomatic Reception Room 9/23/83

But (0)n this Earth, there's no such thing as inevitable. And the American people decided it was time to put a stop to that decline, time to give our country a rebirth of freedom and faith, time for a great national renewal. Well, we Republicans took office determined to make a new beginning. And today, America is back.

Remarks at the Annual Republican Senate/House Fundraising Dinner

Washington, DC

5/10/84

To those of you who are still Democrats -- and I know there must be many here -- and who might share my belief that government should not plunder more of our earnings, should not seize greater power over our lives, but should work to ensure the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society, then I extend an invitation to you, and to millions of others: Come where you will be welcome and appreciated.

Remarks at the Reagan-Bush Family Festival Rally

Austin, TX

7/25/84

And that leads me to something else that I believe with all my heart, because we represent all the people, because we represent an agenda of opportunity to benefit all people -- from excellence in education to developing new frontiers in space and high technology: The Republican Party is America's party of the future.

Remarks at a Reagan-Bush Welcoming Rally

Dallas, TX

8/22/84

We don't lump people by groups or special interests. And let me add, in the party of Lincoln, there is no room for intolerance and not even a small corner for anti-Semitism or bigotry of any kind. Many people are welcome in our house, but not the bigots.

Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the 1984 Republican National Convention

Dallas, TX

8/23/84

The vision we outlined in 1980, indeed the passion of the fire that we kept burning for two decades, doesn't die just because 4 years have passed. To each one of you I say: Tonight is the end of nothing; it's the beginning of everything.

Remarks at a Reelection Celebration

Los Angeles, CA

11/6/84

The great change that we began 4 years ago has been called the Reagan Revolution. Well, let me correct something. You know as well as I do, it was really the Republican Revolution, and all of you are its leaders. I truly believe that we're now the majority party not only of the Senate but of the Nation.

Remarks at the Senate Republican Unity Dinner

Library of Congress 11/28/84 Washington, DC

Now, we're not in power now because (the Democrats) failed to gain electoral support over the past 50 years. They did win support. And the result was chaos, weakness, and drift. Ultimately, though, their failures yielded one great thing -us guys. We in this room are not simply profiting from their bankruptcy; we are where we are because we're winning the contest of ideas. In fact, in the past decade, all of a sudden, quietly, mysteriously, the Republican Party has become the party of ideas.

We became the party of the most brilliant and dynamic young minds. I remember them, just a few years ago, running around scrawling Laffer curves on table napkins -- going to symposia and talking about how social programs did not eradicate poverty, but entrenched it; writing studies on why the latest weird and unnatural idea from the social engineers is weird and unnatural. You were there. They were your ideas, your symposia, your books, and usually somebody else's table napkins.

> Remarks at the Conservative Political Action Conference's 12th Annual Dinner

Washington, DC

3/1/85

We Republicans have not been entrusted with the White House and the Senate to make easy decisions but because the American people want us to wean our nation away from decades of growing dependency and political quick fixes. Together we can make the GOP the true majority party, the centerpiece for decades to come of a governing coalition based on liberty, limited government, and economic growth.

> Remarks at the Senate Republican Policy Committee Luncheon

Capitol Building 3/19/85

Nothing against my friends and colleagues in the other party, but at this time in our history it is the Republican Party that is the party of ideas, the party of the entrepreneur and the small businessman and businesswoman, the party of the poor and those who are struggling for a chance, and the party of a great and once almost forgotten part of America -- the great middle class of this country.

> Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato

New York, NY

4/18/86

(W) ithout that critical mass of Republicans in the Congress, all that we've accomplished in these last 5-1/2 years would never have been possible.

We slashed tax rates, yes. We cut back needless regulations, liberating the entrepreneurial genius of the American people and giving our nation one of the longest sustained periods of economic growth in postwar history. We began rebuilding our military, regaining the trust of our allies and the respect of our adversaries. And we stand proudly on our record. I wonder, can the other side say as much?

> Remarks at the Annual Republican Senate/House Fundraising Dinner

I'm convinced that in 1980 America faced one of those historic choices that comes to a nation only a few times in a century. We could continue our decline, perhaps comforting ourselves by calling it inevitable, or we could realize that there is no such thing as inevitable and choose instead to make a new beginning. Well, we made that new beginning.

> Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senator David K. Karnes of Nebraska

Washington, DC 7/11/88

So, let us go to the American people. Let us tell them of our vision, of the future we offer: a future of economic growth and opportunity and democratic revolution and peace among nations. And let us remind them, too, of America's destiny, of our great calling as a people. And let us take them to a place where they can see with us that hilltop just now being glimpsed through the dark, but dispersing clouds of 20th century tragedy. Let us help look from there upon that shining city we have seen and labored for and loved so long, a city aglow with the light of human freedom, a light that someday will cast its glow on every dark corner of the world and on every age and generation to come.

> Remarks at the Welcoming Rally at the Republican National Convention

New Orleans, LA 8/14/88

(I)t was our dream that together we could rescue America and make a new beginning, to create anew that shining city on a hill. The dream we shared was to reclaim our government, to transform it from one that was consuming our prosperity into one that would get out of the way of those who created prosperity. It was a dream of again making our nation strong enough to preserve world peace and freedom and to recapture our national destiny. We made a determination that our dream would not be built on a foundation of sand -- something called "Trust Me Government" -- but we would trust, instead, the American spirit.

Remarks at the Republican National Convention

New Orleans, LA

8/15/88

(I)t was our Republican party that gave me a political home. When I signed up for duty, I didn't have to check my principles at the door. And soon I found out that the desire for victory did not overcome our devotion to ideals.

IBID

When our children turn the pages of our lives, I hope they'll see that we had a vision to pass forward a nation as nearly perfect as we could, where there's decency, tolerance, generosity, honesty, courage, common sense, fairness, and piety.

IBID

SANDINISTAS

The Sandinista rule is a Communist reign of terror. Many of those who fought alongside the Sandinistas saw their revolution betrayed. They were denied power in the new government. Some were imprisoned, others exiled. Thousands who fought with the Sandinistas have taken up arms against them and are now called the contras. They are freedom fighters.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

5/9/84

The role that Cuba has long performed for the Soviet Union is now also being played by the Sandinistas. They have become Cuba's Cubans. Weapons, supplies, and funds are shipped from the Soviet bloc to Cuba, from Cuba to Nicaragua, from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran guerrillas.

IBID

The Sandinistas aren't democrats, but Communists; not lovers of freedom, but of power; not builders of a peaceful nation, but creators of a fortress Nicaragua that intends to export communism beyond its borders.

Radio Address to the Nation

Rancho del Cielo, CA 2/16/85

SANDINISTAS (con't)

(T)he Sandinistas became, as they had always planned, eager puppets for the Soviets and the Cubans. They created their own Karl Marx postage stamps. They sang an anthem that called the United States the enemy of all mankind. They brought in East Germans to organize their state security. They became a rubber stamp for the Communist bloc in the U.N., voting against the democracies on virtually every crucial issue, from refusing to condemn Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia to not accepting Israel's credentials.

Remarks at a White House Briefing with Central American Leaders

Washington, DC

3/25/85

The Sandinistas will come to the negotiating table only when they see the carrot of peaceful settlement backed up by the stick of a well-equipped armed opposition.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Private Sector Supporters

Washington, DC

3/14/86

Last weekend the leaders of the five Central American nations met to examine compliance with the Guatemala accord. There's no doubt as to their conclusion: The Sandinistas are the biggest obstacle to fulfillment of the plan and to peace and democracy in that region. While the four Central American democracies are in substantial compliance, the Sandinistas are nowhere near. Even the Sandinistas had to admit as much, issuing a separate declaration that outlined additional steps they felt compelled to announce so as to put their behavior in a better light.

Remarks to Civic Leaders at a White House Briefing on Aid to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance

The East Room

1/20/88

SANDINISTAS (con't)

(W) hen the Guatemala accord was signed we knew it would produce one of two things: either Sandinista compliance or Sandinista exposure. Well, it has succeeded; the Sandinistas have been exposed. After 9 long years under the Sandinista Communists -- in which Jews and Christians have been persecuted, business and labor oppressed, children indoctrinated, a nation militarized, a people abused, and a region subject to constant aggression -- the Sandinistas' deceit and violence and corruption have caught up with them. After 9 years of lies, broken promises, and noncompliance, the Sandinistas' mortgage is due.

Remarks to Media Executives

The Cabinet Room

8/3/88

SCHOOL PRAYER

I think you will agree with me -- we need a prayer amendment, and we need it badly. We are supposed to have freedom of religion. Nothing in the Constitution says freedom from religion.

Remarks at the Centennial Meeting of the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus

Hartford, CT

8/3/82

(T) oday we're told that to protect that first amendment, we must suppress prayer and expel God from our children's classrooms. In one case, a court has ruled against the right of children to say grace in their own school cafeteria before they had lunch. A group of children who sought, on their own initiative and with their parents' approval, to begin the schoolday with a 1-minute prayer meditation have been forbidden to do so. And some students who wanted to join in prayer or religious study on school property, even outside of regular class hours, have been banned from doing so.

A few people have even objected to prayers being said in the Congress. That's just plain wrong. The Constitution was never meant to prevent people from praying; its declared purpose was to protect their freedom to pray.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

9/18/82

When our Founding Fathers passed the First Amendment, they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never meant to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself.

The evidence of this permeates our history and our government. The Declaration of Independence mentions the Supreme Being no less than four times. "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage. The Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a religious invocation. And the members of Congress open their sessions with a prayer. I just happen to believe the schoolchildren of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court Justices and Congressmen.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals

Orlando, FL

SCHOOL PRAYER (con't)

Sometimes I can't help but feel the First Amendment is being turned on its head. Because ask yourselves: Can it really be true that the First Amendment can permit Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen to march on public prosperity, advocate the extermination of people of the Jewish faith and the subjugation of blacks, while the same amendment forbids our children from saying a prayer in school?

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

2/25/84

(N)o citizen need tremble, nor the world shudder, if a child stands in a classroom and breathes a prayer.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 2/6/85

Finally, let's stop suppressing the spiritual core of our national being. Our nation could not have been conceived without divine help. Why is it that we can build a nation with our prayers but we can't use a schoolroom for voluntary prayer? (Applause) The 100th Congress of the United States should be remembered as the one that ended the expulsion of God from America's classrooms. (Applause)

IBID

Through the SDI research program, I have called upon the great scientific talents of our country to turn to the cause of strengthening world peace by rendering ballistic missiles impotent and obsolete. In short, I propose to channel our technological prowess toward building a more secure and stable world. And I want to emphasize that in carrying out this research program, the U.S. seeks neither military superiority nor political advantage. Our only purpose is to search for ways to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

> From a Foreward Written for a Report on the SDI Initiative

> > 12/28/84

Some say it will bring war to the heavens, but its purpose is to deter war in the heavens and on Earth. Now, some say the research would be expensive. Perhaps, but it could save millions of lives, indeed humanity itself. And some say if we build such a system, the Soviets will build a defense system of their own. Well, they already have strategic defenses that surpass ours; a civil defense system, where we have almost none; and a research program covering roughly the same areas of technology we're exploring. And finally some say the research will take a long time. Well, the answer to that is: "Let's get started."

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 2/6/85

SDI has been criticized on the grounds that it might upset any chance of an arms control agreement with the Soviets. SDI is arms control. If SDI is, say, 80 percent effective, then it will make any Soviet attack folly. Even partial success in SDI would strengthen deterrence and keep the peace. And if our SDI research is successful, the prospects for real reduction in U.S. and Soviet offensive nuclear forces will be greatly enhanced.

> Remarks at the Conservative Political Action Conference's 12th Annual Dinner

Washington, DC

Our SDI research offers the hope that we can enhance U.S. and allied security through greater reliance on defenses which threaten no one, rather than on offensive nuclear weapons which could kill millions. What I'm speaking of is a balance of safety, as opposed to a balance of terror. This is not only morally preferable, but it may result in getting rid of nuclear weapons altogether. It would be irresponsible and dangerous on our part to deny this promise to the world.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

10/12/85

Over the longer term, if we find that strategic defenses are feasible, I believe that SDI will continue to command support because it holds out the promise of effective deterrence through defense, rather than through the threat of massive death and destruction. It will endure because it offers the hope of creating a safer, more stable world and of someday rendering nuclear weapons obsolete.

Response to Questions Submitted by Foreign Press 12/6/85

SDI is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. SDI is America's security guarantee if the Soviets should — as they have done too often in the past — fail to comply with their solemn commitments. SDI is what brought the Soviets back to arms control talks at Geneva and Iceland. SDI is the key to a world without nuclear weapons.

Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

10/13/86

Strategic defense is the key to making arms reduction work. It protects us against the possibility that at some point, when the elimination of ballistic missiles is not yet complete, that the Soviets may change their minds. confident that the Soviets understand our position. may try to see if they can make us back off our proposals, and I am convinced that they'll come back to the table and talk.

> Remarks at a White House Briefing for Network Journalists

The Roosevelt Room 10/14/86

SDI helped to bring the Soviets to the bargaining table, and it will keep them there. SDI will help assure compliance and implementation with eventual agreements, and it will provide a vital insurance policy for peace in a world without ballistic missiles. As I've said many times . . . no responsible President should rely solely on a piece of paper for our country's safety. We know the record on Soviet treaty violations. We can either have American technology as insurance for keeping us safe or we can rely on Soviet promises alone. Our technology and their promises each have their own track record. And I'll take our technology any day.

Radio Address to the Nation

Los Angeles, CA

11/1/86

This renewed Soviet attempt to hold progress in INF and other areas of arms control hostage to acceptance of the long-standing Soviet effort to cripple our SDI program is unacceptable to the United States and our allies, and we have made this crystal clear to the Soviet Union. strategic threat posed to the United States and our allies by the continuing Soviet offensive buildup and the extensive and long-standing Soviet programs in strategic defense, it is vital to the future security of the West that the SDI program proceed as expeditiously as posssible.

> Statement by the President Following a Meeting with U.S. Arms Control Negotiators

Until now, mankind's search for security often focused on expanding the ability to lash out, to kill, to destroy. Technological advances throughout the ages increased man's destructive power, and those nations that did not keep pace soon felt the sting of defeat and the pain of subjugation. But humanity, in almost every case, found a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we're seeking: a defense against mankind's most deadly weapons -- ballistic missiles.

Remarks to Employees of Martin Marietta
Denver Astronautics

Waterton, CO

11/24/87

SDI is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

Remarks at a Luncheon for Heritage Foundation Trustees and Founders

Washington, DC

11/30/87

SMALL BUSINESS

I think entrepreneurs are the forgotten heroes of America. Most of them contribute far more to this country than they get back, and they rarely receive the recognition they deserve. When you're talking about the strength and character of America, you're talking about the small business community, about the owners of that store down the street, the faithful who support their churches and defend their freedom, and all the brave men and women who are not afraid to take risks and invest in the future to build a better America.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Small Business Leaders

Washington, DC

3/1/82

Entrepreneurs have always been there as nation builders and community builders. From the beginning it was little people with big dreams who sparked the revolt against taxation and regulation and led the fight for our independence. They and future generations pushed back the frontier and developed our incredible land of plenty.

IBID

Entrepreneurs are the standard-bearers of economic progress and the stalwarts of the energizing forces of the free market. As we embark upon a new era of economic growth and development, we should encourage small business owners by acknowledging their tremendous importance as the mainsprings of continued economic and individual progress for our Nation.

Small Business Week, 1984 Proclamation

SOCIAL SECURITY

In the meantime, let me just say this: I stated during the campaign and I repeat now, I will not stand by and see those of you who are dependent on social security deprived of the benefits you've worked so hard to earn. I make that pledge to you as your President. You have no reason to be frightened. You will continue to receive your checks in the full amount due you. In any plan to restore fiscal integrity of social security, I personally will see that the plan will not be at the expense of you who are now dependent on your monthly social security checks.

Address to the Nation on Federal Tax Reduction Legislation

The Oval Office

6/27/81

SOLIDARITY

Let no one mistake our fortitude. Time may pass, but the American people will never, never forget the brave people of Poland and their courageous struggle. It seems like only yesterday when all of us were so filled with hope. Solidarity, a truly independent labor union, had emerged. And with it came new recognition of freedoms of speech, press and the right to free association to strike and to reap the fruit of one's labor.

Remarks to Representatives of the Polish-American Community

Chicago, IL

6/23/83

Solidarity was born not only of the failure of the Polish government to meet the needs of its people, but also from a noble tradition of freedom preserved and nourished by the proud Polish people through two centuries of foreign and domestic tyranny.

IBID

SOUTH AFRICA

Our aim cannot be to punish South Africa with economic sanctions that would injure the very people we're trying to help. I believe we must help all those who peacefully oppose apartheid. And we must recognize that the opponents of apartheid, using terrorism and violence, will bring not freedom and salvation but greater suffering and more opportunities for expanded Soviet influence within South Africa and in the entire region.

Remarks on Signing Executive Order Regarding South Africa

The Oval Office

9/9/85

We have been doing all we can to foster the development of a just society in South Africa, and will continue to do so. My Administration has on repeated occasions publicly condemned the system of apartheid as systematic racial discrimination that denies the black majority its unalienable rights. We have done so even more often in private discussions with officials of the South African Government . . . Change is inevitable. The issue, in our view, is not whether apartheid is to be dismantled, but how and when. All men of good will want to see it replaced by a just society, not through racial conflagration where the people could well exchange one oppressor for another.

Response to Questions Submitted by Foreign News Organizations

12/11/85

This Administration is not only against broad economic sanctions and against apartheid; we are for a new South Africa, a new nation where all that has been built up over generations is not destroyed, a new society where participation is the social cultural, economic, and political life is open to all peoples -- a new South Africa that comes home to the family of free nations where she belongs.

Remarks to Members of the World Affairs
Council and the Foreign Policy Association

The East Room

SOUTH AFRICA (con't)

Those who tell us the moral thing to do today is embargo the South African economy and write off South Africa should tell us exactly what they believe will rise in its place. What foreign power would fill the vacuum -- if ties with the West are broken?

IBID

Ultimately, however, the fate of South Africa will be decided there, not here. We Americans stand ready to help. But whether South Africa emerges democratic and free, or takes a course leading to a downward spiral of poverty and repression will finally be their choice, not ours.

IBID

SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union is a huge empire rules by an elite that holds all power and all privilege. They hold it tightly because — as we have seen in Poland — they fear what might happen if even the smallest amount of control slips from their grasp. They fear the infectiousness of even a little freedom and because of this, in many ways, their system has failed. The Soviet empire is faltering because rigid, centralized control has destroyed incentives for innovation, efficiency, and individual achievement. Spiritually, there is a sense of malaise and resentment.

Remarks at Eureka College Commencement Ceremony

Eureka, IL

5/9/82

(Nuclear Freeze)

(L) et us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples of the Earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals

Orlando, FL

3/8/83

So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride -- the temptation blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

IBID

SOVIET UNION (Nuclear Freeze con't)

The great (Russian) heritage springs from a magnificence of the soul that no suffering can ever obscure. That suffering has also only ennobled a soul and culture that have in turn enriched all of civilization. Let us in this season of hope hear the voice of this soul that encompasses so many peoples and traditions. Let us hear the voice of all humanity's soul ...

> New Year's Remarks to the People of the Soviet Union

Los Angeles, CA 12/31/86

In recent months, we've heard a great deal from the Soviet world about something called "Glasnost." "Glasnost" is a Russian word that, we're told, means "openness." But does it mean genuine openness to speak, to write, to travel, even to buy and sell? Or is it more of a publicity show? As I said in Berlin in June, the way for the Soviets to demonstrate their dedication to true openness is to tear down the Wall.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

8/8/87

Can we afford to forget that the policy called glasnost is separated from the era of the gulag by fewer years than NATO has existed. In fact, the policy called glasnost coexists today with the reality of political repression in the Soviet Union. We cannot afford to forget that we are dealing with a political system, a political culture, and a political history going back many decades, even centuries. Swings between glasnost and the gulag are not new or even peculiar to the Soviet regime.

Address to Western Europe

The White House

2/23/88

SOVIET UNION (Nuclear Freeze con't)

By starting now to show real respect for human rights and abandoning the quest for military solutions to these regional conflicts, the Soviet Union would also be working to build trust and improve relations between our two countries. Regional conflicts and human rights are closely intertwined. They are issues of moral conscience. They're issues of international security. Because when a government abuses the rights of its own people, it is a grim indication of its willingness to commit violence against others.

Remarks to the World Affairs Council of Western Massachusetts

Springfield, MA

4/21/88

Our goals for space are ambitious, yet achievable. They include continued space activity for economic and scientific benefits, expanding private investment and involvement in space-related activities, promoting international uses of space, cooperating with other nations to maintain th freedom of space for all activities that enhance the security and welfare of mankind, strengthening our own security by exploring new methods of using space as a means of maintaining the peace.

Remarks on the Completion of the Fourth Mission of the Space Shuttle Columbia

Edwards Air Force Base, CA 7/4/82

(W)e're crossing new frontiers every day. The high technology now being developed, much of it by byproduct of the space effort, offers us and future generations of Americans opportunities never dreamed of a few years ago. Today we celebrate American independence confident that the limits of our freedom and prosperity have again been expanded by meeting the challenge of the frontier.

IBID

The Space Age is barely a quarter of a century old. But already we've pushed civilization forward with our advances in science and technology. Opportunities and jobs will multiply as we cross new thresholds of knowledge and reach deeper into the unknown.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

1/25/84

Space should and will become an increasing sphere of investment and commercial activity, a center of attention for entrepreneurs and businessmen. Already, many companies see great potential in using space as a new environment for industrial research and product development. As free enterprise expands into space, not only will innovative ways be discovered to produce the goods and services we now enjoy, but new opportunities, inconceivable in the confines of Earth, will come to light. Before the end of the century, many billions of dollars of commercial activity will be taking place in and because of space.

Remarks at the National Space Club Luncheon

Washington, DC

3/29/85

It's important to remember that it is not some impersonal technology that puts our astronauts in space. It's the dedication and expertise of thousands of men and women of vision, people like you who see no limits, only possibilities. The truth is, our space program doesn't invest in machines; it invests in people. And you don't only launch rockets, you launch dreams. This is the age of technology, but technology is only a tool. Ladies and gentlemen, you are the space program, and America is proud of you.

Remarks to Employees of NASA

Houston, TX 9/22/88

The commercial development of space will unleash a new age of entrepreneurship for companies large and small. There'll be new machines, new materials, new products, and a communications revolution. The vibrance and creativity of the free market will plumb the full range of possibilities that lie ahead. The dramatic advances in technology mean that what today we can only dream of will be by tomorrow not only feasible but inevitable.

(I)n the next century, leadership on Earth will come to the nation that shows the greatest leadership in space. It is mankind's manifest destiny to bring our humanity into space, to colonize this galaxy; and as a nation, we have the power to determine whether America will lead or will follow.

IBID

I say that America must lead. The Nation that has achieved the greatest human freedom on Earth must be the Nation to create a humane future for mankind in space, and it can be none other. It is only in a universe without limits that we will find a canvas large enough for the vastness of the human imagination.

IBID

Mankind's journey into space, like every great voyage of discovery, will become part of our unending journey of liberation. In the limitless reaches of space, we will find liberation from tyranny, from scarcity, from ignorance, and from war. We'll find the means to protect this Earth and to nurture every human life and to explore the universe. Let us go forward. This is our mission. This is our destiny.

IBID

STATUE OF LIBERTY

(A) mericans were reminded that Miss Liberty, like the many millions she's welcomed to these shores, is of foreign birth, the gift of workers, farmers, and shopkeepers and children who donated hundreds of thousands of francs to send her here. They were the ordinary people of France. This statue came from their pockets and from their hearts.

Remarks at the Opening Ceremonies Commemorating the Centennial of the Statue of Liberty

Governors Island

7/3/86

While we applaud those immigrants who stand out, whose contributions are easily discerned, we know that America's heroes are also those whose names are remembered by only a few. Many of them passed through this harbor, went by this lady, looked up at her torch, which we light tonight in their honor.

They were the men and women who labored all their lives so that their children would be well-fed, -clothed, and -educated, the families that went through great hardship yet kept their honor, their dignity, and their faith in God. They passed on to their children those values, values that define civilization and are the prerequisites of human progress. They worked in our factories, on ships and railroads, in stores, and on road construction crews. They were teachers, lumberjacks, seamstresses, and journalists. They came from every land.

Remarks on the Lighting of the Torch During Ceremonies Commemorating the Centennial of the Statue of Liberty

Governors Island

7/3/86

STATUE OF LIBERTY (con't)

For love of liberty, our forebears -- colonists, few in number and with little to defend themselves -- fought a war for independence with what was then the world's most powerful empire. For love of liberty, those who came before us tamed a vast wilderness and braved hardships which, at times, were beyond the limits of human endurance. For love of liberty, a bloody and heart-wrenching civil war was fought. And for love of liberty, Americans championed and still champion, even in times of peril, the cause of human freedom in far-off lands.

IBID

STRENGTH

Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let is be clear we maintain this strength in the hope it will never be used. For the ultimate determinant in the struggle now going on for the world will not be bombs and rockets, but a test of wills and ideas -- a trial of spiritual resolve: the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated.

?????

SUPREME COURT

Americans have grown used, I think, to the role of the Court in our constitutional system. And, perhaps, we take for granted things that other persons in other times would find extraordinary. Certainly, I know that the Supreme Court of the United States is the only group of men -- and now men and women -- in history that has exercised significant authority over such a long period of time without having need for battalions of fighting men to enforce their decisions. I think it's a healthy reflection of the fact that the vast majority of our citizens respect and abide by the decisions of the judiciary as a matter of course.

Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Supreme Court Justices

The State Dining Room 10/1/82

The Supreme Court of the United States is the custodian of our Constitution. Justices of the Supreme Court must not only be jurists of the highest competence; they must be attentive to the specific rights guaranteed in our Constitution and proper role of the courts in our democratic system.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of Robert H. Bork to be an Associate Supreme Court Justice

The Briefing Room 7/1/87

The taxing power of government must be used to provide revenues for legitimate government purposes. It must not be used to regulate the economy or bring about social change. We've tried that and surely must be able to see it doesn't work.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 2/18/81

The Government is taking too great a percentage of the gross national product in taxes. This percentage must be reduced if we're going to have the incentive we need to increase productivity. And we're not going to have recovery till we increase productivity, which requires capital investment of American business and industry.

> Remarks at the Luncheon of the Central City and California Taxpayer's Associations

Los Angeles, CA

6/25/81

Raising taxes won't balance the budget; it will encourage more government spending and less private investment. Raising taxes will slow economic growth, reduce production, and destroy future jobs, making it more difficult for those without jobs to find them and more likely that those who now have jobs could lose them. So, I will not ask (Congress) to try to balance the budget on the backs of the American taxpayers.

IBID

I receive a few letters in this job, as you might imagine. But there's one letter I still haven't received -- the one that says, "Dear Mr. President, will you please rescind my tax cut? Will you please raise my taxes so we can get our economy moving again?"

Remarks at the New York City
Partnership Association Luncheon

New York, NY

1/14/82

We see an America with a fair and simple tax code that allows the American people to keep a greater share of their earnings. To bring that about, we'll design a major tax reform, not tinkering here and there, but a sweeping and comprehensive reform of the entire tax code. We won't accept that one plan that was sent in to me the other day. It was a tax form with only two lines on it. The top line said "How much did you earn last year?" And the second line said "Send it."

Remarks at the Annual Republican Senate/House Fundraising Dinner

Washington, D.C.

5/10/84

Therefore, I will use the power and authority of the Office of the President to: (1) continue strong economic growth, (2) eliminate wasteful government spending, and (3) reduce the size of government, as the means to reduce the deficit. As I said at my last press conference, after—and only after—wasteful government spending has been reduced to its absolute minimum would I consider raising taxes to eliminate any gap between revenues and expenditures. Even then, I would not consider raising the personal income taxes of working Americans.

Statement by the President

When you read our tax code you realize that somehow we got lost along the way. Somewhere along the line, we stopped understanding that people worked not for the government, but for themselves; that they get up every morning and go out into the world to earn their bread, not to support a government, but to support their families. We, the citizens of the United States, have got to get public law back in line with private imperatives.

Remarks at the "Prelude to Independence" Celebration

Williamsburg, VA

5/30/85

Tens of millions of Americans will meet their deadline; they'll pay their taxes even if they have to spend the entire weekend figuring out how much they owe. But will Congress meet its deadline for the budget resolution? We hear the same tattered old argument that the American people are undertaxed. Well, the American people are not undertaxed, but their patience is overtaxed.

President's News Conference

The East Room

4/9/86

TAX REFORM

Together, we not only cut the increase in government spending nearly in half, we also brought about the largest tax reductions and the most sweeping changes in our tax structure since the beginning of this century. And because we indexed future taxes to the rate of inflation, we took away government's built-in profit of inflation and its hidden incentive to grow larger at the expense of American workers.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 1/26/82

As the political rhetoric heats up this year, there'll be those trying to appeal to greed and envy. Make no mistake, that is what they're trying to do. They suggest our tax program favors the rich. Well, this is the same anti-business, anti-business, anti-success attitude that brought this country to the brink of economic disaster. The fingerpointers and hand-wringers of today were the policymakers of yesterday. And they gave us economic stagnation and doubledigit inflation. There was only one thing fair about their policies, they didn't discriminate; they made everyone miserable.

> Remarks to the International Concrete and Aggregates Industries Convention

Chicago, IL

1/31/84

The key idea in our proposal is that by ironing out the complexities and closing unfair loopholes, by making everyone pay their fair share, we can make the system more equitable and dramatically lower marginal tax rates without a loss in revenue. Lower marginal rates for both individuals and corporations will mean a greater reward for work, saving, and risk-taking, more efficient use of scarce capital, and a stronger and healthy economy. In other words, our fair share plan is also a pro-growth tax plan.

Remarks to State and Local Leaders

Washington, DC 6/27/85

TAX REFORM (con't)

Our tax code has become, in a fundamental sense, un-American -- and I mean that as a serious, moral and economic assertion. Americans are an expansive and optimistic people. We constantly seek opportunity and work to better our lot. Yet our high marginal tax rates discourage risk-taking, savings and work, and thereby smoother growth. Most Americans are straightforward and honest, yet our tax code constitutes one of the most complicated and convoluted legal codes ever devised. Americans look to the future and yet we're weighed down by a tax code that is the result of decades of political deals that's become the very embodiment of the dead hand of the past.

Remarks of the President at Regional Press Luncheon
The State Dining Room 7/9/85

Our current tax law is anti-growth: it discourages enterprise, and it discourages productive investment. Our current tax law is unfair: it clobbers people who don't have a team of legal advisors and accountants to look after their interests. It's supposed to be "progressive" -- meaning the highest earners are supposed to pay a greater percentage of their earnings than, say, the typical middle-class family. But does it work out that way?

Remarks at Santa-Cali-Gon Days Celebration
Independence, MO 9/2/85

By closing loopholes and making sure that everybody pays their fair share, we can lower the tax rates for everybody. With lower personal and corporate rates and another cut in the capital gains tax, small and entrepreneurial businesses will take off. Americans will have an open field to test their dreams and challenge their imaginations, and the next decade will become known as the Age of Opportunity.

Remarks to North Carolina State University Students and Faculty

Raleigh, NC

TAX REFORM (con't)

Just think of it -- the Bible contains all the wisdom we need to lead our lives and is perhaps two inches thick. (Applause) You know, the complete works of William Shakespeare -- plays and poetry that have enriched life in the English-speaking world for almost 4 centuries can be bound in a single volume. But just to explain the tax code to the United States -- 18 volumes and 6 feet of shelf space -- I think you'll agree it's not exactly a major contribution to Western civilization.

> Remarks to Senior Citizens Forum on Tax Reform

Tampa, FL

9/12/85

The practice of business is, in large measure, a moral endeavor; a practice in which men and women give of themselves, their strength, their intelligence and imagination to unlock the mysteries of the material world on behalf of their fellow man. To inhibit this process through an oppressive system of taxation is, in a fundamental sense, to inhibit human development. What we're dealing with in the matter of tax reform is not there for a mere collection of facts and figures, but the liberation of the human spirit.

> Remarks at Briefing for Tax Reform Action Coalition

The East Room 10/1/85

Death and taxes may be inevitable, but unjust taxes are not. And so we proposed, as our number one domestic priority, a radical reform to simplify the tax system and lower your tax rates, clear out the clutter of special provisions, free ourselves from the grip of special interests, and create a binding commitment to the only special interest that counts: you, the people who pay America's bills.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David, MD 5/10/86

TAX REFORM (con't)

(B)y dropping millions of working poor off the tax rolls, giving families with children a long-overdue break, lowering the top rate down to its lowest level in half a century, we'll make it easier for every American to climb that ladder of opportunity and to keep the fruits of his or her achievement.

Remarks at the National Association of Manufacturers Annual Congress of American Industry

Washington, DC

5/29/86

TECHNOLOGY

To many of us now, computers, silicon chips, data processing, cybernetics, and all the other innovations of the dawning high technology age are as mystifying as the workings of the combustion engine must have been when that first Model T rattled down Main Street, U.S.A. But as surely as America's pioneer spirit made us the industrial giant of the 20th century, the same pioneer spirit today is opening up on another vast front of opportunity, the frontier of high technology.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

1/25/83

It's been estimated that high technology industries create jobs eight times as fast as low technology industries. Just as important, the knowledge we gain from the technological revolution enables our older industries to modernize their plants and equipment, increase their ability to compete in the world, and maintain and expand their work force.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

9/1/84

The story of American technology is long and proud. It might be said to have begun with a blacksmith at his bellows, hammering out fine tools, and the Yankee craftsman using simple wood planes, saws, and mallets to fashion the fastest sailing ships on the ocean. And then came the railroad men, driving spikes across our country.

And today the story continues with the workers who built the computer in a child's room; the engineers who designed the communications satellite that silently rotates with the Earth, shining in the sunlight against the blackness of space; and the men and women of skill and determination who helped to put American footprints on the Moon.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony of the National Technology Awards

TECHNOLOGY (con't)

Think of that little computer chip. Its value isn't in the sand from which it is made but in the microscopic architecture designed into it by ingenious human minds. Or take the example of the satellite relaying this broadcast around the world, which replaces thousands of tons of copper mined from the Earth and molded into wire. In the new economy, human invention increasingly makes physical resources obsolete. We're breaking through the material conditions of existence to a world where man creates his own destiny. Even as we explore the most advanced reaches of science, we're returning to the age-old wisdom of our culture, a wisdom contained in the book of Genesis in the Bible: In the beginning was the spirit, and it was from this spirit that the material abundance of creation issued forth.

Remarks to the Students and Faculty of Moscow State University

5/31/88

We're in a new age of invention and exploration, a time when the vast capacity of the human imagination is opening new universes for exploration. "To see the universe in a grain of sand" is no longer a poetic metaphor but the daily reality of the silicon chip. F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote that when the early explorers just looked on this land, they must have held their breath. They had, for the last time in history, come face-to-face with something commensurate to man's infinite capacity for wonder. Yet it was not for the last time. We, too, stand on the shores of something as vast -- of an economic and technological future immense with promise.

Remarks at Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Council
Washington, DC 6/13/88

TERRORISM

Let terrorists be aware that when the rules of international behavior are violated, our policy will be one of swift and effective retribution. We hear it said that we live in an era of limit to our powers. Well, let it also be understood, there are limits to our patience.

> Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for the Freed American Hostages

The South Lawn

1/27/81

We must work to assure that there is no role in civilized society for indiscriminate threatening, intimidation, detention, or murder of innocent people. We must make it clear to any country that is tempted to use violence to undermine democratic governments, destabilize our friends, thwart efforts to promote democratic governments, or disrupt our lives that it has nothing to gain, and much to lose.

> From a Message to Congress Transmitting Four Proposed Bills Regarding International Terrorism Legislation

> > 4/26/84

The Strategic purpose behind the terrorism sponsored by these outlaw states is clear: to disorient the United States, to disrupt or alter our foreign policy, to sow discord between ourselves and our allies, to frighten friendly Third World nations working with us for peaceful settlements of regional conflicts, and finally, to remove American influence from those areas of the world where we're working to bring stable and democratic government. In short, to cause us to retreat, retrench, to become Fortress America.

> Remarks at the American Bar Associations Annual Convention

Washington, D.C. 7/8/85

TERRORISM (con't)

(F) or us to ignore by inaction the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers, whether in nightclubs or airline terminals, is simply not in the American tradition. When our citizens are abused or attacked anywhere in the world on the direct orders of a hostile regime, we will respond so long as I'm in this Oval Office. Self-defense is not only our right, it is our duty.

Address to the Nation (Regarding U.S. Air Strike Against Libya)

The Oval Office

4/14/86

I warned that there should be no place on Earth where terrorists can rest and train and practice their deadly skills. I meant it. I said that we would act with others, if possible, and alone if necessary to ensure that terrorists have no sanctuary anywhere. Tonight, we have.

IBID

It must be the core of Western policy that there be no sanctuary for terror. And to sustain such a policy, free men and free nations must unite and work together.

IBID

TERRORISM (con't)

In our world, there are innumerable groups and organizations with grievances, some justified, some not. Only a tiny fraction has been ruthless enough to try to achieve their ends through vicious and cowardly acts of violence upon unarmed victims. Perversely, it is often the terrorists themselves who prevent peacefully negotiated solutions. So, perhaps the first step in solving some of these fundamental challenges in getting to the root cause of conflict is to declare that terrorism is not an acceptable alternative and will not be tolerated.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

5/31/86

TOTALITARIANISM

From Stettin on the Baltic to Barna on the Black Sea, the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than thirty years to establish their legitimacy. But none -- not one regime -- has yet been able to risk free elections. Regimes planted by bayonets do not take root.

Remarks to the British Parliament London, England 6/8/82

If history teaches anything, it teaches that self-delusion in the face unpleasant facts is folly. We see around us today the marks of our terrible dilemma -- predictions of doomsday, anti-nuclear demonstrations, an arms race in which the West must, for its own protection, be an unwilling participant. At the same time, we see totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe to further their barbarous assault on the human spirit.

What, then, is our course? Must civilization perish in a hail of fiery atoms? Must freedom wither in a quiet, deadening accommodation with totalitarian evil?

IBID

The hard evidence of totalitarian rules has caused in mankind an uprising of the intellect and will. Whether it is the growth of the new schools of economics in America or England or the appearance of the so-called new philosophers in France, there is one unifying thread running through the intellectual work of these groups: rejection of the arbitrary power of the state, the refusal to subordinate the rights of the individual to the superstate, the realization that collectivism stifles all the best human impulses.

TOTALITARIANISM (con't)

This extension of totalitarianism has not come about through popular movement or free elections. It's been accomplished instead by military force or by subversion practiced by a tiny revolutionary cadre whose only real ideal is the will to power.

It hasn't meant, as promised, a new classless society or the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has, instead, meant forced labor and mass imprisonment, famine and massacre, the police state and the knock on the door in the night. And it's also meant the growth of the largest military empire in the history of the world, an empire whose territorial ambition has sparked a wasteful arms race and whose ideological obsession remains the single greatest peril to peace among the nations.

> Remarks on Signing Captive Nations Week, 1982 Proclamation

The Rose Garden 7/19/82

Atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package; it is the package. In countries which have fallen under Communist rule, it is often the church which forms the most powerful barrier against a completely totalitarian system. And so, totalitarian regimes always seek either to destroy the church or, when that is impossible, to subvert it.

> Remarks to the Delegates to the Conference on Religious Liberty

Washington, DC

4/16/85

In a century where human rights have been denied by totalitarian governments on a scale never before seen in history -- with so many millions deliberately starved or eliminated as a matter of state policy; a history, it has been said, of blood, stupidity, and barbed wire -- few can wonder why peace has proved so elusive.

> Address Before the 43rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, NY

9/26/88

TRADE POLICY

In each decade of our history, we have matched our trading strength with that of the strongest nations in the world. We have opened new markets, created new industries, and pioneered new technologies. In a competitive environment, we have succeeded and flourished. We have built the prosperity of this country on our confidence and on our own strength, ingenuity, and creativity.

Today, the United States is the greatest trading nation on Earth. We are the world's largest economy, its biggest market, and its leading exporter.

World Trade Week, 1984 Proclamation

3/15/84

Free and fair trade benefits all nations. For this reason, the United States is committed to policies promoting unrestricted trade and investment consistent with our security interests. Internationally, we are working with our trading partners for new negotiations in support of freer world trade, greater competition, and more open markets. At home we have urged American business to challenge foreign competition with aggressive selling, research and development, improved managment systems, and innovations. Above all, we must build on the surest foundation for this country's prosperity -- our confidence in our own strength and abilities.

IBID

Our objective will always be to make world trading partnerships freer and fairer for all. So, while we will use our powers as a lever to open closed doors abroad, we will continue to resist protectionist measures that would only raise prices, lock out trade, and destroy the jobs and prosperity trade brings to all. There are no winners in a trade war, only losers.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

9/7/85

TRADE POLICY (con't)

I certainly don't have to explain the benefits of free and open markets to you. They produce more jobs, a more productive use of our nation's resources, more rapid innovation, and a higher standard of living. They strengthen our national security because our economy, the bedrock of our defense, is stronger.

> Remarks to Business Leaders and Members of the President's Export Council and the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations

The East Room

9/23/85

I believe that if trade is not fair for all, then trade is free in name only. I will not stand by and watch American businesses fail because of unfair trading practices abroad. I will not stand by an watch American workers lose their jobs because other nations do not play by the rules.

IBID

Our country, since the close of the Second World War, has been a champion of free commerce between nations. Free trade has served us well, fueling economic growth and job creation across the land. However, as we've spoken about before, it's imperative that trade between nations be fair as well as free. At a time when our trade deficit is far too high, we can no longer tolerate one-sided trade relationships.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

9/13/86

Our basic trade policy remains the same: we remain opposed as ever to protectionism because America's growth and future depend on trade. But we would insist on trade that is fair and free. We are always willing to be trade partners but never trade patsies. (Applause)

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 1/27/87

TRULY NEEDY

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of (the American citizens') makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen? And loving them reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick, and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Inaugural Address

Washington, DC 1/20/81

We will continue to fulfill the obligations that spring from our national conscience. Those who through no fault of their own must depend on the rest of us, the poverty-stricken, the disabled, the elderly, all those with true need, can rest assured that the social safety net of programs they depend on are exempt from any cuts.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

2/18/81

The entitlement programs that make up our safety net for the truly needy have worthy goals and many deserving recipients. We will protect them. But there's only one way to see to it that these programs really help those whom they are designed to help. And that is to bring their spiraling costs under control.

IBID

TRULY NEEDY (con't)

But, all of us together are going to have to make sure that what we call "the safety net" remains, and that is no one must fall between the cracks. We have no intention of any of those cuts ever reflecting against or making it difficult for some person with real need, some person truly handicapped, some person who through no fault of his own must depend on his neighbors for help. And we all together, in our communities and every place else, have got to see that it works that way and that no one is cast aside.

Remarks at a Republican Party Reception
Atlanta, GA 7/30/81

As Dave Stockman pointed out the other day, we're still subsidizing 95 million meals a day, providing \$70 billion in health care to the elderly and poor, some 47 million people. Some 10 million or more are living in subsidized housing. And we're still providing scholarships for a million and a half students. Only here in this city of Oz would a budget this big and this generous be characterized as a miserly attack on the poor. (Laughter)

Remarks at the Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

Washington, DC

2/26/82

TRULY NEEDY (con't)

There's been a great deal of talk, and I'm sure it must have disturbed many of you, that in our cutting that we have picked on the helpless, the needy, the poor, and that in some way we're seeking to deprive them of the things that they must have because they have no place else to turn. They must depend on the rest of us for help. Well, that is not true. What we have really been getting at is the excessive amount of bureaucracy that it takes to deliver a dollar to a needy person or a helpless person in this country. And it takes more than the needy person is getting. The war on poverty created a great new upper-middle class of bureaucrats that found they had a fine career as long as they could keep enough needy people there to justify their existence.

Remarks at a Kansas Republican Party Fundraising Luncheon

Topeka, KS

9/9/82

(H)ere, a growing economy and support from family and community offer our best chance for a society where compassion is a way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self-sufficient.

Inaugural Address

The Capitol Rotunda

1/21/85

UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations was founded in the aftermath of World War II to protect future generations from the scourge of war, to promote political self-determination and global prosperity, and to strengthen the bonds of civility among nations. The founders sought to replace a world at war with a world of civilized order. They hoped that a world of relentless conflict would give way to a new era, one where freedom from violence prevailed.

Address Before the 38th Session of the United Nation's General Assembly

New York, NY

9/26/83

The responsibility of this Assembly -- the peaceful resolution of disputes between peoples and nations -- can be discharged successfully only if we recognize the great common ground upon which we all stand: our fellowship as members of the human race, our oneness as inhabitants of this planet, our place as representatives of billions of our countrymen whose fondest hope remains the end to war and to the repression of the human spirit. These are the important central realities that bind us, that permit us to dream of a future without the antagonisms of the past. And just as shadows can be seen only where there is light, so, too, can we overcome what is wrong only if we remember how much is right. And we will resolve what divides us only if we remember how much more unites us.

Address Before the 39th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, NY

9/24/84

While acknowledging the UN's achievements, we must not close our eyes to its disappointments: its failures to deal effectively with essential security issues, the politicization of too many of its agencies, the misuse of too many resources. Given the divided state of the world, realism demands we recognize the UN's limitations. But we must not overlook its real potential and opportunities, opportunities that for the good of mankind we cannot afford to waste.

Response to Questions Submitted by Foreign Press

UNITED NATIONS (con't)

The United Nations has not been a panacea for all of the world's problems as some expected. Nevertheless, it has been and can be a force for great good. The UN's peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts have been important at many critical times . . . Many of its specialized agencies have served the purposes for which they were intended and performed valuable services in the fields of health, economic assistance and development, care of refugees, and in various other humanitarian and technical areas.

IBID

The United States remains committed to the United Nations. For over 40 years, this organization has provided an international forum for harmonizing conflicting national interests and has made a significant contribution in such fields as peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and eradicating disease. And yet, no one knows better than those in this chamber how the noble ideals embodied in the Charter have often remained unfulfilled.

Remarks to the 41st General Assembly of the United Nations

New York, NY

9/22/86

I recognize that some governments represented in this hall have other ideas. Some do not believe in democracy or in political, economic, or religious freedom. Some believe in dictatorship, whether by one man, one party, one class, one race, or one vanguard. To those governments I would only say that the price of oppression is clear. Your economies will fall farther and farther behind. Your people will become more restless. Isn't it better to listen to the people's hopes now rather than their curses later?

Address Before the 42nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, NY

9/21/87

UNEMPLOYMENT

I'm deeply aware of the heartache and the pressure many of you have experienced in the last few years. Economists tell us that our country is going through a basic technological transition, and that, along with the stagnation of recent years, has created a large-scale unemployment problem. Now, it's not easy on you or your families, but the commitment you've made by being part of this program represents all the difference in your lives, and I might add, in a better economic future for our country. The future certainly would be bleak if our response to technological advances was fear and negativism.

Remarks to Students of Control Data Institute
Pittsburgh, PA 4/6/83

USS STARK

(W) e're human, and today we know such great heartache. So, we come to this place to seek the simple assurance of each other and the hope of finding a higher meaning, a greater purpose. And so we ask: Why did this happen? Why to them? Could anything be worth such a sacrifice? And these fallen, whom we knew and loved but rarely thought of as great men or legends, can we now truly say they are heroes? And even if we can, would we not rather have them back, ordinary men again perhaps, but still ours, ours to hold and to keep?

Remarks at the Memorial Service for Crewmembers of the USS STARK

Jacksonville, FL

5/22/87

And let us remember a final duty: to understand that these men made themselves immortal by dying for something immortal, that theirs is the best to be asked of any life -- a sharing of the human heart, a sharing in the infinite. In giving themselves for others, they made themselves special, not just to us but to their God. "Greater love than this has no man than to lay down his life for his friends." And because God is love, we know He was there with them when they died and that He is with them still. We know they live again, not just in our hearts but in His arms. And we know they've gone before to prepare a way for us.

TBTD

May I point out again, so many of you have known long months of separation from your loved ones, from those young men. You were separated by distance, by miles of land and ocean. Now you are separated again, not just by territorial limits but because they have stepped through that door that God has promised all of us. They do live now in a world where there is no sorrow, no pain. And they await us, and we shall all be together again.

IBID

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS

(I)f history teaches anything, it teaches that simple-minded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals

Orlando, FL

3/8/83

While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.

IBID

We must never be inhibited by those who say telling the truth about the Soviet empire is an act of belligerence on our part. (Applause) To the contrary, we must continue to remind the world that self-delusion in the face of unpleasant facts is folly, that whatever the imperfections of the democratic nations, the struggle now going on in the world is essentially the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, between what is right and what is wrong. This is not a simplistic or unsophisticated observation. Rather, it's the beginning of wisdom about the world we live in, the perils we face, and the great opportunity we have in the years ahead to broaden the frontiers of freedom and to build a durable, meaningful peace. (Applause)

Remarks at the Heritage Foundation Dinner

Washington, DC

10/3/83

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS (con't)

(O) ur new willingness to speak out forthrightly about communism has been a critically effective foreign policy step. We're making clear that the free world, far from plunging into irreversible decline, retains the moral energy and spiritual stamina to tell the truth about the Soviets, to state clearly the real issues now before the world. That issue is not, as our adversaries would have us believe, the choice between peace and war, between being dead or Red, but, rather, the choice between freedom and servitude, human dignity and state oppression.

TBID

In our discussions with the Soviet Union ... our approach is based on three guiding principles -- realism, strength, and dialog. Realism means we must start with a clear-eyed understanding of the world we live in. We must recognize that we are in a long-term competition with a government that does not share our notions of individual liberties at home and peaceful change abroad. We must be frank in acknowledging our differences and unafraid to promote our values.

Address to the Nation, U.S. Allies, and the Soviet Union

The East Room

1/16/84

As we engage in discussions with Soviet leaders, we recognize the fundamental differences in our values and in our perspectives on many international issues. We must be realistic and not expect that these difference can be wished away. But realism should also remind us that our two peoples share common bonds and interests. We are both relatively young nations with rich ethnic traditions and a pioneer philosophy. We have both experienced the terrible trauma of war. We have fought side by side in the victory over Nazi Germany. And while our governments have very different views, our sons and daughters have never fought each other. We must make sure they never do.

Radio Address to the Nation

Rancho del Cielo, CA 2/11/84

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS (con't)

We share borders with three countries -- Mexico, Canada, and the Soviet Union. We pride ourselves on our friendly relations and open borders with our two North American neighbors. And I hope the day will come when that narrow chain of islands stretching from Alaska to the eastern shore of Siberia will symbolize the ties between our two great peoples, not the distance between us.

Radio Address to the Nation and the Peoples of the World (broadcast to citizens of the U.S.S.R. over the Voice of America)

Washington, DC

11/9/85

These past 40 years have not been an easy time for the West or for the world. You know the facts; there is no need to recite the historical record. Suffice it to say that the United States cannot afford illusions about the nature of the U.S.S.R. We cannot assume that their ideology and purpose will change; this implies enduring competition. Our task is to assure that this competition remains peaceful. With all that divides us, we cannot afford to let confusion complicate things further. We must be clear with each other and direct. We must pay each other the tribute of candor.

Address Before a Joint Session of Congress

Washington, DC

11/21/85

But we cannot stroll into the future with childlike faith. Our differences with a system that openly proclaims and practices an alleged right to command people's lives and to export its ideology by force are deep and abiding. Logic and history compel us to accept that our relationship be guided by realism -- rockhard, clear-eyed, steady, and sure.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

2/4/86

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS (con't)

We believe the twin goals of world peace and freedom can be furthered by making progress with the Soviet Union in four thorny but closely-related areas: respect for human rights, arms reductions, the resolution of regional conflicts, and expanded bilateral contacts between our nations.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

10/4/86

We've tried to take a prudent and a realistic and, above all, deliberate approach toward Soviet-American relations. Instead of rushing unprepared into negotiations with the Soviets, the administration took the time in its earliest days to make clear the essential elements of American foreign policy: our commitment to the twin goals of world peace and world freedom; our willingness to be realistic and candid about the Soviets; to publicly define the crucial, moral distinctions between totalitarianism and democracy; and actively assist those who are struggling for their own self-determination.

> Remarks at a White House Briefing to the President's Commission on Executive Exchange

Washington, DC 10/6/86

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS (con't)

(I) believe our negotiating progress can be traced to being forthright in our public pronouncements. When I first took office and throughout these 6 years, I have been candid about Soviet ideology and intentions. I did not seek to be unnecessarily antagonistic, only to acknowledge one of history's gravest lessons: that the first object of aggressive powers is to inhibit the will of potential adversaries, to make free nations think that public utterances of the truth or moral protests about aggression are themselves acts of belligerence.

And history teaches that when -- in the name of peace, free nations acquiesce to such subtle intimidations, the collapse of their own self-respect and freedom follows closely behind. History so often shows that conflict results from miscalculation by aggressive powers who misjudge the will of democratic nations to resist.

Candor and realism about the Soviets have helped the peace process, because it is not only an essential affirmation of our own moral stamina, it's a signal to our Soviet counterparts that any compulsion to exploit Western illusions must be resisted because such illusions no longer exist.

Remarks to Los Angeles World Affairs Council
Los Angeles, CA 4/10/87

(0) ur country has its shortcomings, but there's no moral equivalency between democracy and totalitarianism. There's no moral equivalency between turning the proud nations of Eastern Europe into satellites and joining the nations of Western Europe in the defense of their freedom. And, my friends, there's no moral equivalency between propaganda and the truth.

Remarks at the 40th Anniversary Conference of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

Washington, DC

9/16/87

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS (con't)

If relations with the Soviet Union are to improve, if we're to enter into a new period of rapprochement with our adversary, we must see greater respect for human rights. We need to see more freedom and a further opening of the emigration door. We also need to see a peaceful resolution to regional conflicts which Soviet weapons, personnel, and policies now help to prolong.

Remarks at the 1988 Reagan Administration Executive Forum

Washington, DC

1/19/88

In sitting down to these negotiations, we accept no moral equivalency between the cause of freedom and the rule of totalitarianism. And we understand that the most important change of all is this: that containment is no longer enough; that we no longer can be satisfied with an endless stalemate between liberty and repression; that arms reduction negotiations, development and testing of SDI, and our help for freedom fighters around the globe must express the clear goal of American foreign policy -- to deter war, yes; to further world peace, yes; but most of all, to advance and protect the cause of world freedom so that someday every man, woman, and child on this Earth has as a birthright the full blessings of liberty.

Remarks at the Annual Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

Washington, DC

2/11/88

In this Moscow spring, this May 1988, we may be allowed that hope: that freedom, like the fresh green sapling planted over Tolstoi's grave, will blossom forth at last in the rich fertile soil of your people and culture. We may be allowed to hope that the marvelous sound of a new openness will keep rising through, ringing through, leading to a new world of reconciliation, friendship, and peace.

Remarks to the Students and Faculty of Moscow State University

U.S. - U.S.S.R. RELATIONS (con't)

In addition, spokesmen for the Soviet Government have noted the change of policy, indeed, the profound change of policy that has occurred in their own government. The United States if ully cognizant of this change and aware of its implications. In noting the differences that still stand between us, therefore, my desire has not been to sound a note of discouragement but one of realism, not to conduct a tutorial but to give the kind of emphatic testimony to the truth that, over the long run, removes illusion and moves the process of negotiation forward.

The President's News Conference at the Close of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Summit in Moscow

Spaso House

6/1/88

VERIFICATION

I want to make an unequivocal pledge to those gathered today in this world arena. The United States seeks and will accept any equitable, verifiable agreement that stabilizes forces at lower levels than currently exist. We're ready to be flexible in our approach, indeed, willing to compromise. We cannot, however, especially in light of recent events, compromise on the necessity of effective verification.

Address Before the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly

New York, NY

9/26/83

(W)e insist that any new agreements contain strong verification procedures to ensure Soviet compliance, and we have looked at some existing agreements to see if their verification provisions can be strengthened. Agreements without adequate procedures for verifying compliance are dangerous because they invite violations. But negotiations leading to verifiable agreements are essential if we are to build a safer and more stable world.

Response to Questions Submitted by <u>Le Figaro</u> Magazine

1/7/84

VETERANS

Words alone are insufficient to express our lasting gratitude and admiration to those whose patriotism and courage have ensured our peace and freedom despite threats of tyranny and aggression. Significant disruptions in their lives and other personal hardships have been the price that our Nation's veterans have paid so that the rest of us might enjoy the fruits of justice and liberty.

Veterans Day, 1982 Proclamation

9/16/82

From Valley Forge when our Nation was in its infancy, to the Vietnam conflict where our men and women in uniform served and dies for the human rights of others, through war and peace, these valiant citizens have answered the call to service with honor and dignity. They are indeed worthy of a formal tribute from a grateful Nation.

Veterans's Day, 1983 Proclamation

9/19/83

From Guadalcanal and Omaha Beach to Mig Alley and Pork Chop Hill, from Khe Sanh and the A Shau Valley to Beirut, America's best continue to give of themselves for us and for freedom-loving people everywhere. Yes, veterans have given their best for all of us, and we must continue to do our best by them.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

11/5/83

VETERANS (con't)

Veterans know better than anyone else the price of freedom, for they've suffered the scars of war. We can offer them no better tribute than to protect what they have won for us. That is our duty. They have never let America down. We will not let them down.

IBID

He saw the horrors of war but bravely faced them, certain his own cause and his country's cause was a noble one; that he was fighting for human dignity, for free men everywhere. Today we pause to embrace him and all who served us so well in a war whose end offered no parades, no flags, and so little thanks. We can be worthy of the values and ideals for which our sons sacrificed -- worthy of their courage in the face of a fear that few of us will ever experience -- by honoring their commitment and devotion to duty and country.

Remarks at the Funeral and Burial Ceremonies Honoring the Unknown Serviceman of the Vietnam Conflict

Arlington National Cemetery Arlington, VA 5/28/84

These are the boys of Points du Hoc. (Applause) These are the men who took the cliffs. These are the champion who helped free a continent. These are the heroes who helped end a war.

Remarks to Assembled Veterans at Pointe du Hoc Cricqueville, France 6/6/84

<u>VETERANS</u> (con't)

The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right, faith that they fought for all humanity, faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead -- or on the next. It was the deep knowledge, and pray God we have not lost it, that there is a profound, moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. You were here to liberate, not to conquer, and so you and those others did not doubt your cause. And you were right not to doubt.

IBID

(L) et me say to the Vietnam Veterans gathered here today: When you returned home, you brought solace to the loved ones of those who fell, but little solace was given to you. Some of your countrymen were unable to distinguish between our native distaste for war and the stainless patriotism of those who suffered its scars. But there's been a rethinking there, too. And now we can say to you, and say as a nation: Thank you for continuing to stand with us together.

Remarks at Dedication Ceremonies for the Vietnam Memorial Statue

Washington, DC

11/11/84

Today we pay homage not only to those who gave their lives but to their comrades present today and all across the country. You didn't forget. You kept the faith. You walked from the litter, wiped away your tears, and returned to the battle. You fought on, sustained by one another and deaf to the voices of those who didn't comprehend. You performed with a steadfastness and valor that veterans of other wars salute, and you are forever in the ranks of that special number of Americans in every generation that the Nation records as true patriots.

IBID

VETERANS (con't)

The (Vietnam Veterans') memorial reflects as a mirror reflects, so that when you find the name you're searching for you find it in your own reflection. And as you touch it, from certain angles, you're touching, too, the reflection of the Washington Monument or the chair in which great Abe Lincoln sits.

Those who fought in Vietnam are part of us, part of our history. They reflected the best in us. No number of wreaths, no amount of music and memorializing will ever do them justice. But it is good for us that we honor them and their sacrifice. And it's good that we do it in the reflected glow of the enduring symbols of our Republic.

IBID

The men and women of Vietnam fought for freedom in a place where liberty was in danger. They put their lives in danger to help a people in a land far away from their own. Many sacrificed their lives in the name of duty, honor, and country. All were patriots who lit the world with their fidelity and courage.

IBID

VIETNAM

A long, dragged-out tragedy, Vietnam, divided our nation and damaged America's self-image. And part of that tragedy, a major part, was the sacrifice by men who fought as bravely as any American fighting men have ever fought. Millions of young Americans, when they were called upon, did their duty and demonstrated courage and dedication in the finest tradition of the American military in a war they were not allowed to win.

Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating the Initiation of the Vietnam Veterans Leadership Program

The Rose Garden

11/10/81

They were quite a group, the boys of Vietnam -- boys who fought a terrible and vicious war without enough support from home, boys who were dodging bullets while we debated the efficacy of the battle. It was often our poor who fought in that war; it was the unpampered boys of the working class who picked up the rifles and went on the march. They learned not to rely on us; they learned to rely on each other. And they were special in another way: They chose to be faithful. They chose to reject the fashionable skepticism of their time. They chose to believe and answer the call of duty. They had the wild, wild courage of youth. Their seized certainty from the heart of an ambivalent age; they stood for something.

Remarks Commemorating Memorial Day at Arlington National Cemetery

Arlington, VA

5/26/86

VOLUNTARISM

The time is now, my fellow Americans, to recapture our destiny, to take it into our own hands. But to do this will take many of us working together. Let us pledge to restore, in our time, the American spirit of voluntary service of cooperation, of private and community initiative - a spirit that flows like a deep and mighty river through the history of our nation.

Inaugural Address

Washington, D.C. 1/20/81

The Bible talks of faith, hope, and charity, and the greatest of these is charity. The real meaning of the parable of the Good Samaritan has always been not so much the benefit that was done to the pilgrim who had been beaten, but the good that accrued to the Samaritan for going to his aid, who crossed to the other side of the road where the beaten pilgrim lay, bound up his wounds, and carried him to the nearest town. hurry on by and then when he got to town tell a caseworker that there was someone out there back a ways that needed help. (Laughter)

> Remarks at the New York City Partnership Association Luncheon

New York, NY

1/14/82

The truth is, it is only under freedom that a true fellowship of the spirit can exist. Love is not something that can be mandated by law or enforced by bureaucracy. It is when people voluntarily help one another, giving of themselves freely, that they receive the blessings of the soul which God has

VOLUNTARISM (con't)

promised. This is an important part of freedom, the shining light which is a beacon to all who live in the darkness in tyranny -- the fundamental truth that free people do indeed love and care for one another.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the Lions Club International

Dallas, TX

6/21/85

Voluntarism, the economy of love, and caring is the necessary complement of our free enterprise system. Both depend on the same kind of initiative and imagination.

National Volunteer Week Message

4/21/86

The spirit of voluntarism is deeply ingrained in us as a nation. Indeed, when asked by pollsters, most Americans state their belief that no matter how big government gets and no matter how many services it provides, it can never take the place of volunteers. In other words, the American people understand that there are no substitutes for gifts of service given from the heart.

Remarks at Volunteer Action Awards Luncheon

The East Room

6/2/86

It is time -- this may be the most radical thing I've said in 7 years in this office -- it's time for Washington to show a

<u>VOLUNTARISM</u> (con 't)

little humility. There are a thousand sparks of genius in 50 States and a thousand communities around the Nation. It is time to nurture them and see which ones can catch fire and become guiding lights.

State of the Union Address

Washington, D.C. 1/25/88

Voluntarism's essence is the willingness to share blessings and the courage to pursue an ideal. Voluntarism's currency is love, and volunteers measure their riches in terms of what they freely give their countrymen and the people of the world.

Message to Commemorate National Volunteer Week

3/28/88

VOTING

For this Nation to remain true to its principles, we cannot allow any American's vote to be denied, diluted, or defiled. The right to vote is the crown jewel of American liberties, and we will not see its luster diminished.

Statement About Extension of the Voting Rights Act

11/6/81

Democracy cannot be imposed from outside and it frequently evolves only after patient, incremental steps. It must be the product of free institutions -- churches, labor unions, independent judiciary, and the press -- and its life-giving, rejuvenating process is a citizen placing his vote in a ballot box. . .

Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Delegates to the Conference on Free Elections

The East Room

11/4/82

Every vote cast on election day means that we the people have taken a hand in shaping our nation's future. Every time we vote we're grabbing a hold of a lifeline that's 3,000 miles long and more than two centuries old and, with millions of others, helping to pull America forward into the future. Yes, every time we vote, we're standing up, side-by-side, with the Founding Fathers, with the men of Valley Forge, with patriots and pioneers throughout our history, with all those who dedicated their lives to making this a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people. Every time we vote we help to make America stronger.

Radio Address to the Nation

The Oval Office

10/18/86

WASTE AND FRAUD

No administration can promise to immediately stop a trend that has grown in recent years as quickly as government expenditures themselves. But let me say this: waste and fraud in the Federal budget is exactly what I have called it before -- an unrelenting national scandal -- a scandal we are bound and determined to do something about.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC 2/18/81

You've all heard of the problems at the Pentagon with spare parts suppliers charging outrageous prices. Well, what you haven't heard is that this waste was actually uncovered by Department of Defense auditors working for the Inspector General I appointed. We are the first administration which has faced up to these abuses and taken action to correct them.

Radio Address to the Nation

Camp David

5/5/84

WELFARE REFORM

Now, where do some of these attacks originate? They're coming from the very people whose past policies, all done in the name of compassion, brought us the current recession. Their policies drove up inflation and interest rates, and their policies stifled incentive, creativity, and halted the movement of the poor up the economic ladder. Some of their criticism is perfectly sincere. But let's also understand that some of their criticisms comes from those who have a vested interest in a permanent welfare constituency and in government programs that reinforce the dependency of our people.

Well, I would suggest that no one should have a vested interest in poverty or dependency, that these tragedies must never be looked at as a source of votes for politicians or paychecks for bureaucrats. They are blights on our society that we must work to eliminate, not institutionalize.

> Remarks at the Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

Washington, DC 2/26/82

Now, I don't think Americans value a handout nearly so much as a hand up. Past policies have locked millions of our people in place on the bottom rung of our economic ladder. We must be sure that our Government never again stands in between our families and prosperity. We must aid those who need us, but we must not hinder those who need only a chance.

> Remarks to the national Catholic Education Association

Chicago, IL

4/15/82

As families take care of their own, government must provide shelter and nourishment for those who cannot provide for

WELFARE REFORM (con't)

themselves. But we must revise or replace programs enacted in the name of compassion that degrade the moral worth of work, encourage family breakups, and drive entire communities into a bleak and heartless dependency.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

2/4/86

In the welfare culture, the breakdown of the family, the most basic support system, has reached crisis proportions -- in female and child poverty, child abandonment, horrible crimes, and deteriorating schools. After hundreds of billions of dollars in poverty programs, the plight of the poor grows more painful. But the waste in dollars and cents pales before the most tragic loss: the sinful waste of human spirit and potential.

IBID

(I)n view of the plight of the poor, especially the breakdown of the poor family, we must engage in a thorough reform of our welfare system. In our country today there are neighborhoods where the American trait of self-reliance has been blotted out by government dependency. There are city blocks where families have virtually no experience of fathers, just of mothers struggling alone in poverty to raise their children. As I said in the State of the Union Address, we must reform welfare to provide real and lasting emancipation, because the success of welfare should be judged by how many of its recipients become independent of welfare.

Remarks to Regional Press Representatives

State Dining Room 2/10/86

We're in danger of creating a permanent culture of poverty as inescapable as any chain or bond; a second and separate America, an America of lost dreams and stunted lives. The

WELFARE REFORM (con't)

irony is that misguided welfare programs instituted in the name of compassion have actually helped turn a shrinking problem into a national tragedy.

Radio Address to the Nation

Santa Barbara, CA 2/15/86

Congress today is still debating a welfare reform package years after States started taking advantage of the greater flexibility we gave them. One State after another has returned to the basic, homespun, enduring wisdom that the best way to learn to work is to work. And the best way to get people to work is to make sure they have the incentives to work. Once we gave you the flexibility, you abandoned the destructive and bizarre prejudices that had crept into programs designed and administered from Washington -- prejudices such as that public assistance carried no obligations for the recipient, or that, if one had a choice, it was as acceptable to live on welfare as to be independent.

Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Governor's Association

Cincinnati, OH 8/8/88

(T)here are still some Americans whom 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.

Radio Address to the Nation
Santa Barbara, CA 9/3/88

WOMEN'S ISSUES

Our commitment to fairness means that we must assure legal and economic equity for women, and eliminate, once and for all, all traces of unjust discrimination against women from the United States Code. We will not tolerate wage discrimination based on sex, and we intend to strengthen enforcement of child support laws to ensure that single parents, most of whom are women, do not suffer unfair financial hardship. We will also take action to remedy inequities in pensions. These initiatives will be joined by others to continue our efforts to promote equity for women.

State of the Union Address

Washington, DC

1/25/83

America needs your wisdom, your inner strength, and your compassion in every phase of our national life -- in our families, communities, businesses, politics, and government. We must work together to ensure women can participate in the manner they choose and that they are treated equally. We in this administration are committed to eliminating, once and for all, all traces of unjust discrimination against women. the same time we are doing our best to restore respect for the family and the homemakers who hold our society together.

> Remarks in a taped television message to the Republican Women's Leadership Forum

Indianapolis, IN 6/3/83

I believe the greatest contribution this Administration can make to women is to get the economy moving and keep it moving. (Applause) This will provide more opportunities for women than if all the promises of the Democratic presidential candidates were enacted into law.

> Remarks to the Republican Women's Leadership Forum

San Diego, CA 8/26/83

WOMEN'S ISSUES (con't)

I know women have felt excluded in the past. We are changing that. Now, more than ever, we need women like you -Republican women -- to run for office, to serve in local, state, and Federal appointments, to work for the Party. We need your leadership, your perspective, and your experience. We need your participation.

IBID

Today, whether single or married, with children or other dependents, women continue to assume critically important leadership positions in our Nation's economic cultural, and social life. They are contributing substantially to the character and growth of the economy and permanently influencing the development of our political commercial, judicial, and legal institutions.

Women's History Week 1984 Proclamation

3/2/84

Women are making significant achievements in government and the private sector that will enhance employment opportunities for all Americans. As obstacles to full equality of opportunity are overcome, more and more women are successfully occupying an ever greater variety of demanding and rewarding careers. At the same time, women make an incomparable contribution as mothers and homemakers, whose vision, love, and example will shape the destiny of our country in the years to come.

Women's History Week 1986 Proclamation

3/4/86

WOMEN'S ISSUES (con't)

In our administration, our mission has been to appoint the best qualified people we could find to fill substantial jobs with substantial individuals. And the result of this merit-based approach, not surprisingly, is that more women have served in top-level policy positions in our administration than in any previous one. (Applause)

Remarks to Executive Women in Government
Washington, DC 9/8/88

We need you. We need your youth. We need your strength. We need your idealism to help us make right that which is wrong. Now, I know that this period of your life, you have been and are critically looking at the mores and customs of the past and questioning their value. Every generation does that. May I suggest, don't discard the time-tested values upon which civilization was built simply because they're old. More important, don't let today's doomcriers and cynics persuade you that the best is past, that from here on it's all downhill. Each generation sees farther than the generation that preceded it because it stands on the shoulders of that generation. You're going to have opportunities beyond anything that we've ever known.

Address at Commencement Exercises at the University of Notre Dame

South Bend, IN

5/17/81

America rejoices in the energy, the imagination, and the promise of her young people. Whether in voluntary service, athletics, education, music, military service or within the family, young Americans display an enthusiasm, creativity, idealism, and dedication that have accomplished so much for our society and the world. Their patriotism and commitment to peace with freedom ensure a vigorous American democracy and a safer world in the years ahead.

International Youth Year Proclamation, 1985

2/6/85

One of the joys of my current job has been getting to know America's young people. I've met you here at the White House and everywhere I've traveled throughout this land; on campuses, in churches, on military bases, young people were there. Your idealism and confidence, your gusto for life,

YOUTH (con't)

have been an energy source this not-so-young President has been able to tap. I'm proud of each of you and share your desire to ensure that when you're ready to make your mark -- and that won't be many years from now -- that our country is the free and opportunity land that God intended her to be.

Remarks in Satellite Address to High School Students
The Oval Office 1/15/87

(S) ince our administration began, it's been our vision that to create a better future for our children we need, as a matter of policy, to defend and strengthen the family, the bedrock of our society. We need to reform our welfare system so that it encourages work and is profamily and does not perpetuate poverty from one generation to the next. Our schools must teach basic skills and sound values. They must provide discipline and be free of drugs. We need a criminal justice system that makes neighborhoods safe places to live and work, that punishes criminals instead of shackling police officers. Now, these may be old-fashioned and simple ideas. But they worked yesterday. They're working today. And they'll work tomorrow. And they offer hope for a future in which none of our children get left behind.

Remarks on Signing the Youth 2000 Week Proclamation

The Rose Garden

9/9/88