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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 19, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Peace
and National Security

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

cc: David L. Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Walter Chert

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Presidential remarks: Peace and National Security

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHOLL</u>		<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>86,02,19</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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<u>CUAT 19</u>		<u>R</u>	<u>86,02,19</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>86,02,19</u>
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ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
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FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
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Comments: Extreme Close held

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/18/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: Wed., 2/19/86, 10:00 am

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY
(2/18 - 7:00 pm draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STEELMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Attached is a revised draft of the President's remarks on peace and national security. Please comment to Ben Elliott by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow with an info copy tomorrow. We expect to forward it to the President tomorrow afternoon.

RESPONSE:

(Elliott/Noonan/Buchanan)
February 18, 1986
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: PEACE AND NATIONAL SECURITY
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1986

My fellow Americans, I want to speak to you this evening about our deep hopes for peace and the great responsibility we share to build a strong, lasting peace -- by protecting our independence, our freedom, and this American way of life we hold dear.

We know that peace is God's will, the condition under which mankind was meant to flourish. Yet, peace is passive; it does not exist of its own will. Ultimately, peace depends on us -- on our courage to build it and guard it and pass it on to succeeding generations.

Forty-one years ago, U.S. marines stormed the island of Iwo Jima in one of the bloodiest battles of World War II. How many of those brave men, and others throughout that long, terrible war might have been spared, if only good people had responded to the first tremors of danger with more than a resort to the delusions of blind and innocent trust?

George Washington's words may seem hard and cold today, but history has proven them right again and again: "To be prepared for war," he said, is among "the most effective means of preserving peace."

To those who insist that strength provokes conflict, Will Rogers had his own answer: "I've never seen anyone insult Jack Dempsey," he said.

That's why our program for peace depends on a strong America. That's why the past 5 years have shown that American strength is once again a sheltering arm for freedom and security in a dangerous world.

In a moment, I'm going to give you a clear but stark portrait of the threat we face. I want to make it clear why any slackening of our defense effort in today's world would invite the very risks, the very dangers America can and must avoid.

But first, let me report to you on what we've done so far. When we arrived in Washington back in 1981, I couldn't help recalling a quip John Kennedy made -- that what surprised him most when he came into the White House was finding that things were really as bad as he'd been saying they were.

We need to remember why Americans 5 years ago were so troubled by the state of the world:

It was not just the Iranian hostage crisis or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but the rejection of American aid, ridiculed as "peanuts," by Pakistan, the country most threatened by the invasion. Nations were saying that it was dangerous, deadly dangerous, to be a friend of the United States.

It was not just years of declining defense spending, but a crisis in recruitment and the outright cancellation of programs vital to our security. The Pentagon horror stories at the time weren't about \$400 hammers -- more on that later -- but about flotillas of ships that couldn't sail, squadrons of planes that couldn't fly, and army divisions unprepared to fight.

And it was not just an arms control treaty flawed by inadequate verification and one-sided terms, but a treaty that actually endorsed steady increases in strategic forces. Even its supporters were demoralized saying, well, it's the best we can hope for; the Soviets won't agree to anything better. And when President Carter had to withdraw SALT II because the leaders of his own party like Henry Jackson and John Glenn wouldn't support it, the United States was left without a national strategy for the control of nuclear weapons.

We need to recall the atmosphere of that time -- the anxiety that events were out of control, the fears that the West was in inexorable decline, that our enemies were on the march, that we had few ways to constrain them or avoid the dangerous confrontations that loomed ahead.

We knew immediate changes had to be made. So here's what we did:

We set out to show that the long string of governments falling under Soviet domination was going to stop. And we did it. In the 1970's, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua all fell under the grip of pro-Soviet dictatorships. In these last 5 years, not one square inch of territory has been lost and Grenada has been set free.

El Salvador is a case in point. When we arrived in 1981, communist guerillas in El Salvador were launching what they called their final offensive to convert that nation into the second communist state on the mainland of North America. Many people said it was hopeless and didn't want to help El Salvador.

We didn't agree; we did help, and today the communists are on the defensive. El Salvador is a democracy and freedom fighters are putting communism on the defensive in Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and Ethiopia.

We set out to show that the Western alliance could meet its defense needs, despite Soviet intimidation. And we did it. Many said that to try to counter the Soviet SS-20 missiles would split NATO because Europe no longer believed in defending itself. Well, that was nonsense. Today, Pershing and cruise deployments are on course under an alliance-wide agreement.

We set out to reverse the decline in morale in our Armed Forces. And we did it. Pride in our Armed Forces has been restored. More and more qualified men and women want to join -- and remain in -- the military. In 1980, only 54 percent of the Army's recruits were high school graduates; last year, 91 percent had high school degrees.

Our Armed Forces may be smaller in size than in the 1950's, but they're some of the finest young people this country has produced. And as long as I'm President, the quality of the equipment they need to carry out their mission will remain second to none.

We set out to narrow the growing gaps in our strategic deterrent caused by a decade of neglect. And we're beginning to do that. Our modernization program begun in 1981 -- the MX, the Trident submarine, the B-1 bomber -- represents our first significant improvement in America's deterrent capabilities in 20 years.

Those who speak so often about the so-called arms race ignore a central fact: Until 1981, there was an arms race all right, but only the Soviets were racing.

We set out to control the ballooning costs of defense programs. When I first came to office, I called waste and fraud in the Federal Government an unrelenting national scandal. That is why we appointed the first Inspector General in the history of the Defense Department and appointed the Packard Commission to review procurement policies in the department.

We knew we could never rebuild America's strength without controlling the growth in costs of new systems. And we did it. Costs were increasing at an annual rate of 14 percent in 1980. In the last 2 years, costs have increased less than 1 percent. An F-18 fighter costs \$3 million less today. Our AIM-9L air-to-air missile costs barely half as much.

We've tried to make competitive bidding the rule. In 1981, 26 percent of ship-building contracts were awarded competitively. Today, that figure is 90 percent.

Well, you may be asking, what about those defense horror stories -- the \$435 hammer, and other outrages. It is true that the Defense Department paid \$435 for a claw hammer. The error was discovered by a Navy employee and the contractor refunded the price. It's also true that the Defense Department bought 80,000 hammers between \$6 and \$8 each.

The Defense Department each year deals with over 300,000 contractors. So an occasional bonafide horror story will turn up despite the best efforts and intentions. The irony is that

virtually every case of blatant fraud or abuse, in which the media have reveled of late, has been uncovered by our own Defense Department, our own Inspector General. Secretary Weinberger should be praised, not pilloried, for cleaning up the mess he inherited.

Finally, we set out to do all we could to reduce the danger of nuclear war. Here, too, we're achieving what our critics said couldn't be done. We've put forth a plan for deep reductions in offensive nuclear systems; and we're pushing forward highly promising research and testing on the Strategic Defense Initiative -- a security shield that may one day protect the world from nuclear attack.

Our message is getting through. The Soviets once said that real reductions in offensive missiles were out of the question. Now they say they accept the idea that strategic forces must be cut back. Well, we shall see. One thing is certain: If the Soviets truly want a fair and verifiable agreement that reduces nuclear forces, we'll have an agreement.

This is a long list of accomplishments, and while I don't want to boast about them, I am proud of what we've done. Our defense problems 5 years ago were enormous: It was a true national crisis, and anything less than drastic action would have been irresponsible.

Now we're over the hump -- the biggest increases in defense spending are behind us. That's why last fall I agreed with Congress to freeze defense funding for 1 year, and after that to resume a modest 3-percent annual increase. Frankly, I hesitated

to make this agreement because we still have far too much to do in restoring our strength to afford a freeze. But I thought that congressional support for steady, modest increases was a step forward. Certainly if Congress had held up its end of the bargain, we would have had the kind of bipartisan consensus that is essential to continue our re-building.

Unfortunately, this isn't what happened. Congress broke the bargain almost immediately. It had agreed to a freeze, but instead, it imposed a sharp cut. Together with the additional cuts already required under Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the effect has been to cut this year's defense funding by about 6 percent. And although the same Congress also agreed that we needed 3 percent real growth in funding for next year, some are now saying that perhaps we need to carve another 20 or \$30 billion out of defense.

This is reckless, dangerous, and wrong. It's political backsliding of the most irresponsible kind. You need to know about it, because you are the ones who've paid for what we've accomplished over the past 5 years.

There are two very simple reasons not to cut defense now. One, it's not cheap. Two, it's not safe. If we listen now to those who want to forget about restoring our defenses, we can say right now what the result will be: We will increase both the dangers and the costs to our country -- and that means, to you.

I said it wouldn't be cheap to cut. How can cutting not be cheap? Simple. We tried cutting in the seventies, and we saw

what happened. In hopes of saving money, purchases were stretched out: fewer planes, fewer tanks, fewer ships per year.

The result was waste, on an enormous scale. Hundreds of millions of dollars were wasted, because the cost of each plane and tank and ship went up, often way up. In the seventies we spent less on defense, but we got much less defense for it.

This will happen again if Congress does what some propose: They say, let's cut now -- and catch up later. They say that bookkeeping tricks can save us money.

That's exactly the position we were in 5 years ago, when my Administration took office. I have no intention of putting my successor in that same position too. It's not fair to the next Administration, and it's not fair to the American people.

Real cuts only bring phony savings, but there's a more important reason that we must not cut our defense effort. It's not safe.

All the reasons that we needed a restored national defense in 1981 are still there. We have closed the gap in annual purchases of military equipment, but we are still living with the effects of a decade in which that gap was huge. Remember that between 1970 and 1984, the Soviet Union invested \$300 billion more than we did in defense. With that extra money, they built three times as many tanks, three times as many attack submarines, five times as many intercontinental missiles, and forty-two times as many artillery pieces and rocket launchers!

We're gaining ground, but unless we continue to do what we have to, the gap will open again. Certainly the Soviets aren't slowing down.

For example, we estimate that the Soviets will build 18,000 tanks in the next 5 years. My budget provides for building ___ of our new M-1 tanks. Can we afford to do less than this?

In the next 5 years, the Soviets will build 540 new intercontinental ballistic missiles. My budget provides for building ___. Should we do even less than that?

And in the next 5 years, the Soviets will add some 50 submarines to their fleet of 300, and they'll add these subs to a fleet that is already three times as large as ours. The budget I've submitted will enable us to build ___ submarines. How can those in the Congress who want to cut justify reopening the gap between us and the Soviet Union?

Almost 25 years ago, when John Kennedy occupied this office during the dramatic days of the Cuban missile crisis, he commanded the greatest military power on Earth. Today we Americans must live with a dangerous and demanding new reality. Through a generation of costly building, year-in and year-out, at the expense of its peoples' well-being, the Soviet leadership has gained military superiority in one category after another of military power.

But it is not simply the enormous arsenal of weapons that they have acquired that puts us on our guard. The long record of Soviet behavior -- its history of brutality toward those who are weaker -- tells us that the only guarantee of peace, security,

and freedom is this: To maintain our military strength and our national will.

The peoples of Afghanistan, of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, of Poland and the Baltic Republics, of more distant countries in Africa and Central America -- they understand this. Few of them would be able to understand how it can be that today we are spending a third less of our Gross National Product on defense than we did under John Kennedy -- and yet some of us are talking about further cuts.

Some have been led to believe that our dialogue with the Soviets means we can treat our defense programs more casually. Nothing could be further from the truth. It was our seriousness about defense and about responding to Soviet intervention that created a climate in which serious talks could finally begin. Stopping before the job is done will jeopardize all those gains.

Vacillation leads our enemies and our friends to miscalculate our strength, misjudge our resolve, and mistake our purpose. That's why weakness is ultimately provocative.

If we are steady, however, we can be hopeful about the future. But we do not intend to stand pat or be complacent.

First, we must be smart about what we build. No view could be more mistaken than to believe we have to ape everything the Soviet Union does. To do so would lock us into a dismal competition on Soviet terms, one that reflected their advantages and they would be likely to win.

That's not what we intend to do. Our job is different: It's to provide for our security by understanding -- and using --

the strengths of a free society. If we can think smart enough, we don't have to think quite so big.

We don't have to increase the size of our forces from 2 million to their 5 million -- as long as our military men and women have the tools they need to keep the peace. We don't have to have just as many tanks as the Soviets as long as we have enough sophisticated anti-tank weapons.

Creativity is our edge, and where we have a technological edge we need to make the most of it. While it would not be appropriate to get into classified details, let me simply point out that advances in making airplanes and cruise missiles invisible to Soviet radar could make immediately obsolete the vast and costly air defense systems upon which the Soviets and their client states depend.

However, creativity is not enough if we don't follow up. My successors won't be able to deter aggression with blueprints alone. We have to translate our lead in the lab to a lead in the field. But when Congress cuts our budget, they make it harder to do either.

Second, we need to realize that our security assistance program frequently gives us as much security for the dollar as our own defense budget. Military assistance to friends in strategic parts of the world is not "give-away" aid, but part of a careful plan to increase the capability of others who share our values and interests. When they are strong, we are strengthened. It is in our interest to help increase their influence, help them meet threats that would ultimately cause harm to ourselves, and

give them greater confidence to work for peaceful solutions in their own regions. Moreover, if American force ever did have to be used abroad, our network of security assistance partners could provide important and protected points of entry.

Third, where defense reform is needed, we will pursue it relentlessly. That is why I created the Packard Commission last June. They will be reporting to me in the next few days. Their mandate has been to look at how we go about the business of providing for our defense -- to go beyond improvements already made by Secretary Weinberger in procurement and management. We are eager for good ideas. These are, after all, America's special genius. Wherever the Commission's recommendation point the way to greater effectiveness, I will implement them, even if they run counter to the will of the entrenched bureaucracies and special interests.

I am committed to this goal because defense shouldn't cost a penny more than it has to. But using our advantages is not just a matter of efficiency and good management. It's much more, and it means as much to me as anything I will do as President. A free society, in which the people make the decisions about defense, simply must seek to reduce its dependence on nuclear weapons. This is the fourth important element of our strategy for the future.

You've heard me talk many times before about the need for the Strategic Defense Initiative, our research program to explore the possibility of a security shield that could one day make nuclear weapons obsolete. I am very hopeful, but meanwhile, we

must consider the dangers of the world we inhabit now. We have to do everything we can to guarantee that we'll be able to repel any aggression -- without resorting to nuclear weapons.

These are not distant issues for a future President. They're here today. The technology we have today, for example, makes it possible to destroy a tank column 200 miles away. This technology, perhaps the first cost-effective conventional defense against the giant Red Army in post-war history. When we decide to equip our troops in Europe with these systems, we're saying we are determined to defend ourselves. When we decide not to, we're saying that we simply hope and pray no one will attack us.

These are the practical decisions we have to make when we send a defense budget to Congress. We would prefer not to bear this burden -- but the choice is not ours: We can either keep up and assure our safety, or fall behind and expose ourselves -- and future generations -- to danger.

Each generation has to live with the challenges history delivers. And you can't handle these challenges by evasion. You must recognize reality, accept it, and do what you can to meet the challenge and improve the situation.

That's why we're talking to the Soviets, bargaining -- if Congress will support us -- from strength. We want to make this a more peaceful world.

We want to reduce arms, we want agreements that truly diminish the nuclear danger, agreements that are verifiable. We don't just want signing ceremonies and color photographs of the leaders toasting each other with champagne -- we want real

agreements that really work, and we want them more today than tomorrow and more tomorrow than next year.

That's what we're working and hoping for. But until that day, I want America to be as strong as she is good -- and that's strong.

I will never ask for what isn't needed; I will never fight for what isn't necessary. But now, I need your help. Please write or call your Representatives in Congress and tell them that you do want cuts in the budget -- but not in the national defense.

I really need your help, and I don't mind putting a considerable amount of my so-called "political capital" on the line. I'd rather spend it on this -- on protecting our freedom, our country and the West -- than on anything else in the world.


Thanks for listening. God bless you. Good night.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 19, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Dinner
With the Nation's Governors

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

cc: David L. Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1 /

Name of Correspondent: Nancy Chew

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Remarks: Dinner with the Nation's
Governors

ROUTE TO:		ACTION	DISPOSITION			
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHOLL</u>		ORIGINATOR	<u>86.02.19</u>			<u> 1 / 1 / </u>
		Referral Note:				
<u>CUAT 18</u>		<u>R</u>	<u>86.02.19</u>		<u>5</u>	<u>86.02.20</u> <u>10 am</u>
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ACTION CODES:

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DISPOSITION CODES:

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| A - Answered | C - Completed |
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FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/19/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. 2/20/86

SUBJECT: REMARKS: DINNER WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS

(2/19/86 11:30 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>VERSTANDIG</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>FAULKNER</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please give your comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott, with an info copy to my office by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

(Dolan/BE)
February 19, 1986
11:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DINNER WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1986

There's a wonderful saying attributed to Churchill that the three hardest things a man can be asked to do is: climb a wall leaning towards him, kiss a woman leaning away from him, and make a good after-dinner speech.

Fortunately tonight -- and you're probably just as relieved as I am about this -- I won't be facing any of those dilemmas. My job up here this evening is simple and brief: to say a few words of welcome while doing my imitation of Rich Little's imitation of me...

"Well..."

Actually, though, I think you can imagine the sense of solidarity that, as a former Governor, I feel with all of you. It's one of the reasons I look forward to your annual conferences. I must say, though, I question your timing; you always arrive too late for the lighting of the Christmas tree, too early for the blooming of the cherry blossoms, but just in time for the announcement of the budget cuts. Yet I think the people in this room tonight are -- of all people -- sympathetic to the demands of budget-balancing; besides, as I have mentioned in the past, coming to the White House as a Governor does have its side benefits: it's a chance to look around, make yourself at home a little, and reflect: "I could be happy here."

But in a more serious vein, let me say how pleased Nancy and I are that you could join us. And just so you know I really mean

this, let me point out that long before I ever thought of politics as a profession, I was giving speeches on an extraordinary invention by our Founding Fathers -- it was called the Federal system.

Our Founding Fathers had learned first-hand a simple but vital fact of history: that the gravest danger to human freedom has always come from the excessive power of Government. They not only feared States where absolute power resided in the hands of one man or a tiny few, they also knew that the democracies faced a hidden danger -- through the encroachments of our central government -- of slipping into the dangerous waters of too much government. As James Madison put it: "I believe there are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."

In the eyes of Madison and the other founders then, it is the legitimate power of the States and the offices all of you hold that are the principal safeguards against those usurpations; those potential abuses of power by the central Government.

I needn't tell you how difficult that task has been during the past few decades; and how unbalanced the relationship between the Federal Government and the States became. That's why we've made reinvigorating the Federal system and establishing the best possible working relationship with the Governors one of our priorities. And that's why I do look forward to the chance to spend some time here together with you tonight and over the next few days.

It's true things are going better for America here at home and abroad; but I hope this will not blind us to the problems that remain to be solved -- some of which we'll be discussing in the days ahead. And so, if I have one thought for our get-togethers it would be this: let us reflect and remember the very things that account for America's greatness, those traditional values and concepts of government like decentralized authority and a healthy federalist system that gave birth to our Nation. A former Governor of Massachusetts and one of my favorite Presidents put it this way about the Declaration of Independence: "We live in an age of science and of abounding accumulation of material things. These did not create our Declaration. Our Declaration created them. The things of the spirit come first. Unless we cling to that, all our material prosperity, overwhelming though it may appear, will turn to a barren scepter in our grasp. If we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us, we must be 'like-minded' as the Fathers who created it."

Now that may sound like a mouthful from old "Silent Cal" Coolidge but I think he hits home because our task here in the next few days is to be "like-minded" with the Founding Fathers, to restore the balance between State and Federal prerogatives, to bring Government closer to the people. And in that spirit, I think we can accomplish a great deal together.

If I might just finish up with one more story about Silent Cal. Some of you may know that after he was introduced to the sport of fishing by his Secret Service detail, it got to be quite

a passion with him, if you can use that word about "Silent Cal." Anyway, he was once asked by reporters how many fish were in one of his favorite angling places, the River Brule. And Coolidge said the waters were estimated to carry 45,000 trout. And then he said, "I haven't caught them all yet, but I sure have intimidated them."

Well, we haven't solved all the problems that go with restoring a sound Federal system but together we've made an important start. Times have changed, the climate is there now to make the State-Federal relationship -- our relationship -- a much healthier, much better one for our people, for America.

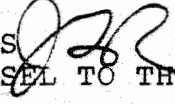
And now it's my pleasure to introduce someone known to many of you for his imitations of yours truly; ladies and gentlemen, a truly extraordinary talent and someone who will also be looking for work in 1988 -- Rich Little.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 19, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS F. GIBSON III
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Request for Joint Statement of Past Four
Presidents for 20th Anniversary Dinner
Invitation of the Center for the Study
of the Presidency

You have asked for our views on a request from the Center for the Study of the Presidency that the President join former Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter in approving a joint statement commemorating the Center's twentieth anniversary. We have no objection to granting this request. If the Center will accept stylistic suggestions, "appreciate" works better than "are appreciative for" in the second line of the fourth paragraph, and a synonym should replace one of the two "admirably's."

382008

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PR01489

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Tom Gibson

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Request for joint statement of past four Presidents for 20th Anniversary dinner invitation of the Center for the Study of the Presidency.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUTOLL</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>86102110</u>	<u>PY</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>CUAT18</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>86102118</u>	<u>PY</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>86102121</u>
	Referral Note:				
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		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure

- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 10, 1986

382008

MEMORANDUM TO DICK HAUSER

FROM: TOM GIBSON *TG.*

SUBJECT: Center for the Study of the Presidency

The Center for the Study of the Presidency is having its 20th Anniversary dinner on Wednesday, April 9, 1986, and plans to include on its invitation a joint statement by the past four Presidents. The Center has received approval from Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter but has not heard from the White House.

I would appreciate your looking over the joint statement which is attached and advising me whether Counsel's Office has any objection.

Thank you.

November 29, 1985

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY
STATEMENT BY PRESIDENTS NIXON, FORD, CARTER, AND REAGAN

Center for the Study of the Presidency has recently completed twenty years of distinguished public service. Inspired by a proposal from President Eisenhower for a center on the American Presidency "characterized by accuracy, objectivity, and perspective," it has admirably fulfilled those criteria.

The first non-partisan, privately supported public policy research center with its primary focus on the American Presidency, the Center's Leadership Conferences, lectures, student symposia, and publications have been of great help in bringing better understanding of our American system of government, both at home and abroad.

President Eisenhower had expressed the hope that the Center would be for "students old and young...." He predicted, "The result cannot fail to be good for them and for the Nation." His conception has been carried through admirably.

Those of us who have been engaged in policy formulation and decision making are appreciative for the services of the Center. Daily it helps fulfill the bold experiment of the Constitutional Framers by which "We the People" work together in advancing human dignity, peace, and security. We congratulate the Center as it completes this milestone and look toward its continuing outstanding service for the Nation.

RICHARD M. NIXON, GERALD R. FORD, JIMMY CARTER, RONALD REAGAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 20, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: National
Governors' Association

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

cc: David L. Chew

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1 /

Name of Correspondent: Nancy Chew

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Presidential Remarks: National
Governors' Association

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u> CUNHOU </u>	ORIGINATOR	<u> 86.02.19 </u>		<u> 1 / 1 </u>
	Referral Note:			
<u> Cust 18 </u>	<u> R </u>	<u> 86.02.19 </u>	<u> 5 </u>	<u> 86.02.20 </u> <u> 5.30 </u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u> 1 / 1 </u>		<u> 1 / 1 </u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u> 1 / 1 </u>		<u> 1 / 1 </u>
	Referral Note:			
		<u> 1 / 1 </u>		<u> 1 / 1 </u>
	Referral Note:			

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- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

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Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/19/86 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:30 p.m. 2/20/86

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

		ACTION	FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	POINDEXTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STEELMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ELLIOTT</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments on the attached directly to Ben Elliott by 5:30 p.m. Thursday, February 20th, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/BE)
February 19, 1986
2:00 p.m. SS

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION;
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1986

Chairman Lamar Alexander, Vice Chairman Bill Clinton, ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon and welcome to the White House. It's an honor to have you join us this afternoon -- and it was good to see so many of you here at dinner last night. I don't mean to give any of you ideas, but when those dinners are over, in my job you're already home.

As we gather today in this historic house, one President and 50 Governors, we do so as the inheritors of the federalist system designed by the Founding Fathers some two centuries ago. Perhaps we might consider that federalist system briefly this afternoon -- review its origin, consider its development, and suggest the direction it should take in the days to come.

When federalism was first devised, the Founding Fathers wanted not only to protect the people against a single, all-powerful government, but to keep government as close to the people themselves as possible, enabling them to participate widely in its activities. To this end, the State governments were entrusted with duties like the protection of property rights and the enforcement of criminal justice -- duties that affected the people in their everyday lives.

When Alexis de Tocqueville toured America in 1821, he found that it was indeed the State governments with which the people were most closely involved. "Men," he wrote, "are affected by the sovereignty of the Union only in connection with a few great

interests... But State sovereignty enfolds every citizen and in one way or another affects every detail of daily life." So from an early date, a federalist system with vigorous State governments had become an integral part of the American way of life.

In subsequent decades, of course, the federalist system underwent considerable development -- mostly in the direction of greater power for the Nation at the expense of the States. In certain respects, this growth of Federal power was necessary and good. It was vital to our history as a Nation, for example, that States should fail in their attempt to secede from and thus destroy the Union.

But with the advent of the liberal experiment which began in the 1930's -- the New Deal, the Great Society, the so-called War on Poverty -- something profoundly unhealthy began to happen in the relations between Washington and the States. The National Capital began to swamp the States with social programs and economic regulations. It taxed the American people more and more heavily, leaving little leeway for the States to raise revenues of their own. In time, the States were in many respects reduced to the status of mere functionaries, mere units of administration. This undermined the Constitution, removing government from the people and placing it in the hands of the Washington elite. It permitted the National Government to become bloated and ineffective.

So when our Administration came to office, we took it as one of our chief aims to reawaken the federalist impulse -- in short,

to restore power to the States. In an address to the National Conference of State Legislatures nearly 5 years ago, I spoke of a "quiet federalism revolution...that promises to be one of the most exciting and noteworthy in our generation."

We began to promote vigorous State government and widen the scope for independent State decision-making. Our Job Training Partnership Act, for example, enabled you in the States to work directly with private investment councils to create new jobs. In 1985 alone, the number of jobs you created rose to more than half a million -- 9 out of 10 of which went to the economically disadvantaged.

Today we're continuing this vital work. Our new \$3.3 billion transportation block grant, our expanded primary health care block grant, and our new pollution control block grant will give you in the States wide latitude in choosing how to administer them. I've directed my staff to work with you in compiling lists of Federal regulations that impinge upon your prerogatives and can be changed without congressional approval.

But despite all we're doing to promote federalism here in Washington, our efforts take second place to the remarkable new initiatives you're overseeing in the States. State governments are holding down the price of Medicaid. You're attracting venture capital. You're fostering international trade -- indeed, many here today have traveled abroad on trade missions, and I urge you all to continue this vital work.

In education, States have moved with special energy. All 50 States now have task forces on education, and in many States,

promising new programs like merit pay for teachers are already in place. On the economy, States have come to understand the power of tax policy to promote economic growth. In recent years, for example, both Massachusetts and Delaware have cut their overall taxes, soon benefiting from higher growth and lower unemployment.

While our Administration has proposed the creation of enterprise zones to the Congress every year for the past 5 years -- always to no avail -- today 26 States have more than 1,300 enterprise zones in place. These enterprise zones have seen the creation of tens of thousands of jobs and billions in capital investment.

Yes, the quiet revolution I spoke of 5 years ago is well under way. No one should be prouder of it than you, the Governors of our 50 States, for it is in large measure your revolution. Indeed, the States today are governing so well that they can teach the Federal Government some important lessons -- lessons like the importance of operating in the black and of giving the Chief Executive the line-item veto. In the words of James J. Kilpatrick, "it becomes increasingly evident that the State governments, as a group, are governing more responsibly than the National Government. The most interesting political activity these days is often not in the National Capital, but in the State capitals." Now let me ask you: Don't you think that's just what the Founding Fathers had in mind?

As we turn to the future, I'd like to focus on one particular aspect of federalism, one special area of shared State and national responsibility -- our system of welfare.

Our welfare programs -- State and Federal alike -- add up to one long tale of tragic failure. From the 1950's on, poverty in America was on the decline as economic growth led millions up to prosperity. Then in 1964 the famous "War on Poverty" was declared. Billions were spent on programs of all kinds, but poverty, as measured by dependency, stopped shrinking and actually began to grow worse. I guess you could say, poverty won the war.

Yet how could this have happened? How could such good intentions have gone so utterly awry, and the resources of a great Nation have been squandered in such futility? Today we are beginning to understand.

In the fight against poverty, we now know, it is essential to have strong families -- families that teach children the social skills they will need to succeed in the wider world; families that provide mothers and fathers with comfort, inspiration, and a focus for their labors. How often have we heard of the immigrant father, laboring long into the night to give his children the advantages he never had? How many self-made men and women in America owe their success to the strength of character given to them by hard-working, loving parents?

Yet when we ask ourselves whether our welfare programs have encouraged poor families to form and stay together, we must answer, far from it. Instead, they have subjected poor families to the action of a subtle but constant undermining, like the lapping of a dreadful river.

Perhaps welfare is most damaging in the way it takes the role of provider away from parents and gives it to the impersonal State. Think of the working mother. In the parts of the country where payments are highest, a single mother can receive public assistance that amounts to much more than the useable income from a minimum-wage job. In other words, it can pay her to quit work.

Or consider fathers. In many States, a family becomes eligible for substantially higher benefits when the father is absent. What must it do to a man to know that he has been stripped of his role as provider -- to know that his own children will be better off if he is never legally recognized as their father? Under certain welfare rules, a teenage girl who becomes pregnant can receive benefits that will feed her, clothe her, provide her with medical care, and set her up in an apartment of her own. She need only fulfill one condition -- not marry or identify the father.

Given our welfare system, it should come as no surprise that in our inner cities, families as we have always thought of them are not even being formed. Since 1960, the percentage of babies born out-of-wedlock has more than doubled. All too often, the mothers of these babies are themselves only children -- many of them 15, 16, and 17 years old. And the fathers? The fathers are frequently nowhere to be found.

What of the babies themselves, these children born to children? Statistically, we know that out-of-wedlock babies are much more likely than others to suffer a low birth weight and consequently serious health problems. We know that

out-of-wedlock children often suffer abuse and neglect as well. Earlier this year, the Washington Post printed a story that reported on the children of young, unwed mothers. It described as typical a 6-year-old girl whose mother often left her alone in their apartment for hours on end -- alone, that is, to care for her 6-month-old sister. What sort of future can that child and the hundreds of thousands like her ever hope to enjoy?

The welfare system has not only failed but become virtually insane. With only about half the amount spent on welfare annually, we could give enough money to every impoverished man, woman, and child to lift them above the poverty line for an entire year. Instead we waste vast amounts on a system that actually holds these people down, often in misery and squalor. Now we are in danger of creating a permanent culture of poverty, as inescapable as any chain or bond, a second and separate America, an America of lost dreams and stunted lives.

My friends, I believe we're too great a Nation -- too good of heart, too bold in finding solutions -- to permit this to continue. Isn't it time for reform?

In my State of the Union Address, I directed our Administration to study the effect on the American family of a wide range of Government programs, and to report back to me with recommendations by December 1st. But the Federal Government is responsible for only a portion of our welfare system and can do only so much on its own. So today I invite you, the chief executives of the 50 States, to join our effort to reshape the system with which we help those in genuine need. In short, let

us make welfare reform the next great step in the Federalist revolution.

Many of you already preside over important welfare innovations. Perhaps the most striking among these is workfare -- the attempt to give welfare recipients the training and sense of self-respect that can come only from work. Today more than 20 States now have some form of workfare in place. In a sentence I cherish, Time magazine reports that workfare, quote, "has slowly evolved from a somewhat cranky conservative notion to one with broad support." To tell you the truth, I kind of like cranky conservatives that end up with broad support.

Of course no one can say just how successful workfare will finally prove, but workfare does attempt to meet what I believe must become the central criterion for all forms of public assistance -- not how much money we spend on welfare, but how many Americans our programs make independent of welfare. The 50 States present us with the opportunity to apply this criterion in endless ways, experimenting and testing in a manner from which all can profit. In welfare reform, the States can truly become the laboratories of our democracy.

Today, I believe, we have rediscovered the central truth of federalism that the Constitution embodies: Washington must not ignore the States but seek to involve them -- and even, on many issues, to follow their lead. Let us apply this sturdy old insight to the problems of our time. Let us strive through the federalist system to create a land where there is no permanent welfare culture because there is opportunity for all. Let us

labor above all to build a Nation where the sacred institution of the family receives unstinting encouragement and support.

Thank you, and God bless you.