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Last Updated: 07/31/2025

509131
C0071

August 4, 1987

Dear Henry:

Thanks very much for your letter and the essay by Professor Jaffa. He does blow a lot of cobwebs away and gets down to practicalities. In one of the sessions I found myself arguing with the TV screen. Several of the Congressmen were each basing their position on how we are all bound by what the people want, and the polls show a majority of the people don't favor aid to the Contras. Well, those polls show that more than 80% of the people want a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution, and Congress won't give it to them. But the real issue is that our nation is a Republic, and a Republic means we elect representatives to do what they think is best for the people. Yes, we employ democratic processes in doing this, but if we had pure democracy, we'd submit every issue to the people for a vote.

Henry, I've been outside the Beltway several times in the last few weeks, speaking on our Economic Bill of Rights. Some of the crowds have been in the 30 or 40,000 range. Their enthusiasm and their warm reception reassure me that the recent carnival on TV hasn't won the people's hearts or minds. Nevertheless, I'll be glad when it's over. Then I'll make a statement. Meanwhile, we're getting on with the business of government.

Thanks again for the essay. I'm going to circulate it here in the West Wing.

Nancy sends her love to you and Grace, as I do.

Sincerely,

HON

Mr. Henry Salvatori
1901 Avenue of the Stars
Los Angeles, California 90067

RR/ws (BPMN)

To Mr. Henry Salvatori 1901 Ave. of The Stars
L. A. Calif. 90067

Dear Henry

Thanks very much for your letter and the essay by Prof. Jaffa. He does blow a lot of ~~colored~~ cobwebs away and get down to practicalities. In one of the sessions I found myself arguing with the TV screen. Several of the congressmen were each basing ~~on~~ their position ~~that~~ ^{on} that, we are all bound by what the people want ~~to~~ and the polls show a majority of the people don't favor aid to the Centras.

Well those polls show that more than 80% of the people want a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution ~~but~~ ^{and} Congress won't give it to them. But the real issue is that our nation is a Republic and a republic means we ~~select~~ ^{elect} representatives to do what they think is best for the people. Yes we employ ~~democratic~~ ^{plur} processes in doing this but if we had ~~pure~~ ^{plur} democracy we'd submit every issue to the people for a vote.

Henry I've been outside the beltway several times in the last few weeks speaking on our 2nd bill of rights. Some of the crowds have been in the 30 or 40,000 range. Their enthusiasm and their warm reception reassures me that the recent carnival on TV hasn't won the people's hearts or minds. Nevertheless I'll be glad when it's over. Then I'll make a statement. Meanwhile we're getting on with the business of govt.

Thanks again for the essay, I'm going to circulate it here in the West Wing.

Nancy sends her love to you & Grace as do I.

Lincoln R

HENRY SALVATORI
1901 AVENUE OF THE STARS
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067
TELEPHONE 213-277-3444

July 29, 1987

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing an essay on presidential "prerogative" by Professor Harry Jaffa, which I recommend for your perusal.


I suggest that at the appropriate time you point out to the Congress and the American people that you had the prerogative to initiate the Iran initiative, and while you did not approve the diversion of funds to the Contras, that the action of North and Poindexter to do so cannot be considered a criminal offense since this was not for personal gain or advantage.

These thoughts are simply for your consideration by someone whose mind is a thousand miles away from the foggy atmosphere inside the beltway.

As always, best wishes to you and Nancy from Grace and me.

With loyalty and affection,

Respectfully,


Henry Salvatori

HS:jl
Enclosure

End
Case
File

50926155

60061-09

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1987

MR. PRESIDENT:

Senator David Boren (D-OK) asked Howard Baker to give you the attached letter privately. You may want to read it before your 9:30 meeting tomorrow, which Sen. Boren will attend. Although Boren discusses Central American policy, his main point seems to be Congressional oversight of national security and intelligence issues.



Rhett Dawson

DAVID BOREN
OKLAHOMA
RUSSELL BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510
621 NORTH ROBINSON
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73102
440 SOUTH HOUSTON
TULSA, OK 74127
MUNICIPAL BUILDING
SEMINOLE, OK 74868

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

August 2, 1987

The President has seen of
CHAIRMAN,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
ENERGY AND AGRICULTURAL TAXATION
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,
NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURAL CREDIT
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

Dear Mr. President,

I hope that you will have an opportunity to read this letter personally. It is written to you in the sincere hope that it will be helpful to you as our President and helpful to our country.

I truly believe that the decisions which you make as the Iran-Contra hearings come to a close will have a profound influence on the future of this country for decades to come. We are in a crucial period.

We spoke recently in the Cabinet Room about the need to restore a bi-partisan partnership in foreign policy between the Congress and the White House. The President can initiate a foreign policy action but even if he is right, he cannot sustain it without the support of Congress.

Long before you became President, during the Vietnam period, the old fashioned concept of bi-partisanship in foreign policy began to erode. For twenty years we have been in a cycle of escalating distrust between the Executive and Legislative branches.

The rest of the world has observed our lack of unity. We have had a "stop and start" foreign policy which has damaged our credibility. The failure of the United States to speak to the rest of the world with a single voice has been devastating to our national interests. It has demoralized our allies and emboldened our enemies.

as these hearings come to a close, we have a real opportunity to replace confrontation with cooperation, and polarization with partnerships. There are many wars in this world that we hope to see ended but for the sake of our country, which we all love, we must start by ending the war between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.

As I sat in the hearings, I said sadly to myself, "How could we have become so divided when all of us in both branches of government are supposed to be serving the same cause and the same people?"

I believe that you share my hope for a new era of consensus and bi-partisanship in foreign policy. As a Democrat and as Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, I pledge to you that I will walk the extra mile to try to make it work. In the year and a half remaining in your term, you have a chance to make a great and positive mark on our future in areas like arms control and Central American policy. As an American, without regard to party, I pray that you will succeed.

If a consensus can be developed in key areas, these policies can survive for years to come. If there is a confrontation, many opportunities for action will be missed. In other areas, like Central American policy, about which you and I share a strong concern about Communist subversion in our own hemisphere, your policies will not survive beyond the end of your term without a broad coalition in the Congress as well as in the White House which will continue to fight for them.

Twenty years of growing mistrust and divisiveness cannot be overcome in a few days or weeks but we have a real opportunity to start moving in the right direction.

Your staff and the members of the bi-partisan leadership in the Intelligence Committee of the Congress are close to a broad agreement in the important area of national security oversight. If we can build a spirit of partnerships in this most sensitive area and demonstrate our cooperation to the nation, I am convinced that it will make it much easier to build a truly bi-partisan foreign policy in the future.

Please call upon me if I can help in any way with this effort.

Sincerely,
Dana Boren

End
Case
File

509127
F6037

August 5, 1987

Dear Larry:

It was good to hear from you, and I'm pleased and grateful for your words of support.

This has been quite a carnival back here, and it had quite a lynch mob flavor. I knew every minute who was the intended lynchee. But somehow truth prevails, and now that the hearings are over, I can talk again.

You know, Larry, when the leak about the covert operation brought all the press attention, I was first to learn that somehow the arms sale had brought extra money which went into a Swiss bank account and which had some connection with the Contras. Within 18 hours of learning this, I met with the Congressional leadership and, after them, the press and told them what I had learned. I also told them I was appointing a bipartisan commission and asked for an independent counsel to look into the situation. Somehow that was overlooked, and we had the eight-month circus which, in a way, finally came up with what I'd already told them. The wondrous ways of Washington!

On another subject, Larry, I can't help but say the view of the Screen Actors Guild from 3,000 miles away is not very pleasant these days. I was always so proud of the Guild, and you had a lot to do with that, but somehow that image is tarnished.

Well, again, it was good to hear from you. Nancy sends her love.

Sincerely,

Ron

Mr. Laurence W. Beilenson
1946 North Gramercy Place
Los Angeles, California 90068

RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

LAURENCE W. BEILENSEN
1946 NORTH GRAMERCY PLACE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90068
TELEPHONE (213) 467-6479

July 30, 1987

President Ronald Reagan
through Ms. Kathy Osborne

Dear Mr. President,

Although I haven't written for
some time, my thoughts are constantly
about you in this year difficult time.
I do not always agree with you, but
even when I don't, I find your
position preferable to your critics.
And never have I doubted your
integrity or decency.

As always,
Larry

To Mr. Lawrence W. Baileson 1946 No. Gramercy Pl.
L.A. Calif. 90068

Dear Larry

It was good to hear from you and I'm pleased & grateful for your words of support.

This has been quite a carnival back here and it had quite a lynch mob flavor. I knew every minute who was the intended lynchee. But somehow truth prevailed and now that the hearings are over I can talk again.

You know Larry when the leak about the covert operation brought all the press attention I was first to learn that somehow the arms sale had brought extra money which went into a Swiss bank account which had some connection with the Contras. Within 18 hours of learning this I met with the Congressional leadership & after them the press and told them what I had learned. I also ~~told~~ told them I was appointing a bipartisan commission & an independent council to look into the situation. Somehow that was overlooked and we had the 8 month circus which in a way finally came up with what I'd already told them. The wondrous ways of Wash.!

On another subject Larry I can't help but say the view ~~for~~ of the Screen Actors Guild from 3000 miles away is not very pleasant these days. I was always so proud of the Guild & you had a lot to do with that but somehow that image is tarnished.

Well again, it was good to hear from you. Harry
Love for love L. W. Ron

every minute who was the intended beneficiary. But somehow truth prevailed and now that the hearings are over I can talk again.

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On another subject Larry I can't help but say the view ~~for~~ of the Screen Actors Guild from 3000 miles away is not very pleasant these days. I was always so proud of the Guild & you had a lot to do with that but somehow that image is tarnished.

Well again, it was good to hear from you. Nancy sends her love. Sincerely Ron (over)

509128
F6620

August 5, 1987

Dear Al:

It was good to hear from you, and thanks for your words of support. I'm most grateful.

I share your feelings about Mac. He was all you said he was, and his going has left a great, yawning hole. The Cathedral was crowded full for the memorial service and many tears were shed. He is greatly missed by all of us.

I appreciate your words about the hearings (the lynching that failed). At last I'm going to be able to say a few words on the subject. I took a vow of silence until the carnival was over, but now I can sound off. We have a big agenda for the days ahead and will be hard at it.

I hope everything is going well for you, and I'm grateful for what you are doing.

All the best to you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

The Honorable Alfred H. Kingon
American Ambassador
Brussels

RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

40, BOULEVARD DU REGENT, B3
1000 BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

July 27, 1987

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

More than most, I know how busy your schedule is and I have never intruded on it since I left the White House. I have often thought of writing to you to encourage you and offer support in these last few difficult months and I think you know how most of us feel about you and the Administration.

However, when I got the news yesterday of Mac Baldrige's sudden and awful death, I wanted to share with you some thoughts. When you first appointed me to the Administration as Assistant Secretary of Commerce, he was my first boss, and what a great boss he was.

He was exactly what he appeared to be, a tough negotiator, but he was straight up all the way. When Mac said yes, it was yes, when he said no, it was no, and you never had to worry about signal changes, end runs and quixotic policy shifts. He was one of the most decent, humane people it has ever been my privilege to work with.

I think that communicated itself to the business community, to Congress, and to others. In that regard, he was very similar to you and, for a fellow like me coming out of the private sector into Washington, I could not have a finer teacher and boss. And I thank you for it.

Long after we have all left Washington, I think the thing that will stay with us is the people we have met and worked with and the hours spent in the good fight for what we knew was right. I wanted you to know that Mac Baldrige was a class act in that struggle.

Mr. President, the hearings are about to enter the final week and I want you to know that I am confident the people understand what you did, why you did it and that you still have time to once again create and dominate the agenda for the future. As always, I stand ready to serve you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Ae' or 'Al', written in a cursive style.

Alfred H. Kingon
Ambassador

To ~~Alfred~~ Alfred H. Kingon 40 Blvd. Du Regent 33
1000 Brussels Belgium

Dear Al

It was good to hear from you and thanks for your words of support, I'm most grateful,

I share your feelings about Mac. He was all you said he was and his going has left a great, yawning hole. The Cathedral was crowded full for the memorial service and many tears were shed. He is greatly missed by all of us.

~~It~~ I appreciate your words about the hearings (the lynching that failed). At last I'm going to be able to say a few words on the subject. I took a vow of silence until the carnival was over but now I can sound off. We have a big agenda for the ~~some~~ days ahead and will be hard at it.

I hope everything is going well for you & I'm grateful for ~~you~~ what you are doing.
All the best to you.

Sincerely R.R.

End
Case
File

509129
AF

August 5, 1987

Dear Eunice:

Thank you for your kind letter and generous words. And thank you for all your magnificent work on behalf of those very special people. I know many others are involved, but you were, and are, the motive power.

I find my memory going back to a small event on the campus at UCLA when I was Governor: a few hundred people in attendance to see an even smaller number of participants. Now a great stadium is filled with spectators gathered to watch hundreds of these special people from all over the world competing in what is properly referred to as "Olympic Games." And Eunice Shriver has had the most to do with seeing that dream come true.

God bless you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Mrs. Eunice Kennedy Shriver
Suite 500
1350 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

RR:AVH:pps

RR Dictation

To Ms. Eunice Kennedy Shriver - 1350 New York Ave. N.W.
Suite 500 Wash. D.C. 20005

Dear Eunice

Thank you for your kind letter and generous words. And thank you for all your magnificent work on behalf of those very special people. I know many others are involved but you were & are the motive power.

I find my memory going back to a small event on the campus at U.C.L.A. when I was 16. A few hundred people in attendance to see an even smaller number of participants. Now a great stadium is filled with spectators gathered to watch hundreds of these special people from all over the world competing in what is properly referred to as "Olympic Games." And Eunice Shriver has had the merit to do with seeing that dream come true.

God Bless you.

Sincerely RR



Special Olympics

International Headquarters

**1350 New York Avenue, N.W., Suite 500
Washington, D.C. USA 20005**

**(202) 628-3630
telex 440730 ITS**

July 30, 1987

Eunice Kennedy Shriver
Chairman

Hon. Sargent Shriver
President

Rafer Johnson

Vice President

Dicken Yung, J.P.

Vice President

Richard O'Brien

Secretary

Jimmy Carnes

Treasurer

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Anne Haskell

James W. Kirkpatrick

Herbert J. Kramer, Ph.D.

Thomas B. Songster, Ph.D.

Deputy Directors

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President:

I just watched the tape of your beautiful message to our Special Olympians. What a marvelous friend you are. Millions of people who see this on television next Monday night will know of your kindness and compassion to our special friends, and they will feel the true heart of this country.

Our visit to the White House was one that I and the Special Olympians will not forget. How gracious of you to take the time to shake each hand, arrange the group picture, give each athlete gifts, and tell them something about George Gipp, an athlete they will try to emulate.

We are sorry you and Nancy could not be in South Bend on August 2nd for opening ceremonies. How far we have come since 1968. There will be 5,000 athletes on the field and 60,000 people in the stands including 10,000 family members. How proud they will be to hear your words and to know how much their sons and daughters are appreciated and respected.

Thank you for being so generous to Special Olympics and to me. You have helped give a new sense of pride and confidence to our mentally retarded citizens. I know they will not disappoint you.

Don't forget to watch our Opening Ceremonies Special on ABC TV next Monday night (August 3) from 9-11 p.m. You will see and hear some of our

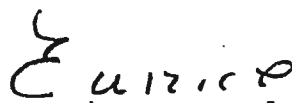
Page 2
July 30, 1987

greatest stars sing and dance and speak on behalf of the special people of the world. I believe that the most beautiful message of all will be yours.

Like the Gipper you took us down the field today to the five yard line and we scored. Thank you.

Please give my best regards to Nancy.

Sincerely,


Eunice Kennedy Shriver

*Thank you for your kind words
on the Special Olympics' proclamation*

End
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585226

MF001-02

Ken Murray

Ken Murray

August 5, 1987

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

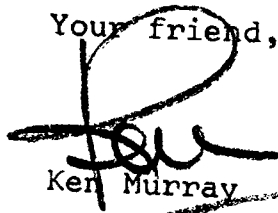
Dear Ron:

Your birthday wire made my 84th a very special day and I deeply appreciate your thoughtfulness.

I'm so glad you're in good health and every thing is looking brighter.

Bette Lou joins me in wishing you and Nancy happiness always. God bless you.

Your friend,


Ken Murray

KM/bl
2370 Bowmont Drive
Beverly Hills, Ca. 90210

End
case
file

The President has seen 8/11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON


Received SS

1987 AUG -7 PM 4:49

August 7, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THOMAS C. GRISCOM

FROM: THOMAS F. GIBSON 

SUBJECT: Draft Written Interview for USA Weekend Magazine

Attached, for your consideration and approval, is a written interview to appear in USA Weekend Magazine. The magazine was established by Gannett just over a year ago and now has a circulation of over 13 million.

The piece is to be published during the first week of September and features your views on the Constitution.

PRESIDENTIAL INTERVIEW FOR USA WEEKEND MAGAZINE

1. If you were to teach a grade school class tomorrow about the Constitution, what would you tell them is the most important?

There are two things that I would want to emphasize to young people. The first is that our Constitution was written, more than anything else, with the young people of America in mind. It was written for me when I was a boy; it was written for today's young people; and it was written for a future generation of young Americans not yet born. The heart of our Constitution is the promise that each succeeding generation will have the liberty and opportunity enjoyed by the parents of that generation, and, that each generation should have the ability to extend those opportunities.

It says so right up front in the preamble -- "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity . . . we do ordain and establish this Constitution. . . ."

I would want to make another general point to young students and for that matter, students of all ages, including those of my generation. Our Constitution represents a benchmark in human history. Our system of government, generally outlined in the first three articles of the Constitution, is the longest running and most imitated model for government on Earth. But the reason isn't necessarily found in those first three articles. It is found in the first three words of our Constitution: "We The People."

The source of our stability is not in words printed on parchment, elegant as they may be. Our constitutional tradition is rooted in a commitment of government for the people and by the people -- that government should be the servant of the people and not the other way around. That is why our system has survived and prospered when similar constitutional governments of other countries have folded during the past 200 years.

2. When and where did you first learn about the Constitution? Who taught you? What stuck with you most?

Much like today's children, I was exposed to the basic documents of America's founding while I was in grade school. I can't pinpoint exactly when I began serious study of the Constitution, but it grew out of a time when I began doing a lot of public speaking. I was getting more and more conscious of what seemed to be an increase of Federal authority at the expense of local and State government and, yes, the individual citizen. I was interested in finding out for myself what the Constitution had to say about liberty.

I also had access to the constitutions of other nations, including that of the Soviet Union. I was surprised at how many things in those other constitutions were similar to provisions in our own. Two examples stick with me. Article 50 of the Soviet constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations. That is not far from our First Amendment. Other articles guarantee freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, and a whole host of other freedoms that would certainly be news to the Soviet peoples.

There is a catch. It's in Article 39 of the Soviet constitution, and it basically states that individual freedoms must not be to the detriment of the interests of the state. There, in a simple statement, is where our two systems differ. The Soviet system puts the state first; we put the people first. Thus, despite lofty words in its constitution, harsh repression is commonplace in the USSR.

To get back to your first question: It might be a bit early to have grade school children read the constitutions of other governments and study the philosophy behind them, but I would certainly commend it to anyone interested in a better appreciation of our own system. That is how my interest was first kindled.

3. Is the constitutional principle of checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches of government violated, or at least weakened, when an Administration official lies to Congress, as Lt. Col. Oliver North says he did?

The relationship of shared powers the Constitution created among the legislative, judicial, and executive branches is strained whenever members of one branch don't deal in a straightforward manner with members of another. You don't get any argument from me there.

4. Probably you have been displeased with some of what has been written in the press about the Iran-Contra affair. The Constitution guarantees all of us, including the press, the right to free speech. But do you think the press goes too far?

I am an ardent supporter of a vigorous free press. I first earned my living as a radio broadcaster 55 years ago, and did so again before I ran for President. I spoke out freely on the issues of the day then, and I support that freedom now.

I recently vetoed legislation that would have codified content-based regulation of the editorial judgments of broadcast journalists by the Federal government. I'll note that the Federal Communications Commission recently joined me in this view by voting unanimously to abolish the so called "Fairness Doctrine." In the same way that I don't believe that the government, via a so-called Fairness Doctrine, should be in the business of telling a free press what to say, I don't believe that a responsible press goes too far.

I think by and large, the media will be seen to have covered all aspects of the Iran-Contra affair.

5. The Supreme Court has interpreted the Constitution to guarantee citizens a right to privacy. You support some testing for drugs in the workplace. Does that not violate a person's right to privacy?

The Supreme Court has issued many decisions that affirm the Fourth Amendment's guarantee against unreasonable searches and seizures. However, it has not ruled on drug testing of employees, and lower courts have upheld the right of employers to test for drug use.

I am a strong believer in a person's privacy interests. But I am also a strong believer in defending and protecting innocent lives and fighting drug abuse wherever it may exist. For the sake of our workers and their ability to work most effectively, I want drugs out of the workplace. So I have advocated drug testing programs for employees in sensitive positions where public safety, national defense, or the health of fellow workers would clearly be threatened by drug use -- in air traffic control towers, for example. I also believe in each employee's right to a drug-free workplace. Diligent workers are, and should be, offended by drug use by others on the job. It goes way beyond simple consideration, it's plain dangerous.

On the actual testing program, my Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Otis Bowen, and personnel officials government-wide have produced guidelines that ensure privacy, accuracy of test results, and treatment for those who may be using drugs.

The American people are serious about ending illegal drug abuse in America, and I am serious about fulfilling the Federal government's role in that crusade. Testing for drugs in the workplace must be included in the overall federal effort. I believe a recent poll from your parent newspaper USA Today backed this up by saying an overwhelming majority of Americans -- 89 percent -- favor testing.

6. One of the biggest tests facing you this fall is the confirmation of your nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court, Robert Bork. The Senate can reject your choice for many reasons, including political and ideological ones -- and, in fact, has done that in the past with other Presidents. Would you object to that kind of Senate decision, and why?

Outstanding jurisprudence is the fair and time-honored criteria that generations of Americans have used to select our Supreme Court Justices.

Excellence was the criterion used by the Senate when it consented to the appointment of eight justices between 1937 and 1943 by Franklin Roosevelt. Excellence was the criterion used by the Senate when it confirmed Sandra Day O'Connor and Antonin Scalia to join the Supreme Court. I have to believe the American people wouldn't stand for a change in that rule now.

I am confident that any concerns raised by political opponents will be answered during a fair and thorough review of Judge Bork's record during his confirmation hearings. He is a mainstream jurist who decided with the majority on the Court of Appeals 94 percent of the time and has never had a ruling reversed by the Supreme Court. Judge Bork is widely praised from all sectors of the legal community for his intellect and his impressive legal background. Indeed, he has received endorsements from Justice Paul Stevens and President Carter's White House Counsel, Lloyd Cutler.

I expect his prompt and fair consideration when the Senate reconvenes shortly. And I expect him to be confirmed as a member of the Supreme Court when the Court begins its next term in October.

7. If you had been present at the Constitutional Convention 200 years ago, what would you have changed in the document?

In the first place, I would been on the side of those who vigorously argued for a Bill of Rights. But three other problems with the original document come to mind immediately: The political compromise to count black Americans, then held as slaves, as 3/5 a person; denying women the right to vote; and the decision not to include a provision within the Constitution that the Federal government live by a balanced budget.

As I'm sure you're aware, the so-called three-fifths rule was amended out of existence by the Fourteenth Amendment. Women were given full voting rights in the Nineteenth Amendment. The fact that these two original problems have since been addressed is a reassuring demonstration that our Constitution is a "living document" and has been up to the task of growing with America.

8. There have been 26 amendments to the Constitution. What would you like the next amendment to be?

As you know, I have advocated a number of amendments to the Constitution: An amendment that would protect the life of unborn children; an amendment that would return voluntary public prayer to the classroom in the same way the Supreme Court, the House, and the Senate begin each session -- with voluntary prayer; repeal of the Twenty-Second Amendment that would allow Americans to elect the President of their choice, regardless of how many terms he or she may have already served; and an amendment that would require a balanced federal budget.

Thomas Jefferson was a strong advocate of a balanced budget provision in the Constitution. Perhaps if he had not been in Paris when the Constitution was being written, we would have a balanced budget requirement in the Constitution today.

As it is, I will continue to seek a balanced budget amendment that will control Federal spending and require a supermajority vote before Congress can raise your taxes.

9. Margaret Thatcher and a lot of other foreign leaders have voiced a mixture of bemusement and amazement that the U.S. President's policies are so picked over, subject to constraints, etc. Do you ever find yourself envying those world leaders who aren't so constrained?

Never. In fact, just being a citizen of the United States, let alone President, accounts for my being the envy of most foreign leaders I meet. Living under the constraints, as you call them, of our system of government is a small price to pay for the privilege of serving the American people in this office.

10. If you had the last year to do over again, what would be different?

In my talk to the American people on August 12th, I outlined as clearly as I could where I thought mistakes in judgment were made in the past, how I am going to correct them and what the goals are for my remaining time in office. These goals include continuing economic prosperity, getting the best judicial talent like Judge Bork, and democracy throughout the world and, in particular, regions like Central America, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf.

But let me make a point, if you don't mind, about something that I would do the same: I would work aggressively for the historic tax reforms that brought income tax rates to their lowest levels in the lifetimes of most Americans.

The economic prosperity that tax cuts have delivered and will continue to bring to the American people -- millions of new jobs and the lowest unemployment level in eight years, lower poverty levels, and higher standards of living -- will be of real and enduring value in the lives of every American, even those not yet born.

11. In the past few months, a lot of people have been quite critical of you. When you are alone, are you hard on yourself as well? Has it caused you to blame yourself for anything?

I am probably my own most severe critic. When I accepted the job of President, I accepted the responsibility for my decisions and for the decisions of those who act with my authority.

But I'll also note that it is not my style to dwell on mistakes and brood over them. If problems are identified, as they have been in my Administration, they have been fixed, and lessons have been learned.

12. In just a few days you'll be just back from a three-week vacation at the ranch. After all that has happened in the past year, and looking toward a rough time in the Bork confirmation hearings this fall, is coming to work still fun for you? What do you say to yourself on the mornings when you have an especially difficult situation to confront?

It's no secret that I enjoy spending time out of doors at my ranch in California. Like most Americans coming off a vacation, I will be refreshed and ready to get back to the job at hand. Though, as I have said before, Presidents don't get vacations, they just get a change of scenery. The job is always with you.

You mentioned the Bork confirmation hearings. As I've just said, I believe that given a chance to be heard before the Committee and the Senate, the confirmation of Judge Bork will proceed with dispatch. Another issue which has taken much more time than the ten weeks or so to get Judge Bork to Judiciary Committee hearings, is meaningful nuclear arms reduction with the Soviets. As you know, these talks have consumed considerable time and energy for several years and we have made steady progress. I look for the progress to continue into the fall.

On the second part of your question: Yes, I very much enjoy the work entrusted to me in the job of President. Fun may not be the exact word for it, but there are moments. And during those unpromising mornings -- we all have them and there will be some in September -- it is helpful to remember that there have been other difficult days. I think to myself, "I have weathered those, so I will surely make it through the day ahead."

13. You have 16 months ahead of you as President. Tell us one thing you hope to get done in that time, and one thing you know you won't be able to accomplish that you had hoped to.

I have many ambitions for our country and we've talked about a few of them. One answer to both questions is full adoption of ten provisions of our Economic Bill of Rights in general, and a balanced federal budget in particular.

As I've said, I hope to see Congress pass an amendment to the Constitution for a balanced budget that will include greater protection for American taxpayers by requiring more than a majority of Congress to pass new taxes; and, provide the President the authority to cut excessive spending where Congress lacks the will -- a line item veto. I want a "Truth in Spending" provision that will get the facts to the American people about what's going on here in Washington with the taxpayers' dollars.

I recognize that the budget will not come into balance during my term. That appears to be the one pledge from 1980 that I will not accomplish, although we have forced spending growth down almost 85 percent during the last six and a half years, and spending is now declining in real terms for the first time ever. But, as you know, Congress writes the money bills and has its own spending agenda.

The budget deficit is clearly on a declining path that will bring it into balance in the next few years. I will leave that happy reckoning to my successor.

14. When Hollywood makes a movie of your presidency, what actor would you like to see cast as Ronald Reagan?

I think you're making a rather large leap ahead of the plans of any movie producer I know. I'm afraid I have no good answer for you here. First of all, I've never dreamed anyone would make such a picture. But if they ever do make a movie, I hope the producer is friendly to what I've done and tried to do while in office and doesn't believe everything that's been written about me.

15. In your acting days, if Hollywood had made a movie about the Constitutional Convention, whom would you like to have portrayed, and why?

Obviously there are a number of individuals anyone would feel honored to play. But, that's hard to answer without seeing the script and there are other factors an actor would have to consider. How did the screenwriter treat that room full of honorable men? To whom did he give the best lines? Take Madison, for example -- the father of the Constitution and of the Bill of Rights. He'd be a good role, but what's

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to say a screenwriter wouldn't focus on his early political education, where he lost a Virginia legislative contest to James Monroe because he didn't provide free whiskey at the polling place?

In the end, any actor would be honored to play any of those great men. In fact, I think a popular movie about those lives and those times would not only be good entertainment but good education for us all.