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(Noonan)  
January 10, 1989  
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: FAREWELL TO THE NATION  
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1989

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

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

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

People ask how I feel about leaving, and the fact is parting is "such sweet sorrow." The sweet part is California, and the ranch, and freedom. The sorrow? The goodbyes, of course, and leaving this beautiful place.

You know, down the hall and up the stairs from this office is the part of the White House where the President and his family live. There are a few favorite windows I have up there that I like to stand and look out of early in the morning. The view is

over the grounds here to the Washington monument, and then the mall, and the Jefferson Memorial. But on mornings when the humidity is low, you can see past the Jefferson to the river, the Potomac, and the Virginia shore. Someone said that's the view Lincoln had when he saw the smoke rising from the battle of Bull Run. I see more prosaic things: the grass on the banks, the morning traffic as people make their way to work, now and then a sailboat on the river...

I have been thinking a bit at that window. I've been reflecting on what the past 8 years have meant, and mean. And the image that comes to mind like a refrain is a nautical one -- a small story about a big ship, and a refugee, and a sailor.

It was back in the early eighties, at the height of the boat people, and the sailor was hard at work on the Carrier Midway, which was patrolling the South China Sea. The sailor, like most American servicemen, was young, smart, and fiercely observant. The crew spied on the horizon a leaky little boat -- and crammed inside were refugees from Indochina hoping to get to America. The midway sent a small launch to bring them to the ship, and safety. As the refugees made their way through the choppy seas, one spied the sailor on deck, and stood up and called out to him. He yelled, "Hello American sailor -- Hello Freedom Man."

A small moment with a big meaning, a moment the sailor, who wrote it in a letter, couldn't get out of his mind. And, when I saw it, neither could I.

Because that's what it was to be an American in the 1980's: We stood, again, for freedom. I know we always have but in the

past few years the world -- again, <sup>and</sup> in a way, we ourselves --  
rediscovered it. ✓

It has been quite a journey this decade, and we held together through some stormy seas. And at the end, together, we reached our destination.

The fact is, from Grenada to the Washington and Moscow Summits, from the recession of '81 to '82 to the expansion that began in late '82 and continues to this day, we've made a difference.

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

Something that happened to me a few years ago reflects some of this. It was back in 1981, and I was attending my first big economic summit, which was held that year in Canada. The meeting place rotates among the member countries. The opening meeting was a formal dinner for the heads of government of the seven industrialized nations. I sat there like the new kid in school and listened, and it was all Francois this and Helmut that. They dropped titles and spoke to one another on a first-name basis. At one point I sort of leaned in and said, "My name's Ron."

In that same year, we began the actions we felt would ignite an economic comeback: Cut taxes and regulation, started to cut <sup>or</sup> spending. Soon the recovery began.

Two years later another economic summit, with pretty much the same cast. At the big opening meeting we all got together, and all of a sudden just for a moment I saw that everyone was looking at me. Then one of them broke the silence. "Tell us about the American miracle," he said.

Back in 1980, when I was running for President, it was all so different. Some pundits said our programs would result in catastrophe. Our views on foreign affairs would cause war, our plans for the economy would cause inflation to soar and bring about economic collapse. I even remember one highly respected economist saying, back in 1982, that "The engines of economic growth have shut down here and across the globe and they are likely to stay that way for years to come. . ."

Well, he -- and the other "opinion leaders" -- were wrong. The fact is, what they called "radical" was really "right;" what they called "dangerous" was just "desperately needed."

And in all that time I won a nickname -- "The Great Communicator." But I never thought it was my style or the words I used that made a difference -- it was the content. I wasn't a great communicator but I communicated great things, and they didn't spring full blown from my brow, they came from the heart of a great Nation -- from our experience, our wisdom, and our belief in the principles that have guided us for two centuries.

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

Common sense told us that when you put a big tax on something, the people will produce less of it. So we cut the people's tax rates and the people produced more than ever before. The economy bloomed like a plant that had been cut back and could now grow quicker and stronger. Our economic program brought about the longest peacetime expansion in our history: real family income up, the poverty rate down, entrepreneurship booming and an explosion in research and new technology. We are exporting more than ever because American industry became more competitive and at the same time, we summoned the national will to knock down protectionist walls abroad instead of erecting them at home.

Common sense also told us that to preserve the peace we'd have to become strong again after years of weakness and confusion. So we rebuilt our defenses -- and this New Year we toasted the new peacefulness around the globe. Not only have the superpowers actually begun to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons -- and hope for even more progress is bright -- but the regional conflicts that rack the globe are also beginning to cease. The Persian Gulf is no longer a war zone, the Soviets are leaving Afghanistan, the Vietnamese are preparing to pull out of Cambodia, and an American-mediated accord will soon send 50,000 Cuban troops home from Angola.

The lesson of all this was, of course, that because we are a great Nation, our challenges seem complex. It will always be this way. But as long as we remember our first principles and believe in ourselves, the future will always be ours.

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

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

When you've got to the point where you can celebrate the anniversaries of your 39th birthday you can sit back sometimes, review your life and see it flowing before you. For me there was a fork in the river, and it was right in the middle of my life.

I never meant to go into politics; it wasn't my intention when I was young. But I was raised to believe you had to pay your way for the blessings bestowed on you. I was happy with my career in the entertainment world, but I ultimately went into politics because I wanted to protect something precious.

Ours was the first revolution in the history of mankind that truly reversed the course of government, and with three little words: "We the People."

"We the People" tell the government what to do, it doesn't tell us. "We the People" are the driver -- the government is the car. And we decide where it should go, and by what route, and how fast. Almost all the world's constitutions are documents in which governments tell the people what their privileges are. Our

Constitution is a document in which "We the People" tell the government what it is allowed to do. "We the People" are free.

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

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

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

Nothing is less free than pure communism, and yet we have, the past few years, forged a satisfying new closeness with the Soviet Union. I've been asked if this isn't a gamble and my answer is no, because we're basing our actions not on words but deeds.

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



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

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

Even though our visit was a surprise, every Russian there immediately recognized us, and called out our names and reached for our hands. We were just about swept away by the warmth -- you could almost feel the possibilities in all that joy. But within seconds a KGB detail pushed their way toward us and began pushing and shoving the people in the crowd. It was an interesting moment. It reminded me that while the man on the street in the Soviet Union yearns for peace, the government is communist -- those who run it are communists -- and that means we and they view such issues as freedom and human rights very differently.

We must keep up our guard -- but we must also continue to work together to lessen and eliminate tension and mistrust.

My view is that President Gorbachev is different from previous Soviet leaders. I think he knows some of the things wrong with his society and is trying to fix them. We wish him well. And we'll continue to work to make sure that the Soviet

Union that eventually emerges from this process is a less threatening one.

What it all boils down to is this: I want the new closeness to continue. And it will as long as we make it clear that we will continue to act in a certain way as long as they continue to act in a helpful manner. If and when they don't -- at first pull your punches. If they persist, pull the plug.

It's still trust -- but verify.

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

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

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

The deficit is one. I've been talking a great deal about that lately, but tonight isn't for arguments and I'm going to hold my tongue.

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

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

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

But oddly enough it starts with one of the things I'm proudest of the past 8 years: the resurgence of national pride that I called "the new patriotism." This national feeling is good, but it won't count for much and it won't last unless it's grounded in thoughtfulness and knowledge.

An informed patriotism is what we want. And are we doing a good enough job teaching our children what America is and what she represents in the long history of the world?

Those of us who are over 35 or so years of age grew up in a different America. We were taught, very directly, what it means to be an American, and we absorbed almost in the air a love of country and an appreciation of its institutions. If you didn't get these things from your family you got them from the neighborhood, from the father down the street who fought in Korea or the family who lost someone at Anzio. Or you could get a sense of patriotism from school. And if all else failed you could get a sense of patriotism from the popular culture. The movies celebrated democratic values and implicitly reinforced the idea that America was special. TV was like that too through the mid-sixties.

But now we're about to enter the nineties, and some things have changed. Younger parents aren't sure that an unambivalent appreciation of America is the right thing to teach modern

children. And as for those who create the popular culture, well-grounded patriotism is no longer the style.

Our spirit is back, but we haven't reinstitutionalized it. We've got to do a better job of getting across that America is freedom -- freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of enterprise -- and freedom is special and rare. It's fragile; it needs protection.

We've got to teach history based not on what's in fashion but what's important: Why the pilgrims came here, who Jimmy Doolittle was, and what those 30 seconds over Tokyo meant... You know, 4 years ago on the 40th anniversary of D-Day I read a letter from a young woman writing to her late father, who'd fought on Omaha Beach. Her name was Lisa Zanatta Henn, and she said, we will always remember, we will never forget what the boys of Normandy did. Well, let's help her keep her word.

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

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

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

The past few days when I've been at that window upstairs I've thought a bit of the shining "city upon a hill." The phrase comes from John Winthrop, who wrote it to describe the America he imagined. What he imagined was important because he was an early Pilgrim -- an early "Freedom Man." He journeyed here on what today we'd call a little wooden boat; and, like the other pilgrims, he was looking for a home that would be free.

I've spoken of the shining city all my political life, but I don't know if I ever quite communicated what I saw when I said it. But in my mind it was a tall proud city built on rocks stronger than oceans, wind-swept, God-blessed, and teeming with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace -- a city with free ports that hummed with commerce and creativity, and if there had to be city walls, the walls had doors and the doors were open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here.

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

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

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

We've done our part. And as I walk off into the city streets, a final word to the men and women of the Reagan

Revolution -- the men and women across America who for 8 years did the work that brought America back:

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

All in all not bad. Not bad at all.

And so, goodbye.

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

*The President.* What?

*Mr. Cronkite.* Do we have a plan?

*The President.* Yes, and the plan is to—we have maintained contact. We're negotiating other things of mutual interest to the two countries, making some progress on them. But on those talks—my idea of the goal is if we can once start down the road of achieving reductions in the armaments, I just have to believe that we'll see the common sense in continuing down the road and eliminating them.

*Mr. Cronkite.* Have you had a chance with your busy schedule on this tour to catch up with the fact that the Soviets on this anniversary, the 40th anniversary of D-day, are making much of the fact that they've cited before—a fact, I mean, by their token, of the fiction that we deliberately delayed this landing by 2 years in order that the Germans would eat up the Soviets by attrition, and that we came ashore virtually unopposed because of connivance with the Germans. Have you heard that they're repeating that all over Europe?

*The President.* Oh, I know that. As a matter of fact, recently, our ceremony for the funeral of the unknown soldier from Vietnam, they referred to that as "a militaristic orgy." I sometimes wonder—

*Mr. Cronkite.* No reference to Afghanistan, huh?

*The President.* I wonder sometimes, when they talk about heated rhetoric coming from me, doesn't anyone listen to what they're saying? But how anyone could say that this was an almost unopposed landing, we know better. And the evidence is right here; and the survivors, many of them, are right here.

They had not won the war, and we had

not delayed for any reason of that kind. I have some reason for saying that, because my own war service was spent in a unit that was directly under Air Corps Intelligence, and we had access to all the intelligence information about things, even including this. And there was an awful lot of war to be fought.

*Mr. Cronkite.* Yes. As a matter of fact, you know, 40,000 airmen gave their lives over Europe. I covered the Air Force as a correspondent, and I think of that. When you talk about 10,000 dying here on D-day, 40,000 died in order to get the Luftwaffe out of the skies before D-day—

*The President.* Yes.

*Mr. Cronkite.* —or this wouldn't have been possible.

Let me ask you one more question before you have to go. Speaking of wars and political campaigns, what's your plan for D-day against Mondale, Hart, or whoever it is?

*The President.* Just tell them what we've done and what we're going to do and pretend they're not there. [Laughter]

*Mr. Cronkite.* Well, you may have to climb a hundred-foot cliff, but I guess you've got your weapons—[laughter]—at your ready.

*The President.* Yes.

*Mr. Cronkite.* Thank you very much, Mr. President.

*The President.* Well, it's good to see you again.

*Mr. Cronkite.* Thank you.

*Note: The interview began at 2:50 p.m. at Pointe du Hoc. At the conclusion of the interview, the President and Mrs. Reagan departed Pointe du Hoc and traveled to Omaha Beach.*

## Remarks at a United States-France Ceremony Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Normandy Invasion, D-day

June 6, 1984

Mr. President, distinguished guests, we stand today at a place of battle, one that 40

years ago saw and felt the worst of war. Men bled and died here for a few feet of—

or inches of sand, as bullets and shellfire cut through their ranks. About them, General Omar Bradley later said, "Every man who set foot on Omaha Beach that day was a hero."

No speech can adequately portray their suffering, their sacrifice, their heroism. President Lincoln once reminded us that through their deeds, the dead of battle have spoken more eloquently for themselves than any of the living ever could. But we can only honor them by rededicating ourselves to the cause for which they gave a last full measure of devotion.

Today we do rededicate ourselves to that cause. And at this place of honor, we're humbled by the realization of how much so many gave to the cause of freedom and to their fellow man.

Some who survived the battle of June 6, 1944, are here today. Others who hoped to return never did.

"Someday, Lis, I'll go back," said Private First Class Peter Robert Zanatta, of the 37th Engineer Combat Battalion, and first assault wave to hit Omaha Beach. "I'll go back, and I'll see it all again. I'll see the beach, the barricades, and the graves."

Those words of Private Zanatta come to us from his daughter, Lisa Zanatta Henn, in a heart-rending story about the event her father spoke of so often. "In his words, the Normandy invasion would change his life forever," she said. She tells some of his stories of World War II but says of her father, "the story to end all stories was D-day."

"He made me feel the fear of being on that boat waiting to land. I can smell the ocean and feel the seasickness. I can see the looks on his fellow soldiers' faces—the fear, the anguish, the uncertainty of what lay ahead. And when they landed, I can feel the strength and courage of the men who took those first steps through the tide to what must have surely looked like instant death."

Private Zanatta's daughter wrote to me: "I don't know how or why I can feel this emptiness, this fear, or this determination, but I do. Maybe it's the bond I had with my father. All I know is that it brings tears to my eyes to think about my father as a 20-year-old boy having to face that beach."

The anniversary of D-day was always spe-

cial for her family. And like all the families of those who went to war, she describes how she came to realize her own father's survival was a miracle: "So many men died. I know that my father watched many of his friends be killed. I know that he must have died inside a little each time. But his explanation to me was, 'You did what you had to do, and you kept on going.'"

When men like Private Zanatta and all our allied forces stormed the beaches of Normandy 40 years ago they came not as conquerors, but as liberators. When these troops swept across the French countryside and into the forests of Belgium and Luxembourg they came not to take, but to return what had been wrongly seized. When our forces marched into Germany they came not to prey on a brave and defeated people, but to nurture the seeds of democracy among those who yearned to be free again.

We salute them today. But, Mr. President, we also salute those who, like yourself, were already engaging the enemy inside your beloved country—the French Resistance. Your valiant struggle for France did so much to cripple the enemy and spur the advance of the armies of liberation. The French Forces of the Interior will forever personify courage and national spirit. They will be a timeless inspiration to all who are free and to all who would be free.

Today, in their memory, and for all who fought here, we celebrate the triumph of democracy. We reaffirm the unity of democratic peoples who fought a war and then joined with the vanquished in a firm resolve to keep the peace.

From a terrible war we learned that unity made us invincible; now, in peace, that same unity makes us secure. We sought to bring all freedom-loving nations together in a community dedicated to the defense and preservation of our sacred values. Our alliance, forged in the crucible of war, tempered and shaped by the realities of the postwar world, has succeeded. In Europe, the threat has been contained, the peace has been kept.

Today the living here assembled—officials, veterans, citizens—are a tribute to what was achieved here 40 years ago. This land is secure. We are free. These things

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are worth fighting and dying for.

Lisa Zanatta Henn began her story by quoting her father, who promised that he would return to Normandy. She ended with a promise to her father, who died 8 years ago of cancer: "I'm going there, Dad, and I'll see the beaches and the barricades and the monuments. I'll see the graves, and I'll put flowers there just like you wanted to do. I'll feel all the things you made me feel through your stories and your eyes. I'll never forget what you went through, Dad, nor will I let anyone else forget. And, Dad, I'll always be proud."

Through the words of his loving daughter, who is here with us today, a D-day veteran has shown us the meaning of this

day far better than any President can. It is enough for us to say about Private Zanatta and all the men of honor and courage who fought beside him four decades ago: We will always remember. We will always be proud. We will always be prepared, so we may always be free.

Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:33 p.m. at the Omaha Beach Memorial at Omaha Beach, France. In his opening remarks, he referred to President François Mitterrand of France.*

*Following the ceremony, President Reagan traveled to Utah Beach.*

## Remarks by Telephone to the Crew of the U.S.S. *Eisenhower* Following D-day Ceremonies in Normandy, France June 6, 1984

Greetings to all of you, the officers and men of the U.S.S. *Eisenhower*. Believe me, all of us up here are inspired by the sight of your magnificent ship and the battle group which accompanied you to the coast of Normandy.

We're returning from a commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the D-day landing—the heroic operation that was planned and commanded by General Dwight D. Eisenhower. The memory of "Ike," our great allied leader, still inspires heroic efforts on both sides of the Atlantic.

Today, as 40 years ago, our Navy and all of our Armed Forces are advancing the cause of peace and freedom. The dedication of you, our sailors and marines, particularly during your recent deployment in the Eastern Mediterranean, is in the highest tradition of the service.

The American people and our allies in Europe and beyond are all more secure because men of your caliber are on station when and where needed. Admiral Flatley, Captain Clepton, officers and men of the "Ike"—I salute you for your devoted service to the cause of freedom.

You know, I'm up here hoping that you've been able to hear me. I'll just say, God bless you all, and if it wouldn't be too demoralizing, wave, and I'll know whether you've heard this.

Thank you. Thank you all. Good sailing, and God bless you.

*Note: The President spoke at 7:10 p.m. on board Marine One during the flight from Utah Beach, France, to London.*

*As printed above, this item follows the text of the White House press release.*

PRESIDENT'S BACKUP COPY:  
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1989

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, THIS IS THE 34<sup>TH</sup> TIME I'LL SPEAK TO YOU FROM THE OVAL OFFICE, AND THE LAST. WE HAVE BEEN TOGETHER 8 YEARS NOW, AND SOON IT WILL BE TIME FOR ME TO GO. BUT BEFORE I DO, I WANTED TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS, SOME OF WHICH I HAVE BEEN SAVING FOR A LONG TIME.

IT HAS BEEN THE HONOR OF MY LIFE TO BE YOUR PRESIDENT. SO MANY OF YOU HAVE WRITTEN THE PAST FEW WEEKS TO SAY THANKS, BUT I COULD SAY AS MUCH TO YOU. NANCY AND I ARE GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY YOU GAVE US TO SERVE.

ONE OF THE THINGS ABOUT THE PRESIDENCY IS THAT YOU'RE ALWAYS SOMEWHAT APART. YOU SPEND A LOT OF TIME GOING BY TOO FAST IN A CAR SOMEONE ELSE IS DRIVING, AND SEEING THE PEOPLE THROUGH TINTED GLASS -- THE PARENTS HOLDING UP A CHILD, AND THE WAVE YOU SAW TOO LATE AND COULDN'T RETURN. AND SO MANY TIMES I WANTED TO STOP, AND REACH OUT FROM BEHIND THE GLASS, AND CONNECT. AND MAYBE I CAN DO A LITTLE OF THAT TONIGHT.

PEOPLE ASK HOW I FEEL ABOUT LEAVING, AND THE FACT IS, PARTING IS "SUCH SWEET SORROW." THE SWEET PART IS CALIFORNIA, AND THE RANCH, AND FREEDOM. THE SORROW? THE GOODBYES, OF COURSE, AND LEAVING THIS BEAUTIFUL PLACE.

YOU KNOW, DOWN THE HALL AND UP THE STAIRS FROM THIS OFFICE IS THE PART OF THE WHITE HOUSE WHERE THE PRESIDENT AND HIS FAMILY LIVE. THERE ARE A FEW FAVORITE WINDOWS I HAVE UP THERE THAT I LIKE TO STAND AND LOOK OUT OF EARLY IN THE MORNING. THE VIEW IS OVER THE GROUNDS HERE TO THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT, AND THEN THE MALL, AND THE JEFFERSON MEMORIAL. BUT ON MORNINGS WHEN THE HUMIDITY IS LOW, YOU CAN SEE PAST THE JEFFERSON TO THE RIVER, THE POTOMAC, AND THE VIRGINIA SHORE. SOMEONE SAID THAT'S THE VIEW LINCOLN HAD WHEN HE SAW THE SMOKE RISING FROM THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN. I SEE MORE PROSAIC THINGS: THE GRASS ON THE BANKS, THE MORNING TRAFFIC AS PEOPLE MAKE THEIR WAY TO WORK, NOW AND THEN A SAILBOAT ON THE RIVER...

I HAVE BEEN THINKING A BIT AT THAT WINDOW. I'VE BEEN REFLECTING ON WHAT THE PAST 8 YEARS HAVE MEANT, AND MEAN. AND THE IMAGE THAT COMES TO MIND LIKE A REFRAIN IS A NAUTICAL ONE -- A SMALL STORY ABOUT A BIG SHIP, AND A REFUGEE, AND A SAILOR.

IT WAS BACK IN THE EARLY EIGHTIES, AT THE HEIGHT OF THE BOAT PEOPLE, AND THE SAILOR WAS HARD AT WORK ON THE CARRIER MIDWAY, WHICH WAS PATROLLING THE SOUTH CHINA SEA. THE SAILOR, LIKE MOST AMERICAN SERVICEMEN, WAS YOUNG, SMART, AND FIERCELY OBSERVANT. THE CREW SPIED ON THE HORIZON A LEAKY LITTLE BOAT -- AND CRAMMED INSIDE WERE REFUGEES FROM INDOCHINA HOPING TO GET TO AMERICA. THE MIDWAY SENT A SMALL LAUNCH TO BRING THEM TO THE SHIP, AND SAFETY. AS THE REFUGEES MADE THEIR WAY THROUGH THE CHOPPY SEAS, ONE SPIED THE SAILOR ON DECK, AND STOOD UP AND CALLED OUT TO HIM. HE YELLED, "HELLO AMERICAN SAILOR -- HELLO FREEDOM MAN."

A SMALL MOMENT WITH A BIG MEANING, A MOMENT THE SAILOR, WHO WROTE IT IN A LETTER, COULDN'T GET OUT OF HIS MIND. AND, WHEN I SAW IT, NEITHER COULD I.

BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT IT WAS TO BE AN AMERICAN IN THE 1980'S: WE STOOD, AGAIN, FOR FREEDOM. I KNOW WE ALWAYS HAVE, BUT IN THE PAST FEW YEARS THE WORLD -- AGAIN, AND IN A WAY, WE OURSELVES -- REDISCOVERED IT.

IT HAS BEEN QUITE A JOURNEY THIS DECADE, AND WE HELD TOGETHER THROUGH SOME STORMY SEAS. AND AT THE END, TOGETHER, WE ARE REACHING OUR DESTINATION.

THE FACT IS, FROM GRENADA TO THE WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW SUMMITS, FROM THE RECESSION OF '81 TO '82 TO THE EXPANSION THAT BEGAN IN LATE '82 AND CONTINUES TO THIS DAY, WE'VE MADE A DIFFERENCE.

THE WAY I SEE IT, THERE WERE TWO GREAT TRIUMPHS, TWO THINGS THAT I'M PROUDEST OF. ONE IS THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY, IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA CREATED -- AND FILLED -- 19 MILLION NEW JOBS. THE OTHER IS THE RECOVERY OF OUR MORALE: AMERICA IS RESPECTED AGAIN IN THE WORLD, AND LOOKED TO FOR LEADERSHIP.

SOMETHING THAT HAPPENED TO ME A FEW YEARS AGO REFLECTS SOME OF THIS. IT WAS BACK IN 1981, AND I WAS ATTENDING MY FIRST BIG ECONOMIC SUMMIT, WHICH WAS HELD THAT YEAR IN CANADA. THE MEETING PLACE ROTATES AMONG THE MEMBER COUNTRIES. THE OPENING MEETING WAS A FORMAL DINNER FOR THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE SEVEN INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS. I SAT THERE LIKE THE NEW KID IN SCHOOL AND LISTENED, AND IT WAS ALL FRANCOIS THIS AND HELMUT THAT. THEY DROPPED TITLES AND SPOKE TO ONE ANOTHER ON A FIRST-NAME BASIS. AT ONE POINT I SORT OF LEANED IN AND SAID, "MY NAME'S RON."

IN THAT SAME YEAR, WE BEGAN THE ACTIONS WE FELT WOULD IGNITE AN ECONOMIC COMEBACK: CUT TAXES AND REGULATION, STARTED TO CUT SPENDING. SOON THE RECOVERY BEGAN.

TWO YEARS LATER ANOTHER ECONOMIC SUMMIT, WITH PRETTY MUCH THE SAME CAST. AT THE BIG OPENING MEETING WE ALL GOT TOGETHER, AND ALL OF A SUDDEN JUST FOR A MOMENT I SAW THAT EVERYONE WAS LOOKING AT ME. THEN ONE OF THEM BROKE THE SILENCE. "TELL US ABOUT THE AMERICAN MIRACLE," HE SAID.

BACK IN 1980, WHEN I WAS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT, IT WAS ALL SO DIFFERENT. SOME PUNDITS SAID OUR PROGRAMS WOULD RESULT IN CATASTROPHE. OUR VIEWS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD CAUSE WAR, OUR PLANS FOR THE ECONOMY WOULD CAUSE INFLATION TO SOAR AND BRING ABOUT ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. I EVEN REMEMBER ONE HIGHLY RESPECTED ECONOMIST SAYING, BACK IN 1982, THAT "THE ENGINES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH HAVE SHUT DOWN HERE AND ACROSS THE GLOBE AND THEY ARE LIKELY TO STAY THAT WAY FOR YEARS TO COME..."

WELL, HE -- AND THE OTHER "OPINION LEADERS" -- WERE WRONG. THE FACT IS, WHAT THEY CALLED "RADICAL" WAS REALLY "RIGHT;" WHAT THEY CALLED "DANGEROUS" WAS JUST "DESPERATELY NEEDED."

AND IN ALL THAT TIME I WON A NICKNAME -- "THE GREAT COMMUNICATOR." BUT I NEVER THOUGHT IT WAS MY STYLE OR THE WORDS I USED THAT MADE A DIFFERENCE -- IT WAS THE CONTENT. I WASN'T A GREAT COMMUNICATOR BUT I COMMUNICATED GREAT THINGS, AND THEY DIDN'T SPRING FULL BLOWN FROM MY BROW, THEY CAME FROM THE HEART OF A GREAT NATION -- FROM OUR EXPERIENCE, OUR WISDOM, AND OUR BELIEF IN THE PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE GUIDED US FOR TWO CENTURIES.

THEY CALLED IT THE REAGAN REVOLUTION, AND I'LL ACCEPT THAT, BUT FOR ME IT ALWAYS SEEMED MORE LIKE THE GREAT REDISCOVERY: A REDISCOVERY OF OUR VALUES AND OUR COMMON SENSE.

COMMON SENSE TOLD US THAT WHEN YOU PUT A BIG TAX ON SOMETHING, THE PEOPLE WILL PRODUCE LESS OF IT. SO WE CUT THE PEOPLE'S TAX RATES AND THE PEOPLE PRODUCED MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. THE ECONOMY BLOOMED LIKE A PLANT THAT HAD BEEN CUT BACK AND COULD NOW GROW QUICKER AND STRONGER. OUR ECONOMIC PROGRAM BROUGHT ABOUT THE LONGEST PEACETIME EXPANSION IN OUR HISTORY: REAL FAMILY INCOME UP, THE POVERTY RATE DOWN, ENTREPRENEURSHIP BOOMING, AND AN EXPLOSION IN RESEARCH AND NEW TECHNOLOGY. WE ARE EXPORTING MORE THAN EVER BECAUSE AMERICAN INDUSTRY BECAME MORE COMPETITIVE AND, AT THE SAME TIME, WE SUMMONED THE NATIONAL WILL TO KNOCK DOWN PROTECTIONIST WALLS ABROAD INSTEAD OF ERECTING THEM AT HOME.

COMMON SENSE ALSO TOLD US THAT TO PRESERVE THE PEACE WE'D HAVE TO BECOME STRONG AGAIN AFTER YEARS OF WEAKNESS AND CONFUSION. SO WE REBUILT OUR DEFENSES -- AND THIS NEW YEAR WE TOASTED THE NEW PEACEFULNESS AROUND THE GLOBE. NOT ONLY HAVE THE SUPERPOWERS ACTUALLY BEGUN TO REDUCE THEIR STOCKPILES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS -- AND HOPE FOR EVEN MORE PROGRESS IS BRIGHT -- BUT THE REGIONAL CONFLICTS THAT RACK THE GLOBE ARE ALSO BEGINNING TO CEASE. THE PERSIAN GULF IS NO LONGER A WAR ZONE, THE SOVIETS ARE LEAVING AFGHANISTAN, THE VIETNAMESE ARE PREPARING TO PULL OUT OF CAMBODIA, AND AN AMERICAN-MEDIATED ACCORD WILL SOON SEND 50,000 CUBAN TROOPS HOME FROM ANGOLA.

THE LESSON OF ALL THIS WAS, OF COURSE, THAT BECAUSE WE ARE A GREAT NATION, OUR CHALLENGES SEEM COMPLEX. IT WILL ALWAYS BE THIS WAY. BUT AS LONG AS WE REMEMBER OUR FIRST PRINCIPLES AND BELIEVE IN OURSELVES, THE FUTURE WILL ALWAYS BE OURS.

AND SOMETHING ELSE WE LEARNED: ONCE YOU BEGIN A GREAT MOVEMENT, THERE'S NO TELLING WHERE IT WILL END. WE MEANT TO CHANGE A NATION, AND INSTEAD, WE CHANGED A WORLD.



COUNTRIES ACROSS THE GLOBE ARE TURNING TO FREE MARKETS AND FREE SPEECH -- AND TURNING AWAY FROM THE IDEOLOGIES OF THE PAST. FOR THEM, THE GREAT REDISCOVERY OF THE 1980'S HAS BEEN THAT, LO AND BEHOLD, THE MORAL WAY OF GOVERNMENT IS THE PRACTICAL WAY OF GOVERNMENT. DEMOCRACY, THE PROFOUNDLY GOOD, IS ALSO THE PROFOUNDLY PRODUCTIVE.

WHEN YOU'VE GOT TO THE POINT WHERE YOU CAN CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARIES OF YOUR 39<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY, YOU CAN SIT BACK SOMETIMES, REVIEW YOUR LIFE AND SEE IT FLOWING BEFORE YOU. FOR ME THERE WAS A FORK IN THE RIVER, AND IT WAS RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF MY LIFE.

I NEVER MEANT TO GO INTO POLITICS; IT WASN'T MY INTENTION WHEN I WAS YOUNG. BUT I WAS RAISED TO BELIEVE YOU HAD TO PAY YOUR WAY FOR THE BLESSINGS BESTOWED ON YOU. I WAS HAPPY WITH MY CAREER IN THE ENTERTAINMENT WORLD, BUT I ULTIMATELY WENT INTO POLITICS BECAUSE I WANTED TO PROTECT SOMETHING PRECIOUS.

OURS WAS THE FIRST REVOLUTION IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND THAT TRULY REVERSED THE COURSE OF GOVERNMENT, AND WITH THREE LITTLE WORDS: "WE THE PEOPLE."

"WE THE PEOPLE" TELL THE GOVERNMENT WHAT TO DO, IT DOESN'T TELL US. "WE THE PEOPLE" ARE THE DRIVER -- THE GOVERNMENT IS THE CAR. AND WE DECIDE WHERE IT SHOULD GO, AND BY WHAT ROUTE, AND HOW FAST. ALMOST ALL THE WORLD'S CONSTITUTIONS ARE DOCUMENTS IN WHICH GOVERNMENTS TELL THE PEOPLE WHAT THEIR PRIVILEGES ARE. OUR CONSTITUTION IS A DOCUMENT IN WHICH "WE THE PEOPLE" TELL THE GOVERNMENT WHAT IT IS ALLOWED TO DO. "WE THE PEOPLE" ARE FREE.

THIS BELIEF HAS BEEN THE UNDERLYING BASIS FOR EVERYTHING I HAVE TRIED TO DO THESE PAST 8 YEARS.

BUT BACK IN THE 1960'S WHEN I BEGAN, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT WE HAD BEGUN REVERSING THE ORDER OF THINGS -- THAT THROUGH MORE AND MORE RULES AND REGULATIONS AND CONFISCATORY TAXES, THE GOVERNMENT WAS TAKING MORE OF OUR MONEY, MORE OF OUR OPTIONS, AND MORE OF OUR FREEDOM. I WENT INTO POLITICS IN PART TO PUT UP MY HAND AND SAY, "STOP!" I WAS A CITIZEN POLITICIAN, AND IT SEEMED THE RIGHT THING FOR A CITIZEN TO DO.

I THINK WE HAVE STOPPED A LOT OF WHAT NEEDED STOPPING. AND I HOPE WE HAVE ONCE AGAIN REMINDED PEOPLE THAT MAN IS NOT FREE UNLESS GOVERNMENT IS LIMITED. THERE'S A CLEAR CAUSE AND EFFECT HERE THAT IS AS NEAT AND PREDICTABLE AS A LAW OF PHYSICS: AS GOVERNMENT EXPANDS, LIBERTY CONTRACTS.

NOTHING IS LESS FREE THAN PURE COMMUNISM, AND YET WE HAVE, THE PAST FEW YEARS, FORGED A SATISFYING NEW CLOSENESS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I'VE BEEN ASKED IF THIS ISN'T A GAMBLE AND MY ANSWER IS NO, BECAUSE WE'RE BASING OUR ACTIONS NOT ON WORDS BUT DEEDS.

THE DETENTE OF THE 1970's WAS BASED NOT ON ACTIONS BUT PROMISES. THEY'D PROMISE TO TREAT THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD BETTER, BUT THE GULAG WAS STILL THE GULAG, AND THE STATE WAS STILL EXPANSIONIST, AND THEY STILL WAGED PROXY WARS IN AFRICA, ASIA, AND LATIN AMERICA.

THIS TIME, SO FAR, IT'S DIFFERENT: PRESIDENT GORBACHEV HAS BROUGHT ABOUT SOME INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND BEGUN THE WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN. HE HAS ALSO FREED PRISONERS WHOSE NAMES I'VE GIVEN HIM EVERY TIME WE'VE MET.

BUT LIFE HAS A WAY OF REMINDING YOU OF BIG THINGS THROUGH SMALL INCIDENTS. ONCE, DURING THE HEADY DAYS OF THE MOSCOW SUMMIT, NANCY AND I DECIDED TO BREAK OFF FROM THE ENTOURAGE ONE AFTERNOON TO VISIT THE SHOPS ON ARBAT STREET, A LITTLE STREET JUST OFF MOSCOW'S MAIN SHOPPING AREA.

EVEN THOUGH OUR VISIT WAS A SURPRISE, EVERY RUSSIAN THERE IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZED US, AND CALLED OUT OUR NAMES AND REACHED FOR OUR HANDS. WE WERE JUST ABOUT SWEEPED AWAY BY THE WARMTH -- YOU COULD ALMOST FEEL THE POSSIBILITIES IN ALL THAT JOY. BUT WITHIN SECONDS A K.G.B. DETAIL PUSHED THEIR WAY TOWARD US AND BEGAN PUSHING AND SHOVING THE PEOPLE IN THE CROWD. IT WAS AN INTERESTING MOMENT. IT REMINDED ME THAT WHILE THE MAN ON THE STREET IN THE SOVIET UNION YEARNS FOR PEACE, THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMUNIST -- THOSE WHO RUN IT ARE COMMUNISTS -- AND THAT MEANS WE AND THEY VIEW SUCH ISSUES AS FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS VERY DIFFERENTLY.

WE MUST KEEP UP OUR GUARD -- BUT WE MUST ALSO CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER TO LESSEN AND ELIMINATE TENSION AND MISTRUST.

MY VIEW IS THAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV IS DIFFERENT FROM PREVIOUS SOVIET LEADERS. I THINK HE KNOWS SOME OF THE THINGS WRONG WITH HIS SOCIETY AND IS TRYING TO FIX THEM. WE WISH HIM WELL. AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO WORK TO MAKE SURE THAT THE SOVIET UNION THAT EVENTUALLY EMERGES FROM THIS PROCESS IS A LESS THREATENING ONE.

WHAT IT ALL BOILS DOWN TO IS THIS: I WANT THE NEW CLOSENESS TO CONTINUE. AND IT WILL AS LONG AS WE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO ACT IN A CERTAIN WAY AS LONG AS THEY CONTINUE TO ACT IN A HELPFUL MANNER. IF AND WHEN THEY DON'T -- AT FIRST PULL YOUR PUNCHES. IF THEY PERSIST, PULL THE PLUG.

IT'S STILL TRUST -- BUT VERIFY.

IT'S STILL PLAY -- BUT CUT THE CARDS.

IT'S STILL WATCH CLOSELY -- AND DON'T BE AFRAID TO SEE WHAT YOU SEE.

I'VE BEEN ASKED IF I HAVE ANY REGRETS. I DO.

THE DEFICIT IS ONE. I'VE BEEN TALKING A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THAT LATELY, BUT TONIGHT ISN'T FOR ARGUMENTS AND I'M GOING TO HOLD MY TONGUE.

BUT AN OBSERVATION: I'VE HAD MY SHARE OF VICTORIES IN THE CONGRESS, BUT WHAT FEW PEOPLE NOTICED IS THAT I NEVER WON ANYTHING YOU DIDN'T WIN FOR ME. THEY NEVER SAW MY TROOPS; THEY NEVER SAW REAGAN'S REGIMENTS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. YOU WON EVERY BATTLE WITH EVERY CALL YOU MADE AND LETTER YOU WROTE DEMANDING ACTION.

WELL, ACTION IS STILL NEEDED. IF WE'RE TO FINISH THE JOB, REAGAN'S REGIMENTS WILL HAVE TO BECOME THE BUSH BRIGADES. SOON HE'LL BE THE CHIEF, AND HE'LL NEED YOU EVERY BIT AS MUCH AS I DID.

FINALLY, THERE IS A GREAT TRADITION OF WARNINGS IN PRESIDENTIAL FAREWELLS, AND I'VE GOT ONE THAT'S BEEN ON MY MIND FOR SOME TIME.

BUT ODDLY ENOUGH IT STARTS WITH ONE OF THE THINGS I'M PROUDEST OF THE PAST 8 YEARS: THE RESURGENCE OF NATIONAL PRIDE THAT I CALLED "THE NEW PATRIOTISM." THIS NATIONAL FEELING IS GOOD, BUT IT WON'T COUNT FOR MUCH AND IT WON'T LAST UNLESS IT'S GROUNDED IN THOUGHTFULNESS AND KNOWLEDGE.

AN INFORMED PATRIOTISM IS WHAT WE WANT. AND ARE WE DOING A GOOD ENOUGH JOB TEACHING OUR CHILDREN WHAT AMERICA IS AND WHAT SHE REPRESENTS IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THE WORLD?

THOSE OF US WHO ARE OVER 35 OR SO YEARS OF AGE GREW UP IN A DIFFERENT AMERICA. WE WERE TAUGHT, VERY DIRECTLY, WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN, AND WE ABSORBED ALMOST IN THE AIR A LOVE OF COUNTRY AND AN APPRECIATION OF ITS INSTITUTIONS.

IF YOU DIDN'T GET THESE THINGS FROM YOUR FAMILY, YOU GOT THEM FROM THE NEIGHBORHOOD, FROM THE FATHER DOWN THE STREET WHO FOUGHT IN KOREA OR THE FAMILY WHO LOST SOMEONE AT ANZIO. OR YOU COULD GET A SENSE OF PATRIOTISM FROM SCHOOL. AND IF ALL ELSE FAILED, YOU COULD GET A SENSE OF PATRIOTISM FROM THE POPULAR CULTURE. THE MOVIES CELEBRATED DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND IMPLICITLY REINFORCED THE IDEA THAT AMERICA WAS SPECIAL. T.V. WAS LIKE THAT, TOO, THROUGH THE MID-SIXTIES.

BUT NOW WE'RE ABOUT TO ENTER THE NINETIES, AND SOME THINGS HAVE CHANGED. YOUNGER PARENTS AREN'T SURE THAT AN UNAMBIVALENT APPRECIATION OF AMERICA IS THE RIGHT THING TO TEACH MODERN CHILDREN. AND AS FOR THOSE WHO CREATE THE POPULAR CULTURE, WELL-GROUNDED PATRIOTISM IS NO LONGER THE STYLE.

OUR SPIRIT IS BACK, BUT WE HAVEN'T REINSTITUTIONALIZED IT. WE'VE GOT TO DO A BETTER JOB OF GETTING ACROSS THAT AMERICA IS FREEDOM -- FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF RELIGION, FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE -- AND FREEDOM IS SPECIAL AND RARE. IT'S FRAGILE; IT NEEDS PROTECTION.

WE'VE GOT TO TEACH HISTORY BASED NOT ON WHAT'S IN FASHION BUT WHAT'S IMPORTANT: WHY THE PILGRIMS CAME HERE, WHO JIMMY DOOLITTLE WAS, AND WHAT THOSE 30 SECONDS OVER TOKYO MEANT... YOU KNOW, 4 YEARS AGO ON THE 40<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF D-DAY I READ A LETTER FROM A YOUNG WOMAN WRITING TO HER LATE FATHER, WHO'D FOUGHT ON OMAHA BEACH. HER NAME WAS LISA ZANATTA HENN, AND SHE SAID, WE WILL ALWAYS REMEMBER, WE WILL NEVER FORGET WHAT THE BOYS OF NORMANDY DID. WELL, LET'S HELP HER KEEP HER WORD.

IF WE FORGET WHAT WE DID, WE WON'T KNOW WHO WE ARE. I AM WARNING OF AN ERADICATION OF THE AMERICAN MEMORY THAT COULD RESULT, ULTIMATELY, IN AN EROSION OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT.

LET'S START WITH SOME BASICS -- MORE ATTENTION TO AMERICAN HISTORY AND A GREATER EMPHASIS ON CIVIC RITUAL. AND LET ME OFFER LESSON NUMBER ONE ABOUT AMERICA: ALL GREAT CHANGE IN AMERICA BEGINS AT THE DINNER TABLE. SO TOMORROW NIGHT IN THE KITCHEN I HOPE THE TALKING BEGINS. AND CHILDREN, IF YOUR PARENTS HAVEN'T BEEN TEACHING YOU WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN -- LET 'EM KNOW AND NAIL 'EM ON IT. THAT WOULD BE A VERY AMERICAN THING TO DO.

AND THAT'S ABOUT ALL I HAVE TO SAY TONIGHT.  
EXCEPT FOR ONE THING.



THE PAST FEW DAYS WHEN I'VE BEEN AT THAT WINDOW UPSTAIRS I'VE THOUGHT A BIT OF THE SHINING "CITY UPON A HILL." THE PHRASE COMES FROM JOHN WINTHROP, WHO WROTE IT TO DESCRIBE THE AMERICA HE IMAGINED. WHAT HE IMAGINED WAS IMPORTANT BECAUSE HE WAS AN EARLY PILGRIM -- AN EARLY "FREEDOM MAN." HE JOURNEYED HERE ON WHAT TODAY WE'D CALL A LITTLE WOODEN BOAT; AND, LIKE THE OTHER PILGRIMS, HE WAS LOOKING FOR A HOME THAT WOULD BE FREE.

I'VE SPOKEN OF THE SHINING CITY ALL MY POLITICAL LIFE, BUT I DON'T KNOW IF I EVER QUITE COMMUNICATED WHAT I SAW WHEN I SAID IT. BUT IN MY MIND IT WAS A TALL PROUD CITY BUILT ON ROCKS STRONGER THAN OCEANS, WIND-SWEPT, GOD-BLESSED, AND TEEMING WITH PEOPLE OF ALL KINDS LIVING IN HARMONY AND PEACE -- A CITY WITH FREE PORTS THAT HUMMED WITH COMMERCE AND CREATIVITY, AND IF THERE HAD TO BE CITY WALLS, THE WALLS HAD DOORS AND THE DOORS WERE OPEN TO ANYONE WITH THE WILL AND THE HEART TO GET HERE.

THAT'S HOW I SAW IT, AND SEE IT STILL.

AND HOW STANDS THE CITY ON THIS WINTER NIGHT? MORE PROSPEROUS, MORE SECURE AND HAPPIER THAN IT WAS 8 YEARS AGO. BUT MORE THAN THAT: AFTER 200 YEARS, TWO CENTURIES, SHE STILL STANDS STRONG AND TRUE ON THE GRANITE RIDGE, AND HER GLOW HAS HELD STEADY NO MATTER WHAT STORM --

AND SHE'S STILL A BEACON, STILL A MAGNET FOR ALL WHO MUST HAVE FREEDOM, FOR ALL THE PILGRIMS FROM ALL THE LOST PLACES WHO ARE HURTLING THROUGH THE DARKNESS, TOWARD HOME.

WE'VE DONE OUR PART. AND AS I 'WALK OFF INTO THE CITY STREETS,' A FINAL WORD TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE REAGAN REVOLUTION -- THE MEN AND WOMEN ACROSS AMERICA WHO FOR 8 YEARS DID THE WORK THAT BROUGHT AMERICA BACK:

MY FRIENDS, WE DID IT. WE WEREN'T JUST MARKING TIME; WE MADE A DIFFERENCE. WE MADE THE CITY STRONGER -- WE MADE THE CITY FREER -- AND WE LEFT HER IN GOOD HANDS.

ALL IN ALL, NOT BAD. NOT BAD AT ALL.

AND SO, GOODBYE.

GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

# # #

TABLE B-30.—Number and median income (in 1986 dollars) of families and persons, and poverty status, by race, selected years, 1963-86

Year	Number (mil-ions)	Median income	Families <sup>1</sup>				Persons below poverty level		Median income of persons 15 years old and over with income <sup>2</sup>			
			Below poverty level				Number (mil-ions)	Rate	Males		Females	
			Total		Female householder				All persons	Year-round full-time workers	All persons	Year-round full-time workers
			Number (mil-ions)	Rate	Number (mil-ions)	Rate						
<b>ALL RACES</b>												
1963	47.5	\$22,379	7.6	15.9	2.0	40.4	36.4	19.5	\$16,154	\$21,740	\$4,914	\$12,735
1964	48.0	23,221	7.2	15.0	1.8	36.4	36.1	19.0	16,426	22,213	5,122	13,116
1965	48.5	24,177	6.7	13.9	1.9	38.4	33.2	17.3	17,456	22,929	5,285	13,263
1966 *	49.2	25,448	5.8	11.8	1.7	33.1	28.5	14.7	17,927	23,499	5,535	13,601
1967	50.1	26,052	5.7	11.4	1.8	33.3	27.8	14.2	18,236	23,937	5,915	13,786
1968	50.8	27,205	5.0	10.0	1.8	32.3	25.4	12.8	18,847	24,627	6,363	14,397
1969	51.6	28,213	5.0	9.7	1.8	32.7	24.1	12.1	19,228	25,925	6,377	15,185
1970	52.2	27,852	5.3	10.1	2.0	32.5	25.4	12.6	18,834	25,933	6,317	15,361
1971	53.3	27,845	5.3	10.0	2.1	33.9	25.6	12.5	18,689	26,774	6,519	15,435
1972	54.4	29,134	5.1	9.3	2.2	32.7	24.5	11.9	19,526	27,619	6,812	15,864
1973	55.1	29,734	4.8	8.8	2.2	32.2	23.0	11.1	19,877	28,295	6,899	16,008
1974 *	55.7	28,687	4.9	8.8	2.3	32.1	23.4	11.2	18,792	27,041	6,853	15,951
1975	56.2	27,949	5.5	9.7	2.4	32.5	25.9	12.3	18,036	26,349	6,896	15,725
1976	56.7	28,811	5.3	9.4	2.5	33.0	25.0	11.8	18,155	26,694	6,888	16,010
1977	57.2	28,866	5.3	9.3	2.6	31.7	24.7	11.6	18,316	27,267	7,131	15,948
1978	57.8	29,647	5.3	9.1	2.7	31.4	24.5	11.4	18,378	26,995	6,837	16,203
1979 *	59.6	29,588	5.5	9.2	2.6	30.4	26.1	11.7	17,793	26,403	6,574	15,908
1980	60.3	27,974	6.2	10.3	3.0	32.7	29.3	13.0	16,673	25,512	6,547	15,423
1981	61.0	26,991	6.9	11.2	3.3	34.6	31.8	14.0	16,243	24,946	6,580	15,018
1982	61.4	26,619	7.5	12.2	3.4	36.3	34.4	15.0	15,846	24,599	6,687	15,520
1983 *	62.0	27,155	7.6	12.3	3.6	36.0	35.3	15.2	16,135	24,769	7,049	15,945
1984	62.7	27,903	7.3	11.6	3.5	34.5	33.7	14.4	16,468	25,339	7,250	16,280
1985	63.6	28,269	7.2	11.4	3.5	34.0	33.1	14.0	16,625	25,480	7,356	16,565
1986	64.5	29,458	7.0	10.9	3.6	34.6	32.4	13.6	17,114	25,894	7,610	16,843
<b>WHITE</b>												
1970	46.5	28,904	3.7	8.0	1.1	25.0	17.5	9.9	19,797	26,676	6,399	15,632
1971	47.6	28,893	3.8	7.9	1.2	26.5	17.8	9.9	19,593	26,808	6,628	15,613
1972	48.5	30,269	3.4	7.1	1.1	24.3	16.2	9.0	20,480	28,615	6,856	16,176
1973	48.9	31,076	3.2	6.6	1.2	24.5	15.1	8.4	20,856	29,114	6,965	16,279
1974 *	49.4	29,812	3.4	6.8	1.3	24.8	15.7	8.6	19,686	27,568	6,930	16,087
1975	49.9	29,067	3.8	7.7	1.4	25.9	17.8	9.7	18,946	26,959	6,967	15,762
1976	50.1	29,926	3.6	7.1	1.4	25.2	16.7	9.1	19,140	27,889	6,946	16,133
1977	50.5	30,289	3.5	7.0	1.4	24.0	16.4	8.9	19,185	27,824	7,239	16,049
1978	50.9	30,870	3.5	6.9	1.4	23.5	16.3	8.7	19,249	27,496	6,919	16,356
1979 *	52.2	30,875	3.6	6.9	1.4	22.3	17.2	9.0	18,588	27,166	6,636	16,047
1980	52.7	29,146	4.2	8.0	1.6	25.7	19.7	10.2	17,735	26,240	6,583	15,572
1981	53.3	28,352	4.7	8.8	1.8	27.4	21.6	11.1	17,235	25,532	6,654	15,269
1982	53.4	27,948	5.1	9.6	1.8	27.9	23.5	12.0	16,753	25,254	6,778	15,729
1983 *	53.9	28,435	5.2	9.7	1.9	28.3	24.0	12.1	16,975	25,430	7,172	16,158
1984	54.4	29,226	4.9	9.1	1.9	27.1	23.0	11.5	17,383	26,207	7,335	16,441
1985	55.0	29,713	5.0	9.1	2.0	27.4	22.9	11.4	17,440	26,187	7,499	16,799
1986	55.7	30,809	4.8	8.6	2.0	28.2	22.2	11.0	18,060	26,617	7,760	17,101
<b>BLACK</b>												
1970	4.9	17,730	1.5	29.5	.8	54.3	7.5	33.5	11,693	18,171	5,825	12,808
1971	5.2	17,435	1.5	28.8	.9	53.5	7.4	32.5	11,571	18,331	5,807	13,786
1972	5.3	17,990	1.5	29.0	1.0	53.3	7.7	33.3	12,334	19,324	6,406	13,838
1973	5.4	17,935	1.5	28.1	1.0	52.7	7.4	31.4	12,615	19,623	6,287	13,805
1974 *	5.5	17,801	1.5	26.9	1.0	52.2	7.2	30.3	12,198	19,355	6,257	14,165
1975	5.6	17,885	1.5	27.1	1.0	50.1	7.5	31.3	11,327	20,063	6,330	15,059
1976	5.8	17,801	1.6	27.9	1.1	52.2	7.8	31.1	11,524	19,689	6,545	15,983
1977	5.8	17,303	1.6	28.2	1.2	51.0	7.7	31.3	11,385	19,183	6,251	15,000
1978	5.9	18,284	1.6	27.5	1.2	50.6	7.6	30.6	11,531	21,059	6,230	15,160
1979 *	6.2	17,483	1.7	27.8	1.2	49.4	8.1	31.0	11,506	19,579	6,039	14,704
1980	6.3	16,864	1.8	28.9	1.3	49.4	8.6	32.5	10,657	18,463	6,094	14,524
1981	6.4	15,993	2.0	30.8	1.4	52.9	9.2	34.2	10,249	18,064	5,911	13,789
1982	6.5	15,447	2.2	33.0	1.5	56.2	9.7	35.6	10,039	17,936	5,978	14,058
1983 *	6.7	16,025	2.2	32.3	1.5	53.7	9.9	35.7	9,927	18,131	6,129	14,343
1984	6.8	16,289	2.1	30.9	1.5	51.7	9.5	33.8	9,973	17,885	6,507	14,817
1985	6.9	17,109	2.0	28.7	1.5	50.5	8.9	31.3	10,975	18,317	6,398	14,871
1986	7.1	17,604	2.0	28.0	1.5	50.1	9.0	31.1	10,822	18,766	6,566	14,964

<sup>1</sup>The term "family" refers to a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption and residing together; all such persons are considered members of the same family. Beginning 1979, based on householder concept and restricted to primary families.

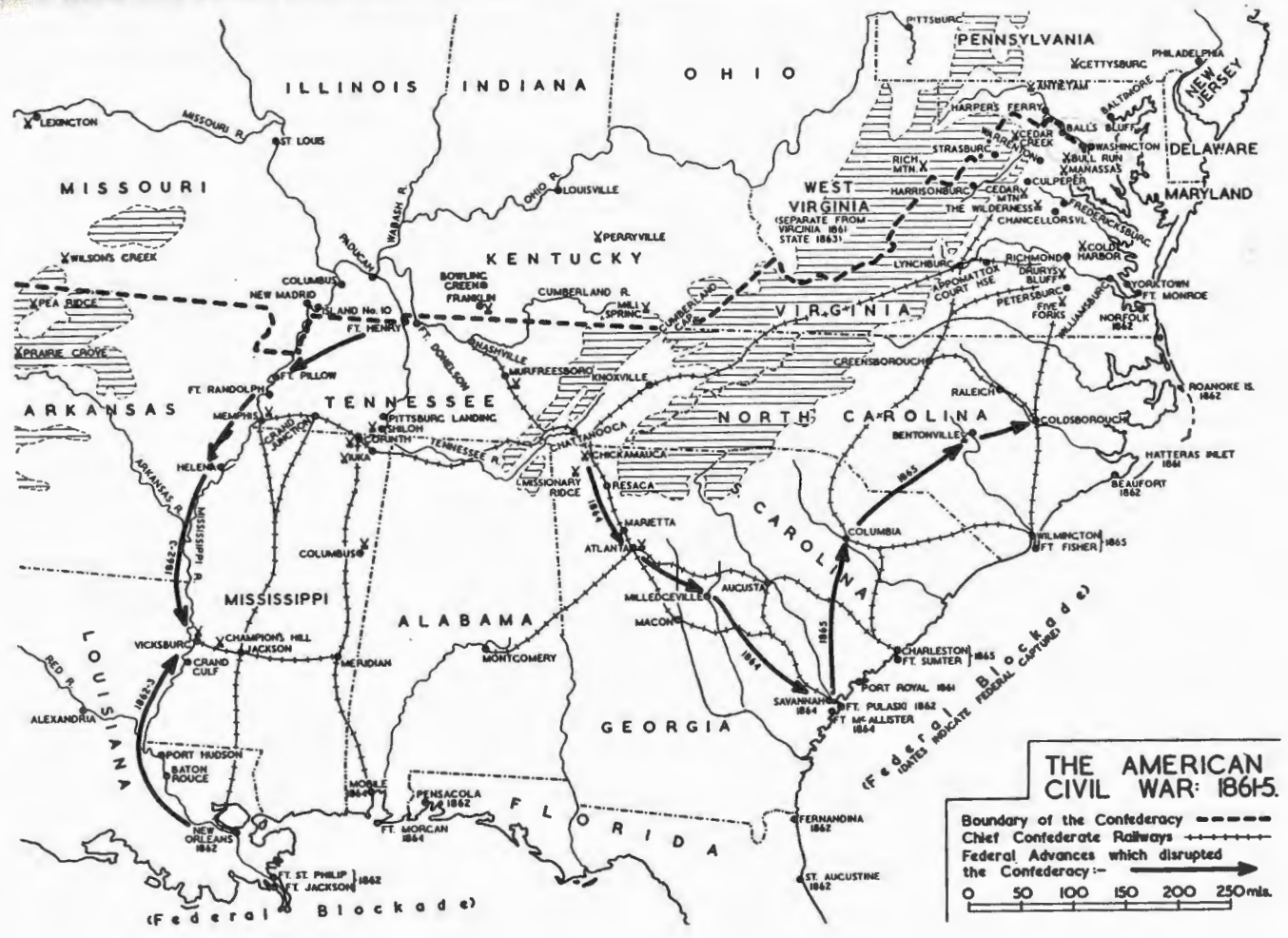
<sup>2</sup>Prior to 1979, data are for persons 14 years and over.

<sup>3</sup>Based on revised methodology; comparable with succeeding years.

<sup>4</sup>Based on 1980 census population controls; comparable with succeeding years.

Note.—The poverty level is based on the poverty index adopted by a Federal interagency committee in 1969. That index reflected different consumption requirements for families based on size and composition, sex and age of family householder, and farm-nonfarm residence. Minor revisions implemented in 1981 eliminated variations in the poverty thresholds based on two of these variables, farm-nonfarm residence and sex of householder. The poverty thresholds are updated every year to reflect changes in the consumer price index. For further details see "Current Population Reports," Series P-60, No. 158.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.



THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR: 1861-5.

19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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October 26, 1987, Monday, PM cycle

LENGTH: 681 words

HEADLINE: CBS Special Salutes Anniversary of the Air Force

BYLINE: By KATHRYN BAKER, AP Television Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: AP on TV-Top Flight

BODY:

CBS pre-empts regular programming for an hour tonight for "Top Flight," a rather pedestrian tribute to the 40th anniversary of the Air Force.

The one-hour documentary from Emmy-winning producer Arnold Shapiro ("Scared Straight") does have a few soaring moments, but otherwise it looks more like a high-school educational film than a network television show.

The host is William Shatner, star of the old "Star Trek" series. The show's individual segments are good, but instead of being linked effectively, they are divided for no apparent logical purpose into four sections on aviation \_ heroes, rescue missions, female flyers and fighter pilots.

It's evident right away that the documentary does not know whether it is a tribute to the Air Force, flying in general, or maybe movies about flying.

It begins with film clips from the movie "The Right Stuff" \_ the tale of pilots from the Air Force, Marines and Navy who became astronauts in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration program \_ and continually reverts to movie footage. This is not an undesirable device to provide drama and color, but it gets to be a bit much. For instance, only a brief excerpt from a government film shows the real Chuck Yeager, climbing into the X-1 before breaking the sound barrier. Otherwise, Yeager is seen only as portrayed by Sam Shepard.

There are periodic highlights, like an interview with aged Gen. Jimmy Doolittle who recounts the real story behind the movie "Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo," the World War II bombing mission he led right into the heart of enemy territory.

"I have never felt fear," Doolittle says. "I am single-minded. I can think of only one thing at a time. If I'm in a very hot spot indeed, I am thinking how to get out of that spot."

Cut again to movie footage.

The Associated Press, October 26, 1987

Doolittle recalled worrying that he would be in trouble because he crash-landed his bomber. Instead, he received the Medal of Honor.

They didn't get medals, but women flew, too, in World War II. Maj. Teresa James was one of the 1,000 Women's Air Corps members who ferried planes from factory to base, freeing male pilots for combat duty. "We were like sisters," she says in an interview. "Sisters in the sky."

The fighter-pilot segments embody the history of the Air Force, beginning with the Army Air Corps of eight planes \_ all of them lost in battles against Pancho Villa on the Mexican border.

World War I flying ace Arthur "Ray" Brooks recalls his matter-of-factly fatalistic attitude toward getting into a rickety biplane that had been shipped to Europe in pieces and reassembled.

"When you got a plane that lasted an hour or two, you nursed it so you had a plane that lasted maybe four hours," he said. Compasses were no good. He went by the sun. There were no parachutes. "I expected to die, period. It's as simple as that," Brooks says.

That brings us to "rescues," the most engaging portion of the show.

Col. Gail Halvorsen was the "candy bomber" in the Berlin airlift. With home movies, Halvorsen recalls his private mission \_ dropping goodies in small handkerchief parachutes from his cargo plane to children below. When word of his "candy bombing" reached the United States, he was inundated with hankies by mail.

The producers might have made some of their interviews more effective by juxtaposing them, such as the young Air Force pilot instructor lamenting his lack of combat experience. "It's the great unknown for guys my age," he says.

Then they could have cut to Senior Master Sgt. Duane Hackney, who rescued downed pilots in the Vietnam War. There is harrowing footage of Hackney dangling by a cable from a Jolly Green Giant helicopter and plucking a pilot from the jungle while U.S. gunships try to suppress enemy fire.

"I lost a lot of friends over there," says Hackney, weeping at a memorial to fellow rescuers who lost their lives in Vietnam. "There's no romance or anything involved in war. War is the killing of human beings. Us lucky ones came back with memories of the ones who stayed over there.

"I had the best job in Vietnam," he says. "Saving lives."

43RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1987

April 17, 1987, Friday, AM cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: California

LENGTH: 675 words

BYLINE: By KATE CALLEN

DATELINE: TORRANCE, Calif.

KEYWORD: Doolittle

BODY:

Gen. Jimmy Doolittle's Tokyo raiders gathered Friday to celebrate the 45th anniversary of their bombing mission but frail health prevented the man who led the historic air strike from joining the party.

Doolittle, 91, was not feeling well enough to make the annual reunion although he was expected to attend festivities Saturday, the final day of the three-day celebration, said Art La Vove, a spokesman for the group.

'It's too bad he couldn't make it, but you know he's getting along in years and uses a wheelchair to get around,' La Vove said.

Twenty-five of Doolittle's 80 raiders showed up at the reunion luncheon at Torrance Municipal Airport and were met by two vintage B-25s, the same type of twin-engine bombers used in the mission that proved America could strike back against Japan.

'These guys haven't seen one of those babies in the flesh for years,' La Vove said. 'It was quite a spectacle.'

Four of the restored B-25s were supposed to have landed at the airstrip next to the restaurant where lunch was served, but because of mechanical problems and heavy cloud cover, only two of the old warhorses, the Pacific Princess and Heavenly Body, made it in to the airport.

This year's reunion -- there's been one every year since 1946 -- was held at the Doolittle's Raiders restaurant, which was decked out with World War II memorabilia.

The Raiders -- 46 of them are still living -- were feeling more festive than nostalgic.

'The reason we get together is to have a good time and see each other,' said former pilot Everett 'Brick' Holstrom. 'Gen. Doolittle gave us the first party in Miami and we had so much fun we decided to do it every year.'

The men's pride in the courageous April 18, 1942 raid on Tokyo shone through the party atmosphere.

Proprietary to the United Press International, April 17, 1987

'We were young and we didn't really give a damn,' recalled former bombardier Howard Sessler. 'When they said 'you're going to help the war effort' all of us thought it was about time we did something.

'We weren't scared,' said Sessler. 'Nobody knew what it was to be shot at. It was just like a sport. Like football or basketball.'

The raid on Tokyo was the first good news for the United States in the months that followed devastating losses suffered at Pearl Harbor.

Doolittle's feat, an 'impossible' attack by B-25s launched from an aircraft carrier, won him the Congressional Medal of Honor and inspired the movie 'Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo.' He was portrayed by Spencer Tracy.

Although he went on to lead other commands and retire at the end of the war as a lieutenant general, Doolittle, who lives in the central California coastal community of Carmel-by-the-Sea, is most famous for the Tokyo raid.

A turning point in the war, the raid was the first American victory against the Axis powers that had everything going their way until then. There seemed to be no way the ill-prepared United States could strike back until Doolittle's volunteers in 16 bombers lurched off the carrier USS Hornet.

The crews had trained for three weeks to get the heavy planes off the short deck of a carrier, a task considered impossible by many military experts.

Doolittle flew the lead plane, giving himself the shortest takeoff run of all.

After the bombing, the raid went astray. The pilots, short of gas, could not reach their planned landing field in China. Some 64 raiders, including Doolittle, bailed out over China and were saved by the Chinese.

Others died in crash landings or were captured by the Japanese, who executed three of them. One plane landed in Russia, which held five crewmen prisoner for a year.

But the attack was heralded as a success. It forced the Japanese to hold back fighter forces to protect Tokyo that could have been used elsewhere in the Pacific, tilting the odds in American favor in the battles that followed.

It forced the Japanese to push eastward to enlarge the buffer zone around the home islands, setting the stage for the battle of Midway six weeks later in which American air and sea power turned the tide of the war.



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20. Public Papers of the Presidents, Radio Address to the Nation on the President's Trip to Mexico, 24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 205, February 13, 1988, 820 words
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38. Public Papers of the Presidents, International Trade/Federal Deficit Reduction, Radio Address to the Nation., 23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 469, May 2, 1987, 843 words
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40. Public Papers of the Presidents, Federal Deficit Reduction, Radio Address to the Nation., 23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 317, March 28, 1987, 822 words
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53. Public Papers of the Presidents, Defense Funding, Radio Address to the Nation., 22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1111, August 16, 1986, 808 words
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13 65. Public Papers of the Presidents, National Security, Address to the Nation., 1986 Pub. Papers 285, February 26, 1986, 3367 words

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83. Public Papers of the Presidents, The President's Trip to Europe and Mother's Day, Radio Address to the Nation., 1985 Pub. Papers 630, May 11, 1985, 814 words
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97. Public Papers of the Presidents, Administration's Policies and Programs, Radio Address to the Nation., 20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1137, August 18, 1984, 831 words
98. Public Papers of the Presidents, United States Policy in Central America, Address to the Nation., 20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 676, May 9, 1984, 4541 words
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104. Public Papers of the Presidents, 1984 Presidential Election, Address to the Nation Announcing the Reagan-Bush Candidacies for Reelection., 20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 114, January 29, 1984, 742 words
105. Public Papers of the Presidents, Space Program, Radio Address to the Nation., 20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 113, January 28, 1984, 791 words
106. Public Papers of the Presidents, Christmas, 1983, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1744, December 24, 1983, 811 words
107. Public Papers of the Presidents, Drunk Driving, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1707, December 17, 1983, 871 words
108. Public Papers of the Presidents, First Session of the 98th Congress, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1607, November 19, 1983, 1066 words
109. Public Papers of the Presidents, Events in Lebanon and Grenada, Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1497, October 27, 1983, 4004 words

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110. Public Papers of the Presidents, Economic Recovery and Employment, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1371, October 1, 1983, 990 words
111. Public Papers of the Presidents, American International Broadcasting, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1225, September 10, 1983, 927 words
112. Public Papers of the Presidents, Soviet Attack on Korean Civilian Airliner, Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1199, September 5, 1983, 2547 words
113. Public Papers of the Presidents, Soviet Attach on Korean Civilian Airlines / Labor Day, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1197, September 3, 1983, 913 words
114. Public Papers of the Presidents, Education, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 925, June 25, 1983, 903 words
115. Public Papers of the Presidents, Tricentennial Anniversary Year of German Settlement in America, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 926, June 25, 1983, 897 words
116. Public Papers of the Presidents, Death of Federal Diplomatic and Military Personnel in Beirut, Lebanon, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 585, April 23, 1983, 722 words
117. Public Papers of the Presidents, House of Representatives Federal Budget Proposal, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 467, March 26, 1983, 1081 words
118. Public Papers of the Presidents, National Security, Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 442, March 23, 1983, 4572 words
119. Public Papers of the Presidents, Natural Gas Consumer Regulatory Reform Legislation, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 315, February 26, 1983, 921 words
120. Public Papers of the Presidents, Defense Spending, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 264, February 19, 1983, 944 words
121. Public Papers of the Presidents, Fiscal Year 1984 Budget, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 231, February 12, 1983, 948 words
122. Public Papers of the Presidents, Fiscal Year 1984 Budget, Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 140, January 29, 1983, 1074 words
123. Public Papers of the Presidents, Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Radio Address to the Nation., 19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 63, January 15, 1983, 947 words
124. Public Papers of the Presidents, Economic Recovery and Defense, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1639, December 18, 1982, 992 words



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24 125. Public Papers of the Presidents, Arms Reduction and Deterrence, Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1516, November 22, 1982, 3579 words

126. Public Papers of the Presidents, East-West Trade Relations and the Soviet Pipeline Sanctions, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1475, November 13, 1982, 1091 words

127. Public Papers of the Presidents, The Congressional Agenda and the Economy, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1445, November 6, 1982, 1003 words

128. Public Papers of the Presidents, Agriculture and Grain Exports, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1317, October 15, 1982, 1638 words

25 129. Public Papers of the Presidents, The Nation's Economy, Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1305, October 13, 1982, 3470 words

130. Public Papers of the Presidents, The National Economy, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1212, September 25, 1982, 969 words

24 131. Public Papers of the Presidents, The Situation in Lebanon, Address to the Nation Announcing the Formation of a New Multinational Force., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1182, September 20, 1982, 1252 words

132. Public Papers of the Presidents, Prayer, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1177, September 18, 1982, 869 words

27 133. Public Papers of the Presidents, Federal Tax and Budget Reconciliation Legislation, Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1035, August 16, 1982, 2977 words

134. Public Papers of the Presidents, The Federal Budget, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 685, May 22, 1982, 891 words

135. Public Papers of the Presidents, Armed Forces Day, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 663, May 15, 1982, 808 words

136. Public Papers of the Presidents, Economic Recovery Program and Unemployment Figures, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 597, May 8, 1982, 1161 words

28 137. Public Papers of the Presidents, Fiscal Year 1983 Federal Budget, Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 545, April 29, 1982, 2710 words

138. Public Papers of the Presidents, Taxes, Tuition Tax Credit, and Interest Rates, Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 527, April 24, 1982, 880 words

139. Public Papers of the Presidents, Economic Recovery Program, Informal Exchange With Reporters Following the Radio Address to the Nation., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 437, April 3, 1982, 795 words

140. Public Papers of the Presidents, Visit of President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony., 18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 108,

## LEVEL 1 - 147 DOCUMENTS

February 3, 1982, 1389 words

29 141. Public Papers of the Presidents, Address to the Nation About Christmas and the Situation in Poland, 1981 Pub. Papers 1185, December 23, 1981, 2167 words

142. Public Papers of the Presidents, Digest of Other White House Announcements, The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this book., 1981 Pub. Papers 1253, September 25, 1981, 827 words

30 143. Public Papers of the Presidents, Address to the Nation on the Program for Economic Recovery, 1981 Pub. Papers 831, September 24, 1981, 4131 words

144. Public Papers of the Presidents, Appendix C -- Checklist of White House Press Releases, The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are not included in this book., 1981 Pub. Papers 1310, July 31, 1981, 230 words

31 145. Public Papers of the Presidents, Address to the Nation on Federal Tax Reduction Legislation, 1981 Pub. Papers 664, July 27, 1981, 3382 words

32 146. Public Papers of the Presidents, Address to the Nation on the Economy, 1981 Pub. Papers 79, February 5, 1981, 2898 words

147. Public Papers of the Presidents, Tax Reform, Radio Address to the Nation., 1985 Pub. 695 May 25, 1985, 828 words

21ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Address to the Nation on Aid to the Nicaraguan  
Democratic Resistance

24 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc.

February 2, 1988

①

LENGTH: 3279 words

... in this land and over our continent, casting a glow across the centuries,  
still guiding millions to a future of peace and freedom.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White  
House. The address was broadcast live by Cable Network News and CONUS  
Communications.

23RD DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Soviet Union-United States Summit in Washington, DC

Address to the Nation.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1502

December 10, 1987

2

LENGTH: 2649 words

... in several months in Moscow to continue what we've achieved during these past 3 days. I believe there is reason for both hope and optimism.

Note: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

27TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Supreme Court of the United States

Address to the Nation on the Nomination of Robert H.  
Bork To Be an Associate Justice.

3

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1171

October 14, 1987

LENGTH: 1306 words

... treated equally under the law, where the Legislature makes the law and the judges interpret the law, and where the right of the people to self-government is respected.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

31ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy/President's Goals

Address to the Nation.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 928

August 12, 1987

4

LENGTH: 2314 words

... dust and cobwebs settle on the furniture in this office or on me. I have things I intend to do, and with your help, we can do them.

Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

34TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Venice Economic Summit, Arms Reduction, and the Federal  
Deficit

Address to the Nation.

(3)

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 674

June 15, 1987

LENGTH: 2779 words

... ahead, let us work to keep America economically strong so she can remain,  
as ever, the champion of peace and world freedom.

Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White  
House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

41ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Address to the Nation.

23 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 219

March 4, 1987

6

LENGTH: 1850 words

My fellow Americans:

I've spoken to you from this historic office on many occasions and about many things. The power of the Presidency is often thought to reside within this Oval Office. Yet it doesn't rest here; it rests in you, the American people, and in your trust. Your trust is what gives a President his powers of leadership and his personal strength, and it's what I want to talk to you ...

... great deal that I want to accomplish with you and for you over the next 2 years. And the Lord willing, that's exactly what I intend to do.

Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.



48TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Independent Counsel To Investigate the Arms Sales to Iran

Address to the Nation.

7

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1613

December 2, 1986

LENGTH: 681 words

... defense, and intelligence matters that uniquely qualify him to serve as my national security adviser. The American people will be well served by his tenure.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at noon from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

49TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Iran-United States Relations

Address to the Nation.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1559

November 13, 1986

8

LENGTH: 1908 words

... continued resistance to those who commit terrorist acts; and it will take cooperation with all who seek to rid the world of this scourage.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8:01 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

50TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

1986 Congressional and Gubernatorial Elections

Address to the Nation.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1517

November 2, 1986

9

LENGTH: 638 words

... vote. And, please, vote Republican, for you, your family, and for a better future. Together we can build on America's promise.

Note: The President's address was recorded on October 27 in the Oval Office at the White House and was broadcast at 10:55 p.m. on November 2.

52ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Meeting With Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in  
Reykjavik, Iceland

Address to the Nation.

22 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1375

October 13, 1986

10

LENGTH: 2949 words

... again ask for your help and your prayers as we continue our journey toward a world where peace reigns and freedom is enshrined.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

57TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Aid to the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance

Address to the Nation.

1986 Pub. Papers 864

June 24, 1986

11

LENGTH: 3879 words

... A light that casts its glow across the land and our continent and even back across the centuries -- keeping faith with a dream of long ago.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at noon from the Oval Office at the White House.

61ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

United States Air Strike Against Libya

Address to the Nation.

1986 Pub. Papers 491

April 14, 1986

12

LENGTH: 1014 words

... 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. It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight, a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

We believe that this preemptive action ...

... 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.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White Hous. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

63RD DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Nicaragua

Address to the Nation.

1986 Pub. Papers 371

March 16, 1986

13

LENGTH: 3072 words

... safe, we left America secure, we left America free -- still a beacon of hope to mankind, still a light unto the nations.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

65TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

National Security

Address to the Nation.

1986 Pub. Papers 285

February 26, 1986

14

LENGTH: 3367 words

... a real chance at lasting peace. That would be the finest legacy we could leave behind for our children and for their children.

Thank you. God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.



68TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Explosion of the Space Shuttle Challenger

Address to the Nation.

1986 Pub. Papers 104

January 28, 1986

(15)

LENGTH: 635 words

... will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them, this morning, as they prepared for their journey and waved goodbye and "slipped the surly bonds of earth" to "touch the face of god."

Note: The President spoke at 5 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

74TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

United States-Soviet Summit in Geneva

Address to the Nation.

1985 Pub. Papers 1399

November 14, 1985

(14)

LENGTH: 2612 words

... peace in Afghanistan; no peace in Cambodia; no peace in Angola, Ethiopia, or Nicaragua.

These wars have claimed hundreds of thousands of lives and threaten to spill over national frontiers. That's why in my address to the United Nations, I proposed a way to end these conflicts: a regional peace plan that calls for negotiations among the warring parties -- withdrawal of all foreign troops, democratic reconciliation, and economic assistance.

Four ...

... all of us at Geneva, so that the cause of true peace among men will be advanced and all of humanity thereby served.

Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

82ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Tax Reform

Address to the Nation.

1985 Pub. Papers 703

May 28, 1985

17

LENGTH: 3181 words

... a new chapter in our history -- freedom's finest hour. We can do it. And if you help, we will do it this year.

Thank you. God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President<sup>1</sup> spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

86TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Paper of the Presidents

Federal Budget and Deficit Reduction Address to the  
Nation.

1985 Pub. Papers 511

April 24, 1985

16

LENGTH: 3361 words

... America to keep our future strong secure and free Our children will thank us and that's all the thanks we'll ever need.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

92ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

1984 Presidential Campaign

Address to the Nation on Election Eve.

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1798

November 5, 1984

19

LENGTH: 3225 words

... together. We can say to the world and pledge to our children: America's best days lie ahead. And . . . you ain't seen nothin' yet.

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President's remarks were taped in the Oval Office at the White House on October 31 for broadcast on November 5. The broadcast was paid for by the Reagan-Bush '84 campaign.

98TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

United States Policy in Central America

Address to the Nation .

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 676

May 9, 1984

20

LENGTH: 4541 words

... Let us show the world that we want no hostile Communist colonies here in the Americas -- South, Central, or North.

Thank you, God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

104TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

1984 Presidential Election

Address to the Nation Announcing the Reagan-Bush  
Candidacies for Reelection.

21

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 114

January 29, 1984

LENGTH: 742 words

... a candidate and will seek reelection to the office I presently hold.

Thank you for the trust you've placed in me. God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 10:55 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television and was paid for by the Reagan-Bush '84 committee.

109TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Events in Lebanon and Grenada

Address to the Nation.

19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1497

October 27, 1983

22

LENGTH: 4004 words

... pray for these wounded young men and to pray for the bereaved families of those who gave their lives for our freedom.

God bless you, and God bless America.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.



112TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Soviet Attack on Korean Civilian Airliner

Address to the Nation.

19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1199

September 5, 1983



LENGTH: 2547 words

... will record that some good did come from this monstrous wrong that we will carry with us and remember for the rest of our lives.

Thank you. God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

118TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

National Security

Address to the Nation.

19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 442

March 23, 1983

24

LENGTH: 4572 words

... budget, to provide the resources we need to preserve the peace and guarantee our freedom.

Now, thus far tonight I've shared with you my thoughts on the problems of national security we must face together. My predecessors in the Oval Office have appeared before you on other occasions to describe the threat posed by Soviet power and have proposed steps to address that threat. But since the advent of nuclear weapons, those steps have been increasingly directed toward deterrence of ...

... But I believe we can do it. As we cross this threshold, I ask for your prayers and your support.

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Following his remarks, the President met in the White House with a number of administration officials, including members of the Cabinet, the White ...

125TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Arms Reduction and Deterrence

Address to the Nation.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1516

November 22, 1982

23

LENGTH: 3579 words

... famous old hymn: "O God of Love, O King of Peace, make wars throughout the world to cease."

Thank you. Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

129TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

The Nation's Economy

Address to the Nation.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1305

October 13, 1982

26

LENGTH: 3470 words

... all who still cherish the American dream.

We can do it, my fellow Americans, by staying the course.

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

131ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

The Situation in Lebanon

Address to the Nation Announcing the Formation of a New  
Multinational Force.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1182

September 20, 1982

21

LENGTH: 1252 words

... country continues its vital role as a leader for world peace, a role that all of us as Americans can be proud of.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 5 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

133RD DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Federal Tax and Budget Reconciliation Legislation

Address to the Nation.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1035

August 16, 1982

28

LENGTH: 2977 words

... a balanced budget, restored industrial power, and employment for all who want to work. Together we can reach that goal.

Thank you. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

137TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Fiscal Year 1983 Federal Budget

Address to the Nation.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 545

April 29, 1982

29

LENGTH: 2710 words

... approach I have outlined for you tonight. Let them know you stand behind our recovery program. You did it once, you can do it again.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

141ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Address to the Nation About Christmas and the Situation  
in Poland

1981 Pub. Papers 1185

December 23, 1981

30

LENGTH: 2167 words

... quoted a few moments ago, said so well in "A Christmas Carol," "God bless us, every one."

Good night.

Note: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.



143RD DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Address to the Nation on the Program for Economic  
Recovery

1981 Pub. Papers 831

September 24, 1981

31

LENGTH: 4131 words

... Tom Paine said 200 years ago, "We have it within our power to begin the world over again." What are we waiting for?

God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on radio and television.

145TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Address to the Nation on Federal Tax Reduction  
Legislation

1981 Pub. Papers 664

July 27, 1981

30

LENGTH: 3382 words

... again. You have made the difference up to now. You will make the difference again. Let us not stop now.

Thank you. God bless you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 8:01 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.

146TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Address to the Nation on the Economy

1981 Pub. Papers 79

February 5, 1981

33

LENGTH: 2898 words

... takes is a little common sense and recognition of our own ability.  
Together we can forge a new beginning for America.

Thank you, and good night.

Note: The President spoke at 9:02 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His remarks were broadcast live on radio and television.