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WASHINGTON

April 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Remarks: Youth Volunteer

Recognition Ceremony

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

On page 1, line 11, and page 2, line 1, "principle" should be "principal." On page 5, paragraph 5, is "Mary" really a "he?"

cc: David L. Chew

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# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Address: Budget

David Chew has asked that comments on the draft budget address be sent directly to Ben Elliott <u>immediately</u>. The text will go to the President at 3:00 p.m.

I have reviewed the draft and see no legal problem areas. The remarks stress the need to reduce Government spending and resist tax increases. Some specifics of the compromise budget plan -- elimination of SBA and Amtrak subsidies, the two percent cap on pension cost-of-living increases, elimination of export subsidies -- are discussed. The pitch for public support at the bottom of page 13 is very restrained and does not raise anti-lobbying concerns (even assuming that statute applies to the President). I think the address could be very effective.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

# April 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING Orig. signed by FFF

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Address: Budget

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

cc: David L. Chew

FFF:JGR:aea 4/23/85

cc: FFFielding

JGRoberts 3

Subj Chron

April 23, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Address: Budget

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

cc: David L. Chew

FFF:JGR:aea 4/23/85

cc: FFFielding

**JGRoberts** 

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Comments:					

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/23/85	ACTION/CONCUR	ENCE/C	OMMENT DUE BY:	IMMEDIATE			
SUBJECT: ADDRESS	S: BUDGET						
	(4/23/85		p.m. draft)				
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#### **REMARKS:**

Please provide any edits directly to Ben Elliott immediately, with an information copy to my office. We plan on sending the text to the Please hold close.

Please hold close.

RESPONSE:

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BUDGET

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1985

My fellow Americans, I must speak to you tonight about a serious and urgent problem that requires your immediate attention and your help. It's the problem that you and I have warned about for many years -- Government living beyond its means for so long that all of us have been brought to a time of reckoning.

In these next days, Congress must face up to an historic challenge of leadership. And, what Congress does, or fails to do, will answer one of the most important questions of our postwar history: can America, after decades of weakening will, finally summon the courage to put its financial house in order -- to make Government end its spend-thrift ways, live within its means, and assure a strong and prosperous future for ourselves, our children, and their children?

No one should doubt what America can do when we make our minds up and pull together as one. We've seen the proof of that. It was just 4 years ago this week that I went before Congress for the first time, asking them to support our bipartisan recovery program. You might remember April 1981 -- a time when our defenses were weak, inflation still in double digits, and our economic engines sputtering from a Government that taxed too much away, and spent even more than it taxed.

We knew it would take a great effort to turn that around; we knew that letting you keep more of what you earn to get our economy moving again would be resisted by the old-guard in

Washington. But, we also knew the answer to a Government that's too fat is to stop feeding its growth.

We wanted to put you back at the helm of a rudderless ship, drifting in a sea of confusion. We wanted America to rediscover opportunity. So we asked for your help, and you gave it.

I remember receiving a letter in early 1982 from a small businessman in Philadelphia named John Fromm. Business was bad, he was having sleepless nights, but he wrote, ". . . I think you are on the right track and I hope the economy bounces back soon." Recently, he wrote again to say, "At the time the (first) letter was sent the interest rates were at an all-time high and my business was about to fail. But, 3 years later, all this has turned around."

We could say -- America has turned around: turned around her confidence, turned around her economy, turned around over a decade of one national nightmare after another. We're into our 28th straight month of economic growth with the wolf of inflation not only failing to bare his teeth, but still licking his wounds. We enjoy the highest rate of employment in history, and more of us working than ever before. More than 8 million jobs have been created in the last 2 years.

Once again, the United States is the flagship economy for the world. And, now, a new generation of entrepreneurs stands on deck, pointing us toward a 21st century that can dazzle us with technological change and vast new opportunities.

Moving confidently forward to embrace the future, striving to give men and women everywhere the freedom to follow their

dreams is the heart of the Second American Revolution of hope and opportunity. And, never before has this economy been poised to accomplish so many great things.

That's why we must seize this historic moment to shape

America's future. In taxes, we've seen that lowering tax rates

to create an atmosphere of freedom that stimulates work,

risk-taking, and the genius of the American spirit, is a good

idea that worked. So next month, I'll unveil our plan to go

further -- to completely overhaul our tax code, changing it from

a source of confusion and contempt, to a model of fairness and

simplicity, with strong, new incentives for even greater growth.

And yet -- all of our progress, all of the good we've accomplished could ultimately be wrecked, if we do not overcome our one giant obstacle. The simple truth is, no matter how well you succeed in making our economy grow, no matter how much added revenue your hard work sends to Washington, it will be for nought if Government doesn't stop writing bigger and bigger checks to cover its insatiable appetite to spend. Overspending is the subject we must address -- how budgets got so far out of balance and what together we must do to correct this.

You know, sometimes the big spenders in Congress talk as if all that money they spend just kind of magically appears on their doorstep, a gift from the I.R.S. They talk as if spending were all giving and no taking.

Well, there is no magic money machine. Every dollar the Government spends comes out of your pockets. Every dollar the Government hands out to one person it has taken away from someone

else. So it is our moral duty to make sure that we can justify every one of your tax dollars, that we spend them wisely and carefully, and, just as important, fairly.

Unfortunately, political pressures so distort Federal spending that hardly anyone could honestly call our budget wise, careful, or fair. For example:

Is it fair to ask one small business to help subsidize its competitors?

Is is fair to ask workers in the private economy to pay for civil service pensions that are much more generous than the retirement benefits they receive?

Is it fair to ask low-income families to help pay for the college education of children from families with incomes as high as \$100,000 a year?

Is it fair to ask taxpayers to help pay billions for export subsidies to five of America's biggest corporations?

Well, it doesn't strike me as fair, either, but that's the law of the land right now, just part of the legacy of 50 years of treating your earnings like Government property.

The time has come to decide what benefits we can properly expect from the Federal Government for ourselves, our neighbors, and those in need; and what Government must take from us in taxation to pay its bills.

The one thing we cannot decide is to stay on the dead-end course of deficit spending. It is a course that is morally wrong and economically unsustainable.

Today, our national debt amounts to \$8,000 for every man, woman, and child in America, and it's increasing by nearly \$1,000 per person each and every year. Just to cover the interest on that debt, the Federal Government will spend \$155 billion this year -- more than its entire budget as recently as 1966.

We have had only four balanced budgets in 30 years, one in the last 24. As a Nation, our debt has grown and grown and grown, until now, it totals \$1.7 trillion -- a number so big it is unimaginable.

Tonight I am asking for your help in putting our financial house in order so that, together, our tax, spending, and monetary policies will not hinder growth, but enhance it; not send inflation and interest rates shooting back up, but keep them both heading down; and not drown us under a tidal wave of debt, but protect us in the safe harbor of financial solvency, with a stable and powerful economy.

Not surprisingly, some still want to raise your taxes. They say we cut your taxes too much in 1981, when we ended years of bracket creep and lowered rates for every American taxpayer. But that implies Government has a right to take from you all that it needs to satisfy the demands of special interest groups. Surely there is no faster way to see our prosperity vanish and our freedoms perish than to yoke the decent, hardworking, taxpaying citizens of this great Nation to an automatic spending machine in Washington, D.C.

Ten days ago, I received a welcome present from Representatives Connie Mack of Florida and Beau Boulter of

Texas -- a letter with 146 signatures. One hundred forty-six

House Republicans have pledged to uphold what, I repeat tonight,

will be my certain veto of any tax increase Congress sends me, no

matter how cleverly it's disguised.

Is it too much to ask the spoilers to renounce their hidden agenda to increase taxes, which would only slow the economy, throw people out of work, and worsen the deficit? Do they still not understand how generous you've been, paying heavy taxes to defend freedom around the world, ease affliction in distant nations, and help the needy, the elderly, and the sick and handicapped here at home?

Please look at this chart behind me. As you can see, the rising black line shows that the taxes you paid in the last 20 years increased by over \$620 billion. A staggering sum. But now, look at the rising red line; it's the line of Government spending, and in that same 20-year period it went up far more. It increased by over \$840 billion.

In other words, during the two decades when inflation, steep Federal income tax rates, and rising State, county, and local taxes, were all combining to push you into tax brackets once reserved for the wealthy, Congress was writing checks and spending your money even faster than you could earn it.

What went wrong? Where has all the money gone? Well, during the strong, prosperous Eisenhower years in the 1950's, and through the Kennedy years, we kept spending in check. And when John Kennedy became President, he announced a plan, much like our own, to reduce tax rates and stimulate business investment.

But after his tax cuts were enacted in 1964, and economic growth took off with a roar, those in Government did not take the next logical step and say, "Look how well freedom and incentives are working. So let's reduce tax rates further, let's turn our ghettoes into enterprise zones, give our people vouchers to purchase their dwellings, and provide them incentives to save for their children's education. Let's make every citizen a shareholder in America's future."

Government did just the opposite. Government began to take over America. In the name of the Great Society, it began doing things never before felt possible or desirable. Government took over passenger railroads. It began contributing billions every year to 38,000 local government budgets. Its spending on agriculture subsidies soared to a level higher than the total net income from every farm in America.

The new programs started after 1964 cost \$16 billion by 1966, \$78 billion by 1975, and \$150 billion per year by 1981.

Today, Government puts a dime into the fare box every time somebody boards a local bus or transit line. Today, Government subsidizes loans for every imaginable purpose -- from education to aircraft exporters to luxury waterfront condominiums and hotels -- so that Government's lending business is bigger than Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America combined -- and the spending line keeps going up and up and up.

To be sure, much good has been done. In health, education, and food assistance, more people are now being helped than ever before. But, in many areas we are spending where we should not

be, and spending what we can no longer afford. And so much of what we spend goes not to the individuals needing assistance, but to thousands upon thousands of bureaucrats, researchers, planners, managers, and professional advocates — all those who earn their livelihood from the great growth industry of Government compassion. It is no accident that the wealthiest communities in America are the communities surrounding the Federal Government in Washington, D.C.

My fellow citizens, we must face the truth: the time has come for Government to make the same hard choices your families and businesses do. The time has come for your public servants to bring spending down into line with tax revenues.

Accomplishing this -- bringing the spending line down to our incomes -- is the heart of our deficit reduction plan that we put together with Senator Dole and his colleagues. We call it the Taxpayers' Protection Plan, and that's what it is: as you can see on the chart, it will reduce deficits by \$300 billion over 3 years, bringing us within reach of a balanced budget by the end of the decade, not by raising your taxes, but by attacking deficits at their source, 20 years of overspending.

Our plan attacks excessive spending across the board. No part of the budget is spared, and a shared effort will be asked of all. But unlike a spending freeze, which would not reduce deficits nearly enough, and which would make no distinction between worthy and wasteful programs, our plan recognizes that all spending is not created equal. Some programs are vital to our national security and domestic welfare and must be given

first priority. Others are no longer affordable, or were not proper Federal responsibilities to begin with.

Our plan establishes clear national priorities: it keeps what should be kept and cuts what should be cut.

Our first priority must always be our national security.

The Soviets are far more dangerous than a decade ago and they continue arming way beyond the defense needs of their country.

To counter that threat, 3 percent defense growth each year is the rock bottom level we must maintain, without damaging our defense rebuilding program and threatening our country's security.

Even with a steady 3 percent increase, we'll spend a smaller share of our budget on defense than 20 years ago. Cuts in projected defense spending will contribute \$100 billion -- a full one-third of our proposed budget savings. These reductions will require cancelling some programs, increased vigilance in reducing waste, and cracking down harder on excesses in contract costs.

Let me interject something here. American soldiers earn \$600 a month; the highest paid soldiers in the world, and rightly so, because they're the best in the world and they have the most important job. But, Russian soldiers receive only 4 rubles a month, which means, for the price we pay for a single platoon, they can field an entire division.

That's why waste in the Department of Defense must be eliminated. And fraud in defense contracts -- from the padding of expense accounts to overcharging for weapons to profiteering at the expense of the public -- should be, and will be, prosecuted and punished to the full extent of the law.

Men who line their pockets with dollars the American people have contributed to our defense are worse than common criminals. They are stealing from the arsenal of democracy the very weapons our young men need to defend freedom. And our tolerance of this selfish, utterly contemptible behavior was exhausted long ago.

Now, I know that some in Congress, who want to avoid the tough choices in spending reform, will keep using the defense budget as a scapegoat. But overspending is not caused by meeting essential security needs. And, even our critics know that further reductions would jeopardize our security. Our strategic programs, our 600-ship Navy, our conventional weapons modernization, and our readiness programs must go forward.

Now let me give some examples of the sort of programs we intend to cut back for the remaining two-thirds of our deficit reduction.

When Amtrak was begun in 1971 for a 2-year trial run, its proponents assured us it would soon turn a profit. Fourteen years and \$9 billion later, Amtrak is still running on taxpayer subsidies. Every time a train leaves the station, it costs taxpayers \$35 for each passenger on board. In some cases it would be cheaper just to hand them plane tickets. Eliminating Amtrak will save \$8 billion over the next decade.

We'll also save billions by eliminating taxpayer subsidies to some of America's biggest corporations through Export-Import Bank loans, and by abolishing the Small Business Administration's lending programs, which are not only costly and unfair, but

unneeded in an economy creating over 600,000 new businesses every year.

Supporters of programs like these always ignore the tremendous, hidden costs each of you must pay. If programs like these can't be cut, we might as well give up all hope of getting Government spending under control. If Congress can't bring , itself to do what's right, then they should at least give me what 44 Governors already have, the line-item veto. If Congress won't cut, I will. I'll make the cuts; I'll take the responsibility; I'll take the heat.

One area we will not touch, however, is the safety net for needy Americans. These programs providing income, food, housing, and medical aid, were reformed in 1981 and are now targeted to general need. But those programs for the needy only make up 8 percent of the budget. So we need everyone's help to get spending under control.

The burden will not be great if all of us help carry the load. We are asking the 46 million Americans who receive a retirement, veterans, or Social Security check to accept a 2-percent increase over the next 3 years, in place of the automatic cost-of-living adjustment.

These programs now total \$250 billion per year, 25 percent of our entire budget. They cost 30 times more than three decades ago. These benefits were earned by every single beneficiary, and our solemn national commitment is to ensure that they are never taken away. Our veterans, disabled workers, and retired citizens

deserve an adequate and dignified standard of living, and we will never renege on that pledge.

All Americans have a shared interest in a healthy, expanding economy: it means jobs, opportunities, and rising incomes for our younger citizens, and a steady flow of tax payments into the funds that support our retired citizens.

We can and must reduce the budget deficit substantially and dramatically. Thirty billion dollars will be saved by means of pension reform and the 2 percent cost-of-living guarantee, thereby helping to get the job done.

A small effort now will mean big gains and greater security for all retired Americans later. If we can keep our economy on track, 16 million more Americans will be working in 1988 than were employed at the end of the 1982 recession. With that much growth, with that many new jobs, there will never be any doubt: the retirement checks that 46 million Americans depend on will be secure, because the economic base that supports them will be strong, and the tax payments that fund them will be ample.

If we want to continue trying to improve the quality of our lives: protect our retired and disabled, boost small business, create jobs, strengthen exports, and improve our cities and help your families send your children to college — there is one sure-fire way that's fair to everybody, and that doesn't add the hidden costs of more bureaucracy. That's the further tax rate cuts that will come with tax reform, giving you a break, plus strengthening the economic growth on which all our good fortunes depend.

My fellow citizens, you remember John Kennedy's words of challenge to America in 1961, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." At the time, Federal spending was only a fraction of what it is today, and since then, Government programs have expanded to the point where they directly reach almost half the families in America.

Today, each of us is being challenged again to ask what we can do for our country, challenged to work together, 237 million strong, to build a secure and lasting foundation for the American Dream.

Even with all our reforms, our plan still provides \$560 billion for non-defense programs next year -- the highest level in history. Congress has before it the first budget in 20 years that does not mortgage our future to escalating taxes or expanding debt. It is a fair program; it is a balanced program; it will protect the neediest among us; it will reform the worst abuses of overspending; and it deserves your support.

So let me stress, as strongly as I can, this modest effort we are asking you to make now will be our best assurance of avoiding painful hardship down the road.

We stand at a crossroad of history. The hour is late, the task is large, and the stakes are momentous. I ask you to join us in making your voices heard in the Senate this week, and later in the House. Please tell them that our future hangs in the balance, and that our future is too precious to permit this long, overdue effort to be picked apart, piece by piece, by special interest groups. We must put the public interest first.

May history say of us, that in this hour of trial, we were a good people, a worthy people, a courageous people -- willing to do our best for America to keep our future strong and secure and free. Nothing more is needed; nothing less will do.

Thank you, God bless you and good night.

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Remarks: Senator Laxalt's Lambfry

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: 4/24/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 1:00 TODAY							
SUBJECT:REMARKS:	Senator Laxa	alt's	Lambfry				
	(4/24/85 11:	:00 a.ı	m. draft)				
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REMARKS:							

Attached are the proposed "off-the-record" remarks to be given at Senator Laxalt's lambfry tonite. Any comments or changes should be given to Ben Elliott by 1:00 TODAY, with info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

ReceivedSS

1995 APR 24PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

SENATOR LAXALT'S LAMBFRY WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1985

Paul Laxalt and all of you. I'm sorry I'm a little late, but I know you've had a ball. I promised myself I wasn't going to say anything like that.

After all, this is an old Basque tradition. And if anyone wonders why Paul goes out of his way to carry on this custom, one need only think about the subtle message sent to one's adversaries by feasts such as this.

Seriously, though, this type of bipartisan comradery is good for all of us, except maybe for the sheep.

Paul is about as popular with sheep as Colonel Sanders is with chicken.

[Tell Buffalo campaign story.]

Paul, I'm sure I speak for everyone here in telling you how much we appreciate what you bring to our world. You make serving our time here in Washington -- and for a Westerner this is hard to say -- more enjoyable. Your charm is legendary. After today, we know it's true. Knowing what these sheep gave up, one wonders if there is any limit to what you can't accomplish with that charm.

Years ago when we were Governors, Paul from Nevada and me from California, we struck up a friendship that has withstood the test of time. Nancy and I will never forget it. I'll also never forget some of the Basque customs you introduced me to.

So I'd like all of you to join me in a toast to a dedicated American and a good friend, Paul Laxalt.

WASHINGTON

### April 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Address to European Parliament

in Strasbourg, France

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

cc: David L. Chew

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WASHINGTON

### April 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

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JOHN G. ROBERTS ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Remarks: State Dinner Toast --

Bonn, Germany

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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WASHINGTON

### April 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Remarks: State Dinner Toast, Madrid, Spain

Counsel's Office has reveiwed the above-referenced remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective. Should the Queen be included in the final sentence?

cc: David L. Chew

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WASHINGTON

### April 24, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Remarks: Toast at Luncheon with Prime Minister Soares, Portugal

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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