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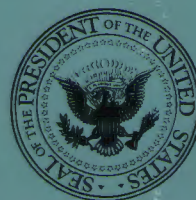
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*The Reagan
Administration:*

PROMISES
MADE
PROMISES
KEPT



1981
1989

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Administration:*

PROMISES
MADE
PROMISES
KEPT



1981
1989

*December,
1988
The
White House
Office of
Public Affairs
Washington, DC
20500*

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INTRODUCTION

To a few here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion, and yet in the history of our nation it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place, as it has for almost two centuries, and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

[T]his Administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America, at peace with itself and the world.

*— Inaugural address
January 20, 1981*

January 20, 1981 was an unusually warm day in Washington. In fact, the crowd that thronged to the west front of the United States Capitol was blessed with balmy temperatures and clear skies as they watched Ronald Wilson Reagan take the oath of office as the 40th President of the United States of America.

Would the fair weather at the very start of the Reagan Administration turn out to be a harbinger of good things to come? Or was it merely the lull before the storm?

That answer was impossible to know in the first weeks of 1981. Indeed, the new President spoke of a "crisis" in America and "an economic affliction of great proportions."

Of course, only history will judge the legacy of the Reagan years. At the ground-breaking ceremony for the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in the final months of his Administration, President Reagan noted that only time and study "will allow scholars of the future to cast their own judgment on these years, and I would not presume to predict the result of their researches. But I have to believe that scholars of good will, upon examining the historical record that will be contained herein, will judge our efforts well. But as for us, at present we can only say this: We have done our best, and we pray it has been enough."

What is the record that history will judge? What was the best work of his Administration?

This document, written in the final weeks of the Reagan Administration, provides part of the answer. It touches upon each of the Reagan Administration's major areas of endeavor — the economy, domestic issues, Government management and foreign policy. In this format, of course, it is by no means exhaustive. The public papers of Ronald Reagan's first year in office alone run 1,321 pages. Rather, this is an effort to provide an overview of the Reagan Administration's achievements over its eight years.

Ronald Reagan has been credited with starting a revolution, a "Reagan Revolution." By whatever name, it is clear that the Reagan Administration had a sweeping effect on the United States.

This is exactly what Ronald Reagan promised in 1981 when he raised his right hand, took the oath of office and delivered his first Inaugural address. Throughout this narrative, each section of the Reagan record is introduced with a passage from his first speech to the nation as President. Promises were made in that speech, and those promises were kept.

The impact of the President's promises and policies are



explored in the following pages, but another impact of the Reagan Administration is worth noting at the very outset. The Reagan years fundamentally altered the terms of debate on public policy in the United States.

Respect for private enterprise, belief in traditional values and confidence in America's special role in the world were seen as passé by many of the nation's leaders before the Reagan years. "Conservative" was considered a negative word by many, sometimes treated more as a matter of pathology than as a matter of philosophy. Across eight years, these things changed.

By the end of the 1988 campaign, in both politics and policy, liberalism — the "L word" as the President called it — was no longer unchallenged. By that time, the philosophy of the Reagan Revolution was firmly established. And the ideas and policies of the Reagan Administration promised to lead the way in the next steps forward.

The Reagan Administration started on a warm day in the dead of winter. It began with hope and the great promise of a "new beginning" to restore and enhance America. It ended with a clear record of keeping that promise.

Fair weather at the start was followed by progress through the storms and challenges of the ensuing eight years. And during his last campaign swing as President, aides traveling with Ronald Reagan noticed an interesting phenomenon.

Foul autumn weather hit several of the locations of President Reagan's final campaign appearances. Yet, time and again, when Air Force One arrived, the clouds dried and the sky cleared just long enough for Ronald Reagan's visit. His aides began calling it "Reagan weather."

Neither his greatest admirers nor his harshest detractors claimed Ronald Reagan controlled the weather during his

Administration. But perhaps the "Reagan weather" at the start and close of his Administration is an effective symbol of his Administration's record and accomplishments.



THE ECONOMY

These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

— Inaugural address
January 20, 1981

After reciting the economic maladies that plagued the United States on the day he took the oath of office, President Reagan's optimistic prediction that those ills could be cured offered hope to millions throughout America. President Reagan's confidence in the American people's ability to make the nation's economy perform, compete and grow was a welcome change.

Before President Reagan entered the White House, some predicted that the economy had disintegrated into a permanent mire of stagnation and inflation — “stagflation” as it was termed. Others simply predicted that America would just have to make do with less while adjusting to an inevitable decline.

Ronald Reagan did not share that gloomy assessment of the future. Yet the situation in 1980 was grave. President Reagan

inherited an economy twisted in the turmoil of high taxes, high unemployment, high inflation, high interest rates and low prospects for improvement. To put this nation's economic house in order, the President pursued an economic policy designed to unleash the talents of the American people from Government hindrance.

Specifically, the goal of President Reagan's economic policy was to strengthen the free market while providing a supportive climate for private initiative and individual enterprise, free from excessive Government tax and regulatory burdens.

To some, the President's plan was so distinctive they came up with a new name for it: “Reaganomics.” In reality, the President's plan for the nation's renewal was simple: Get the Government off the backs of the people, out of their pockets and out of their way. To do this, President Reagan cut taxes, reduced the rate of growth in Government spending, eliminated unnecessary regulation and tamed inflation.

The hallmark of Reaganomics was the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Fulfilling his campaign pledge to reduce the burden on American taxpayers, President Reagan won Congressional approval of an across-the-board cut in marginal tax rates. All income groups benefited from the same percentage reductions. In addition, this landmark legislation provided for indexing tax brackets to the rate of inflation, thus eliminating “bracket creep,” which allowed an increase in income, such as a cost-of-living increase in wages, to push a taxpayer into a higher tax bracket.

Through 1987, the President's tax cuts of 1981 saved the median-income two-earner American family of four about \$9,000 in taxes from what it would have paid under the 1980 tax laws, given the actual rates of inflation.

“The ultimate objective in everything that we're trying to do is to give this economy back to the American people, where it belongs, because they are the most valuable resource of our nation.”

— May 20, 1981, remarks to the Advertising Council

“From now on, more of what people earn belongs to them.”

— April 26, 1982, remarks to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce



“Why is it inflationary if the people keep their own money and spend it the way they want to and it’s not inflationary if the Government takes it and spends it the way it wants to?”

— June 11, 1981, remarks to business and government leaders

“[T]his is a tax code designed to take us into a future of technological invention and economic achievement, one that will keep America competitive and growing into the 21st century.”

— October 22, 1986, remarks at the signing ceremony for the Tax Reform Act

Although President Reagan’s initial assault on taxes was successful as early as the first year of his first term, his campaign to destroy the old “tax-and-spend” mentality in Congress continued throughout his eight years in office.

The Tax Reform Act of 1986 gave the United States the lowest Federal individual and corporate income tax rates of any major industrialized nation in the world and one of the world’s fairest, most economically favorable tax systems. Thanks to tax reform, an estimated four million lower-income households were relieved of their Federal income tax burden entirely.

The top personal tax rate dropped from 70 percent in 1981 to between 28 and 33 percent in 1988, the lowest rate since 1931. By the close of the Reagan Administration about 80 percent of all Americans paid either a flat 15 percent rate or owed no Federal income tax at all. The top corporate tax rate was down to 34 percent in 1988, the lowest since 1941.

While the President’s tax policies stoked an unprecedented economic recovery, some critics of the Reagan Administration insisted that those tax policies were responsible for the much increased Federal deficit. In fact, a closer view of the Reagan years paints a very different picture. Those who believe that the cuts in tax rates were responsible for the deficit should look at the record of Federal receipts and expenditures.

In 1987, tax receipts consumed a higher proportion of GNP than they did 20 years before, but spending increased at a far faster rate, piling up the deficit. As President Reagan long declared, deficit growth is caused by too much spending, not too little taxing.

Since 1981, total annual revenue paid to the Federal Government increased by \$375 billion. But total annual expenditures increased by \$450 billion. That increase in revenue was



more than adequate to pay for necessary increases in defense spending — \$140 billion — but Congress refused to reform domestic spending. It is true that Congress cut back the President's defense budget, but not to spare the deficit. In fact, for every dollar cut from the Administration's defense requests, Congress added more than two dollars to nondefense spending.

President Reagan fought to reduce this increased domestic spending. During the four years of the previous Administration, Federal spending grew out of control. Between 1977 and 1981, Federal outlays, in current dollars, grew at an average annual rate of 13.5 percent, and growth was accelerating. By 1981, outlays were up 15 percent from the year before. During the Reagan Administration, growth in spending was brought down significantly, from 10 percent in 1982 to just over 1 percent in 1987. After adjusting for inflation, Federal spending actually fell in 1987, for the first time since 1973.

The President pushed ahead with deficit reduction by working with Congress within the requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act deficit reduction plan.

President Reagan insisted that the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law be followed and its deficit targets met. In fiscal year 1987, the deficit fell by \$71 billion. And, in November 1987, the President and bipartisan Congressional leaders agreed on a deficit reduction plan for fiscal years 1988 and 1989. The agreement met the revised Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets, provided for necessary services for the American people and maintained our national security — in a way that did not overburden the taxpayer or damage the economy.

As the President noted in his first Inaugural address, the heavy hand of Government can be felt in more ways than taxation. Excessive Government control and unnecessary

regulation can also stifle private initiative and progress. Just as he moved against overly burdensome taxation, President Reagan fought against unnecessary Government regulation.

The increasing burden of Federal regulation in the 1970's added about \$1,800 a year to the cost of goods and services bought by the typical American family. Conversely, the President's success in accelerating deregulation will result in dollar savings exceeding \$150 billion by the end of the decade, or over \$2,300 for every family in the country.

In fact, under the Reagan Administration, paperwork imposed by the Federal Government on individuals, businesses and other levels of government was cut by 600 million staff hours a year. That is the equivalent of working every man, woman and child in a city the size of Galveston, Texas, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year.

As Reaganomics helped the economy, the economy helped itself. The Reagan years saw American competitiveness rise sharply. There was significant improvement in manufacturing productivity, up at an average annual rate of more than 4.2 percent from 1982 to 1987, more than one and one-half times the average of the post-war period.

Not surprisingly, economic progress led to concrete results for American workers. In September 1988, American merchandise exports hit a record \$28.2 billion. From the third quarter of 1986, when the real trade deficit for goods and services peaked, to the third quarter of 1988, the deficit fell by 37 percent, or nearly \$57 billion. Real exports of goods and services were at a record high of \$510.7 billion in the third quarter of 1988.

Some of the success stemmed from the Administration's demand for free but fair trade, along with its vigorous efforts to strengthen international economic policy coordination as a

"[W]ith the right tools and incentives to do the job, American workers can and will be every bit as skilled, dedicated and productive as are our German and Japanese counterparts."

— April 26, 1982, remarks to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

"Deficit reduction is no longer simply our hope and our goal — deficit reduction is now the law."

— December 12, 1985, statement on signing of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill

means of reducing trade imbalances and stabilizing currency exchange rates.

Because economic opportunities follow from trade expansion, President Reagan sought to eliminate trade barriers wherever possible. In 1985, the United States entered into an agreement with Israel, establishing the first free trade area between the United States and another country.

In 1986, the Administration played a leading role in launching the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations which promise new opportunities for United States exporters, particularly in agriculture, services, intellectual property, investment and market access. Trade relations with Mexico were also substantially improved with a 1987 framework accord. And in 1988, the United States-Canada Free Trade Agreement was signed, providing for the world's largest open market. Annual U.S. exports to Canada should increase by \$2.4 billion. American households will save between \$1 billion and \$3.5 billion per year in lower prices and greater choice for consumers.

The Reagan Administration was the first to investigate unfair trade cases on its own initiative. Most cases were successfully resolved without the need for retaliation. The President retaliated when necessary, however, to make it clear that unfair restrictions on U.S. imports would be dealt with forcefully. Active Presidential exercise of laws against unfair trade led to a record number of market-opening settlements, moving the world closer to free and fair trade.

With his successful economic policies, President Reagan kept his Inaugural address promise to promote a "healthy, vigorous, growing economy." But what did that fulfilled promise mean for Americans? Quite simply, it meant one of the most remarkable economic expansions the world has ever known —

"[T]oday trade is at the core of the alliance[s] that secure the peace and guarantee our freedom; it is the source of our prosperity and the path to an even brighter future for America."

— November 26, 1988, weekly radio address

"America's challenge for the eighties is to . . . make workers and products more competitive in the world market, to unleash our pioneer spirit of innovation and get this nation back on the cutting edge of growth."

— December 9, 1982, remarks at the Senate majority dinner

a "Reagan Recovery" that shattered records and touched people coast-to-coast, across the entire economic spectrum.

Although the policies that fired the Reagan Recovery started from day one of his Administration with his immediate, temporary freeze on Federal Government hiring, it took longer to enjoy the results. Like a great ship that has veered seriously off course, it took the economy some time to respond to Ronald Reagan's direction at the helm. But as the economy prospered, poverty declined. There had been a troubling growth in poverty after 1979, and in 1980 alone, the poverty rate grew by 1.3 percentage points, the largest recorded one-year increase. Between 1983 and 1987, however, economic growth made it possible for nearly three million people to climb out of poverty.

By November 1982, there was evidence that the Reagan economic policies had taken hold, and by November 1988, when the American people picked George Bush to succeed Ronald Reagan, the nation was enjoying the longest peacetime economic expansion in history — six full years and still going strong. The real gross national product (the value, after inflation, of all goods and services produced in the United States) had risen 27 percent during this period of expansion.

In January 1981, when Ronald Reagan took the oath of office, the prime rate was a record 21.5 percent. By the time he approached the end of his term it was less than half of that — 10.5 percent.

The crippling, double-digit inflation rates of 1979 and 1980 were slashed as well. The 1.9 percent increase in consumer prices in 1986 was the smallest annual increase in more than 20 years. The average annual increase in consumer prices from 1982 through 1987 was a moderate 3.3 percent.

From the beginning of the Reagan expansion in November

"If we can control spending and shave a few points off the inflation rate, we can do more good for the poor [and] the elderly . . . than any package of Federal programs ever could."

— March 9, 1981, remarks at the signing ceremony for FY 1982 budget revisions



"Let me make our goal in this program very clear: jobs, jobs, jobs and more jobs."

— September 4, 1981, Labor Day message

"[S]ustained, noninflationary growth is the Government's single best tool for fighting poverty and building a better life for our nation's families... Low-income whites, blacks and Hispanics, both children and adults, all have shared in these gains."

— July 30, 1987, statement by the President on poverty and income levels for 1986

1982, approximately 19 million new jobs were created. The percentage of working-age Americans employed reached a record level. The civilian unemployment rate declined more than 5 percentage points after November 1982 and reached the lowest level in 14 years.

All demographic groups shared the benefits of the "Great American Job Machine." By November 1988, employment of blacks rose 29 percent from November 1982, nearly twice the job gain rate of whites. The unemployment rate of black youth declined dramatically. In addition, the share of black families in the highest income bracket (\$50,000 and over) increased by nearly 86 percent during the expansion.

Over half of the new jobs created went to women. A higher share of the Hispanic population found employment than at any time since such record keeping began in 1973.

More than 90 percent of the jobs created during the Reagan expansion were full-time jobs. Over 85 percent of the increase in full-time employment was in occupations with annual salaries of \$20,000 or more in 1987 dollars. In addition, the percentage of high-paying jobs in the economy increased.

The median income of families increased in real terms in each of the five years through 1987. The 1987 level of \$30,853 represented real growth of 11.8 percent since 1982. And in 1987 per capita income after inflation (\$12,287) was up 16.2 percent over 1982.

Americans were also better able to realize the great American dream of owning a home. By the middle of the Reagan Administration's last year, the National Association of Realtors "Housing Affordability Index" showed that a family earning the median income had 111 percent of the income necessary to buy the median-priced American home. In December 1980, the

median-income family had only 76 percent of the income needed to buy a home.

These were the results of the economic promise President Reagan made to the nation. By any objective standard, America was better off at the close of the Reagan Administration than it was eight years before.

Many may remember a campaign device of the recent past: the "Misery Index." The sum of the unemployment rate and the inflation rate, it came to 13.4 in 1976. During that campaign year, some charged that no one had a right to seek reelection with a Misery Index that high. Those critics did not talk much about the Misery Index in 1980 when Ronald Reagan was elected, because that index had jumped to almost 21 percent under their leadership. And during the 1988 campaign to succeed President Reagan, again little was heard of the index because under his leadership it had dropped to less than 10 percent.

A historic expansion put a record number of Americans to work. Inflation was cut to one-third of what it was in 1980. Real family and per capita income rose for five years running to set an all-time high. The promises were kept. The policies worked. The progress was real.



THE DOMESTIC AGENDA

It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and the goals of this Administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen; and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

— Inaugural address
January 20, 1981

Today, it may be difficult for many to remember the days when Americans were told that their nation's greatest days were in the past, not the future. Leaders then spoke of a "crisis of confidence" and some spoke of a malaise in the land.

A large part of the "new beginning" promised by candidate Ronald Reagan in his 1980 campaign was an explicit rejection of this philosophy of despair and decline. And much of the change that President Ronald Reagan initiated in 1981 was generated by his personal belief in the great aspirations of the American people.

Nowhere was President Reagan's confidence in the American people clearer than in his domestic policy agenda. On issues ranging from providing aid to the poor to protecting the

unborn to producing a cleaner environment, the Reagan Administration was guided by faith in America's traditional values, commitment to the Constitution and care for future generations.

The Reagan Administration preserved and strengthened the programs that assisted the truly needy. The Administration's effort to aid the poor stressed "help" in the best sense of the word. That meant help not just to subsist on public assistance, but help to break free from the cycle of poverty.

Programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Women, Infants and Children (WIC); Medicaid; food stamps; and Child Nutrition and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) were supported with refinements tailored to create incentives for individuals and families to become self-supporting and to deliver benefits to the most needy.

Extensive administrative reforms improved efficiency and ensured that Federal assistance was targeted to those who really needed help. And in July 1987, President Reagan created the Interagency Low-Income Opportunity Advisory Board, which helped states to undertake far-reaching welfare reforms that otherwise would not have been practicable. This measure made it possible for more than 25 percent of all AFDC recipients to be involved in special projects to promote self-sufficiency.

The Family Support Act, signed by the President in October 1988, included some of the most significant changes to the AFDC program since its creation in 1935. The legislation was a major step toward the President's goal of strengthening the American family. Through participation in work, education and training programs and increased emphasis on child support enforcement, the Act gave poor Americans the opportunity to escape the trap of dependency and become self-reliant contributors to American society.

"The Family Support Act says to welfare parents, 'We expect of you what we expect of ourselves and our own loved ones: that you will do your share in taking responsibility for your life and for the lives of the children you bring into this world.'"

— October 13, 1988, remarks at the signing for the Family Support Act of 1988



"Many schools [are] placing a new emphasis on quality and discipline, more homework, more attention to basic skills, more attention to what works, that is to results. This [is] truly revolutionary after two decades in which money had been the only measure of progress in education. . ."

— April 26, 1988, remarks upon receiving the publication *American Education: Making it Work*.

Clearly the Reagan Administration was committed to helping the poor escape poverty. Despite all the talk of “cuts,” Federal spending for basic low-income assistance programs rose by more than \$23 billion from the 1981 to the 1987 budget, a 40 percent increase. Projected spending for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 adds over \$12 billion, for an increase of more than 60 percent during the Reagan years.

The same was true with housing. By emphasizing the use of vouchers which those needing assistance could use to pay for the housing best suited for them, and by improving public housing, the Reagan Administration increased the number of low-income households receiving help by more than 1.5 million, to 5.5 million.

The Interagency Council on the Homeless was created to coordinate Federal programs that help the homeless and to provide technical assistance to state and local government in their efforts to address the problem of homelessness. Federal funding for the homeless was budgeted to be \$591 million in 1989.

In the years just before the Reagan Administration policies were put in place, the percentage of Americans living in poverty grew alarmingly. In 1979, 11.7 percent were poor. By 1981, 14 percent were living in poverty. Since 1983, 2.8 million Americans escaped poverty. The poverty rate for Americans over 65 in 1987 dropped to an all-time low of 12.2 percent.

The Reagan Administration recognized that if public assistance should help the poor today, education should help prevent poverty tomorrow. Education in America has always been the primary concern of state and local government, and without undermining that, the Reagan Administration acted to promote quality in the nation's schools.

In 1983, President Reagan's National Commission on

Excellence in Education found the United States was “A Nation at Risk” from declining educational quality. Since that time, the President made education a high national priority and advanced far-reaching educational reforms. Included were calls for higher standards, accountability, merit pay for teachers and principals, parental choice and schools that instill moral standards.

Magnet schools, for example, were strongly encouraged by the Reagan Administration and provide a proven success story. During the Reagan years, 12 states established merit pay or career ladder programs, with 14 other states considering similar programs.

The results of these reform efforts were encouraging: Test scores and the high school graduation rate rose, and more minority students went to college than ever before. Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, for example, climbed 14 points after 1981, compared to a 90-point drop from 1963 to 1980.

America has the best health care delivery system in the world, but spiraling costs threaten its availability for many. The Reagan Administration introduced the prospective payment system for Medicare payments to hospitals. This system, for the first time, gave hospitals the incentives to keep costs down.

This and other reforms helped to reduce significantly the rate of health care inflation in the hospital industry, which was running in double digits in the early 1980's. Similarly, the Administration proposed reforms to reduce the rate of inflation in physician expenditures.

Far from cutting benefits, the Reagan Administration took the lead in achieving a major expansion of coverage in the Medicare program — the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act. First proposed by President Reagan in his 1986 State of the Union address, this legislation protected older Americans and their

“Teachers should be paid and promoted on the basis of their merit and competence. Hard-earned tax dollars should encourage the best. They have no business rewarding incompetence and mediocrity.”

— May 21, 1983, remarks at Seton Hall University

“[T]here are those who will always require help from the rest of us on a permanent basis, and we'll provide that help. To those with temporary need, we should have programs that are aimed at making them self-sufficient as soon as possible.”

— February 26, 1982, remarks at the Conservative Political Action Conference Dinner

families from the devastating financial losses associated with catastrophic illness or injury requiring costly acute medical care.

The Reagan Administration took strong, unprecedented measures to counter the public health threat posed by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The Reagan Administration committed more than \$5.4 billion since the 1982 budget year to biomedical research, drug trials, treatment and other measures against HIV and AIDS. The Administration also moved to tear down regulatory barriers impeding the expeditious movement of HIV and AIDS drugs, such as AZT, from laboratory to patient.

In 1987, a Presidential Commission on HIV and AIDS was established. The President received its report in June 1988. After a thorough evaluation of the Commission's recommendations and those of Government agencies and private groups, the Reagan Administration announced a 10-point plan to advance the battle against HIV and AIDS. The plan called for actions to ensure compassion toward those infected with HIV and AIDS, to allow for their care with dignity and to educate citizens to prevent further spread of the disease.

Protection from crime is one of the most basic services that citizens can expect from their Government. The Reagan Administration worked to improve this vital function.

In 1984, after three years of delay, Congress passed the President's Comprehensive Crime Control Act, a major reform in our criminal justice system. Included in the Act were provisions allowing judges to deny bail to dangerous suspects, restricting the insanity defense and initiating a comprehensive review of Federal sentencing. The Act also provided for the sei-

zure of unlawful assets amassed by drug dealers, mobsters and racketeers.

In addition, the President focused national attention on the plight of crime victims and made the victim's needs a higher priority than those of the criminal.

In 1984, the President signed legislation isolating child pornography as a separate criminal offense. The Administration created the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit within the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice as the centerpiece of a seven-point assault on producers, distributors and retailers of obscene materials, and on individuals who traffic in child pornography.

The aggressive anti-crime policies of the Reagan Administration helped to foster a safer America. The Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Survey reported that nearly two million fewer households were hit by crime in 1987 than in 1980. In 1987, for example, 4.6 percent of United States households had a member victimized by violent crime, compared with 5.5 percent in 1980.

Firmer laws were just part of the Reagan Administration's approach to crime. The courts must function properly for the criminal justice system to operate. In elevating Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist to Chief Justice, and appointing Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy to the nation's highest court, President Reagan selected jurists who shared his deep commitment to the principle of judicial restraint. Adherence to this principle guided the President in his appointments to all levels of the Federal judiciary. With Reagan-appointed judges making up just over half of the Federal bench by the close of his Administration, President Reagan ensured a judicial legacy of faithfulness to the rule of law reaching far



"I believe it's high time we restore a proper balance and start doing more to protect our law-abiding citizens. Lenient judges are only lenient on crooks; they're very hard on society."

— March 5, 1984, remarks to the National League of Cities

beyond his term in office.

From the first days of his Administration, President Reagan pursued the goal of eliminating illegal drug use. He developed a comprehensive national strategy for attacking the demand and supply side of the problem of illegal drugs and launched the National Crusade for a Drug-Free America. Together, President and Mrs. Reagan set out to change attitudes in the country and make illegal drug use unacceptable social behavior.

Mrs. Reagan's dedication and leadership in working toward a drug-free generation resulted in many thousands of young people following her advice to "just say no." The overall number of drug users in America declined and the nation even turned the corner on the use of cocaine. Because of President and Mrs. Reagan's leadership, there were substantive, positive changes in Americans' knowledge, attitude and behavior regarding illegal drug use.

Drug offenses account for the largest single segment of America's Federal criminal problem. President Reagan led the way in providing the tools necessary for Federal, state and local law enforcement agencies and individuals to counter this threat. The number of Federal drug investigators more than doubled and the number of Federal prosecutors increased four-fold between 1980 and 1988. With increased enforcement efforts and tougher Federal judges, convictions doubled and drug seizures rose sharply.

New asset forfeiture laws permitted the seized profits of drug trafficking to be shared with state and local authorities who help in Federal law enforcement activities. New money laundering laws attacked the financial underpinning of drug trafficking. The number of foreign nations engaged in crop eradication programs grew from two in 1981 to 23 in 1988. All 50

states also conducted eradication efforts.

The Reagan Administration was the first to declare illegal drugs a threat to national security, the first to implement a change in the law allowing the Department of Defense to support other Federal enforcement efforts, and the first to bring the FBI fully into the fight against drugs. The Administration instituted drug testing for Government and private sector employees in safety- and security-related positions throughout the transportation industry. Federal outlays for drug programs increased over fivefold while President Reagan was in office.

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act, signed by the President in November 1988, moved the nation even closer to the goal of a drug-free America. The law established measures to hold the drug user accountable for his or her behavior. It strengthened the attack on suppliers by authorizing the death penalty for the most grave drug crimes. It also established methods to reduce demand by providing strong civil penalties for illegal drug use, and it provided resources to state and local government to reduce waiting lists for drug abuse treatment.

Just as President Reagan fought to protect citizens from crime, he also worked to protect the unborn from abortion. The President was consistently firm in his opposition to abortion. He successfully pressed Congress to stop the use of Federal funds to pay for abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered.

Under the Reagan Administration, the United States moved to cut off Federal funding of international organizations that use abortion as a means of family planning. In 1985, the President issued regulations protecting handicapped newborns against discrimination in receiving medical treatment.

In 1987, the President established the Permanent Inter-

"In this crusade, let us not forget who we are. Drug abuse is a repudiation of everything America is. The destructiveness and human wreckage mock our heritage."
— September 14, 1986, address to the nation



"God's greatest gift is human life . . . we have a sacred duty to protect the innocent human life of an unborn child."

— September 9, 1982, remarks at the Alfred M. Landon lecture series on public issues

"It is a terrible irony that while some turn to abortion, so many others who cannot become parents cry out for children to adopt. We have room for these children; we can fill the cradles of those who want a child to love."

— February 6, 1985, State of the Union address

"The family is the moral core of our society, the repository of our values and the preserver of our traditions. . . the safe haven where we've taught charity, generosity and love."

— May 29, 1985, remarks at a rally of citizens' groups

agency Task Force on Adoption which submitted recommendations to encourage and support adoption, in particular infant adoptions, as an alternative to abortion, as well as the adoption of "special needs" children. In the 1990 fiscal year, adoption assistance benefits will be provided for approximately 43,600 children who would otherwise remain in foster care.

President Reagan also recognized that the protection and promotion of the family was the best solution to many of the domestic problems faced by America. In 1986, President Reagan appointed a White House Working Group on the Family to make policy recommendations for preserving and improving the quality of family life in America. In response to the Group's report, the President signed an Executive Order in 1987 directing that the autonomy and rights of the family be considered in the formulation and implementation of policies by Executive departments and agencies.

Children were a primary concern of the Reagan Administration. By 1988, the Federal Government was providing almost \$7 billion a year for child care assistance and Head Start.

Working parents use a wide variety of child care arrangements, most of them informal. The Reagan Administration consistently supported child care policies that allowed parents to choose among diverse child care options, including informal home-based care and church-operated programs.

The Reagan Administration was also active in the civil rights field. Under President Reagan's leadership, the Federal Government asserted its proper role of ensuring that no person is denied opportunities because of race, sex, religion, national origin, handicap or other factors irrelevant to character and ability. In keeping with a consistent application of equal opportunity principles, the Administration opposed quotas as merely a

new form of discrimination.

The Reagan Administration was vigilant in enforcing civil rights laws. In fact, President Reagan's Administration equaled or surpassed the number of civil rights cases filed by any prior Administration in virtually every enforcement category. Funding levels for the principal civil rights enforcement agencies were increased by about 18 percent during the Reagan years.

The Administration played a key role in developing far-reaching civil rights legislation to strengthen the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The Fair Housing Amendments Act, signed by the President in September 1988, for the first time provided strong Federal enforcement measures against discrimination in housing. The Act gave the Department of Housing and Urban Development authority to initiate enforcement actions and to penalize those who discriminate in the sale, rental or financing of housing. In addition, the Act added persons with handicaps and families with children to those protected by Title VIII, the housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

The President pursued, and in 1986 obtained, Senate approval of the International Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. In 1988, implementing legislation was passed to punish as a Federal crime violence against individuals because they are part of a group defined by race or religion.

The rights of women received attention during the Reagan Administration as well. The President appointed a Task Force on Legal Equity to identify Federal laws and regulations that contained gender-discriminatory language. More than 120 changes in these laws and regulations were made as a result.

Child support was another area where the President's efforts benefited women. A 1984 Administration-proposed law established more stringent measures for collecting child sup-

"Let us reject prejudice, turn our backs on bigotry and stand shoulder to shoulder for equal rights."

— March 13, 1984, remarks at the Young Leadership Conference of the United Jewish Appeal

"The American ideal is to allow equal opportunity for all, not to enforce equality of results or outcomes."

— January 27, 1987, message to Congress

port payments. Child support enforcement agencies collected nearly \$4 billion in overdue payments in 1987, more than twice the amount collected in 1980.

The Administration-sponsored Retirement Equity Act of 1984 enhanced and protected the pension benefits of women who take time out from the labor force to raise families or who work primarily as homemakers. Among other measures, the Act lowered the minimum age for participation in pension plans and required provisions to protect surviving spouses.

Reagan Administration tax code changes of particular benefit to women included virtually eliminating the estate tax levied on a surviving spouse, permitting unlimited property transfers between spouses and allowing spouses with lower earnings and homemakers with no earned income to make larger Individual Retirement Account (IRA) contributions.

In protecting the environment, the Reagan Administration achieved much of significance. Federal research led to a better understanding of the serious effects of lead on human health and the Administration took aggressive action to eliminate it from our air and water.

Superfund, the law which addresses abandoned hazardous waste sites, was reauthorized under legislation signed by President Reagan in 1986. Under Superfund, the Federal Government was committed to spending up to \$8.5 billion to clean up these sites. The reauthorized law strengthened the Government's ability to compel those parties responsible for contamination at waste sites to pay for the cleanup. The Superfund program has already achieved significant results. More than 1,200 emergency cleanup actions have been undertaken. Work has also begun at more than 800 long-term sites.

The Reagan Administration was the first to establish a

special unit to prosecute criminal polluters. The Environmental Crimes Section of the Justice Department's Lands and Natural Resources Division was created in 1983 and achieved unprecedented success. It brought more than 400 indictments and obtained more than 300 convictions or guilty pleas, resulting in \$12.5 million in penalties and more than 60 years of actual jail time. The last three years of the Reagan Administration set all-time records for environmental cases referred to the Department of Justice.

Stratospheric ozone depletion was another major concern. The United States played a leadership role in negotiating the Montreal Protocol to the Vienna Convention on the protection of the ozone layer, which will reduce by as much as 50 percent the production and use of chemicals known to harm the earth's stratospheric ozone layer.

The Reagan Administration invested nearly \$500 million on research to improve understanding of the complex issue of acid rain. The Administration also instituted a \$5 billion, five-year cost sharing program with industry to demonstrate ways to burn the nation's vast coal resources in an environmentally acceptable manner. From 1981 to 1987, sulphur dioxide pollution, a significant part of the acid rain problem, was reduced by 10 percent.

Combating smog, the Administration took strong enforcement action against cities that failed to comply with air quality standards. In fact, all air pollutants decreased in the years following 1981.

The Reagan Administration also improved America's parks and public lands. The Administration focused Federal resources on restoring and maintaining the National Parks in its \$1 billion Park Restoration and Improvement Program. The pro-

"Preservation of our environment is not a liberal or conservative challenge, it's common sense."

— January 25, 1984, State of the Union address

"We're advancing on a broad front to ensure that our energy needs and those of the next generation of Americans are met. We started with oil control, but we're also taking the necessary steps to ensure a steady flow of energy from . . . other sources."

— September 3, 1981, remarks to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners

tection of wilderness lands, including the habitat of America's fish and wildlife, was advanced by the Administration as well.

Fundamental reforms in Federal water resources policy were achieved with enactment of the Water Resources Development Act of 1986. This landmark legislation required beneficiaries outside the Federal Government who enjoy benefits from Army Corps of Engineers' water projects to help pay the costs.

One of the first subjects to be addressed by the new Administration was the nation's energy supply. Within a few days of taking office, the President ordered immediate decontrol of prices for crude oil and refined products. This was the first step in a new market-based energy policy which relied on the American people, not the Government. This policy worked well. The American consumer spent 20 percent less by the end of the Reagan Administration on gasoline, in current dollars, than in 1980 and almost 50 percent less in after-inflation dollars. Decontrol permitted American consumers to benefit from falling oil and gasoline prices in a freer market and to save more than \$45 billion since 1981.

The Reagan Administration also took steps to protect the energy independence of the United States. In addition to reinforcing the nation's use of a variety of energy sources, including nuclear and alternative energy sources, the Reagan Administration increased the size of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve five-fold, from 112 million barrels to over 550 million barrels. By the end of the Reagan Administration, the Reserve was sufficiently stocked to provide nearly three months of protection against the total loss of net petroleum imports. The Administration led the way in reducing barriers to energy trade, allowing the United States access to diverse and secure energy supplies, and encouraging its allies to increase their oil stockpiles.

Transportation was another important item on the President's domestic agenda. In 1982, the Reagan Administration proposed, and Congress enacted, an ambitious and successful program to finance needed highway construction and repair. At the President's urging, Congress passed legislation restoring to states the option to raise the speed limit to 65 m.p.h. on rural interstate highways.

In 1986, the Administration dramatically restructured the Federal Government's role in transportation by selling Conrail, the Government-owned freight railroad, to the public; by selling the Alaska Railroad to the state of Alaska; and by turning over the operation of the Washington, D.C. area's National and Dulles Airports to local government authorities.

The Administration worked vigorously to accelerate transportation deregulation as permitted by prior legislation. This resulted in greater availability, better service and significantly lower costs for consumers.

In addition, one of the earliest challenges for the Reagan Administration came in the area of transportation. In August 1981, some 10,000 Federal employees belonging to the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization staged a strike in violation of Federal law in an attempt to paralyze the nation's air traffic system. President Reagan stood firm in enforcing the law that forbids strikes by Federal employees. He gave striking controllers 48 hours to return to work and then began dismissal proceedings against those who refused. Even with a greatly reduced workforce, the remaining controllers kept the system going and the airplanes flying safely.

The Administration also made substantial progress on a \$16 billion program to modernize the nation's air traffic control system by the year 2000, with more than 90 percent of the



"The space shuttle opened a new era to pursue the many scientific, educational, industrial and commercial opportunities of space, and as long as we challenge our imagination and aim high, there's no end to the potential of space."

— July 20, 1984, remarks on 15th anniversary of the Apollo landing

work under contract by the end of the Administration.

The earliest stories of American history are tales of immigrants. And throughout the nation's life, people have looked up to America from abroad. Recognizing this fact, President Reagan strongly and successfully urged Congress to pass the Immigration Reform Act of 1986. The bill provided the most sweeping changes in our immigration laws in 34 years. It provided the means to control illegal immigration and legalized the status of millions of persons who contribute to the United States economy and society.

President Reagan also focused attention on maintaining the position of the United States as the world's most fertile soil for basic science and technology research, as well as innovative products and processes. The Administration directed fundamental changes in the management of Federal research and development to ensure increased commercialization, and ensured that American bilateral science and technology agreements provide balanced and equal treatment for American firms, scientists and engineers. Government and industry spending on research and development rose 72 percent during the Reagan years.

Under the leadership of the Reagan Administration, more than 25 university-based interdisciplinary research centers were established in engineering, science and technology. These centers cooperate with industry to promote the long-range competitiveness of the United States economy.

The President approved construction of the world's largest and most advanced particle accelerator, the Superconducting Super Collider, which holds the potential for a new revolution in science, education, technology and commerce. A site in Texas was selected in November 1988.

Like all Americans, the President grieved at the loss of the space shuttle *Challenger* and its brave crew. But by the close of the Reagan Administration, America's space program was again moving steadily ahead. The space shuttle program resumed with two successful missions to date. Outer planet exploration continued with the missions of spacecraft such as *Pioneer*, *Venus* and *Voyager*. And progress continued in the development of a permanently manned space station.

In addition, the President approved a 15-point commercial space initiative in February 1988 with three goals: promoting a strong commercial presence for the United States in space, ensuring future access to space and building a solid base in talent and technology.

From the safety net to the space program, remarkable consistency of policy and principle emerges from a review of President Reagan's domestic achievements. Faith in the American people and America's future was always evident.

Although America still faces challenges, few believe they are insurmountable. Gone is the talk of "malaise." Replacing it is the sense of confidence gained during the Reagan years.

A GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the states or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the states; the states created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with Government. It is rather to make it work — work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

— Inaugural address

January 20, 1981

Government is the servant of the people, not their master. Stated so much more eloquently by President Reagan in his first address as President, this fundamental proposition was the foundation for much of what commentators call the Reagan Revolution.

In his campaign and at his Inauguration, Ronald Reagan promised a leaner, more efficient Government in Washington. His Administration delivered on that promise, not by demolishing the Federal Government, but by restoring the roles of private individuals and state and local authorities. President Reagan also demanded that where the Federal Government did have a proper role, it conduct its affairs efficiently.

Two basic principles guided President Reagan in his job as Chief Executive of the Federal Government. First, President Reagan worked to instill political, fiscal and administrative accountability. The President's second guiding principle was Federalism, or the restoration of the division of governmental responsibilities between the Federal Government and the states as intended by the framers of the Constitution.

One critical element in Government accountability is managing the budget. If Congress does not properly consider and enact a Federal budget, the Government defaults to a series of continuing resolutions that lack fiscal discipline and can hide pork barrel spending. Government managers who need to plan for the future lack the tools they need when the budget is held hostage and spending plans change from day to day.

This budgetary neglect by Congress had become commonplace. In fact, during the first seven years of the Reagan Administration, only nine of the 91 appropriations bills that fund the budget reached the President's desk before the beginning of the fiscal year, and only 37 appropriations bills reached him at all. Before this year, the President had not been presented a regular appropriations bill for his signature since December 1985.

In his 1988 State of the Union address, President Reagan set the stage for an on-time budget. He warned Congress it should not send him another continuing resolution like the ponderous edition he received in 1987. And he declared that he would never again approve such a continuing resolution.

Throughout his Administration, President Reagan demonstrated his willingness to see nonessential Government services shut down when appropriations were not provided on time. In 1984, and again in 1986, the President acted to shut down the Government, as the law required, when Congress could not complete its budgetary duties.

In a spirit of cooperation, President Reagan urged Congress to complete its work on the 1989 budget on time and worked diligently with Congress toward that goal. As a result, for the first time in a dozen years, a President received all appropriations bills on time, within budget and reflecting his priorities. Only time will tell whether discipline will be main-

"[F]eeding more dollars to Government is like feeding a stray pup. It just follows you home and sits on your doorstep asking for more."

— March 18, 1982, remarks to the National Association of Manufacturers

tained in the future, but the Reagan Administration led the way to a return of accountability and responsibility in the budget process.

For many Americans, and particularly the elderly, accountability and trust in the Federal Government are determined by its ability to honor its Social Security commitment. In 1982, Social Security faced bankruptcy despite the huge payroll tax increases enacted in 1977.

President Reagan's bipartisan commission recommended a solution. As a result, Social Security's Old Age and Survivors and Disability programs had a healthy reserve of \$58.3 billion at the end of 1987 and were estimated to grow to \$95 billion by the end of 1988, remaining solvent well into the next century.

Rescuing Social Security was only one of the problems that plagued the Federal Government before the start of the Reagan Administration.

President Reagan inherited a Government that was losing billions of dollars to outdated management practices, including a hodgepodge of almost 400 accounting systems and 150 different personnel and payroll systems. There was uncontrolled growth of the Federal credit portfolio, no effective system for managing a \$2 trillion cash flow and Government productivity was not living up to its potential in service delivery or cost reduction.

In response to these problems, Reform 88 was conceived in 1981. The President directed an all-out fight against fraud, waste and abuse; called for building a Government-wide Federal credit management process; ordered the installation of a comprehensive financial management system; and introduced "productivity improvement" as a goal for all Federal agencies.

To assist in the implementation of Reform 88, Ronald Reagan established the President's Council on Management

Improvement in 1984, bringing together senior management executives of 23 of the largest Federal departments and agencies to help carry out Government-wide management reform.

The successful completion of Reform 88 resulted in concrete changes that reduced costs, increased productivity and ensured quality services for the public. A new cash management system, for example, reduced funding costs to taxpayers by \$4.3 billion from 1983 to 1988. Federal managers began to take control of more than a trillion dollars worth of Federal credit programs, including outstanding loans, guaranteed commitments and loans from Government enterprises, subjecting them to renewed scrutiny and improvement.

For the average taxpayer, one of the most frustrating aspects of dealing with the Government can be the feeling of inaction and unresponsiveness. In providing basic, everyday services, the Reagan Administration worked to make the Government more responsive to its true employers — the taxpayers.

In 1980, it took seven weeks to get a Social Security card and 43 days to get a passport. For both services, the Reagan Administration cut the wait down to 10 days. In 1980, it took 75 days to get an export license. Under the Reagan Administration's management, the delay dropped to 17 days and for some countries to only five days. In 1980, it took more than 100 days to process a claim for a Department of Housing and Urban Development Title I loan. By the close of the Reagan Administration, it took only 22 days. And in New York there was a 40 percent decrease in flight delays after the Federal Aviation Administration inaugurated a plan to improve the use of air space.

Poor Government management can lead to more than wasted time and effort. It can promote fraud and deceit. In the

"We promised that we would protect the financial integrity of Social Security. We have. We promised that we would protect beneficiaries against any loss in current benefits. We have. And we promised to attend to the needs of those still working, not only those Americans nearing retirement but young people just entering the labor force. And we've done that, too."

— April 20, 1983, remarks at the signing ceremony for the Social Security Amendment of 1983

"Keeping the machinery of Government well-oiled and up-to-date is a difficult and often frustrating task, but it is absolutely essential if the American people are to have the quality of Federal services they deserve. . ."

— February 18, 1988, message on the management of Government



first months of 1981, President Reagan created the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency. The Inspectors General of the major Federal departments and agencies, who made up the Council, concluded almost 23,000 successful prosecutions of individuals engaged in criminal activity against the Government. The Council's aggressive attack on waste and fraud, along with management reforms, made it possible to net \$105 billion in total savings by the end of 1987. This included recoveries and restitutions plus avoidance of unnecessary expenditures.

Combating fraud was an ongoing challenge. Pentagon procurement problems highlighted the need for vigilance in Government contracting. In 1988, through the vigorous anti-fraud efforts of the Reagan Administration, a two-year nationwide investigation brought to light potentially serious new problems in military procurement which the Administration quickly moved to address.

Over 950 audit reports were issued by the Department of Defense Inspector General between 1982 and 1987, leading to nearly \$10 billion being put to better use. The President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management — the Packard Commission — also recommended management improvements at the Pentagon, most of which have since been implemented.

While President Reagan had a major impact on the practice of Government, it is equally clear that he had a great influence on the philosophy of Government. Rejecting the notion of an all-powerful national Government, the Reagan Administration was committed to the principles of Federalism and to fostering the proper role of state and local government, as the framers of the Constitution intended. President Reagan understood that these levels of government are more accessible to the people and better able to respond to local concerns.

"Some will also say our states and local communities are not up to the challenge of a new and creative partnership . . . This Administration has faith in state and local governments and the constitutional balance envisioned by the Founding Fathers."

— January 26, 1982, State of the Union address

"I've long believed that state and local governments have a better chance to be efficient and responsive than does the Federal bureaucracy."

— February 9, 1981, remarks to state legislators and county executives

In keeping with his desire to return more power and authority to state and local government, President Reagan proposed legislation that would require Federalism impact statements for all legislative and regulatory proposals. Those statements would outline the probable effects of such proposals on state and local government. Additionally, the President issued an Executive Order requiring agencies to consider the principles of Federalism in formulating all Federal policy, including administration of existing programs, promulgation of new regulations and the submission of legislative proposals. For proposed policies with significant Federalism implications, the departments and agencies now prepare formal Federalism Assessments.

Some 60 Federal categorical grant programs were consolidated into 10 block grants to the states. This resulted in increased flexibility for the states, enabling them to better meet the needs of intended beneficiaries.

An administration is not just programs and policies, it is also the people who implement them. President Reagan paid special attention to the political appointment process, with impressive results.

A political appointee's average length of service had declined in each preceding administration since Eisenhower's, dropping to less than 24 months. The average length of service in the Reagan Administration increased dramatically — by over 50 percent — to 36 months. Additionally, Ronald Reagan appointed more women than any President in history, and in 70 instances, appointed women to high-level positions in which a woman had never before had the opportunity to serve.

The Reagan Administration also valued the role of the private sector, both in providing services and promoting

commerce. One major example of the Reagan Administration's use of public/private sector cooperation was the Administration's major job training program. The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), enacted in 1982, represented a complete overhaul of Federal job training activities formerly administered under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). JTPA provided training and job finding services using a decentralized approach. It gave state and local government the responsibility and discretion to work with the private sector to train economically disadvantaged and dislocated workers to meet local labor market needs.

JTPA basic programs devoted at least 70 percent of their funds to training, compared to less than 20 percent under CETA. Where CETA was criticized as a nonproductive "make-work" project, JTPA's job placement rate was almost double that of CETA.

In addition, President Reagan long believed that private individuals and organizations can help address public needs, particularly at the local level. In October 1981, the President issued an Executive Order creating the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. He also established the White House Office of Private Sector Initiatives to work with the Task Force to develop and carry out creative private solutions to public needs. During this effort, the number of partnerships between schools and local businesses increased from 42,000 in 1982 to over 140,000 in 1988. The President's Task Force also established a data network, now managed by United Way, which catalogs over 3,000 examples of private sector initiatives programs for duplication by other communities.

The President emphasized his commitment to community involvement with the establishment of two annual awards

"Partnerships produce jobs. The Job Training Partnership Act gives local government new flexibility, and by using private industry councils, it matches local needs with sensible training."

— March 5, 1984, remarks to the National League of Cities

“Together, we can bring back the recognition [that] voluntary action, private initiative, once enjoyed. We will remind the American people of how good and how great they really are. And in so doing, we will ensure our inner strength for generations to come.”

— December 8, 1982, remarks to the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives

programs to recognize exemplary service: The President's Volunteer Action Award and the President's Citation Award for Private Sector Initiative. In gratitude for his leadership in this area, volunteers created the Ronald Reagan Award for Volunteer Excellence which will be given annually to the most outstanding winner of the President's Volunteer Action Award.

The success of his private sector initiatives program at home attracted the interest of the international community. Through the support of American corporate and philanthropic communities, three foreign conferences were held — an international conference in Paris, an Italian-American conference and a British-American conference.

But perhaps the most telling result of the success of the President's private sector initiatives program is reflected in the increase in charitable giving. During his Administration, overall charitable giving increased by over 90 percent to a total of \$93.7 billion.

The Reagan Administration also promoted activities that the private sector can do better than Government. Through divestiture, including the sale of the Government's share of Conrail for almost \$1.9 billion, contracting out, vouchers, loan asset sales and other methods, the Reagan Administration worked to restore the Federal Government to its proper role by returning certain functions to the private sector. Such “contracting out” saved the taxpayers \$2.8 billion from 1981 to 1987. The President's November 1987 Executive Order on contracting holds the promise of significantly larger savings in the future.

Public opinion polls in 1980 showed that the American people expected President Reagan to make changes in the operation of the Federal Government. The record of the Administration proved their expectation right.

Both in the philosophy and practice of Government, President Reagan initiated many changes and fulfilled his promises. His Administration worked to cast the Government in its proper role while directing it with efficiency and competence.



PEACE AND FREEDOM

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations.

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it, now or ever.

Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

— Inaugural address

January 20, 1981

Within minutes of assuming the Presidency, Ronald Reagan made a direct and straightforward commitment to peace through strength. And consistently throughout his Administration, that basic principle guided the national defense and foreign policy of the United States.

After eight years that saw the growth of freedom across the globe, the virtue of President Reagan's commitment to a strong America was clear. The Ronald Reagan who strolled Red Square in 1988 with the leader of the Soviet Union was the same Ronald Reagan who took the oath of office in 1981. Neither the man, nor his philosophy, had changed. What had changed was Soviet conduct and respect for America's strength and resolve.

The United States under Ronald Reagan, its might restored, was able to negotiate from strength. That fundamental pillar of American policy made possible major achievements in foreign policy and national defense during the Reagan years.

The President understood and acted upon the simple truth that before a nation can pursue peace through strength, a nation must be strong. To make America strong, he restocked the nation's arsenal by rebuilding and modernizing its strategic and conventional forces.

Working to redress the dangerous imbalance created by the unprecedented Soviet buildup of the 1970's, in 1981 the President began a comprehensive strategic modernization program. This included modernization of intercontinental and submarine-launched ballistic missile forces and strategic bomber forces, and improvement in strategic command, control and communications systems. In 1983, the President directed an accelerated investigation of the feasibility of effective strategic defenses — the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The Reagan Administration's conventional force modernization program produced a fundamental improvement in the national defense posture of the United States. Capabilities were substantially improved by purchasing modern weapons and equipment, enhancing maintenance and spare parts support, and increasing force levels. Whether measured by tactical air crew flying hours, warship steaming days or combat battalion training rotations, readiness was significantly increased — in some areas by as much as 30 percent.

The President's care for the American military was not limited to nuts and bolts, equipment and material. He did not forget the men and women who serve the nation in the Armed Forces.

In 1980, the conventional wisdom seemed to be that the all-volunteer military was not working. Troop morale was sagging. President Reagan helped turn that around. By the end of his Administration, for example, military pay levels were about 50 percent higher than in 1980.

"Our military strength is a prerequisite to peace, but let it be clear we maintain this strength in the hope that it will never be used."

— June 8, 1982, address before the British Parliament

"Today, once again, Americans honor those who wear the uniforms of the United States of America."

— September 6, 1988, remarks to the American Legion





“Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. It is that we embark on a program to counter the awesome Soviet missile threat with measures that are defensive.”

— March 23, 1983, address to the nation

The President's commitment to America's defenders, plus a renewed sense of patriotism throughout the country, attracted substantially more recruits to the Armed Forces. Improvements in military pay and benefits under the Reagan Administration, along with efforts to improve the public's perception of military service, greatly boosted morale. In total, these efforts provided the nation, once again, with a high-quality fighting force.

Between 1980 and 1987, the percentage of those enlisting in the Armed Forces who were high school graduates jumped from 68 percent to 93 percent, and retention of experienced personnel increased from 55 percent to 65 percent. And all this happened in the context of a growing economy that was at the same time producing a record number of jobs in the private sector.

Even as President Reagan did much to rebuild America's conventional and strategic forces, he also began an historic effort to protect this nation from the threat of nuclear missile attack. The President's Strategic Defense Initiative is a continuing research and technology program to demonstrate, by the early 1990's, the feasibility of effective defenses against ballistic missiles for the United States and its allies. The deployment of a strategic defense offers the best hope for a safer world, a world where America's security and that of its allies would no longer rest on deterrence based exclusively on the threat of retaliation with nuclear weapons, but on defenses which threaten no one. There has been significant technological progress in the strategic defense program, holding out even greater promise for success than originally expected. As the President has said, “We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.”

President Reagan also devoted special attention to rebuilding our alliances with our key partners, the other great

industrial democracies, the Atlantic Community and Japan. By the close of the Reagan Administration, the United States had excellent relations with all of its allies. The doubts of the 1970's were replaced by unprecedented strength and unity.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) reached fundamental consensus on its approach to East-West relations on issues ranging from arms control to human rights, and moved toward greater cooperation in addressing problems such as state-sponsored terrorism and regional conflicts beyond the NATO area.

President Reagan's resolve in holding fast to his national security strategy created a firmer basis for relations with the Soviet Union. This strategy of strength helped bring the Soviets back to the bargaining table and provided the foundation for successful negotiations. Significant progress in achieving arms reduction, resolving regional conflicts and promoting human rights followed from these efforts. The Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty and the Soviet commitment to withdraw from Afghanistan are two of the outstanding achievements.

But the path to these achievements was sometimes difficult. In November 1981, the President addressed the nation and the world via satellite to propose that the United States and the Soviet Union agree to the elimination of intermediate-range, land-based missiles. At the time, critics of the President's “zero-zero” proposal called it unrealistic and claimed it was a smoke screen to mask opposition to “nuclear freeze” movements under way in the United States and other Western countries. Yet the President pressed forward.

As the United States sought to restore credibility to its foreign policy, President Reagan took a firm stand. The President held his ground even when Soviet negotiators walked out

“Achievements like [the INF Treaty] are not the result of wishful thinking, nor are they made more likely by loud proclamations of a desire for peace. Lasting progress derives from hardnosed realism, strenuous effort and firmness of principle.”

— November 4, 1987, United States Information Agency address to Western Europe

"Freedom is the recognition that no single person, no single authority or government has a monopoly on the truth, but that every individual life is infinitely precious, that every one of us put on this world has been put there for a reason and has something to offer."

— May 31, 1988, remarks at Moscow State University

of arms talks in Geneva in 1983 over the deployment by the United States and its allies of INF missiles.

The rapidly changing leadership of the Soviet Union posed additional problems in the early 1980's. Only after General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev took over, at the beginning of President Reagan's second term, did a significant dialogue begin. President Reagan held five meetings with Mr. Gorbachev beginning with the historic meeting in Geneva in November 1985. Their final meeting took place at Governor's Island, New York, in December 1988. At each meeting, the President pressed for progress on the whole of the nation's four-part agenda which included respect for human rights, resolution of regional conflicts, expansion of bilateral exchanges and arms reduction.

One of the most important accomplishments was the INF Treaty, signed at the Washington Summit in December 1987, to eliminate an entire class of U.S and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The INF Treaty was the first arms control agreement in history actually to reduce nuclear arsenals, rather than limit their growth.

Under the INF Treaty, the Soviet Union is required to destroy almost four times as many weapons systems as the United States. This agreement provided the most stringent verification regime in the history of arms control, including on-site inspection. The actual destruction of the INF missiles began in September 1988 with completion scheduled by June 1991.

President Reagan made significant progress toward an equitable and effectively verifiable agreement with the Soviet Union in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). The START accord would reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 percent. Included in this category are the most dangerous and destabilizing of all nuclear weapons — large,

intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads.

The Reagan Administration also proposed initiatives in the areas of nuclear weapons testing and confidence-building measures in Europe, and a comprehensive, effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons. Progress was made in each of these areas.

Improvement in America's relationship with the Soviet Union was a signal achievement, but it represented only one of the challenges the Reagan Administration faced.

President Reagan recognized that the price of freedom is great. Few challenges presented more difficulties than international terrorism. The Reagan Administration faced its share of tests by this uniquely cruel form of aggression, a phenomenon dating back decades. Under President Reagan's leadership, the United States took decisive action against terrorists and their sponsors.

In October 1985, the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* was seized by terrorists in the Mediterranean. An American passenger, wheelchair-bound Leon Klinghoffer, was murdered. The terrorists subsequently surrendered to authorities. Upon learning that the terrorists would be flown to freedom, President Reagan ordered the nation's military forces to intercept the aircraft in international airspace. The aircraft was diverted to Italy and the terrorists delivered to Italian custody.

In April 1986, in response to clear evidence of Libyan involvement in terrorist activity, the United States attacked and destroyed several terrorist support facilities in Libya.

In 1987, in an important step in allied cooperation, the United States joined with its European allies in imposing political and economic sanctions against Syria. Again, these measures were taken in response to evidence of Syrian involvement in the failed attempt to destroy an Israeli El Al airliner at



"Reasonable strength in and of itself is not bad; it is honorable when used to maintain peace or defend deeply held beliefs."

— June 9, 1982, address before the West German Parliament

London's Heathrow Airport.

While taking strong action against terrorism, the United States suffered terrorist attacks as well. One of the most tragic strikes against the United States was the bombing of the United States Marine Corps barracks during American participation in the multinational peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations in Lebanon. The national sense of mourning over this tragedy sharpened American resolve to eliminate the scourge of terrorism worldwide.

President Reagan also displayed leadership in dealing with what came to be known as the Iran-Contra affair. When it was revealed by the United States Attorney General that officials of the National Security Council (NSC) had taken unauthorized actions, the President moved swiftly to get the facts and share them with the American people. He requested the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the matter and ordered full cooperation with Congressional inquiries.

In addition, the President appointed a Special Review Board headed by former Senator John Tower to study the NSC operations and make recommendations for changes to ensure such action could not occur again. The NSC was then restored to a position of respect and effectiveness.

President Reagan was firm in his commitment to assist those fighting for freedom and independence in their homelands. The United States supported freedom fighters in regional conflicts around the globe. And the President's support for freedom paid off.

In October 1983, at the request of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, combined forces led by the United States liberated the island nation of Grenada from a brutal Marxist dictatorship. The troops quickly withdrew after accom-

plishing their mission. Free elections followed, which selected a new, democratic government.

In regional conflicts there were improvements as well. The Soviets withdrew half their troops from Afghanistan by August 15, 1988 and committed themselves to removing the remainder by February 15, 1989. In December 1988, the governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa reached an accord that promised to remove the Soviet/Cuban expeditionary force from Angola, in conjunction with independence for Namibia.

Similarly, Vietnam committed to remove 50,000 troops from Cambodia by the end of 1988 and conditionally proposed to remove the remainder by the end of 1989. This was diplomatic progress that the President welcomed as a step toward his goal of a free and independent Cambodia.

President Reagan consistently supported and encouraged the turn to democracy throughout the world. During the Reagan Administration, governments were elected in free, democratic elections for the first time in years in such countries as El Salvador, Honduras, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia and Guatemala.

At the end of President Reagan's time in office, 90 percent of the Latin American population was living under freely elected governments, compared with 30 percent only a decade before.

A notable exception to the spread of freedom was Nicaragua under its Marxist Sandinista government, a primary source of instability in Central America virtually from the time it came to power in 1979. The Reagan Administration's policy toward the Sandinistas was clear: diplomatic support for the peace process along with the leverage to back up this support — including aid for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance.

The Reagan Administration sought an end to Sandinista

"Throughout the postwar period, this has always been America's agenda: that the blessings of peace and freedom we know so well in this country will someday belong to every nation, to every people."

— December 10, 1988, weekly radio address

"The security of our country, of course, depends on more than weapons. We must have the will to meet the challenges of an adversary who is constantly testing our resolve to defend our vital national interests."

— June 20, 1983, remarks at a dinner honoring Rep. Trent Lott

support for regional insurgency; an end to Nicaraguan military ties to Cuba and the Soviet bloc; a reduction in Nicaraguan military strength to levels consistent with a regional balance of power; and fulfillment of Sandinista promises of democracy, respect for human rights and a mixed economy. Unfortunately, the Sandinistas' conduct made it clear that they would not take steps in these areas without effective pressure.

The United States cooperated with friendly nations and committed United States Naval forces in the effort to defend freedom of navigation and free world interests in the Persian Gulf. This effort proved successful. In addition, the United States spearheaded United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 of July 1987, which called for a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War. The cease-fire announced in August 1988 offered the first real hope for an end to that tragic war.

On September 1, 1982, President Reagan announced a framework for negotiation of a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors — a framework which remains the basis of American policy. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty was finalized and the dispute over Taba, a piece of territory between Egypt and Israel, was moved to arbitration for resolution.

The Administration stood firm on principle in the Middle East, insisting that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) accept Israel's right to exist, endorse United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounce terrorism. That firmness paid off in December 1988 when the PLO finally met these terms.

Under the Reagan Administration, the United States was in the forefront of efforts by Western nations to help Africa alleviate food shortages due to drought, war and poor economic policies. The Reagan Administration promoted economic

reforms that brought the benefits of investment incentives and free markets to a number of countries that began their independence from Marxist or other forms of centralized economies. By the close of the Reagan years, 14 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa were registering growth rates averaging four percent.

When President Reagan came to office in 1981, his words of strength and candor in American defense and foreign policy held great promise for the United States and the world. And over the last eight years, the United States has achieved progress on a scale few thought possible.

The Reagan White House's first official state visitor was British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Seven years later, Mrs. Thatcher was President Reagan's last official guest to be received at the White House. Perhaps her assessment is a fitting summary of President Reagan's defense and foreign policy record.

Mrs. Thatcher recalled that at their first meeting President Reagan forecast that the 1980's "would be less dangerous if the West maintained the strength required for peace." Judging the record of the Reagan Administration by that measure, Mrs. Thatcher told the President "thanks to your courage and your leadership, the fire of individual freedom burns more brightly, not just in America, not just in the West, but right across the world."



"I intend to make an all-out diplomatic effort to achieve a negotiated settlement leading to democracy in Central America. But success at the negotiating table depends on continued support for the Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters."

— January 27, 1988, remarks to the Reserve Officers Association

CONCLUSION

We hear much of special interest groups. Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we're sick — professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies and truck drivers. They are, in short, "We The People," this breed called Americans.

— Inaugural address
January 20, 1981

[B]eing only human, there's a part of me that would like to take credit for what we've achieved. But tonight, before we do anything else, let us remember that tribute really belongs to the 245 million citizens who make up the greatest and the first three words in our Constitution: "We The People." It is the American people who endured the great challenge of lifting us from the depths of national calamity, renewing our mighty economic strength and leading the way to restoring our respect in the world. They are an extraordinary breed we call Americans.

— Remarks to the 1988
Republican National Convention
August 15, 1988

In many ways, there was a remarkable symmetry in the beginning and in the end of the Reagan Presidency. Perhaps that properly reflects the consistency of the Reagan Administration. As President of the United States, Ronald Reagan delivered on the commitments he made to the American people.

The record of the Reagan Administration reflects promises made and promises kept. Reinvigorating the economy, rebuilding national defense, restoring America's place in the world, returning traditional values and compassion to domestic policy

— these are the accomplishments of the Reagan Administration.

Even with these achievements, Ronald Reagan recognized that his Administration was just the start. Indeed, the "new beginning" was underway by the close of the Reagan Administration, but as the President acknowledged, much was left to be done.

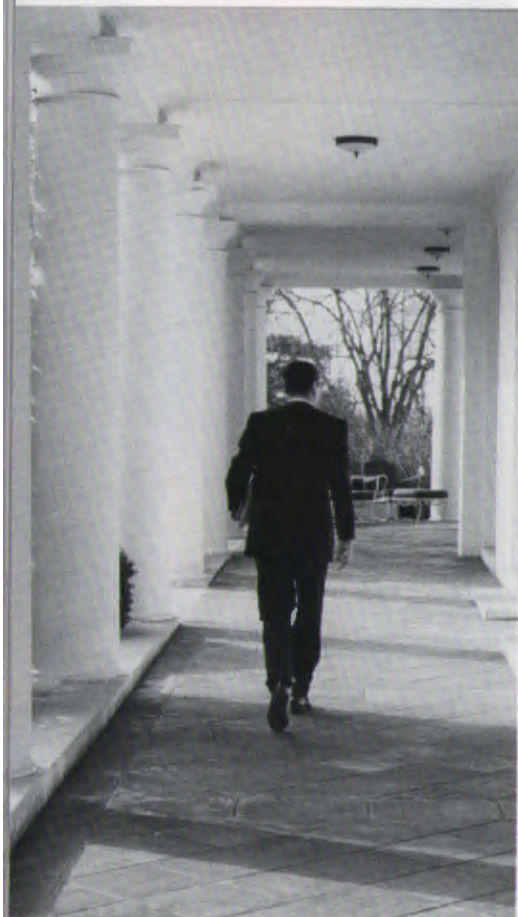
Part of the work ahead consisted of particular proposals from the Reagan agenda still awaiting fulfillment. Every single year President Reagan held office, he supported a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. Just as consistently, Congress refused to pass this legislation. President Reagan promised to continue his efforts for this important measure of fiscal responsibility once he left the White House to become a private citizen again.

In addition, President Reagan learned first-hand of the President's desperate need for a line-item veto to cut fat from the Federal budget. Again Congress denied the President this important tool, the same tool 43 governors use to control the budgets of their states. And again, even out of office, the President promised to maintain his drive for this vital reform.

Finally, President Reagan pledged to campaign once out of the White House for the repeal of the 22nd Amendment, the provision of the Constitution that limits a President to two terms in office. This effort was not in any way self-serving. Rather, it reflected the President's strong belief that the American people should be given the most freedom possible in selecting their national leader.

But perhaps just as important as the specific policy objectives that remained at the close of the Reagan Administration was the challenge to keep the progress of the Reagan years alive and growing.

President Reagan summed up his view of his Administra-



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tion in his remarks to the 1988 Republican National Convention: "We are the change. We rolled up our sleeves and went to work in January of 1981. We focused on hope, not despair. We challenged the failed policies of the past because we believed that a society is great not because of promises made by its government but only because of progress made by its people. And that was our change."

For all these accomplishments, President Reagan also understood that to continue the progress, the "prairie fire" of change lit by this Administration must last long beyond his years in the White House. As the President told the Convention, "we can never let the fire go out or quit the fight because the battle is never over. Our freedom must be defended over and over again — and then again."



Photographs

Page 1: working in the Oval Office; October 26, 1988

Page 2: in the Inaugural parade; January 20, 1981

Page 5: at a Bowling Green State University, Ohio campaign rally;
September 26, 1984

Page 6: visiting a construction site in downtown Cincinnati, Ohio;
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Page 9: objecting to catchall spending resolutions in the 1988
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Page 13: visiting the production line at an Ogden, Utah cannery;
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Page 15: inspecting a new home building site in Grand Prairie, Texas;
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Page 16: talking with a student in the Congress Heights Elementary
School computer learning program in the District of Columbia;
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Page 21: meeting with Chief Justice Warren Burger and newly
confirmed Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor; September 24,
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Page 23: signing the "Just Say No to Drugs" Proclamation; May 20, 1986

Page 29: talking with the crew of the space shuttle *Discovery*;
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Page 32: discussing the 1983 budget with Vice President George
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Page 36: signing the Tax Reform Act of 1986; October 22, 1986

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Page 44: reviewing American troops in West Berlin; June 11, 1982

Page 47: comforting soldiers wounded in Grenada and Lebanon;
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