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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 5, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Dropby for National Newspaper Association

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. On page 4, line 1, we recommend changing "constitutionally entitled" to "intended." With this change the sentence conveys the same notion that much of what the Federal Government has attempted to do in recent years has been beyond what the Framers envisioned, without suggesting that it was legally <u>ultra vires</u>. Also, on page 5, line 11, "council" should be "counsel."

cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Document No.

DATE: 3/4/85	ACTION/CONCURP	RENCE/CO	DAMMENT DUE BY: 10:00	a.m. 3/5/85	5
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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments or edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office.

Thanks.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

(Dolan/BE) March 4, 1985 1:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY BRIEFING FOR NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1985

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I want you all to know how delighted I am that you are here with us again; this is the fifth year now that we've had the privilege of having you as our guests -- I feel as though we've sort of grown up together. I hope that doesn't offend anyone; actually, as far as I'm concerned, none of us is really older, just better. And as Cardinal Spellman used to say, there are three ages in life: youth, middle age, and you're looking great.

And that brings up the story about the cub reporter who went out to interview a 65-year-old man who had just won the local marathon. The fast-paced old timer claimed vitality was part of his family heritage. "After all," he boasted, "my father is 90 years old and is still swimming a mile every day. My grandfather, who is 110 years old, just got married for the third time."

The young reporter asked why he would want to do that, to which the runner answered, "Who said he <u>wanted</u> to get married."

Well, all this talk about age is not really accidental -- I am aware that you are celebrating this year your 100th anniversary. Here at the White House, we do issue our share of proclamations and send out a fair number of congratulations; yet yours was and is special. As the proclamation suggests, community newspapers had their origins in the early days of our Nation in the struggle for independence and liberty; as our political parties grew and democracy flourished, the newspaper

business also came of age. Today, with the enormous advances made in technology, you are even more capable than in the past of bringing to your hometowns timely, provocative, and comprehensive coverage of what concerns and affects your readers.

I know that local news -- what's happening in your communities -- is one of the real important focuses for your newspapers. I think it's interesting that the new technology leading to such developments as newspaper chains and television networks is now being put to use by many of you -- to strengthen the very thing that so many people said the modern age would help to eliminate -- that sense of community, that rich diversity and difference that exists in America's towns and cities.

I think you also know that at the Federal level, we are trying to do much the same thing. This Administration has always believed that the real source of America's economic and social progress is not national edicts and mandates issued from Washington, but the toil and creativity of her people working at the local level through their own private institutions and associations.

That's why we are trying to shrink the cost and size of the national Government, bring its expenditures under control, and transfer as much of its power as we can back to the States and localities where it will be subject to more control by the people themselves; and, I might add, to more scrutiny by their watchdogs, those of you in the local press.

It hasn't been all that easy, of course -- Federal expenditures during the 15 years before we took office went up

400 percent and the number of Federal programs escalated beyond belief. So much so -- and I think this is interesting -- no one can really get an exact account of just how many such programs currently exist. Government and regulations were America's biggest growth industry.

Now, at last, we're putting a stop to that. I won't go through all the statistics about how we're cutting the number of programs and regulations, the rate of growth in spending or elaborate on the amount of power we're returning to people in the local communities. I think the best measure of our success is the change in the climate here in Washington. All of you can remember that a few years ago the surest way to headlines and success for Washington politicians was to propose another Federal initiative and spending extravaganza, to laugh at the deficit and claim we could try to spend our way to prosperity. Well, now, at least, our elected officials publicly acknowledge that deficit spending is a serious problem, and that spending yourself rich is a bit like drinking yourself sober. But they still have a ways to go from talking about bringing deficits down to bringing deficits down.

And you know one additional point here is important. Perhaps you've noticed that when some newspapers start to lose their impact, they do it by trying to cover everything on the international and national scale but lose their real focus -what is important to the people in their local community. Well, it's always fascinated me that, as Government grew larger and larger, and started to do more and more things it was neither constitutionally entitled to do or competent enough to handle, it grew less capable of carrying out its traditional and far more important functions: maintaining civil order and protecting our national security.

Even as we fought to get the Federal Behemoth under control during the past few years, we were emphasizing these traditional and most important duties of Government. I think many of you have been reading and writing about our success against crime -much of it the result of a sweeping organized crime initiative we announced a few years ago.

So, too, we have been moving against the dangers to our national security. We have come a long way from the days when the growth of totalitarianism was unchecked and America was routinely held up to world humiliation.

But all the work of the past few years -- the rebuilding of our military strength and our international stature -- depends on the continued support of the American people and the Congress. And very shortly, one critical vote will be held on the Hill on one of the mainstays of our strategic defenses: the MX missile.

I'm very grateful for the support all of you have given us in the past on so many issues, but let me emphasize this morning that the MX is one of the most critical items on the national agenda. I know I don't have to tell you it just isn't those of us at home who will be watching this vote; the world is watching too, and especially those with whom we are now trying to negotiate arms control and reduction measures in Geneva. A vote now against the MX would be interpreted as a sign of weakness; a

symbol of disunity; and it could be interpreted by some as a signal to exploit rather than seriously negotiate the arms reduction process.

We need passage of the MX program; we need it now; we need it for the success of our arms reduction efforts, we need it for the sake of our future.

And there we are again talking about the future and the passage of time. I know that many of you during the past few years have gone through the business of hiring young reporters and executives in your businesses. I know that sometimes you must reflect on how young they are and council them on the work and adventures that await them.

That's what it is really all about. Passing on to another generation and the generations after them this thing called the American dream -- making sure it remains a beacon of hope to a troubled but waiting world. You've been doing that now through this association for a hundred years; and during the past 4-1/2 years especially, all of us together have come a long way towards bringing back excitement and energy to that dream.

So this morning I want to thank you for all your support in the past, seek your support for the future -- particularly on the crucial MX vote -- and wish you all a very Happy Birthday.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 7, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

- ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
- SUBJECT: Presidential Statement: Send-off for U.S. Negotiators (Friday, March 8)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced statement, and finds no objection to it from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/7/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT: Send-off for U.S. Negotiators

(3/6/83 - 7:00 p.m. draft)

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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments or edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office.

Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

(State/NSC) March 6, 1985 7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT: SEND-OFF FOR U.S. NEGOTIATORS FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1985

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The challenge of statesmanship is to have the vision to dream of a better, safer world and the courage, persistence and patience to turn that dream into reality. Since the dawn of the nuclear era, each generation has lived with the reality of nuclear weapons and the fear of nuclear devastation. We face a moral imperative -- we cannot allow our children and their children to grow up with the fear of nuclear war.

Today we reaffirm a new vision -- of a world striving toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, of a world in which technology provides ever greater safety, rather than ever greater fear. Today we set out on a new path -- toward agreements which radically reduce the size and destructive power of existing nuclear arsenals.

Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko said last month: "Our ultimate objective here is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere on this planet, the complete removal of the threat of nuclear war." I welcome that statement and assure Mr. Chernenko that the elimination of nuclear weapons is also the ultimate objective of the American Government and the American people.

It is now our task and responsibility to take practical steps to turn this vision into reality. We should have no illusions that this will be easy. Any venture of this magnitude will take time. Since the most vital security interests of both sides are at stake, this will clearly be long and difficult. And we are realistic, because we know that our differences with the Soviet Union are great. Patience, strength, and Western unity will therefore be required if we are to have a successful outcome.

Next week, the United States and the Soviet Union meet in Geneva to begin a new dialogue on these vital issues. For our part, the United States is ready -- with firmness, patience, and understanding -- to negotiate fair and equitable agreements reducing the dangers of nuclear war and enhancing strategic stability. And, above all, we seek agreement as soon as possible on real and verifiable reductions in American and Soviet offensive nuclear arms.

I have just concluded a very good meeting with our three negotiators -- Ambassadors Max M. Kampelman, John Tower, and Mike Glitman -- which culminates an intensive round of preparations. In the meeting, I gave my instructions for the first round of the talks. These instructions enable our negotiators to explore every promising avenue for progress. The negotiators have my strongest personal support. Like Americans everywhere, I want these negotiations to succeed. I will do everything I can to ensure that this happens, and I pray that the Soviet leadership is prepared to make the same commitment.

I want to thank our team for the fine work you have already done in getting ready for this endeavor. And, as you prepare to leave for Geneva, I cannot think of a more welcome message than

an unmistakable vote of confidence from the American people and the Congress.

Ambassadors Kampelman, Tower, and Glitman, and all the members of our negotiating team, I know that all of our fellow Americans wish you every success. And I know from my conversations with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress that the Congress of the United States joins in supporting you.

So, to <u>all</u> of you -- those who will be in Geneva, <u>and</u> those who will be supporting this crucial effort from Washington -best wishes and God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Departure Statement Signing Ceremony, Quebec City, Canada

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective. The version we have reviewed did not include a discussion of the transboundary air pollution issue.

The second sentence on page 2 -- with its reference to "both our continents" -- strikes me as inartfully phrased. Perhaps "the continent we share" or something along those lines would be better; as written the phrase refers to more than one continent.

cc: David Chew

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott by c.o.b. Tuesday, with an information copy to my office.

Thanks.

RESPONSE:

1985 HAR 12 AM 8: 57

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher/BE) March 11, 1985 5:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT/SIGNING CEREMONY QUEBEC CITY, CANADA MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1985

The Citadel at Quebec says so much about Canada and about the relations between our two countries. On this rock once flew the flag of France and then the flag of Britain. Today, the Maple Leaf flag symbolizes a united Canada.

Over two centuries ago, Canadians and Americans battled one another in this city. It appeared then that we were destined to be enemies. But the walls surrounding us today were erected for a war which never came. Canada and the United States put aside suspicion and malice to build not only a lasting and permanent friendship, but a great and productive relationship. Today, the Citadel and other places like it in both our countries stand as monuments to a history of peace, good will, and cooperation.

Earlier today, I suggested that Canada and the United States are forging a New Partnership. This afternoon, Prime Minister Mulroney and I are putting the new partnership to work. The relationship between our two countries is complex and varied. The agreements we are announcing this afternoon reflect that variety.

We share the world's longest boundary and the world's longest water boundary. Yet, more fundamentally, we share Earth's most bountiful continent. We are responsible for its environment.

[Potential transboundary air pollution insert]

For almost three decades, the Distant Early Warning Line -known as the DEW Line -- has been the northern-most edge of our early warning capability. It's been a vital part of the deterrent system, which protects both our continents from attack, serving as a watch tower for NORAD headquarters. The technology of the DEW Line is now almost obsolete. But the need for an early warning line remains. Accordingly, the Prime Minister and I are signing/announcing an agreement to modernize the North American air defense system.

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The Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, which we'll sign, will facilitate the serving of subpoenas by Canadian and American law enforcement officials.

Protecting the environment, defending our people, and ensuring that justice is done -- these are all special roles for government. Economic prosperity, however, requires the enterprise, work, and investment of the private sector. Being each other's largest trading partner, Canadians and Americans have long enjoyed profitable economic and commercial ties. Today, Prime Minister Mulroney and I are issuing a statement on the enhancement of our mutually beneficial trade.

We are also exchanging the instruments of ratification for a U.S.-Canada Pacific Salmon Treaty. This brings a 15-year-old undertaking to a successful conclusion. The Treaty will be a boon to both our citizens along the Pacific Coast. It symbolizes how we are able, with a combination of hard work and high-level attention, to turn an irritant in our relations into a form of cooperation.

The poet Rupert Brooke wrote: "And high and grey and serene above the morning lay the citadel of Quebec. Is there any city in the world that stands so nobly as Quebec?" Nancy and I have deeply appreciated your hospitality. We will remember the beauty of your city, the warmth of your welcome, and your friendship. Nous nous souviendrons de vous.

Mila and Brian, this has been a wonderful visit for Nancy and me. We look forward to seeing both of you again. I can only repeat what I said the last time we met: a la prochaine.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Arrival Ceremony Quebec City, Canada

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE:	ACTION/CONCURR	ENCE/CO	DMMENT DUE BY:	c.o.b.	Tuesday 3/12/85
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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliot by c.o.b. Tuesday, with an information copy to my office.

Thanks

RESPONSE:

1985 MAR 12 AM 8: 57

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

(Noonan/BE) March 11, 1985 5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL CEREMONY QUEBEC CITY, CANADA SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1985

Prime Minister Mulroney, thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Ambassador, and my friends, the people of Canada:

It is a great pleasure to be here, for to be on Canadian soil is to be among friends. Nancy and I are happy to return here.

I am delighted that Prime Minister Mulroney chose Quebec as the site of this visit. It is one of the most intriguing spots on the continent. Here, New France was founded. Here, French is the language of commerce, the arts, and everyday life. Here, English-Canadians and French-Canadians came together a century ago to set the foundations for a country in whose Parliament both French and English would be spoken. And here, the Citadel and the walls of the old city remind us that Canadians and Americans long ago put aside their differences to become friends. In fact, we are more than friends, and neighbors, and allies. We are kin, who together have built the most productive relationship between any two countries in the world today.

This is my first trip outside the United States since I was sworn in to a second term. Four years ago I took my first trip as President -- and then, too, I came to Canada. This is not a coincidence. For the United States there is no more important relationship than our tie with Canada. We are each other's most important economic partner -- we each play an important role in world affairs -- we share a responsibility for the protection of the continent we peacefully share -- we have a joint stake in its environment -- and we are partners in space and in the technologies of the future.

Between two such independent and sovereign countries there will always be some differences, as there will always be opportunities for agreement. We can still use what Franklin D. Roosevelt, our last American President to visit Quebec while serving in the White House, called for between us. He asked for "frank dealing, cooperation, and a spirit of give and take."

That is precisely what your Prime Minister and I will be engaged in here in Quebec. We will discuss many matters pertaining to the environment, economic growth, and our mutual security. We will discuss global affairs, including arms control.

We will also be celebrating St. Patrick's Day. As two fellows named Reagan and Mulroney this would seem to be appropriate. I brought along Don Regan and Pat Buchanan, two of my top advisors, for the party. They'll both be wearing green ties. I will make my contribution this evening at the state dinner: I'm going to think of the Prime Minister's majority in Parliament and turn green with envy.

It's wonderful to be here. Thank you. Merci beaucoup.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Dropby Briefing for American Business Conference (Revised)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: David L. Chew

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Document No.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: Dropby Briefing for American Business Conference

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REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott by 1:00 p.m. TODAY, with an info copy to my office.

Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DROPBY BRIEFING FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1985

Good afternoon and welcome to the White House.

It's good to be meeting with you again. For the last 4 years, the American Business Conference has been a staunch and much-appreciated ally in the battle to liberate our economy from the old ideas of over-taxation, over-spending, and Government control. But, as we've been seeing recently in Congress, old habits die hard -- very hard.

I've been thinking of starting a new counseling group up in Congress along the lines of "Over-Eaters Anonymous." We'd call it, "Big Spenders Anonymous." It would meet every week or so and members would get together and talk about how, try as they might, they just can't stop squandering the people's money.

The scene in the Senate Budget Committee this past week was a disappointing one for the American people. It seems that when push comes to shove, it's always easier to let the taxpayer take the fall. But let them be forewarned. I have my veto pen drawn and ready for any tax increase Congress might even think of sending up. I have only one thing to say to the tax increasers: "Go ahead, make my day."

The defense budget has also become a convenient scapegoat for those in Congress who aren't willing to face up to the tough budget decisions. The fact is, however, the recent growth in the deficit has nothing to do with defense spending. In the last 2 years, projected defense spending for fiscal year 1985 has <u>decreased</u> by \$26 billion in real terms. During the same time, expected total revenues for this year have <u>increased</u> \$30 billion in real terms.

But projected non-defense, non-debt service spending has increased about double that amount -- around \$60 billion. It seems that despite all their rhetoric about the deficit, Congress has been carrying on its old pork-barrelling politics as usual. We are now seeing dramatic growth in our economy, the kind of growth that used to be called impossible. Revised figures for '84 showed a 6.9-percent increase in the G.N.P. But, no economy can grow faster than Congress can write a check.

If special interest group pressures on Congress are too great for them to get spending under control, let's do as Senator Mack Mattingly has proposed and give the Presidential line-item veto a 2-year trial run. Somebody has got to stop this spending splurge, and I'm willing to take the political heat. Somebody has to start looking out for the long-term interests of the American people as a whole.

Later in this session of Congress, we will be presenting our proposals for tax reform that will lower tax rates, broaden the tax base, and make the tax code simpler and fairer. We are looking at a top rate of 35 percent, and very possibly less, and we will be sure that incentives for capital formation are maintained. We are also moving forward on new GATT negotiations, a series of trade liberalization talks with our trading partners, developed and developing alike.

These three initiatives -- tax reform, budget control, and trade liberalization -- are the heart of our economic program. Taken together, they can produce an economic renaissance in this country. With the political will to carry these programs through, we can very well hope to achieve the same kind of growth we saw in 1984 every year through the end of the decade.

We can look back to the mid-sixties to see another period of dramatic growth liberated by tax cuts and trade liberalization. But we have an advantage they didn't have back then: Today's economy is being powered by a high-tech explosion whose effects are only beginning to be felt. The face of American industry is being transformed daily by revolutionary new inventions and breakthroughs in productivity.

But we should keep in mind as we work to reform our tax code that misguided tax policies back in the seventies almost destroyed America's position as the leader of the high-tech revolution. Exorbitant tax rates, together with the high rate of inflation, almost wiped out the venture capital markets in this country -- forcing American entrepreneurs to look abroad for financing. One such case is the story of Gene Amdahl, the inventor of what many consider the most successful computer ever built. Back in the seventies he decided to start his own company, but he couldn't find the venture capital he needed in this country. He was forced to go to a large high-tech competitor in Japan. They gave him the money -- in return for his ideas.

High tax rates were literally producing an exodus of American high-tech to foreign countries. We were creating tax refugees out of our best minds and talents and most successful entrepreneurs. But when tax rates were cut, the dollars committed to venture capital exploded, from barely \$39 million in 1977 to over \$4 billion last year.

One of the first rules of economics is: If you tax something, you get less of it. High tax rates discourage work, risk-taking, initiative, and imagination; they are really a tax on hope, optimism, and our faith in the future. And they penalize most the very people who give the most -- the risk-takers and entrepreneurs who create whole new businesses and industries -- often out of no more than a dream and hard work. Bob Swiggett, a member of ABC, started the Kollmorgen [coal-morgan] Corporation in his garage. George Hatsopoulos [hot-SOP-oh-lus], founder of Thermo Electron, and Dermot Dunphy, CEO of Sealed Air Corporation, came to this country as immigrants.

Entrepreneurs such as these may have started with little, but they have added immeasurably to the wealth and prosperity of our Nation. They took hold of the opportunity that America offers, and they used it to create opportunity for others. The entrepreneurial, high-growth firms of the American Business Conference created new jobs ten times faster than the overall economy, and more than ten times faster than the Fortune 500. America's entrepreneurs are this country's life blood. We must

allow them the wherewithal to follow through on their dreams and build a great future for our country.

Taxes are simply the price of Government, and democratic governments, just like businesses, exist in a highly competitive environment. Individuals are constantly making choices about the quality and extent of their participation in the taxed economy. Do high taxes make hard work less rewarding and increased leisure more attractive? Do they make investment less profitable and consumption relatively cheaper? Do they channel the remaining investment out of the productive sector and into tax shelters and non-taxable assets? And finally, does the taxed economy begin to lose out altogether to an expanding underground economy? This was the story of the high-tax decade of the seventies, when more and more Americans decided that the price of Government was, simply, too high.

But just as businesses can increase profits by cutting prices and expanding their share of the market, governments can increase revenues by cutting tax rates and expanding the tax base. This is what Japan did between 1955 and 1974 when they cut effective tax rates practically every year. These were, of course, years of unparalleled prosperity for Japan that catapulted them out of the league of underdeveloped nations and into the front ranks of the world's leading economic powers.

Our historic tax cut in '81 gave the United States the same kind of upward push. It's no accident that revenues increased by 11 percent in 1984, the first full year when all three elements of our tax cut were in place. There is no better time than now

Page 6

to follow through with a tax reform that will continue to stimulate the entrepreneurial genius of the American people. It's sometimes been said that if you lined up 1,000 economists end to end, they still wouldn't reach a conclusion. But the American Business Conference, and other companies that are on the cutting edge of our economy, know the importance of the growth scenario of tax reform, budget control, and trade liberalization. We are poised on the threshold of an era of unrivaled prosperity, and we will be looking to you for your support in the crucial months ahead to make it happen.

Thank you very much and God bless you all. Now, I understand your chairman, Arthur Levitt, has a few words.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

Address: Canadian Luncheon

SUBJECT:

David Chew has asked that comments on the above-referenced remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by close of business today. The remarks stress the closeness of U.S. - Canadian ties, praise Prime Minister Mulroney, and marvel at the Canadian economic renaissance. The President emphasizes that continued economic progress will result from easing the burden of taxes and regulation. Moving to foreign affairs, the remarks review the need to upgrade NATO conventional forces and negotiate reduction in nuclear stockpiles, while pursuing research on the Strategic Defense Initiative. In his remarks the President announces that he and Mulroney will (1) issue a declaration on acid rain, (2) issue a declaration on modernizing the North American air defense system, (3) exchange ratification instruments for the Pacific Salmon Treaty, (4) sign a law enforcement assistance treaty, and (5) issue a declaration on trade.

I have no legal objections, but have noted two minor stylistic ones in the attached draft for Elliott.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT DENTED by FFF

SUBJECT: Address: Canadian Luncheon

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective. On page 1, line 17, "gentlemen" should be "gentleman." In paragraph 3 on page 5, perhaps "America" wherever it appears should be changed to "the United States" or "the States." The Canadians are themselves, after all, Americans.

cc: David Chew

FFF:JGR:aea 3/12/85 bcc: FFFielding JGRoberts Subj Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

- FROM: FRED F. FIELDING COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
- SUBJECT: Address: Canadian Luncheon

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective. On page 1, line 17, "gentlemen" should be "gentleman." In paragraph 3 on page 5, perhaps "America" wherever it appears should be changed to "the United States" or "the States." The Canadians are themselves, after all, Americans.

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REMARKS:

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott by c.o.b. tomorrow, March 12th, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

(Elliott) March 11, 1985 3:00 p.m. < <

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CANADIAN LUNCHEON MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1985

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Mulroney, Mayor Pelletier, and all of you very distinguished ladies and gentlemen. Nancy and I thank you with all the warmth in our hearts for your gracious welcome. Just as 4 years ago, it is an honor and privilege to make our first visit of the term a visit to Canada, our nearest neighbor, our closest ally, and, yes, our dearest friend.

To have come here to the heart of old Quebec, and to this magnificent chateau, that, for us, will forever be a golden memory of beauty looking down on beauty all around, and, still more, to have been joined by one who shares my ancestral roots on Saint Patrick's Day -- well, it's almost too much for this son of an Irishman to bear. I can now say I've lived to the fullest one fine expression from your native tongue -- C'etait formidable.

That might be enough to convince you that French is not my native tongue. Actually, I was told, a long time ago, don't worry about your accent. It's not how well you speak French, the gentlemen said, but how well you appreciate our people and culture. And, ever since Jacques Cartier told me that, I've been a great admirer of all things French-Canadian.

Sometimes we see similarities. Unlike the United States, Canada has never had a civil war. But you make up for it with your hockey games between the Quebec Nordiques and the Montreal Canadians. As we begin anew, we come again to be with friends. We come to share great dreams in a land where big is a word too small to describe the sweep of Laurentian peaks and prairie plains, or the strength of Canadian spirit that tamed a giant continent and now looks to a future rich with promise.

Flying across Canada yesterday afternoon, I thought of your Commander Marc Garneau. He is the first of what we hope will be many Canadian astronauts on joint Canadian-American missions.

When he was aboard the space shuttle Challenger, at a moment high above Quebec, Commander Garneau said, "My country is very fantastic. We are lucky to be Canadian, to have such a big and wonderful country." To which I would only add: And are we not lucky to be neighbors in these good, free lands that God has blessed as none others have ever been blessed?

When we look around the globe today, when we see a scar of shame dividing families in Europe east from west, and dividing Korea north from south, see the great anguish that military aggression and terrorism have wrought upon so many innocent lives across Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, then, yes, we would do well to give thanks for the principles of democracy and human dignity that have cradled us with peace and showered us with abundance since the birth of our two Nations.

We celebrate our Canadian-American relationship, symbolized by a peaceful 4,000-mile border preserving the best in our national characters and cultures. Our border has not changed its physical aspects. But like the constant ebb and flow of this

Page 2

great waterway, the Saint Lawrence, the currents of ideas crossing our border are changing dramatically.

Victor Hugo once said, no army can stop an idea whose time has come. Today, the tide of freedom is up, lifting our economies ever upward on a new current of imagination, discovery, and hope for our future.

There is a leader who personifies this new spirit, a leader who has said, "Canadians in the mid-1980's have a renewed sense of confidence in themselves as a nation." And who also said, there is a "role for government that is less interventionist . . . a role that creates a climate in which the entrepreneurial genius of the private sector can do what it does best -- namely, create new wealth, new possibilities of employment."

Mr. Prime Minister, I like those words so much, I thought if I might borrow them for one of my speeches. Well, Americans take a friendly neighbor's quiet pride in your Canadian revival; and we share your respect and admiration for the man doing so much to carry it forward, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Canadians live at the top of North America, so sometimes we think of you as fellow-homedwellers inhabiting the upper floors of the house. We who live down on the first floor have heard some pretty loud rumbles upstairs. They've been loudest up here, in that portion of the house we know to be Quebec.

Those who have come up for a look have discovered some very interesting and positive developments. The changes in French Canada during the past 25 years -- your revolution tranquille -- propelled the transformation of Quebec into a modern community, while emphasizing all along its French-speaking character.

In a free and unique referendum, the people of Quebec declared themselves at once Canadian and Quebecois. And, now your long historical development as a French-speaking North American community is entering an exciting phase -- entrepreneurs from Quebec competing in markets throughout the continent, introducing business know-how with a French face.

We can feel the pulse of progress within this Nation. And I can tell you we value highly the friendship of a people unafraid to embrace the challenge of change, yet unwilling to forsake your oldest, most trusted companions -- your traditions, values, and roots.

There is a saying I've always liked -- one should keep old roads and old friends. You have not strayed from the road of good and graceful virtues that enrich our lives and keep us truly free -- free to be generous, kind, and true, and yes, free to strive for progress and greatness, but without surrendering our souls to a mad and mindless pursuit of the material.

Mes amis, the eyes of America are on Canada. In our universities, new chairs for Canadian studies have been created; in our Government, new attention is being paid to Canadian-American relations; and, in our economic relations, Canada's heightened presence was recently highlighted by a special feature in the <u>New York Times Sunday Magazine</u> entitled, "Canada's New Economic Clout."

Page 4

For all this and more -- for Quebec-owned power companies and Canadian railroads stretching from New England to Washington State, combine equipment across our great grain-belt, and what Americans insist is the best beer in the world, we echo Brian Mulroney's words, "Thank God for Canada."

At the heart of my Nation's policies is one conviction, and please hear it well: There is no relationship more important to the United States than our ties with Canada. We are, by far, each other's most important trading partner. Our two-way trade, the largest in the world, is valued at over \$100 billion. We are allies. In North America and across the North Atlantic region we stand watch together on the walls of freedom. Most important, we are friends, determined always to remain friends.

The question is, having righted ourselves, having regained our spirit of exuberance and optimism, where do we go from here? I know that your Prime Minister and I agree: Canada and America can build together, Canada and America can grow together, Canada and America can lead together -- and leaders we shall be in a New Partnership for Progress into the 21st Century.

Each of us knows that the economic actions we take affect not just us alone, but the relationships across our borders and the confidence of our friends and allies throughout the world. And so each must set an example worthy of emulation.

For our part, the United States is making a very fundamental change in direction -- a change away from years of creeping socialism that slowed our progress with overspending and taxation, redistribution of wealth, and ever-greater dependency

Page 5

on Government, toward a new American Revolution -- a peaceful revolution to be sure -- rising from our conviction that successful action must begin with a vision of hope and opportunity for all.

For many years, we heard a pessimistic view of the future that saw humankind doomed to inhabit a world of limits. We were told that, since the decisive factors of wealth were material resources, space, energy, and land, and since these resources were finite, Government's duty was to supervise production and consumption through steep taxation and aggressive regulation. Many academics insisted such policies were the only way third world countries could leapfrog to higher stages of economic development.

But all the while, another, more optimistic view was gaining currency, though given little notice by opinionmakers of the day: the belief that there are no limits to human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams; no limits, because the ultimate resources are not of matter, but of mind and spirit -the resources of faith, courage, imagination, and intellect.

Government's responsibility, then, is to end tax and regulatory barriers, throw open wide the windows of opportunity, welcome the warm sunlight of incentives, and encourage creativity to flower and every individual to excel.

It was human faith and skill that discovered oil where some believed there was only sand; that created surpluses of energy and food when shortages were predicted; and that, today, are pioneering substitutes like tar sands, biotechnology, and microchips the size of a fingernail, even though a leading business expert said in 1957, quote, "I can assure you on the highest authority that data processing is a fad and won't last out the year."

The evidence is in and all points in one direction: Freedom works. Japan, once considered an underdeveloped country, cut tax rates almost every year for two decades, producing an explosive, non-inflationary expansion, making them a world economic power, and leaving Europe and North America falling behind.

But while Europe and North America were raising tax rates and falling behind, communist nations prohibiting incentives had become economic basket cases. As for the developing countries, the contrasts have been just as dramatic. There is not one high-tax, centralized economy in the world today that is an economic success story. Tragically, some African countries rich in material resources have begun falling into a death spiral of starvation, victims not just of drought, but of their governments' hostility to freedom.

Yet, tiny specks on the globe like Singapore, heavily populated and with seemingly nothing to produce or sell, are modern-day versions of a children's story hero of old: They are The Little Engines That Could, new entrepreneur nations of stunning success, pulling the world forward with their dynamic policies that reward innovation, risk-taking, and hard work.

Let us then set our sights on a new vision: A renaissance of growth in a world come alive with entrepreneurial vigor; each nation trading freely with its neighbors; all of us together a mighty freedom train carrying hope and opportunity to the farthest corners of the globe.

We in the States have learned from our mistakes and are endeavoring to show, once again, that nothing works like freedom.

Since the day our tax rate reductions became fully effective, we have enjoyed 27 straight months of economic growth, the strongest rate of business investment in 35 years, a sharp rise in productivity growth, the lowest inflation rate in 18 years, great leaps in venture capital and advanced technology, and, led by the new superstars of the eighties -- the high growth entrepreneurs -- a record 7 million jobs producing a dramatic increase in our purchases of goods and services from other nations, starting with Canada.

We believe we have begun well. We are taking new steps to restrain the growth of Government, break down barriers of trade, and become more competitive. And, since tax rates, the prices for production, saving and investing, are the keys to economic growth or decline, we are committed to an historic reform of our tax code, making America's after-tax rewards the brightest light for growth and stability in the industrialized world.

In all that we do, we seek to go forward with Canada as our partner, two leaders lighting the paths to progress through shared vision and enlightened cooperation. This afternoon at the Citadel, Prime Minister Mulroney and I will put our New Partnership to work: -- We have agreed on how jointly to proceed in addressing the problem of acid rain and will be issuing a declaration on that subject;

-- We will issue a declaration on the modernization of our jointly-operated North American air defense system;

-- We will exchange the instruments of ratification that will bring the Pacific Salmon Treaty into effect;

-- We will sign a Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty which will aid law-enforcement authorities in both our countries;

-- And, we will issue a declaration on trade.

The prosperity of Canada and the United States depends upon freer-flowing trade within this continent and across the seas. We stand ready to further improve the Canada-U.S. trading relationship and to work with you to initiate a new multilateral trade round in early 1986.

Mr. Prime Minister, I'm confident there isn't an area where you and I cannot reach an agreement for the good of our two countries. Come to think of it, maybe there is one: I know it's a great concern to you, but I don't think I have the authority to send Gary Carter back to the Expos.

More powerful in our economies, more powerful in our partnership, the United States and Canada can meet together the challenge of defending freedom and leave a safer world for those who will follow. For almost 40 years, we and our European friends have joined together in history's most successful alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The world will not forget that Canada was in the forefront of the nations that formed and armed NATO.

Two daunting challenges lie before us: To upgrade NATO's conventional forces; and to reduce -- and I mean radically reduce -- the level of nuclear arms and categories of weapons hanging over the world. The United States will continue to pursue the arms control talks in Geneva with determination, flexibility, and patience. I am convinced, and know every one of you agrees, that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

Upgrading NATO's conventional forces is essential to deterrence, for the greater our common ability to resist Soviet aggression with conventional forces, the less likely such aggression will ever occur. NATO is engaged in a rebuilding program, and today, I want to thank publicly Prime Minister Mulroney and the Canadian people for your commitment to enhance significantly your contribution to NATO's conventional forces.

Your deficit as a percent of G.N.P. is bigger than ours, yet you are honoring your commitment, because you understand that protecting freedom is government's primary responsibility. For your courage, Canada deserves more than praise, you deserve emulation.

We must never pause in our search for a safer world, a world dedicated to the elimination of nuclear weapons, where technology can provide ever greater safety, not ever greater fear. We are enthusiastic about the research done so far on our Strategic Defense Initiative, research designed ultimately to protect us with a global security shield that would intercept enemy missiles before they could reach the U.S. or her allies.

Ideally, we could build a shield so strong, so secure, that not even a slapshot by Wayne Gretsky could get through. The possibility of developing, and sharing with you, technology that could render a nuclear attack obsolete is for us the most hopeful possibility of the nuclear age -- and we very much appreciate Canada's support on S.D.I.

It puzzles me to hear the Soviets describe research to protect humanity as a threat to peace. Their protests ring a little hollow. I did some research of my own and found that, in 1967, Soviet Premier Aleksey Kosygin said, "The anti-missile system is not a weapon of aggression, of attack, it is a defensive system." And the Soviets took his words to heart, and began investing heavily in strategic defense.

Nor must we confuse our priorities in these negotiations. The Soviets seek to divide us by promising to reduce the offensive weapons they are pointing at us, if we'll scrap our work on S.D.I. But imagine if our research pays off. It would be like a person having a bulletproof vest being confronted by another who says: "I'm pointing a gun at you, and I have two more guns in my coat. But if you'll throw away your bulletproof vest, I'll throw away one of my guns."

Forgive me, but speaking as a former negotiator for my union, that's not my idea of a good trade. Let us hope the Soviets are not more determined to eliminate systems that might protect people, than they are to eliminate weapons that kill people. As allies, we must consult with each other, maintain our unity, and insist on agreements that are equitable and verifiable.

Verifiable, because the Soviet Union signed the Yalta accord pledging free elections, then proceeded to dominate Eastern Europe; verifiable, because they signed the Geneva Convention banning toxins, SALT II limiting development of new weapons, and the ABM treaty, and are now violating all three; verifiable, because they signed the Helsinki Accord solemnly pledging respect for human rights, then not only ignored the agreement, but jailed the individuals trying to monitor it in the USSR and its satellite countries.

We need both idealism <u>and</u> realism. Each of us would agree, I suspect, that what gives our lives meaning is knowing that we have helped make another life better -- make it more safe, more secure, more free. We must never doubt the great good that Canada and the United States can accomplish together; never doubt for a moment our journey toward a world, where, someday, all may live under freedom's star, free to worship as they please, to speak their thoughts, to come and go as they will, to achieve the fullness of their potential, and, yes, reach out to those who have fallen to comfort them with the Godly gift of human love.

This is the idealist within us whose heart is pure and can power our journey with faith and courage. But the realist must be there too, our navigator at the helm whose eagle-eyes discern each movement of the sky above and waves below. We must never stop trying to make our world better, but we'll never succeed if we don't see our world as it truly is.

We cannot look the other way when treaties are violated, human beings are persecuted, religions are banned, and entire democracies crushed. We cannot ignore that while Canadians and Americans have donated more than \$100 million from their own pockets to help feed starving Ethiopians, the Soviets and all their satellites have given almost no aid. But they continue to provide over a billion dollars a year in military supplies that the Ethiopian government is using against its own people.

These are painful realities, but history may well remember them as the birth pangs of a new, much brighter era. Brave men and women are challenging the Brezhnev Doctrine that insists once a country has been taken from the family of free nations, it may never return. Freedom movements are rising up -- from Afghanistan, to Cambodia, Angola, Ethiopia and Nicaragua. For the first time in post-war history, the weight of the world is struggling to shift -- away from the dreary failures of communist oppression, toward restoration and creation of genuine democracy and human rights.

Will history speak of freedom victorious? May we someday salute new heroes from nations reborn -- sons and daughters who might grow up to be like Marc Garneau or Roberta Bondar, bringing honor to science and to their nations; or, perhaps, like Andre Viger, paralyzed below the waist, but no matter, because with a will of steel in a land of the free he could keep on going to

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open six stores employing 44 people, many of them handicapped, and to win our Boston Marathon as well.

History's verdict will depend on us -- on our courage and our faith, on our wisdom and our love. It will depend on what we do, or fail to do, for the cause of millions who carry one dream in their hearts -- to live a life like ours, in this special land between the seas, where each day a new adventure can begin in a revolution of hope that never ends.

You know, Prime Minister Mulroney once suggested that Americans, and their President should be grateful for Canada. How can we not be grateful for the greatness of General George C. Kenney, of young Terry Fox, of so many we never knew. For the inspiration you give; for the success you enjoy; and for the friend of America and friend of freedom you will always be, we say, once again, Merci Dieu pour la Canada.

We will always remember Quebec, and we will always remember you. God bless you all.