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WASHINGTON

October 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Radio Talk: Budget

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced radio talk, and finds no objection to it from a legal perspective. I should point out, however, that we have not reviewed the details of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, discussed in the remarks.

cc: David L. Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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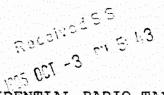
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: BUDGET

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1985

My fellow Americans: Yesterday I gave my enthusiastic support to what might well become historic legislation -- the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. This legislation will impose the discipline our Government has so long lacked to control its insatiable appetite to spend.

Under this proposal the Federal Government, by law, would be required to lock in a deficit reduction path leading to zero.

This would not be achieved by raising taxes, or by jeopardizing our defenses, or by breaking our commitments on Social Security.

The legislation would establish a maximum allowable deficit ceiling, beginning with the current level of \$180 billion, and then mandate that this deficit be reduced by equal amounts each year until we reach a balanced budget in calendar year 1990. I personally believe in, and I've asked Congress to put in place, a Balanced Budget amendment to take effect in 1991. By doing this, we could make sure that our progress would not be lost.

The importance of this legislation can hardly be overstated. When our Administration came to office in 1981, we took the first steps in decades to restrain the growth and the power of Government and to bring to an end its encroachment on American enterprise. We cut the growth of regulations, supported a sound monetary policy, put in place new incentives for business investment, and enacted a personal income tax rate cut of 25 percent.

The results have been dramatic. Today, our economy has been growing for 34 straight months. Productivity has risen, bringing to an end the stagnation that characterized the ending of the last decade. Inflation is at the lowest rate in almost 20 years, and since our economic policies took effect, we've seen the creation of more than 8 million new jobs.

These are great achievements. But all our progress, all the good we've accomplished in rejuvenating our economy, and, yes, all our dreams for the future could be wiped out by the one great domestic challenge which we have not yet been able to overcome -- deficit spending.

For decades, Federal spending has been growing virtually out of control. It took 173 years from the establishment of our Government in 1789 to the Kennedy administration in 1962 for the annual budget of the United States to reach \$100 billion. It took only the next 9 years for the budget to double to \$200 billion. And in the 15 years since, it has more than quadrupled, to over \$900 billion.

Perhaps the most significant component of this spending spiral has been the unwarranted expansion of Government programs that redistribute income from one taxpayer to another. In 1966, for example, the welfare programs of the so-called "Great Society" cost you, the taxpayers, \$16 billion. By 1975 that figure had risen to \$78 billion. By 1981, it had grown to an absolutely staggering \$148 billion. No doubt these programs were well-intentioned. But they long ago passed the point where their cost to you the people, the bloated bureaucracies that they

established, and the dependency upon Government that they fostered far out-weighed the good that they could accomplish.

Not surprisingly, as the Government has been spending like a drunken sailor, it has taken our country deeper and deeper into the red. Indeed, today the Federal deficit amounts to \$180 billion. This deficit has not -- I repeat, not -- arisen as a result of our tax cut. On the contrary, Government revenues are actually rising faster than they were before we cut tax rates. In 1984 Federal receipts increased 11 percent -- a healthy gain of 7 percent even after accounting for inflation. And in this fiscal year that remarkable pace is being sustained.

Yet even with Government revenues going up, Government spending has been going up even faster. It sort of reminds me of that old definition of a baby -- a little critter with an enormous appetite at one end, and no sense of responsibility at the other.

Well, with the passage of the bill I endorsed yesterday, the Government of the United States can show that, at long last, we are growing up, and we are gaining that sense of responsibility. Or as I put it yesterday, with this bill it would be no more credit cards, just cash and carry.

My friends, this bill could represent a real breakthrough.

I urge you to join me in giving it wholehearted support as it
makes its way through the Congress.

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

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS, JR.

SUBJECT:

Radio Talk: Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

David Chew has asked that comments on the attached proposed radio talk be sent directly to Ben Elliott by 2:00 p.m. today. The draft assumes passage of a debt ceiling bill with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment, and raises the question of what, if anything, we are going to do about the constitutional infirmities in that amendment.

In his remarks the President refers, in the third paragraph on page two, to the requirement that the President submit a budget within certain limits. Justice objects to any requirement that the President submit a particular type of budget. I think this concern can be easily finessed not only in the remarks but as a general matter (surely there can be no sanction if the President, in the future, were to submit a budget that did not comply with the requirements of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, just as there could be no sanction if Congress passed a budget that failed to comply, and explicitly overrode Gramm-Rudman-Hollings). In the present case, I would just change "The President must submit..." to "The President is to submit..."

The more difficult issue concerns the references in the remarks to the automatic spending reductions if deficit reduction targets are not met. Justice's major concern — the role of the Congressional Budget Office — is probably sufficiently removed from the general statements in the President's remarks that the remarks are tolerable. The President refers to what happens if targets are not met. The objectionable CBO role is in assessing whether targets are or are not met by the budget, a role the CBO would share with OMB. OMB and CBO would each calculate how much a proposed budget reduces the deficit, and if their calculations differ by more than a set margin, the average would be used. If the final figure is not within the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings target, the automatic reductions are triggered. This gives CBO — not an executive agency — the power to have significant legal impact.

The President's remarks, however, do not refer to how the calculations are arrived at, only to what happens if the targets are not met. Accordingly, I think we can live with them, particularly since we are hardly writing on a clean slate. Some on the Hill argue that the automatic reductions are themselves an

unconstitutional delegation of legislative power to the Executive, but I do not see this argument: in passing Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Congress is making the reductions, and no discretion is given to the President to choose where to cut.

The attached memorandum for Elliott and Chew approves the remarks, but notes they gloss over potentially serious problems.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND

DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Radio Talk: Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

I have reviewed the proposed radio talk, which assumes passage of a debt ceiling bill with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment. That amendment raises serious constitutional concerns, but has, of course, already been endorsed by the President. The remarks avoid specific discussion of the most troubling aspect of the current version of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the role it accords the Congressional Budget Office. Of lesser concern is the constitutional objection to Congress requiring the President to submit a budget within certain constraints. I believe that concern can be adequately papered over for present purposes by changing "must" in line 14 on page 2 to "is to."

cc: David L. Chew

But, the problems still do exist!

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND

DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Radio Talk: Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

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cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: RADIO TALK:	GRAMM-RUDM	IAN-HO	TTINGS		
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Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by 2:00 p.m. today with an information copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(OMB/Elliott)
October 31, 1985
9:45 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS 5 SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1985.

My fellow Americans, many of you, and particularly those close to my generation, may remember an old movie called the "Perils of Pauline." The storyline had the heroine being rescued at the last minute from the dreadful fate of being run over by a train.

Well, the Federal Government has just been through a Perils of Pauline episode of its own -- one that never should have happened but that fortunately also had a happy ending.

The problem is not new; in fact, you've probably heard about it before: the failure by Congress to raise the ceiling on our national debt -- so that the Treasury can pay our bills, so that our checks won't bounce, and so that we won't have to cancel investments of the Social Security trust fund, shortchanging that trust fund of the interest it is due. But at the last minute, Pauline was rescued and I am signing legislation assuring that the Government's obligations will be paid in full.

Even more important, Congress has attached to this urgently needed legislation an amendment of great importance for our future. Called the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment, for the three Senators of both parties who created and proposed it, it will, at long last, put the Government on course to a balanced budget. The dark clouds of budget deficits that threatened our remarkable 35-month economic expansion will steadily and surely be brought down.

We have let deficits mushroom because we've allowed high tax rates to rob us of our full growth potential, and because we've lost the discipline of living within our means. That discipline prevailed for the first 150 years of our history and still does in State and local governments.

But, because the Federal Government can borrow in almost unlimited amounts, bigger and bigger deficits have become a kind of ready escape hatch for politicians who refuse to turn off the spending spigot. It's become all too easy to just spend and spend and let future generations worry about the mounting debt.

Well, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation can change that. It will impose a new discipline on Government -- on both the executive and the legislative branch -- through a fail-safe mechanism for deficit reductions. The President must submit a budget that brings deficits down by equal amounts each year until we reach a balanced budget in 1990.

Just in case there is any backsliding, just in case the specified targets for reduced budget deficits are not met, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings contains a provision to automatically impose additional spending cuts across the board. Social Security, interest on the national debt, and most prior-year obligations would be exempt from these reductions. The rest of the budget will bear the cuts evenly.

But let me mention one caveat: the first, indeed, primary, obligation of the Federal Government is protecting our Nation's security. All of us expect the Members of Congress to heed that responsibility. Should they fail and leave America vulnerable to

a dangerous and growing threat, then I will name names and do all I can to restore the margin of security we need. When it comes to keeping our country safe and free, there should be no Republicans or Democrats, only patriotic Americans.

Having said this, I believe the targets we are setting are firm but realistic. They do not try to wipe out the deficit all at once -- which would only be impractical and damaging.

Instead, the deficit level is set at a maximum of \$180 billion (\$172 billion) in the current fiscal year. It then declines gradually to zero over 6 years. We believe such a reduction is reachable. My own budgets, starting with the budget for 1987, that will go to Congress next January, will meet these specific targets. And they will do so without damaging national defense or any other essential functions of Government, and without raising your taxes.

These same targets are binding on Congress in their actions on the budget. I believe that this new climate -- imposing firm limits on deficit spending -- will go a long way toward changing old habits and helping Congress find the political courage to make necessary budget savings. Only if they don't would the automatic spending cuts be triggered, and both sides want to avoid that.

So this is a good day for America. Given our system of government, a new device, like the legislation just adopted, was needed to force us to change our ways. I congratulate both Houses of Congress for putting aside their doubts and embarking on this courageous new course. At both ends of Pennsylvania

Avenue, we will have to live with the new discipline, but it will be good for us, good for America, and good for America's future.

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

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Radio Talk: Budget -- Version #2

Attached is an alternate version of the radio talk, based on the assumption that a debt ceiling extension with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings does not pass. The President in this version reiterates his support for Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, so the constitutional concerns noted in my memorandum on the previous version of the radio talk are similarly implicated. For the same reasons discussed in that memorandum, I would delete "be required to" in line 18 on page 2. As in the other draft, the President's remarks do not touch upon the role of the Congressional Budget Office, and do not mire us any deeper in the constitutional quagmire we are in already.

I have a number of non-legal concerns. The President, in the second paragraph on page 3, indicates he may be forced to disinvest Social Security trust funds. I doubt many listeners will know what this means (I am not certain myself), and the remark could be widely misinterpreted as meaning the President will use Social Security funds to meet other Government obligations.

The first sentence of the third paragraph on page 3 is inaccurate. We will not be forced to balance the budget overnight; we simply will not be able to incur additional debt. Balancing the budget overnight would entail paying off all past debt.

I should also note that the remarks are very ominous and dramatic, urging everyone to reach out to those who will need food and shelter. I assume this is the result of a conscious decision, but I think the President will sound ludicrous if he tries to paint this financial crisis as America's darkest hour.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING Orig. signed by FFF

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Radio Talk: Budget -- Version #2

I have reviewed version two of the proposed radio talk. For the same reasons stated in my memorandum on the first version, I recommend deleting "be required to" in line 18 on page 2.

I also question whether it is wise to mention disinvestment of Social Security trust funds in the second paragraph on page 3. Few listeners will know what this means, and the remark could be widely misinterpreted as a threat to use Social Security funds to meet other Government obligations.

The first sentence of the third paragraph on page 3 is inaccurate. We will not be forced to balance the budget overnight; we simply will not be able to incur additional debt. Balancing the budget overnight would entail paying off all past debt.

Finally, I think the fourth paragraph on page 3 paints too dire a picture. I do not mean to minimize the seriousness of this deadlock, but the public has been through the "shut down the Government" drill before, and I do not know how credible the President will be if he tries to portray this as America's darkest hour.

cc: David L. Chew

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WASHINGTON

October 31, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

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FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

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cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/31/85	ACTION/CONCURR	ENCE/CO	MMENT DUE BY:	4:00 p.m. TODAY	,
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REMARKS

Please give your comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 4:00 p.m. $\underline{\text{TODAY}}$. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

(Elliott) October 31, 1985 1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: BUDGET - VERSION #2
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1985

My fellow Americans, I must speak to you today of unpleasant things. I regret to report that, as of this moment, we face a fiscal crisis due to the failure of Congress to ensure that the Federal Government can pay its bills and function in an orderly manner.

This crisis did not occur overnight. It could have been prevented; and Congress must shoulder the full responsibility -- and blame -- for permitting it to happen.

How did it happen? Well, we began the new fiscal year on September 30th with two facts known by all: First, everyone knew that the Federal Government would soon reach its debt ceiling, and that, unless the ceiling was raised, the Government would run out of cash to meet its obligations. Second, everyone knew that we needed a legal mechanism to stop Congress from overspending, and avoid future emergencies by bringing deficits down and eventually eliminating them.

So we tried to deal with the approaching fiscal crunch in a quick and responsible manner. On October 4th, I endorsed legislation to raise the debt ceiling and to bring deficits down dramatically through an amendment proposed by Senators Gramm, Rudman, and Hollings. On October 10th, the Senate passed, by 75 to 24, a temporary increase in the debt ceiling along with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment. Then the House passed similar legislation on the 11th of October by 327-50. So far, so good.

The legislation then went, as is customary, to a House-Senate Conference where differences would be ironed out so both Houses could vote on a common bill. That was October 14th. Thirty-three days later, the legislation is still stuck in conference and nothing has been accomplished.

Why, you're probably asking, is this conference spinning its wheels when a solution was reached and agreed upon by an overwhelming majority of both the Senate and the House? The answer is simple. The liberal leadership of the House is determined to risk anything, even a collapse of the United States Government, to dodge a bill that would force them to do what they fear most -- stop Government from spending more than Government takes in.

This is precisely what the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings amendment would do. It would impose a new discipline on Government -- on both the executive and the legislative branch -- through a fail-safe mechanism for deficit reductions. The President would be required to submit a budget that brings deficits down by equal amounts each year until we reach a balanced budget by 1990.

And, just in case there was any backsliding, just in case the specified targets for reduced budget deficits were not met, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings would contain a provision to impose automatic, additional spending cuts across the board. Social Security, interest on the national debt, and most prior-year obligations would be exempt from these reductions. The rest of the budget would bear the cuts evenly.

But when the spenders, who have voiced such constant concern over large deficits, came face-to-face with a great, historic moment of truth, they collapsed in fear and irresolution. And because of this monumental failure of political leadership, 237 million Americans are confronted with a monumental fiscal crisis.

We will cross the new debt ceiling on November 15th. I intend to announce a series of steps, including disinvestment of Social Security trust funds, to slow down the number of checks being issued by the Treasury Department. These steps may include stopping payment to vendors and individuals as well as grants to State and local governments.

What we will be forced, in effect, to do is balance the Federal budget overnight. We will no longer be able to borrow or pay out one dime more than the revenues coming in. We must and will ensure that the security of the United States is fully protected. And I will do my best to minimize personal pain and hopefully, avoid major financial dislocations. But no one should believe for one second that innocent people will not suffer.

I urge you -- call your Representatives in Congress, communicate your displeasure, and insist Congress get off the dime or risk your wrath at the polls. And I urge all of us to reach out to those in our communities who will need food and shelter and love. We must come together and support each other in this hour of crisis for our Nation.

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

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Radio Talk: Address to the Soviet People

-- Voice of America

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced radio talk, and finds no objection to it from a legal perspective. On page 5, line 14, "inalienable" should be changed to "unalienable," the form used in the Declaration of Independence.

cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/6/85	ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMEN	IT DUE BY: 4:30 p.m. TODA	Y
SUBJECT: RADIO TALK	ADDRESS TO THE SOVIE	T PEOPLE - VOICE OF AM	ERICA

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REMARKS:

Please give your comments directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 4:30 p.m. today. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

(NSC/Elliott)
November 6, 1985
12:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL RADIO TALK: ADDRESS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE VOICE OF AMERICA SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1985

My fellow Americans, we're expanding and changing the format of our radio broadcast today. During the next 10 minutes, I'll be attempting to speak directly to the Russian people over the Voice of America about the upcoming Geneva Summit. My words will be directed to them, but I want you to hear what I say.

Good evening, dear <u>uvazhaemie</u> listeners. This is Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, speaking to you from Washington. In a few days, I'll be leaving for Geneva to meet with Secretary General Gorbachev. I'd like to speak to you about that meeting, and about my hopes that it may yield a more constructive relationship between our two governments.

Americans would like more communication with the Russian people, for better relations can only come when we talk to each other, not about each other. Your leaders can freely appear on American radio and television, and be interviewed by our magazines and newspapers. So I was grateful for my recent opportunity to speak with representatives from Tass, Isvestia, Pravda, and Novosti -- the first time in 24 years such an interview has taken place. However, only Isvestia carried the interview and portions of what I said were left out.

So I am endeavoring tonight to speak to you personally, not only as President and proud citizen of America, but also as a husband, father, and grandfather who shares your deepest hopes — that all our children can live and prosper in a world of peace.

I grew up in a small town in America's heartland, where values of faith in God, freedom, family friends, and concern for one's neighbors were shared by all, values you also share. My family was not wealthy and I worked as a lifeguard and in construction labor. Then I became a radio broadcaster, before going to Hollywood where I was elected head of our professional actors guild. I've always been proud to be the only American President who was also president of a labor union.

Back then, I had no intention of engaging in national politics. But America is a great country filled with opportunities for citizens to follow their dreams. In all those years that followed, including my years as Governor of California, and as President, I have not forgotten the values I learned as a boy. Nor have my fellow citizens.

Now, I know that much has been written in your press about America's hostile intentions toward you. I must disagree with this. Americans are a peace-loving people; we do not threaten your nation and never will. The American people are tolerant, slow to anger, but staunch in defense of their liberties, and, like you, their country. Almost unique among great nations, the United States and the Soviet Union have never gone to war against each other. I pray God we never will.

More than once, we have joined to oppose a common enemy.

During our war for independence, Russia provided assistance to the distant American colonists. A century-and-a-half later, we joined together to defeat the common enemy of Fascism.

Even before we entered that war, America was known as the arsenal of democracy, supplying massive quantities of food and equipment to those fighting against the tyrants. We provided over 11,000 aircraft to the Soviet forces, nearly 5,000 tanks, more than a quarter of a million vehicles, and thousands of tons of food and other staples.

Americans fought for 4 years on all fronts and many lie buried in Northern Africa, Europe, Burma, China, the Pacific islands, and at the bottom of the sea. Some are buried on Soviet soil — in the Hero City of Murmansk, where they had brought precious supplies through the treacherous convoy route.

Yet after that victory, Americans gave generously to help rebuild wartorn countries, even to former enemies, because we had made war on a vicious ideology and leadership, not on a people.

And we demonstrated our desire for peace by rapidly demobolizing. At the end of 1945, we had an armed force of 12 million; by 1948, we had reduced that number to less than 1.2 million.

Immediately after World War II, when we were the only country with nuclear weapons, we proposed giving those weapons up altogether to an international authority, so that no country would have such destructive power at its disposal. What a pity this idea was not accepted.

Today, we must both face the challenge of eliminating nuclear weapons. I have said many times, and will say again to you: a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. I would like nothing more than to rid the world of these ugly,

dangerous weapons, in part by finding a reliable defense against them.

Our negotiators in Geneva are working hard to reach a break-through. I am pleased that the Soviet Union responded to our original proposals. We studied the response carefully, and replied quickly. These are complicated negotiations and satisfactory results will take long, hard work. But then nothing of value, nothing that lasts, comes without hard work. As the Russian proverb goes, you can't pull the fish out of the pond without laboring.

Let me be clear about our research and testing program on defensive systems. Our goal is a system of non-nuclear survival shields that would protect people and hopefully render nuclear weapons obsolete. You should be aware that your own government has been conducting long-standing research on its own defensive systems.

For our part, the United States is just beginning a long road toward defensive deployments. Another President will have to make that decision, but if I were he, I would try to convince the Soviet Union, without offering them a veto, that we take a great step forward together with defensive deployments — deployments that offer an insurance polcy and threaten no one.

We must live in peace. America's whole history has been a search for peace and opportunity by pioneers seeking freedom, many from the old European order. We are proud of the Russians, the Ukranians, the Jews, the Armenians, and many others who sailed by our Statue of Liberty and reached our shores.

Diversity is one of our great strengths. That is partly why we are confusing to outsiders. Our government is elected by the people, but is not above the people or above the law.

We believe that truth is found in the arena of debate and discussion. "Truth does not burn in the fire, or drown in the water." Our system is often uncomfortable for elected officials, because one of our proudest institutions is a free press. The press criticizes me, and sometimes it hurts, but that is their role — to keep us responsive, to raise difficult questions, and to call officials to be accountable to the people. We favor this open dialogue not only among Americans, but among all peoples. We believe that freedom of the individual, freedom of speech, freedom of the press are, as our Declaration of Independence written over two centuries ago says: Inalienable rights of all men.

Ten years ago, we and you along with 33 other countries signed the Helsinki Accords. We pledged to respect human rights in our own countries, to permit our citizens freedom of speech and travel, and to improve communication among the peoples of the signatory nations. We ask the world's leaders to abide by what they have committed themselves to. We ask no more of them than we do of ourselves.

As the world's two strongest nations, we owe it to the rest of humanity not only to keep our word, but help find peaceful settlements to local and regional conflicts -- in Afghanistan, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere.

We must also join forces against the sickness of terrorism, for there is no place in a civilized world for assassinations, terrorist bombings, and other mindless acts of violence. I ask you and your government to join us in acting against terrorism and ensuring that no country will offer succor or comfort to terrorists.

We have much to learn from each other. Americans have long been enriched by your cultural giants. The works of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Gorky, Pasternak, and Chingis Aitmatov are taught in every American university. Just as American authors from James Fenimore Cooper, Mark Twain and Jack London, to Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner are popular in your country.

I am an enthusiast for expanded contacts between our two great societies, wherever there is mutual interest. I am particularly interested in increasing exchanges among our young people for they are our future. We should open a direct dialogue between our nations, so both country's leaders would have the same chance to present the views of their governments to the peoples of the other through the medium of television. If more of your citizens came to visit us, you would understand that our people want peace as fervently as you do, for it is better to see something once than hear about it a hundred times.

I hope my discussions with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva will be fruitful and will lead to future meetings. We seek peace not only for ourselves, but for all those who inhabit this small planet.

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. I pray 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.

Everything has a season, and let us hope as we near the Christmas and New Year's season, that this will be the season for peace. Thank you for welcoming me into your homes.

God bless you.

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Radio Talk: American Red Cross

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft radio talk, and finds no objection to it from a legal perspective. The Red Cross has long been the leading exception to the prohibition on Presidential endorsement of private fundraising efforts. On page 2, lines 21-22, surely there must be a more felicitous phrasimg than "You see, he was blind..."

cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING VVORKSHEET

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEI JORANDUM

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REMARKS

Would you please send your comments, edits or recommendations directly to Ben Elliott by tomorrow at 11:00 a.m. with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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My fellow Americans: As I speak to you today, I am flying across the ocean to Geneva, Switzerland, on a mission for peace.

As you know, I will be meeting with the Soviet head of state,

General Secretary Gorbachev.

Those meetings may occupy the news for the next few days, but right now I want to talk to you about something closer to home -- the Red Cross.

Actually, the Red Cross was founded in Geneva over 100 years ago to care for the victims of war. Then Clara Barton, who became known as "The Angel of the Battlefield" during our Civil War, brought the idea to the United States and expanded it to include disaster relief during peacetime.

One way or another, the Red Cross has touched most of our lives. Last year, close to 1-1/2 million volunteers worked for the Red Cross, with many millions more giving blood and participating in their programs for young people. It was with the Red Cross, in fact, that I received training for one of my first jobs as a lifeguard.

This year, however, has been unprecedented in the history of Red Cross relief efforts, and their resources have been stretched to the limit. In addition to helping our neighbors around the world -- in famine-stricken Africa and after the devastating earthquake in Mexico City -- the Red Cross has had its work cut out for it here at home, too.

A series of natural disasters has struck the United States since last July. Several of them you probably know by name:
"Bob," "Danny," "Elena," "Gloria," and "Juan." But in addition to these hurricanes, there have been other disasters: fires, chemical spills, evacuations, the Puerto Rican mudslides, and most recently, the floods in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, which were extremely destructive and have added enormously to the burden of Red Cross relief efforts.

Still, each time disaster struck, the Red Cross volunteers were there. I'm sure that for those people whom the storms made homeless, a hot meal, a Red Cross blanket, a soft bed and a warm smile helped get them through the nightmare and take that first step on the difficult road to rebuilding their lives.

I guess the only good thing to come out of natural disasters like these are the stories of self-sacrifice and downright heroism -- and so often those heroes turn out to be Red Cross volunteers. That was the case recently in West Virginia, when some volunteers heard a dog barking instade a flooded house. By the time they got there the water was allready rising past the windows. Inside a man was struggling to save his furniture from the water and had no idea the peril he was in. You see, he was blind and may not have been evacuated if the Red Cross didn't come to save both him and his dog.

Then there were the volunteers who dove into a rushing torrent to save a mother and her children just before they got swept away by the current, and the (example from some other part of the country).

The Red Cross is always there for us; now we need to be there for them. Already this year, the Red Cross has spent a record \$48 million responding to emergencies, and they are quite simply running out of funds. So the Red Cross is launching an Emergency Disaster Relief Campaign, and they've set a fundraising goal of \$20 million. It's now time for all of us to "volunteer for the volunteers," to give to those who have given so much of themselves.

I'm reminded of the story of the man who was stranded on a roof during a flood. First a rowboat came along and offered to rescue him, but he said, "No thanks, I'we prayed and the Lord will provide." The water kept rising and pretty soon it was at his feet. Then a helicopter flew by and offered to lift him to safety. But the man said again, "No thamks, I've prayed and the Lord will provide." Well, the water kept rising and pretty soon it swept the man away. When he got to meaven he was pretty upset. And when he confronted God he said, "I thought you always told us that you would provide." And God just looked perplexed and said, "Well, I provided a rowboat, I provided a helicopter, what more could you need?"

I repeat that story because like that rowboat and that helicopter, Red Cross volunteers are so often the agents of compassion and mercy sent to us in our hour of need. They are so often the helping hand we pray for in our distress. Now they need a hand. Let's give them some help.

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