

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Davis, Mark, Files
Subseries: Subject File, 1989-1991

OA/ID Number: 13869
Folder ID Number: 13869-014

Folder Title:
Education Summit-Charlottesville, Virginia-Part II, 9/28/89 [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	19	2	6	2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Branstad
Campbell
Clinton
Gardner
Sec. Cauley - POTUS intro.

Candace

Pres. O'Neil
Baliles
Branstad
Sec. Cauley - POTUS
intro

LUMP MY LANG.
IN 5 ELEMENTS

VISION -
NOT SHOOTING
TRADITION
5 elements -
"I want to
see"

Insert

In assessing the state of education in America today it is appropriate to note its many strengths and virtues: its scale and its diversity, the marvelous people who teach in many of its classrooms, the extraordinary achievements of its best students, its commitment to meeting special needs and accommodating individual differences, and the immense progress it has made in the past several decades in the quest to eliminate racial discrimination.

All this is true, and from it we can take much satisfaction. But I would be less than straightforward with you and the American people if I did not say that, in my judgment, the shortcomings of our education system today rival its accomplishments. Six and one half years after the Commission on Excellence in Education issued its powerful, critical report, this nation is still at risk.

The productivity of our economy is at risk; the quality of our technology and science is at risk; the vitality of our culture and civic life is at risk; our capacity to deal knowledgeably with friends and rivals across the seas is also at risk.

Why? Because our education system isn't producing the results we need.

The evidence is plentiful. Ask employers about the skills and knowledge of the young people they are hiring. Talk to college professors about the intellectual preparedness of their students. Look at the illiterate and semi-literate adults

struggling to make up in their twenties and thirties for what they didn't get when they were young. Or inspect the statistics, those alarming but inescapable numbers. Look at the one youngster in four who does not complete high school on time, the three in twenty who never graduate. And look long and hard at the dismaying evidence of weak educational achievement even by those who stay in school.

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, only five percent of our high school juniors can read well enough to handle scientific, literary and historical documents. Fewer than one in four can write an adequate persuasive letter. Only half can manage decimals, fractions and percentages -- and these are eleventh graders! Barely one in three can locate the Civil War in the correct half-century period on a time-line.

These data come from the mid-eighties, but the results of the 1988 assessment will soon be released and I understand that they show little or no improvement.

No modern nation can afford for so many of its sons and daughters to emerge into adulthood so ignorant and unskilled. None of your states can afford it, either. It is a recipe for stagnation and decline, for mediocrity and social decay.

We know it does not have to be this way. As I have gone around the country, it has been my privilege to see some of the exceptional schools and to meet some of the extraordinary young people who are just as bright and talented and eager as anyone

gains over his

*NEW
MEX.*

FF

poor

could wish. And as I have travelled in other lands I have seen evidence that whole countries can get their educational act together so that their average students comes out of school with a high degree of skills and knowledge. no

There is no need for American youngsters to be in the cellar on all those international comparisons. Rather, there is a need to do something about the unsatisfactory performance of our education system.

But we need to pause and ask ourselves: just what would we regard as satisfactory? How good is good enough? Though some of your states have done exemplary jobs of spelling out specific learning objectives, the education reform movement in general has done a better job of articulating its criticisms than of describing its goals.

It's time to do something about that. A recent poll indicates that the American people, by a large majority, favor national goals for education. We've never had these in the United States, but I think the time has come to talk about what they should be, to see if we cannot come up with some educational targets that make sense for this country at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

I said "national." I didn't say "federal." As you well know, the fifty states bear the constitutional responsibility for education. Those of us in Washington can be your partners, but we are junior partners. Let me say it clearly; we have nationwide problems in education, and I think we should devise

peas

peas

peas

the wisest solutions we are capable of that would make sense across the land. But it is you, the governors, and the legislators and school boards, the parents and teachers, throughout this huge country with its decentralized education system, who must ultimately decide what steps actually to take and how to apportion the responsibility for taking them.

use

We'll do our part in the federal government. Last spring I sent to Congress a set of recommendations, the "Educational Excellence Act of 1989," for reshaping and expanding Federal efforts so as to recognize excellence, address needs, foster flexibility and choice, measure and reward progress. I remain solidly committed to those principles, and look forward to our continuing conversations at this "summit," because I know they will yield thoughtful advice for further improvements and refinements in the federal role.

summary

Now allow me to sketch the progress I'd like to see us make over the next half decade or so. The best way I can do that is to outline how I hope to see our education system function in the future. I won't fill in all the details but will briefly describe five major elements. Some may sound like abrupt changes from traditional practice. So be it. The American people have signaled their readiness for pretty radical reforms. Besides, business-as-usual is not getting us where we need to go.

I want to see
First, I see an education system in which every boy and girl studies and learns at least until attaining a reasonable minimum level of skills and knowledge, a level enabling that individual

<

*BUSH
 1/15/89*

to make a satisfactory entry into adult society civic responsibility, further education, and productive employment. When I say "skills and knowledge," please understand that I do not refer only to the "three R's," or to basic literacy, necessary though those are as the foundation. I also mean facility with math, science and technology, knowledge of history,, geography and literature, acquaintance with a foreign language, exposure to the arts, understanding of the essential elements of political democracy and of the requisites for personal health and physical fitness.

same id

Basics for everyone

Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others to reach that level; some will need to study more; some will need extra instruction and help. But instead of leaving school when they reach a specified birthday, they will study until they learn what they should. *Bennett idea?*

radical?

Second, I see an education system in which schools differ from one another and in which some learning occurs in settings that may not even look like conventional schools. Though the core of the curriculum and minimum standards of achievement will be similar everywhere, the means by which that curriculum is taught, and the routes that individuals follow to those standards, will be as diverse and varied as our children, our teachers and our communities. They will blend the traditional and the modern, the human and the technological, in a thousand different combinations. Those combinations will be designed by able educators, talented men and women who will enter this noble

Diversity

Teacher's choose curriculum?
different schools?

profession through varied paths of preparation and experience and who will enjoy wide latitude over the design and execution of what takes place in their schools, with little regulation from outside.

Polygama

Third, because the schools will differ, because children differ in their interests, learning styles and capabilities, and because the priorities of their parents also differ, I see an education system in which choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception, one in which parents will be full partners in the education of their children, and in which parents, students, and professional educators will be accountable to one another, as well as to the wider community, for their schools' performance. This means enlisting the parents, grandparents and other adults who play large roles in children's lives in their formal as well as their informal education, in visiting their schools -- Jesse Jackson is exactly right about this -- and in supervising their homework, in giving them a safe and quiet place to study, and when necessary turning off the television set.

CHOICE

weah

Fourth, in order to know just how much progress we're making, to make adjustments when they are needed, and to carry out the principle of accountability, I see a system in which accurate assessment, carefully linked to our educational goals and standards, is common practice. We need prompt and reliable feedback about educational performance at every level of the system. And even when that information is disappointing, we need

Account.

to be honest with ourselves and with the public. But let us not stop with feedback. We also need to build in incentives for achievement at every level of the system. And when performance is satisfactory, rewards and praise that follow. But when the performance is unsatisfactory, intervention and change must follow, lest the unsatisfactory results repeat themselves. That is what accountability is all about.

Fifth, I see an education system that ensures adequate achievement throughout, but that never settles for the minimum, either in academic learning or in personal behavior. We know from decades of experience and volumes of research that where standards and expectations are high, everyone does better. Where excellence is the norm, fewer people will be content with the merely adequate. I am not just talking about unusually gifted individuals, though we must surely take pains to help them achieve their potential, just as we must assist those with needs and disabilities to do likewise. I am talking about ordinary students, too. And I am talking about, perhaps especially about, disadvantaged youngsters and those from troubled neighborhoods, children for whom the education system has to go the extra mile, to be a beacon of excellence, a sanctuary from mediocrity, violence and evil, a model of good character, sound values and unblemished ethics.

This norm of excellence is part of my vision for the education profession, too, as are rewards for distinguished accomplishment and impatience with mediocrity. Wonderful things

EXCELLENCE

attention to budget
Special-ed / int using
in-between kids 1057
we should
be like Japan -
someday for
all for

should happen to outstanding teachers and principals. Society has no greater assets. But it must also be said that weak performance in the classroom, or the principals; office, is a prescription for weakly educated children. And that we must not tolerate.

Is mine an unrealistic vision? I think not. If we look about our country today, we will see that even though the education system I have outlined is not the norm, there are places where much of what I have mentioned is already happening. These are not pipedreams, nor are they mysteries. We have a pretty good idea what works in education, and what a first-rate education system would look like. The questions is how to make it standard practice everywhere.

I suggest that the place to start is to try to reach some general agreement about the skills and knowledge that would represent satisfactory achievement norms for young Americans on the threshold of adulthood, and to make sure that we are ready to install an assessment and accountability system to supply us with essential information about how we are doing in reaching those goals.

I welcome the initiatives that the National Governors Association has been taking, from the Time for Results report in 1986 to the goal-setting project recently begun under the leadership of governors Terry Branstad, Carroll Campbell and Bill Clinton. We in the administration are prepared to join with you in the enterprise of formulating national goals. We are also

prepared, building on the National Assessment program that this year will begin to provide reliable state-by-state achievement results for the first time in history, to assume substantial responsibility for the information feedback system.

- footsteps -

- WE CAN DO - NATL. GOALS

CHALLENGES TO VISION

then my meat

Davis/Martin
Sept. 26, 1989
Draft: Seven
Title: eduprez

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CONVOCATION, UNIV. OF VIRGINIA
Thursday, Sept. 28, 11:30 a.m.

Thank you Secretary Cavazos, President O'Neil, Governors Baliles and Branstad.

It's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. ((Imagine this -- you have a President, the Cabinet and America's governors visiting your school. And the big man on campus today is still Sean Moore.)) ////

And then my son Marvin and daughter-in-law Margaret advise me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. ((You see, they told me you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson.)) ////

Well, it's easy to be humble at a school so rich in history and educational endeavor. And I have also been deeply impressed by the commitment, the creativity and the knowledge that my fellow chief executives from the states bring to education reform.

It is you -- the governors -- along with state legislators and school boards, leaders of business, parents and teachers -- those throughout this nation's vast decentralized education system, who face tough decisions. I've heard eloquent advice from many of you, and so many others, in the last few weeks. I've listened. And I am deeply appreciative of all that I have learned.

But I've also learned that we should listen to our children. They have much to say to us, too. In many ways, they are the luckiest generation in history. Just last month, our children observed, in the clarity of Voyager's sight, the horizons of new worlds, the majesty of space. Think what these images would have meant to the ever-curious founder of this university, who could only look through a primitive telescope at faint patches of light and wonder.

But our children are growing up in an age where wonder is commonplace, and peace and prosperity are often taken for granted. Our children are also the beneficiaries of a nation that lavishes unsurpassed resources on their schooling. So in many ways, we are close to fulfilling the Enlightenment dream of universal education, a dream that became a reality in the shadows of the Shenandoahs, here at Mister Jefferson's school.//

Every step we take at this University is **truly** a walk in Thomas Jefferson's footsteps. When he first charted the ground on which we gather today, there was just a field of grass, and a horizon limited only by the blue mountains beyond. But Jefferson surveyed a horizon no one else could see. He saw the graceful dome of the Rotunda, and the elegance of the Lawn and its pavilions. He saw meeting rooms, libraries and lecture halls teeming with professors and students yet unborn.

Jefferson set out to fashion his rarified vision into solid reality, brick by brick, book by book. And it is his University

-- and his dream -- that inspires us today to follow in his footsteps.

Thomas Jefferson was a relentless advocate for universal public education. You might say he was our first education president. "He had a fundamental conviction that on the 'good sense of' an educated citizenry, we could build and defend a country of liberty and justice."

I borrowed this assessment from a friend of mine -- another Renaissance man, a man of **our** time -- the late A. Bartlett Giamatti. //

Like Jefferson, Bart's life was a metaphor for civility and public service. And it is this commitment to public service that we must carry on, not just as an education President and as education governors, but as an education society.

We have come close to the Jeffersonian ideal. Our educational system is, in many ways, unrivaled in its scale and diversity; in its commitment to meeting special needs and individual differences. We are inspired by our best teachers, who give more than we can rightly expect; and from our best students, who surpass our highest expectations.

Jefferson wanted to redeem "that mass of talents which lies buried in poverty." And for most of our history, education **has** been the great champion of the poor, compensating for all distinctions of class, race and background. ((A century ago, the poorest parents in the bleakest slum knew their children could go

anywhere, could be **anything**, if they could get **an American education.**))

Yet after two centuries of progress, we are stagnant. While millions of Americans read for pleasure, millions of others don't read at all. While millions go to college, millions will never graduate from high school.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress estimates that fewer than one in four of our high school juniors can write an adequate, persuasive letter. Only half can manage decimals, fractions and percentages. Barely one in three can locate the Civil War in the correct half-century. No modern nation can long afford to allow so many of its sons and daughters to emerge into adulthood ignorant and unskilled. The status quo is a guarantee of **mediocrity, social decay and national decline.**//

Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. And come the next century -- just ten years away -- what will we be? Will we be the children of the Enlightenment, or its orphans?

Six years ago, the Commission on Excellence in Education issued its powerful report; and yet today, our nation is **still** at risk. The educational reform movement has done well in articulating its criticisms. Now it is time to define goals.

Too much is at stake not to act now. Jefferson said that no nation could long be both ignorant and free. The state of our educational system is nothing less than the future of our democracy. This is a time for **action.**//

I sent my proposals for **federal** action in education to Congress last spring. The Educational Excellence Act of 1989 includes ways to reshape and expand federal efforts, to recognize excellence, lift the needy, foster flexibility and choice, and measure and reward progress. I remain solidly committed to these principles, and I value your advice and ideas as we continue to refine the federal role.

Some offer a completely different answer -- to spend more money. And at the federal level, we **have** asked Congress to provide nearly a half a billion dollars in new funding for ten **worthy** programs. Your states may also choose to spend more. But to those who say that money alone is **the** answer, I say that there is no **one** answer. If anything, hard experience teaches that we are simply **not** getting our money's worth in education.// Our focus must no longer be on resources. It must be on **results**.//

This is only the third time in our 200 years as a nation that a President has called a summit with the governors. I have called you together because you bear the Constitutional responsibility for education. And I did not ask you to such an historic occasion merely to bemoan what is wrong. We are here to **work**; to work **together**; to put the future before the moment, and progress before partisanship, once again to make **an American education** the **best** in the world. //

You already are consulting with the state legislatures to better our schools. Our teachers are already giving their heart and soul to their jobs. But we have never before worked **together**

-- President and principal, governor and teacher -- to achieve **results** in education.

A social compact begins today in Charlottesville, a compact between parents, teachers, principals, superintendents, state legislators, governors and the Administration. Our compact is founded not on promises, but on challenges -- each one a radical departure from tradition.

I challenge **you** to join me, for the first time, to define national goals in education. From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, / an America of higher goals // and a land of bigger dreams.

And our goals must be "national," not "federal." That is why I welcome the initiatives of the National Governors Association, from the Time for Results report in 1986, to the goal-setting project recently begun under the leadership of Iowa's Terry Branstad, South Carolina's Carroll Campbell and Bill Clinton of Arkansas. My Administration will work with you to build on the National Assessment program's first state-by-state achievement results. We will work with you to formulate national goals. And then **we** will challenge superintendents and principals to meet these higher goals.

((In return, I accept **your** challenge, and will work with you to loosen the grip of federal restrictions.//// How many great ideas, how many grand and noble experiments, have been impaled on the narrow spike of a federal directive? Unnecessary restriction

is the enemy of the bold. And **bold action** is what we need **most** of all. //

I ask Congress to allow Washington to be more flexible, by passing reform legislation. And I ask you, in turn, to ease state restrictions on local bodies.))

Then we will judge our efforts not by our intentions, but by our **results**.

So to get results, we need national goals, and more flexibility from federal and state government.

To get results, we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers and between schools -- a report card for all.

And **to get results**, we will need discipline, structure and goals.

Yet I do not counsel a naive nostalgia, a tame adherence to the past. Business as usual is not getting us where we need to go. So when hallowed tradition proves to be hollow convention, then we must shatter tradition. The polls show what every P.T.A. board member already knows: The American people are ready for radical reforms. **We must// not// disappoint// them.//**

I envision tradition-shattering reform in five areas.

First, I see the day when every student is literate. But literacy should mean more than the "three R's." We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences. And because education is as spiritual as it is practical, our children must know **why** Americans died at Bunker Hill, at

Gettysburg, at Monte Cassino and Inchon. They must do more than identify names on a multiple choice question. They must **understand** the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks. //

Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others. Some will need more study, and extra instruction. But we should **never** send a student from school just because he or she has passed an arbitrary birthday.//

Second, I see a day when our educational system will be unafraid of diversity. Of course, all schools in a state will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement. But the means by which that curriculum is taught, and those goals met, should be as diverse and varied as our children, our teachers and their communities. Let them blend, in myriad ways, the traditional and the modern, the human and the technological. Let us give our schools and our teachers the freedom to do **what they do best**.

Children also differ -- in their interests, learning styles and capabilities. So third, I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception; when parents will be full partners in the education of their children.

Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards, in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated. Education is a way of life, and educational reform is an urgent responsibility

for every parent, every student, every community. Those who do not advance the cause of education, **hinder it.**

This means enlisting the parents, grandparents and other adults who play large roles in children's lives in their formal, as well as their informal education. This means that parents, students and professional educators will be accountable to one another, as a community.

But to be accountable, we need to know just how much progress we're making. So fourth, I see the day when we use accurate assessments, carefully linked to our educational goals. We need to first know where we are; this means accepting the bad news along with the good. We have always measured our progress against our past performance. We must now evaluate ourselves on a tougher grading curve -- one that includes the other major industrial nations.

Accountability also means we must act on what we discover. Weak performance in the classroom, or the principal's office, will no longer be tolerated. But neither will indifference toward good educators. Society has no greater benefactors than outstanding teachers and principals. Let them get what they deserve -- generous praise and **solid rewards.**

Fifth, I see an educational system that never settles for the minimum, in academics or in behavior. Decades of research bear out what the best teachers already know: when standards and expectations are high, everyone does better. This includes both the unusually gifted, and those with special needs and

disabilities. But it must also include the student we too-often forget, the average student. For I believe, that with a little care and a little work, we can unleash within each of these so-called ordinary children an extraordinary potential.

This same potential can be found within every disadvantaged child, those from troubled neighborhoods: children for whom our schools must be a beacon of excellence; a sanctuary from violence; a model of good character, sound values and exemplary ethics. **Let no child in America be forgotten and forsaken.**

Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short. But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse. The worthy and the useful will win out only if we give our schools the freedom they need.

Such freedom will not lead to a quick and easy solution. It is the work of years. And we have taken such a long-term view in our meetings.

We have discussed the need for educational reform in terms of our national competitiveness, even our national future. But I am sure you agree that there is more to learning than just our trade balance or the greying of our work force; it is broader than the important, but narrow, compass of economics and government.

A scholar once wrote that great books are not lifeless paper, but minds alive on the shelves. He observed that just as the touch of a button on a stereo will fill a room with music, so

by taking down one of these volumes, and opening it, one can call into range the voice of a man far distant in time and space, and hear him speak, mind to mind, heart to heart.

As a nation, we can again hear these voices, feel this enchantment -- every time a parent reads a bedtime story to a sleepy child; every time a young scholar turns to the great books. The day must come when every young American can know the life of the mind.

That is why we have gathered here, at Mister Jefferson's school. He was just **one** man, but look at what one man can do. Imagine what **we** can do, if we -- more than fifty strong -- are united by this great cause. So let us dream. Let us talk. If need be, let us argue. But in the end, let us walk together on a journey to enlightenment, in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson.

////

Thank you for your hard work and dedication. God bless you all, and God bless America.

#

#

#

Davis/Martin
Sept. 26, 1989
Draft: Seven
Title: eduprez

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CONVOCATION, UNIV. OF VIRGINIA
Thursday, Sept. 28, 11:30 a.m.

Thank you Secretary Cavazos, President O'Neil, Governors
Baillies and Branstad.

It's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. ((Imagine
this -- you have a President, the Cabinet and America's governors
visiting your school. And the big man on campus today is still
Sean Moore.)) ////

And then my son Marvin and daughter-in-law Margaret advise
me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. ((You see, they told me
you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson.)) ////

Well, it's easy to be humble at a school so rich in history
and educational endeavor. And I have also been deeply impressed
by the commitment, the creativity and the knowledge that my
fellow chief executives from the states bring to education
reform.

It is you -- the governors -- along with state legislators
and school boards, leaders of business, parents and teachers --
those throughout this nation's vast decentralized education
system, who face tough decisions. I've heard eloquent advice
from many of you, and so many others, in the last few weeks.
I've listened. And I am deeply appreciative of all that I have
learned.

Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others. Some will need ~~to~~ more study, and extra instruction. But we should **never** send a student from school just because he or she has passed an arbitrary birthday.//

Second, I see a day when our educational system will be unafraid of diversity. Of course, all schools will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement. But the means by which that curriculum is taught, and those goals met, should be as diverse and varied as our children, our teachers and their communities. Let them blend, in myriad ways, the traditional and the modern, the human and the technological. Let us give our schools and our teachers the freedom to do **what they do best**.

Children also differ -- in their interests, learning styles and capabilities. So third, I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception; when parents will be full partners in the education of their children.

Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards, in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated. Education is a way of life, and educational reform is an urgent responsibility for every parent, every student, every community. Those who do not advance the cause of education, **hinder it**.

This means enlisting the parents, grandparents and other adults who play large roles in children's lives in their formal, as well as their informal education. This means that parents,

This same potential can be found within every disadvantaged child, those from troubled neighborhoods: children for whom our schools must be a beacon of excellence; a sanctuary from violence; a model of good character, sound values and exemplary ethics. Let no child in America be forgotten and forsaken. B.F.

Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short. But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse. The worthy and the useful will win out only if we give our schools the freedom they need.

Such freedom will not lead to a quick and easy solution. It is the work of years. And we have taken such a long-term view in our meetings.

We have discussed the need for educational reform in terms of our national competitiveness, even our national future. But I am sure you agree that there is more to learning than just our trade balance or the greying of our work force; it is broader than the important, but narrow, compass of economics and government.

A scholar once wrote that great books are not lifeless paper, but minds alive on the shelves. He observed that just as the touch of a button on a stereo will fill a room with music, so by taking down one of these volumes, and opening it, one can call into range the voice of a man far distant in time and space, and hear him speak, mind to mind, heart to heart.

Agreement Set on Goals For 'Education Summit'

New Format Gives Governors Public Role

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush's "education summit" Sept. 27-28 will be a mostly closed-door affair but will aim at producing declarations on national goals for school performance and loosening the strings that restrict state use of federal aid funds, governors and the White House have agreed.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton (D) and South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. (R), representing the National Governors' Association, expressed satisfaction with the redesigned format for the Charlottesville, Va., gathering, after meeting Wednesday night with White House chief of staff John H. Sununu and Bush's domestic policy coordinator, Roger Porter.

Instead of the president having the only public role, with a speech and news conference, governors will participate in the welcoming ceremony and in the closing news conference, they said. But Bush will get his wish for long, closed-door sessions where he and the governors can exchange ideas.

Those sessions on the University of Virginia campus will focus on six topics: teaching, especially the recruitment and retention of talented teachers; the learning environment, including drug-free and crime-free schools and the health and nutrition needs of "at-risk" pre-schoolers; restructuring schools and increasing the choices for parents and students; life-long learning, including the retraining of workers for changing job markets; higher education, including a review of existing federal aid programs; and the roles of federal, state and local governments in meeting education needs.

Meanwhile, congressional Democrats, who have no part in the process at this point, are pushing plans for some kind of "preemptive strike" next week, perhaps in the form of a news conference where they may set out their own ideas of actions Bush should pledge to take at the "education summit."

An unstated but vivid fear among the Democrats is that Bush will use the summit to dramatize his commitment to education without tak-

ing responsibility for its improvement. Clinton commented that "one of my cynical colleagues said the other day that if we're not careful, we'll be like soldiers in Aida."

Tempering the governors' early criticisms of the format is the increased emphasis on using the Charlottesville meeting to issue a call for greater flexibility in the use of federal aid to education funds. This effort will inevitably run into opposition on Capitol Hill, and the governors are eager to have the president's backing in that fight.

They also found unexpected support at the White House for their wish to commit the nation to teaching specific targets in dropout and literacy reduction, and improvement of test performance, by the year 2000. Porter said he told Campbell and Clinton that "my own view is we're devoting a large amount of resources to education, but if you look at the results, you're hard-pressed to justify the investment. One way to improve performance is to develop a set of goals that give us a way of measuring...."

As for the costs of the improvements, Campbell said no one expects a major shift in the burden of education from state and local government to the federal government. But there is strong support for expanding federal pre-school health and nutrition programs, and as Clinton remarked, "We all believe that once the president has picked up this ball, he can't put it down again."

CORRECTION

The name of the salvage ship that found gold from an 1857 shipwreck this week was incorrect in yesterday's edition. The salvage ship is the R/V Arctic Discoverer.

CLARIFICATION

Ilie Nastase and Vitas Gerulaitis will not participate in the Washington International Tennis Challenge Saturday. The two players canceled after today's weekend section was printed.

U.S. gets poor return on education dollars, Cavazos says

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The U.S. educational system continues to soak up huge amounts of money — projected at a record \$353 billion for the new school year — while churning out students "ill-prepared for a changing world," Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos said Wednesday.

Mr. Cavazos, in releasing the Education Department's annual statistical forecast for the 1989-90 school year, said education expenditures

will amount to 6.8 percent of the gross national product and even exceed the Bush administration's proposed 1990 national defense budget of \$303 billion.

He said all levels of public and private education will spend about \$353 billion in state, federal and local dollars, compared with last year's overall spending of \$330 billion.

"Our nation continues to make a tremendous financial investment

in education but the education deficit continues to grow," Mr. Cavazos said, adding that "too many Americans remain ill-prepared for a changing world."

Education officials point to the dismal performance of American youth on academic achievement tests, particularly in areas such as math and science that are considered critical in a fast-changing technical society.

President Bush has called an

"education summit" Sept. 27-28 in Charlottesville, Va., with the nation's governors, and Mr. Cavazos said the meeting was a "historic step... to address this national crisis."

Among the major conclusions in the report:

■ Spending on higher education will increase the most, to \$141 billion, up 7.2 percent from the \$131.4 billion spent last year. Once ad-

justed for inflation, that represents a 36 percent increase since the 1980-81 school year.

■ Expenditures for each full-time, higher education student will rise to \$14,923, nearly \$750 more per student than a year ago.

■ Costs for public and private elementary and secondary schools are expected to rise to \$212 billion, a 6.6 percent increase over last year's \$199.1 billion. After inflation, that is

a 29 percent gain since 1980-81.

■ Expenditures for each elementary and secondary school student are expected to reach a record high of \$5,246, \$308 per student more than last year.

■ The average salary of public elementary and secondary school teachers is expected to rise to \$31,200, up 5.5 percent over last year's average of \$29,567. After inflation, that will amount to a 20 percent increase since 1980-81.

Photo Copy Preservation

What everyone 'knows' about Atwater isn't true

Obviously, Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater was being hypocritical in encouraging blacks to join the Republican Party during his appearance in Milwaukee last week, because everybody knows that Atwater was the mastermind of the racist Willie Horton ads in George Bush's presidential campaign.

The problem is, what everybody "knows" is wrong.

The Horton ads and the prison furlough issue it highlighted were not racist.

The following account of the Horton issue comes from the new 1990 edition of the non-partisan Almanac of American Politics, considered the "bible" of state and national political reporters.

The text is written by Michael Barone, who also writes opinion pieces for the Washington Post, not your average bigot newspaper.

The Almanac is endorsed in jacket blurbs by such other non-bigots as political columnist David Broder, Common Cause President Fred Wertheimer, Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York.

"On this (the furlough issue) it is confidently alleged that the Bush campaign lied and that Dukakis should have responded.

"But in fact the Bush campaign was careful to tell the truth (the more they told it, the more damaging the issue was), and the arguments on the subject that were misleading to the point of falsehood were those made in Dukakis' ads and statements and articles by journalistic skills for the Dukakis campaign.

"It is alleged that the Bush campaign appealed to racism, although the Bush campaign ads were careful not to use the picture of Willie Horton but simply to mention that he had been sentenced to jail for life without parole for committing a brutal murder, and that he had been granted weekend furloughs numerous times under a policy Dukakis supported and defended for 11 years, and that from one such furlough he did not return but instead went to Maryland where he raped and brutalized a young woman."

The Horton issue was raised first in the presidential campaign not by Bush but by a Democrat, Sen. Albert

9/22/89
Milwaukee Sentinel

Political beat



By KENNETH R. LAMKE
Sentinel staff writer

Gore Jr. of Tennessee, during a New York presidential primary campaign debate.

According to the Almanac, Dukakis refused to say at the debate that, by this time, he agreed with a change in the Massachusetts furlough law — even though he did agree with it — "grudgingly saying only that the people of Massachusetts and the legislature wanted it."

In the debate, "his response to Gore was, 'The trouble with you, Al, is you've never run a criminal justice system.'"

The Almanac continues, "With that bit of arrogance, Dukakis missed his chance to dissociate himself from a position that was morally and politically indefensible.

"The Horton case and the Dukakis campaign's efforts to hide its record were the subject of a Pulitzer Prize-winning series by the Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune" and also the subject of a Reader's Digest article in July 1988.

According to the Almanac, Atwater, who already knew of the Horton case through campaign research, heard some people talking favorably about the Reader's Digest article in a Virginia bar and authorized the Bush campaign's Horton ads.

"Some charged the ads were racist (because Horton is black). But Bush's ads never showed Horton (though an independent committee's ads did), and the prisoners going through the revolving door were mostly white.

"The episode showed how Dukakis took a sensible and defensible policy (granting furloughs to prisoners scheduled to be released) and carried it to ridiculous extremes (granting furloughs to prisoners sentenced never to be released)."

The Almanac says the issue provided voters a basis on which to

make a valid inference that liberal Dukakis appointees would take sensible liberal policies and carry them to ridiculous extremes, with Dukakis' approval.

"The furlough issue, far from being an appeal to racism or a mindless distraction, instead pointed to central defects in Dukakis' candidacy and style of governance."

The Almanac's account squares with this reporter's memory of seeing the Horton ads and wondering for weeks whether Horton and / or the victims were white or black.

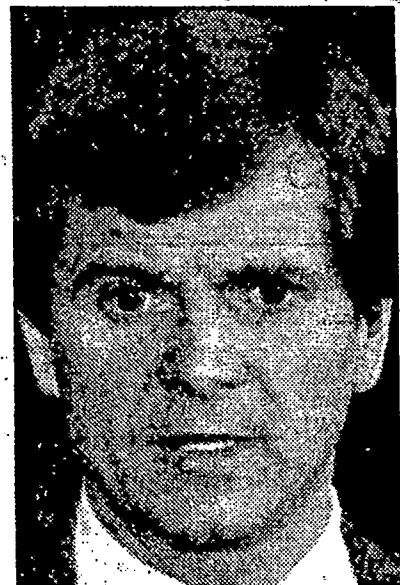
The ads gave absolutely no hint. And careful attention to the national news media provided no clue either for weeks, until the handful of independent committees supporting Bush ran ads with Horton's picture in a handful of states (not in Wisconsin).

That gave the Democrats their opportunity to cry racism.

By that time, everyone knew who Willie Horton was, what he had done and what Dukakis' position was, even though they did not know Horton's race.

Now everyone "knows" that Lee Atwater masterminded a racist campaign.

There is a word for the willfully ignorant or malicious stereotyping of people (in this case, not Willie Horton and blacks, but Lee Atwater and Republicans) and the word is bigotry.



Lee Atwater

Bush and Governors Set Education Goals

NY 9-29-89 A10
By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Sept. 28 — President Bush and the nation's Governors agreed today on the need to overhaul the nation's education system by creating a set of goals that will focus on eliminating illiteracy, reshaping curriculums and holding teachers accountable for their performance.

"We believe that the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear, national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive," said the joint statement issued here at the end of a two-day meeting called by Mr. Bush to discuss education. The statement was written by the White House staff, Administration officials and a bipartisan group of governors.

Earlier today, in a speech to the governors, Mr. Bush said: "The American people are ready for radical reforms. We must not disappoint them.

"Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become," Mr. Bush said. "And come the next century — just 10 years away — what will we be? Will we be children of the Enlightenment or its orphans?"

'The First Step'

Specific goals and details will be shaped by the White House and governors to be ready for a meeting of the National Governors' Association in Washington in February.

"This agreement represents the first step in a long-term commitment to reorient the education system and to marshal widespread support for the needed reforms," the statement said.

Mr. Bush and the governors said that the caliber of the education system and the nation's economic future were inextricably intertwined. Developing a national strategy that includes new directions for education, Mr. Bush said, is pivotal to the nation's well-being.

The overall proposals carried few surprises, but they were hailed as the first time any President had outlined a framework for the Federal Government and states to work together to reform the nation's ailing schools.

Triumph for Bush

For Mr. Bush, who pledged in his campaign to serve as the "education President," the agreement represented a triumph and clearly achieved one immediate goal, focusing attention on education, not just for the two days of meetings here but with the many special reports on education appearing all week.

"This is a major step forward in education," said Mr. Bush, standing near the sun-drenched steps of the rotunda on the University of Virginia campus. "We've reached agreement on the need for national performance goals, on the need for more flexibility and accountability, the need for restructuring and choice."

Obviously bowing to pressure from the Democratic governors, Mr. Bush

added that the Federal Government was committed to "more Federal support" for preschool programs like Head Start for poor children.

Overall, said the beaming Mr. Bush, "This has been historic."

Test of Financing

But some Democratic governors, including Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, said it was too early to forecast the agreement's scope and effectiveness.

"There's good news in the sense that 50 governors and the Administration seem to be committed to improving the quality of our schools," said Mr. Dukakis, the President's opponent in the 1988 campaign. "But the test for all of us will be over the next couple of months. It means not only deciding who does what, but who pays for it." But most of the Democratic governors

'Will we be children of the Enlightenment or its orphans?'

spoke positively, even warmly, about the agreement.

Mr. Bush won praise from several union leaders.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said Mr. Bush's speech "defined a vision of education that was not public relations."

Mr. Shanker said he was surprised that Mr. Bush had offered some "radically different proposals" that departed from the ideas of conservative educators, notably in emphasizing the notion of diverse, nonrigid curriculums to meet the needs of students of differing ethnic and geographic backgrounds.

Hailed as a First

The joint agreement was announced hours after Mr. Bush addressed the governors, Cabinet officers, education officials and students and faculty members at the university.

The agreement was also the first time that the nation's governors, Democrats and Republicans, had agreed to forge a national education strategy.

"This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education and ever understood its significance to our economic future enough to commit ourselves to national performance goals," said Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, a Democrat who helped draw up the agreement. "It has never happened in over 200 years."

With state and local governments providing more than 90 percent of the

money spent on education, Mr. Bush squarely left the details and the burden of substantial education changes in their hands.

Mr. Bush had called the rare meeting with the governors largely because of the consensus with the Government and the education establishment that American schools were in turmoil and that the education system was increasingly lagging behind those of other industrial democracies.

More Than Three R's

In his speech at midday, Mr. Bush said his Administration envisioned "tradition-shattering reform in five areas."

"First, I see the day when every student is literate," he said. "But literacy should mean more than the 'three R's.' We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences."

Mr. Bush also said students must do more than identify names on a multiple-choice question. They must understand the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks."

Mr. Bush's second proposal centered on "diversity" in classroom curriculums and standards. Current lessons and procedures are often too rigid to meet the needs of the diverse ethnic groups of students around the nation, White House officials said.

"Of course all schools in a state will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement," Mr. Bush said. "But the means by which that curriculum is taught, and those goals met, should be as diverse and varied as America."

These were the President's other proposals:

¶ Giving parents more choice in selecting the schools they want their children to attend. "Children differ in their interests, learning styles and capabilities," said Mr. Bush. "I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception."

¶ Developing more accountability, where teachers, principals and administrators must clearly answer for poor performances. "We must now evaluate ourselves on a tougher grading curve, one that includes that other major industrial nations," Mr. Bush said.

¶ Exploiting the potential of every student, not only those who are gifted, but also the "average students" and the disadvantaged.

"Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short," said Mr. Bush. "But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse."

"After two centuries of progress," Mr. Bush told the governors, "we are stagnant."

Teachers Praise Bush's Effort to Set a New Education Agenda

By DEIRDRE CARMODY

School superintendents, union leaders and teachers were virtually unanimous yesterday in praising the efforts of President Bush and the nation's governors in setting a national agenda for education.

"What a breathtaking beginning of a new affirmation of the work for schools," Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, said of the education meeting at the University of Virginia on Wednesday and Thursday.

"This is a historic shift in the way this nation is willing to talk about the school agenda," Dr. Boyer said.

At their meeting in Charlottesville, the President and the governors agreed on national goals aimed at eliminating illiteracy, improving early childhood programs and holding teachers accountable for performance.

Specifics will be worked out by the White House and the governors in time for a meeting of the National Governors' Association in Washington in February.

A few educators said today that they would reserve judgment until they saw the specifics, and some expressed concern that the issue of more money was not pressed. But over all there seemed to be little criticism.

Not Passing Buck to States

Educators generally agreed that the President's priorities were on target and particularly praised his recognition that preschool education and the early school years were crucial. They also spoke of the effort at the meeting to balance national purpose and creativity at the local level.

It is still unclear how the efforts will be financed. But several education officials suggested that it would be churlish to grumble about lack of new spending before more is known about the specifics.

"I think essentially the message is

that we thought it was a good speech," said Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. "For the first time we have a President who is using the word 'national' when he is talking about education, instead of passing the buck to the states."

Dr. Scott Thomson, executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, which represents 41,000 principals and assistant principals, issued his own report card of the President's performance.

"I would have given President Bush a 'C' up to now as the education President," he said. "But with this summit I'd move him up to a 'B,' and whether

he makes an 'A' or not in my grade-book depends on how he engages himself with the specific plan in the next three or four months and whether he is going to support specific programs with some money."

Motivation and Inspiration

Dr. Thomson said that "the successful summit is worth literally hundreds of millions of dollars because it provides inspiration and motivation for teachers and generates a lot of activity on the part of the business community."

While teachers generally supported the goals that emerged from the meet-

ing, some like Ginay Marks, the drug education supervisor in District 15 in South Brooklyn, said there was not enough stress on giving teachers more say in managing their schools.

"If teachers have an investment in the choice of textbooks, in the curriculum, they'll take pride in their programs," she said.

She said she was disappointed that teachers were not represented at the meeting. Still, she was glad that "they recognized education as something important, especially since our system is so bad compared to other countries."

Robert Spillane, superintendent of the Fairfax County schools in Virginia,

said he thought it was a good that the conference did not have more prepared guidelines to follow. "It gave them an opportunity to see if they could come up with an agenda," he said.

Moving on 'Hard Issues'

Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States, which coordinates state efforts, said that after six years of educational reform, the point was being made at last that it was a "complicated business" and that the restructuring of schools was difficult to accomplish. "We're now moving to the hard issues," he said.

It is solutions to issues like student dropouts and absenteeism and teacher burn out, especially in inner-city schools, that have proven tough for education innovators to push through school boards and legislatures.

Gary Marx, associate executive director of the American Association of School Administrators, which represents 19,000 superintendents and other central school officials, expressed some misgivings about Mr. Bush's stress on giving parents more choice of which schools their children attend.

"Choice is not a panacea," he said. "You can offer alternatives for students within a school. There can be magnet schools, even open enrollment in some situations, provided it doesn't upset the integration apple cart."

Mr. Marx said the most motivated students might move to a better school, leaving their own school in even worse condition.

"Every school ought to offer an excellent program," he said.

A First Step Toward National School Reform

'Accountability' Seen as Key Principle

WP 9-29-91 A3

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Sept. 28—The call for national education performance goals today from President Bush and the nation's governors is the next step in an education reform movement that began in the public schools six years ago.

In 1983, the report "A Nation at Risk," commissioned by the Department of Education, warned: "Our society and our educational institutions seem to have lost sight of the basic purposes of schooling."

Since then, a majority of states have experimented with public school reforms ranging from more class periods to teacher control of schools, but as recently as last May, the department reported there has been little progress in efforts to reform the nation's overall education system.

The summit call for performance measures was seen by many politicians and educators as necessary to begin making American schoolchildren more competitive with those of other nations.

"For the first time in our history, we've thought enough of education to commit ourselves to national performance goals," said Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton (D) at the conclusion of the two-day education summit at the University of Virginia.

The movement toward performance goals has been gaining momentum in recent years, particularly among business leaders.

Labor Secretary Elizabeth Hanford Dole, who moderated one of the summit sessions, said business groups had a real stake in the establishment of performance goals. "It's clearly in the interest of business. They need the workers," she said.

But there was little support at the summit for mandatory national performance standards set at the federal level and dictated to the states. New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean (R) said, "Nobody felt the federal government should tell the states what to do."

Although the summit statement didn't say so, the new goals would apparently set performance levels for public school students—particularly in math and science—and then leave it to the states to determine how to achieve the goals.

The purpose of the reform effort, according to a statement released at the end of the summit, is to create "a system of accountability which focuses on results rather than compliance with rules and regulations." Although details were elusive and will be the subject of much political debate in the coming months, the call for some form of national achievement levels appeared generally well received by educational groups attending the summit, even among harsher critics of the nation's education system.

Keith Geiger, new president of the National Education Association, also praised the idea of goals because they "focus talk about what programs need."

Samuel Husk, executive director of the Council of the Great City Schools, which represents many larger urban school districts, called goal-setting "very important. Without goals you can't rally the political support for education."

Husk said the call for goals comes at a time when the reform movement has been losing steam. "The states are going in 50 different directions and the federal administration is going nowhere," he said.

The actual goals will not be spelled out until some time early next year, probably at the February meeting in Washington of the National Governors' Association.

In their closing statement, summit participants said the idea of the goals was to create a "rigorous program of instruction designed to ensure that every child can acquire the knowledge and skills required in an economy in which our citizens must be able to think for a living. We must establish clear measures of performance."

REFORMING AND RESTRUCTURING AMERICAN EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

- o Awash in misspent money and misguided ideas, American schools sank into decay during the 1960s and 1970s.
- o Republican Administrations have fought that decay. They have met some success. But it is not enough to halt our educational decline. We must rise to educational excellence. That is President Bush's goal.
- o Progress depends more on new thinking than new spending.
- o As part of his commitment to reform American education, President Bush convened the nation's governors in an "education summit" -- only the third gubernatorial summit in history. Democratic Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas said of the summit: "This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education to commit ourselves to national performance goals. It has never happened in almost 200 years."
- o At the summit, President Bush said: "Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. And come the next century -- just 10 years away -- what will we be? Will we be children of the Enlightenment or its orphans?"

PROGRESS UNDER REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

- o Average SAT scores are now higher than in 1980:

	1980	1988
Verbal	424	427
Math	466	476

- o In 1988, only 4.4 percent of students in grades 10 through 12 dropped out of high school, compared with 6.6 percent in 1978.
- o According to polls sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa, only 35 percent of Americans gave their local public schools a grade of A or B in 1980. By 1989, that figure had risen to 43 percent.

AMERICAN EDUCATION STILL NEEDS IMPROVEMENT

- o The American people will spend a record \$353 billion on schools and colleges this year.
- o The average salary today for a public school teacher is \$31,200 -- a real (inflation-adjusted) increase of 23 percent since 1981.

- o Spending per pupil in public elementary and secondary schools is at a record high of \$5,246 -- \$308 more than last year.
- o The problem isn't money, but motivation. With an attentive class, a good teacher can move the world with a piece of chalk.
- o Despite progress under GOP leadership, we have not fully recovered from the mistakes of the 1960s and 1970s. Between 1963 and 1980, the average verbal SAT score dropped from 478 to 424, while the average math score dropped from 498 to 466.
- o Such a trend disproves the myth that spending alone can solve our problems. While SATs were plunging, real federal spending for elementary and secondary education was soaring -- an inflation-adjusted 328 percent increase between 1963 and 1980.
- o Americans believe that we are falling behind other nations. The executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals examined learning conditions in the United States and compared them with those in South Korea and West Germany. He gave South Korea an A-minus, West Germany a B-plus and the United States a C-plus.
- o Again, comparative statistics show that money is not the problem. The United States spends a greater percentage of its gross national product on education than Japan, West Germany or South Korea.

US	6.7
Japan	5.1
W. Germany	4.6
S. Korea	4.5

- o Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos has said that there is "overwhelming support" for "a major restructuring of our education system, with school choice as the cornerstone."
- o Factories for failure. Some high schools have become factories for failure: noisy, dangerous places where the switchblade has replaced the pencil as the implement of choice.
- o In bad school systems, hard-working students see little immediate reward. In fact, other students confront them with criticism, isolation and even physical assault.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S PRINCIPLES FOR REFORM

- o President Bush has proposed adding more than \$400 million to the previous request of \$21.9 billion in budget authority for education programs. His ideas for reforming American education rest on these principles:
 - * Recognition of excellence - Rewarding good performance will

encourage schools, teachers and students to do better. Public recognition and financial rewards will provide new spurs to achievement.

- * Addressing need -- Federal funds should target those most in need -- where support can make a difference.
- * Flexibility and choice -- All parents, not only the affluent, should have greater choice in what, where and how their children learn. And local school systems must have greater flexibility in choosing teachers and principals.
- * Accountability -- The Administration backs objective measurement and reward of progress toward good education. Federal, state and local authorities must assure that the funds they spend and the programs they run accomplish their goals -- as measured by student learning and achievement.

REWARDING SUCCESS: PRESIDENT BUSH'S REFORM PROPOSALS

- o While proposing to increase federal support for education, President Bush knows that the measure of leadership is inspiration, not appropriation. His program, the Educational Excellence Act of 1988, has a simple premise: if we reward success, we will get more of it.
- * Presidential merit schools. This program would provide cash awards to public and private elementary and secondary schools that have made strides in improving student achievement, creating a safe and drug-free setting, and cutting the dropout rate.
- * Magnet Schools of Excellence. The Education Department now makes Magnet Schools Assistance grants to school systems undergoing desegregation. President Bush would help create and support magnet schools not only in currently-participating systems, but in others as well.
- * Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals. The President would help states that want to expand the pool of talent from which to draw teachers and principals.
- * President's Awards for Excellence in Education. This plan would reward excellent public and private school teachers. Each award would amount to \$5,000.
- * National Science Scholars. President Bush would encourage achievement in the sciences by providing scholarships to graduating high school students who have excelled in science, math and engineering.
- * Drug-Free Schools Urban Emergency Grants. The bill would authorize special, competitive grants to urban districts

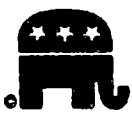
that have the worst drug problems, so that these districts can carry out comprehensive solutions.

- * Historically Black Colleges and Universities. These institutions, which have given many black Americans their only key to the college door, now enroll about 220,000 students. President Bush would provide an additional \$40 million in aid over the next three fiscal years.

GOALS SET AT THE SUMMIT

- o The education summit agreed on a process for setting national goals in seven areas:
 - * Ensure the readiness of all children to start school.
 - * Improve student performance on international achievement tests, especially in math and science.
 - * Cut the dropout rate and raise academic performance.
 - * Advance the functional literacy of adults.
 - * Foster the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive work force.
 - * Increase the supply of qualified teachers and up-to-date technology.
 - * Restore safe, disciplined and drug-free schools.
- o The President and the governors also agreed to work for greater flexibility and accountability and for a major restructuring effort in each state.
- o Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said that President Bush "defined a vision of education that was not public relations" and that the summit results "will drive what happens in the schools."
- o The President concluded the summit by saying: "From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, an America of higher goals, and a land of bigger dreams."

###



Republican
National
Committee

Lee Atwater
Chairman

October 11, 1989

*copy of
speechwriters
info*

Dear Republican Leader:

To further his goal of fostering excellence in education, President Bush recently convened a historic Education Summit with our nation's governors in Charlottesville, Virginia.

The President and governors worked together to find ways to strengthen our schools, to enlarge opportunities and to improve America's educational performance. This was only the third time in history that a President called the governors together -- a mark of President's Bush's leadership on education.

To assist in heightening awareness of the importance of education and in spreading the word about the Bush Administration's leadership on this issue, the Republican National Committee has prepared an editorial piece and talking points for use by you and your colleagues.

I encourage you to place the editorial piece in your local newspaper and use the talking points for newsletter articles or in talking with your local press. Please contact us if we can be of additional assistance.

Sincerely,


Lee Atwater

SAMPLE OP-ED ON EDUCATION

Schools are the self-portrait of a nation. In the past few decades, the United States painted itself an unflattering likeness. Every day the newspapers seemed to publish another story of students who cannot solve an algebra problem, find France on a map, or name which country started World War II.

In short, we caricatured ourselves as slow and undisciplined.

Not all the news about American education is bad. In significant ways, there is good news. First, recognizing a problem is a big step toward solving it -- and the people know about education's troubles. When asked by pollsters how they would grade public schools nationally, nearly half gave them a passing "C"; 19 percent gave them a "D" or a "Fail." And when asked which country has the best educational system, every age group named Japan, not America.

Second, recent Secretaries of Education have fought hard to make things better. They have looked at the big picture, seen the big failures, and voiced the need for reform. The alarm began with the Education Department's report, "A Nation At Risk," which said: "Our nation is at risk ... The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future ..."

Last year, the Department concluded that we are doing better -- but not well enough.

Third, the American who won the highest office has stressed his commitment to educational reform. President Bush recently convened the nation's governors in an education summit -- only the third gubernatorial summit in history -- to seek ways to nurture excellence in our schools.

The President and the governors agreed on a process for setting national goals in seven areas: children's readiness to start school; student performance on international achievement tests; reduction of the dropout rate; adult literacy; the level of training necessary for a competitive workforce; the supply of qualified teachers and up-to-date technology; the establishment of safe, disciplined and drug-free schools.

And the President had already sent sent Congress far-reaching education proposals, including: a National Science Scholars program, Presidential Merit Schools, Magnet Schools of Excellence, and Drug-Free Schools Emergency Grants.

[MORE]

The President's proposals paint a new national self-portrait: one of confidence, discipline and achievement.

His approach to education rests on sound principles: rewarding excellence, helping those most in need, fostering greater choice for parents, and holding those in charge of education accountable for results.

Education serves many ends. One is economic: to compete with a united Europe and a rising Pacific Rim, we need well-schooled workers and managers. But the stakes reach far beyond GNP. A good education teaches people how to overcome poverty, prejudice and selfishness. A poor education teaches moral indifference and intellectual confusion. A bad school is a factory for failure.

President Bush wants to turn bad schools into good ones -- and his solutions win wide support from the American people. Choice is a key element of his program -- and more than sixty percent of the people favor letting students and their parents choose which schools to attend. When polls asked respondents to name the biggest problems confronting public schools in their community, the top two answers were drugs and lack of discipline -- areas that the President's proposals address.

The pace of scientific and technological advance is picking up. International economic competition is spreading to an unprecedented extent. But these advances do not guarantee a better world. Unless Americans can absorb this information and use new technology as well as people in other nations, science and technology may only bring confusion and ignorance of national and global issues.

The world is different from when I went to school. More than one-third of American students in grades four through twelve use computers. When I passed through those grades, nobody did. But the transmission of knowledge is more than learning how to use software. For Americans, it is the broad distribution of solid, basic education and the opportunity to go to college.

The reform of education must succeed. When the transmission of knowledge fails, a citizen is unfamiliar with the past, uninformed of the present, and unprepared for the future.

Unless Congress acts with the President's leadership on education reform, the problem will worsen. As The Wall Street Journal said earlier this year, "The system needs a complete overhaul, and not just more tinkering."

[MORE]

Some in Congress may respond by rote that there isn't enough money in the President's plan. But money isn't the problem. We already spend a greater share of GNP on education than Japan, Germany or South Korea. Between 1963 and 1980, real (inflation-adjusted) federal spending on elementary and secondary education shot up 328 percent. During that same period, SAT scores steadily sank. If money were the only problem, we would have no problem.

Excellence is the issue. And key figures in the search for excellence are the governors. The states are in a position to carry out reform, because Sacramento, Montgomery, Springfield and Albany are closer to the classroom than the city on the Potomac. The states necessarily compete with one another to achieve reform -- and that benefits the nation and its students.

The President has shown the necessary leadership on education. Congress should move quickly to enact his package, setting aside partisanship to deal with a national problem that affects everyone.

###

.7
.R6
1928/32
WHRC

Volume One

THE GENESIS OF THE NEW DEAL

1928-1932

Volume Two

THE YEAR OF CRISIS

1933

Volume Three

THE ADVANCE OF RECOVERY AND REFORM

1934

Volume Four

THE COURT DISAPPROVES

1935

Volume Five

THE PEOPLE APPROVE

1936

THE PUBLIC PAPERS
AND ADDRESSES OF
FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT



Volume One

THE GENESIS OF THE NEW DEAL

1928-1932

RANDOM HOUSE · NEW YORK · 1938

81 (Address before the Conference of Governors, New London, Conn. July 16, 1929)

(Suppression of crime — Enforcement of justice — Reform of criminal procedure.)

NO CONSTITUTIONAL sovereign right vested in the forty-eight States which make up our great Nation has been more zealously defended or clearly established than the right of each State to control the police powers and the administration of justice within its borders. What constitutes a crime is a matter which each State determines for itself. What machinery of justice shall be employed to enforce its laws is also a matter for State determination. Only those matters which are violations of such Congressional laws as are based on specific grants of authority by the Constitution to the Federal Government are recognized, not as usurping the State's individual authority, but as necessary measures which the agreement of federation between the different States requires us to acquiesce in, if we are to keep faith one with another.

Our Nation has been a successful experiment in democratic Government, because the individual States have waived in only a few instances their sovereign rights and have permitted the national Government, through its own machinery and its own courts, to enforce within their borders certain particular laws which the States themselves, as represented in Congress assembled, have agreed upon as being proper national legislation.

But there is a tendency, and to my mind a dangerous tendency, on the part of our national Government, to encroach, on one excuse or another, more and more upon State supremacy. The elastic theory of interstate commerce, for instance, has been stretched almost to the breaking point to cover certain regulatory powers desired by Washington. But in many cases this has been due to a failure of the States, themselves, by common agreement, to pass legislation necessary to meet certain conditions.

We are now faced with new and alarming problems in criminal activity. I am very certain that the public is aroused to the neces-

Address, New London, Conn.

sity of suppressing the outrageous and open lawlessness shown by the murders committed daily in the public streets of our great cities, of private feuds between gunmen which flourish with less punishment than in the darkest days of Sicily. At this constantly growing disregard of the life and safety of others and crimes against property, the public has grown alarmed and demands action. And let me here voice to the Governors of my sister States my conviction that if our States do not themselves, by cooperation and earnest, intelligent legislation, remedy the existing condition of affairs, we shall find the heavy hand of Washington laid on us by Federal legislation, and the people of our own commonwealths will raise no voice in protest, because their own State Governments have been inefficient, stupid or negligent.

If we wish to retain our control over the criminal laws and police powers, we must accept the responsibility for their enforcement; we must clean out the antiquated machinery of justice; we must meet new kinds of crime with new kinds of laws; and we must do this, not in this State or that State, but in every State, if anything is to be really done about this crime problem.

We who have assembled for this conference have no small moral share in this responsibility. It is the Governor of each State who has the duty, and the right as well, of calling to the attention of his State Legislature the need for legislative action, not merely by a few perfunctory words in an annual message dealing with many subjects, but persistently, forcibly, and repeatedly, whenever the Legislature fails to take action.

There is no doubt that the citizens of every State will support their Governor in a demand for proper measures to reduce crime, and, while the Governor's personal appeal does not always fall upon sympathetic ears, when it is backed by public opinion, irrespective of political beliefs, it will in the end be heeded by the most recalcitrant or slow-moving legislative bodies.

I have spoken of the obligation that falls on us, as Governors, to urge upon our State Legislatures the need of passing proper and helpful legislation. It may be well asked how may the propriety or helpfulness of legislation of this character be ascertained? And

Address, New London, Conn.

here we come at the start to the first great stumbling block in the fight against crime.

Three years ago, when the National Crime Commission, of whose executive committee I happen to be a member, first undertook the investigation as to what practical and immediate steps could be taken to reduce crime, they discovered that, while it is possible to determine with reasonable accuracy how many cases of mumps there had been in the United States during the previous year, no one could tell in even the most inaccurate way how many murders there had been in this same period. We talk about a crime wave. Let me assure you gentlemen, on the word of the National Crime Commission, which has been studying this matter for three years, that no one can today state with any authoritative statistics to back him, whether there is or is not a crime wave in the United States. A certain new and reckless disregard of human life is apparent in some of our large cities, and the records of the courts and State prisons show that a new and most alarming change has taken place in the characters of our criminals, and that the old and hardened "yegg man" has practically disappeared from our police courts and has been replaced by mere lads whose ages range between 16 and 24, who rob and murder with almost a certainty of escape from detection, youngsters who, if detected, are able to defeat justice through clever lawyers with a certainty of safety that is bringing into their ranks new recruits every hour of the day, tempted by the glittering prospect of easy money without real risk. But as to whether or not there is a total increase in the number of crimes committed we have no knowledge whatever. We have no knowledge, in fact, on any subject based on statistics as to criminal acts. Guesses we have from a few cities out of our total population of a hundred odd million people, painstaking research in particular subjects by a few efficient State crime commissions; but of the condition of our country as a whole we may not speak with any certainty, because there are no statistics collected or available.

This was the startling discovery our own commission made three years ago. You will find it emphasized in a letter which I

shall read from the chairman of President Hoover's new Federal commission which is just beginning its labors. Until we get more certain knowledge of the amount and character of crime, all our efforts will be mere experiments undertaken in hope, rather than in any confidence based on knowledge.

I want to urge on every Governor present that he take up, as one of the most important matters for the consideration of legislators, the compilation and publication, as a matter of law, of the few vitally necessary criminal statistics to enable us to attack this problem of crime in a businesslike and scientific way.

There are States, and their number I am glad to say is growing, which have already recognized this necessity, my own State being among them, but they are in a pitiful minority as compared with the States where there is no attempt at the collection of statistics of this kind. Let us stop guessing about crime and require a few facts. Do not think that this is a matter which can be turned over to the Government at Washington. Do not think it can be lightly dismissed by saying that it is "something for the census bureau to do." The evasion of State sovereignty has not yet reached the point, thank God, when the Federal Government can issue orders to State officials as to what they shall and shall not do in keeping records, or anything else, and it would be a disgrace on every State that had failed to take this matter up if public opinion should necessitate such meddling with our State machinery as the compiling of crime statistics by orders from Washington would bring about. And unless the Federal Government assumes mandatory authority over our officials, these statistics cannot be collected by Washington. That has been proved by the praiseworthy attempt of the census bureau to collect and publish statistics obtained from our State prisons. They are probably the best national statistics relating to crime in existence, but the director of the census will tell you, as he told our commission, that too often the wardens of our great penitentiaries have replied to his request for information so negligently as to make the figures matters of deep suspicion or, indeed, in some instances, in spite of repeated correspondence, have made no reply at all.

Of all the statistics needed, perhaps the most urgent and the simplest to procure is the record of the numbers and kinds of crimes of violence that have been actually committed, not punished, but committed. Our large cities furnish more or less accurate statistics of arrests and of trials, of convictions, and of imprisonments, but of the crimes committed, where no one is arrested, where no grand jury brings in an indictment, where no court has a record of any kind (we are speaking of the country as a whole), we are profoundly ignorant.

I have spoken at length on this matter of statistics, because as a whole statistics are a dry subject, and it is difficult to interest the public in the necessity of their collection, but I wish to assure this conference that no intelligent body of citizens in these United States, from the President's commission down, has attempted to study and understand this matter of crime and of this new entrance of the young criminal into the problem, but has found itself baffled and disheartened by the lack of obtainable information.

Now as to remedies themselves. There are many causes of crime. Each section of the country, each State within that section, and each city within that State, have peculiar conditions and problems in this connection. Should we, evading our responsibility, cowardly ask the national Government to pass laws which should be enforced throughout the entire country, to provide a system of justice and a criminal code for the entire United States? If the national Government should accept that responsibility, it would find it impossible to draft any national laws which would be equally effective in Maine and California, in Texas and Ohio. Each State must study its own crime conditions, must gather its own statistics and work out its own salvation. By that I do not mean that there should not be the closest possible uniformity in our crime legislation and our criminal codes. All legislation, for instance, against the gun toter has been seriously impaired, because it is not uniform in every State: There are certain fundamental principles, certain uniform treatment of certain crimes, which are absolutely necessary, if we do not want to see our crim-

Address, New London, Conn.

inals traveling from one State to another in order to take advantage of varying statutes.

I wish this conference would establish a permanent committee on coordination in the enforcing of justice and the reform of criminal procedure which would consider the various suggestions made by our State and national crime commissions, by our various bodies devoted to penal reform and by the bar associations throughout the country, and that such a committee of Governors would recommend for the consideration of all the Governors such proposed legislation as it deem worthy, with the request that it be laid before the Legislatures of the different States. And I wish even more devoutly that it would prove practical to effect some kind of coordination between the chairmen of the respective State legislative committees to whom such legislation would be referred, so that they might know what other States were doing and might agree among themselves as to what was to be reported out, with their favorable recommendation, at the next session of their legislative bodies.

The National Crime Commission has found a spirit of conservatism, speaking in general terms, among many of the bar associations, which should be the first to act. This spirit has been noticed to an even greater extent in the average legislative body. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that, if all the recommendations of properly qualified bodies for legislation simplifying and expediting justice, had been passed by the Legislatures of the different States assembled in session last year, we would have made a tremendous stride toward reducing crime in this country.

It is our duty as Governors, as I have already said, continually to remind our Legislatures of the seriousness of this problem and, if necessary, to ask the people of our commonwealths to support us in our demand for action.

Speaking for my own State, we have found the establishment of a State Crime Commission an invaluable help in meeting this question, and I think the same experience has followed the establishment of such commissions in California and other States. The creation of a proper bureau of identification, such as has been

Address, New London, Conn.

done in Indiana, is another wise step. I have recommended in my own State an investigation as to the possibility of bringing our police methods on a par with those in England, France and Germany, by applying modern science to police protection. In such States as still retain the county jail I hope the system of State-supervised penal institutions will be substituted in the interests of permanent reform of our criminal classes. One of the helpful recommendations of the crime commission in my own State, which has been enacted into law this year, was the establishment in one of our great penitentiaries of a psychiatric clinic to study our prisoners by modern methods, to find out why they became criminals and what course would seem best adapted to bring about their reform.

I do not wish to take up, in opening this discussion, particular things or particular remedies. My own commission has made a number of suggestions, the State commissions of many States have added and improved upon them, and many of those present have doubtless carefully thought out valuable suggestions of their own, but I want again to urge some kind of closer cooperation between the States and the necessity of ceaseless presentation of the matter to our State Legislatures, as being two fundamental things that rest on us as Governors to carry on.

When I started to prepare this opening address I asked the chairman of the President's commission if he had any requests to make of the Governors here assembled for their aid in the tremendous task which they have undertaken. He wrote me in reply a letter so clearly setting out their views that I am going to read it without comment or amplification of any kind of my own in closing. This is what Mr. Wickersham has written.

Letter of George W. Wickersham

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

President Hoover in his inaugural address emphasized the need of an urgent respect for law and the improved treatment of crime and criminals. In his address to the commission on its organization, he said: "A Nation does not fail from its growth and wealth

or power, but no Nation can for long survive failure of its citizens to respect and obey the laws which they, themselves, make, nor can it survive decadence of the moral and spiritual contracts that are the basis of respect for law, nor from neglect to organize itself. To defeat crime and the corruption that flows from it, he expressed the hope that his commission shall secure an accurate determination of effect and cause, following them with constructive, courageous, conclusions which will bring public understanding and command public support of its conclusions. In a previous statement to the press the President stated that the purpose of the commission was to examine and critically consider the entire Federal machinery of justice, a reconstruction of its function, simplification of its procedure, the provision of additional special tribunals, and better selection of juries, the moral, effective organization of our agency of investigation and prosecutions. It will also naturally include consideration of the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment."

From these statements you will understand what a broad scope we have and what a heavy duty is laid upon us. Every intelligent person must be aware that the general attitude of the American people toward the law has fallen far short of what it should be. It is not only shown in the open disrespect for the Volstead Law, but in the general attitude of "beating the law," so long as one can get by with it.

The first thing our commission did was to endeavor to secure actual, reliable statistics of the existing amount of crime, the increase or decrease of crime during the past decade, the actual delays of the enforcement of justice, and the amount of congestion of the criminal courts. There are no reliable statistics furnishing this information.

The New York Crime Commission, whose admirable reports have been most helpful to us, came upon the same lack, and upon their recommendations the Legislature last year passed an Act to supply this want so far as our State is concerned.

I think if the Governors' Conference would recommend like action by all the States it would be helpful.

Our Commission is studying the subject, and will, I think, recommend a uniform State law on the subject, with a voluntary administration act in the meantime.

Another subject we are inquiring into is the cost of extra-legal protection against crime by the police, armored cars, burglary, robbery, and theft insurance, etc., and a survey of conditions in Boston, nearly completed, indicated that crime in that city actually has diminished during the past decade. The fact that that city has a larger police force in proportion to its population than any other city may have much to do with the favorable condition mentioned, but the challenging fact is in the great number of criminal prosecutions which never come to trial, the number of cases settled by pleas of guilty to a lesser offense than that charged, the great delay in bringing cases to trial, the greater delays in hearing appeals and the abuse of excessive bail on appeal. Justice to be effective should be speedy. It is freely charged that much of the delay is the result of political influence with the police, the prosecutors and even the courts. These are difficult matters to investigate. But if every arrest had to be immediately reported from a central registration office and every step thereafter taken concerning the defendant recorded in the same way, it would be much more difficult for an improper influence to thwart the due administration of justice.

Of course, one of the most serious subjects we must deal with is the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. That measure has written into the Constitution of the United States a prohibition of the importation, manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. The Amendment confers upon the States concurrent jurisdiction with the national Government for the enforcement of this measure. Thus far the Federal Government alone has borne the brunt of enforcement.

It seems to me that the Governors' Conference might well consider approaching the Federal Government on some feasible proposal to share this burden. If the national Government were to attend to preventing importation, manufacture and shipment in interstate commerce of intoxicants, the State undertaking the in-

ternal police regulations to prevent sale, saloons, speakeasies, and so forth, national and State laws might be modified so as to become reasonably enforcible and one great source of demoralizing and pecuniarily profitable crime removed. Every State executive has sworn to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The Eighteenth Amendment is a part of the Constitution, just as much as any other part of it. Surely, it is pertinent to their Conference to suggest and consider how they may best carry out their solemn undertaking.

My dear Governor, I beg you to excuse this long letter in my own hand. I have no stenographer with me, but I feel that your letter calls for the most helpful reply I can give, and I hope that what I have written may suggest to you something of value in the preparation of your address.

Faithfully yours,

G. W. WICKERSHAM

82 (Address on Prison and Parole Problems.

New York City. January 18, 1930

HELL appears to have been the ideal design for a prison in the minds of our forefathers. The narrow cubicles of sweating stone, the little shaft of light that crept between the heavy iron bars, the lack of ventilation, sanitation, of everything which makes life endurable, all to be suffered in sullen silence under the watchful eyes of brutal guards—surely no better form of eternal punishment could be devised to torture lost souls in the hereafter.

In spite of all our remodeling, of all our tinkering and patchwork improving, we have still, in what we boastfully call this "enlightened age," prisons whose physical characteristics have lost little of their ancient horrors so far as their construction goes. Now we are beginning to realize the perfectly obvious fact, to which we have deliberately shut our eyes for so many years, that the men we send to prison with few exceptions will be returned again to live among us, to be, perhaps, our neighbors, to

live as we live, and to have the same rights as we have. We at last understand that not philanthropy but mere common sense, and our own self-protection require that these men should be released, chastened and reformed if possible, but at least not rendered more vicious, more degraded, than when they were sentenced.

But while, for some years, we have acknowledged grudgingly the truth of this matter and have made spasmodic and sporadic efforts to better conditions, and while, in so far as treatment and personnel are concerned, we have revolutionized entirely prison government and prison discipline, it has required the recent spectacular uprising of small groups of desperate men to make us finally demand that new prisons, better prisons, and prisons that shall not be places of cruel and unusual punishment must be erected immediately, no matter what they cost.

Our old prisons, such as Auburn, which is the conspicuous example of what a prison should not be, were bad enough when filled only to their normal capacity, but when we attempt, as we are doing at present, to crowd 6500 men into accommodations none too ample for 4500, we obviously are giving the lie to all our vaunted progress in social welfare.

The truth of the matter is that the extraordinary and seemingly callous indifference which has created this condition has resulted from the fact that very few people have thought seriously about the "prison question" at all. Our whole treatment of the criminal has been based not upon any logical theory of crime and punishment, but upon waves of transitory interest created by the events of the day. Having no definite ideas upon the subject, we have swayed first one way and then the other as the result of some outstanding event. First the misery, the discomforts, the inhumanities, the grim hopelessness of prison life will be brought to our attention by some impassioned leader in reform and a wave of sympathy for the convicted will sweep over us. We then demand all manner of hastily considered changes in our whole prison system, based entirely upon our sympathy of the moment for the convicted felon. Immediately, before even this wave of sympathy has

Address before the Boy Scout Foundation

That, too, was an achievement. But the full utilization of that tract, drawing thousands and thousands of New York City boys for citizenship and outdoor training each year, is but partially accomplished.

The outdoors is of special significance to the city boy living under crowded conditions. Life in the large city has lost its out-of-door opportunities. Artificial interests have been substituted. Normal, natural growth is threatened. Thus, the organized camp has a special mission. And it was in that sense that we projected plans for this big summer camp, supplemented by nearby camps where boys go for week-ends and short periods. It was visualized as something that would supplement in a fundamental way the effort of the public school and the church to build the boys physically, mentally and spiritually. I wish that each of you within the hearing of my voice could visit the new camp which serves Greater New York.

It is gratifying to note that in the development of this great camp several friends have erected memorials.

I know of no more fitting tribute than to make it possible for some boy, or boys in generations to come, to have the benefit of this great outdoor university of character.

This is one direction in which we must provide for the permanency of the Boy Scout Movement. I am happy to know that announcement of intention to make special gifts, or bequests, to the Endowment Fund, or specifically for the permanency of this camp, have been made.

Scouting, however, is not just camping. It is a leisure time program intended to give the boy something that challenges his interest and encourages self-improvement by diverting and directing his interest into worth-while channels. Its unique methods of operation are of interest to educators and psychologists. To you and me, as citizens, the interest is primarily in results.

This is what Scouting achieves:

It inculcates in the boy a definite sense of civic responsibility.

It develops respect for the rights of others.

It places the emphasis on honor and decency.

A Tribute to George Washington.

It is constructive prevention.

But is not prevention rather than correction the solution of the crime problem? It is our positive duty to make the boy resourceful and trustworthy and he will not seek a gun at the point of which to make his livelihood. The racketeer and the gangster go out the window when Scouting comes in the door!

Thousands and thousands of New York City boys are eager to become Scouts. The outstanding opportunity offered to us is to make this program available to them. Our record of accomplishment so far should serve merely as a challenge to expand the Boy Scout enrolment of this great City. That should be our objective! And I hope, in keeping with the proposals already made, the Boy Scout Foundation and its associated councils will undertake a most aggressive campaign to help more boys.

123 (A Tribute to George Washington. Address before the Conference of **Governors, Richmond, Va.** April 27, 1932

Governor Pollard, my fellow Executives, and you, my friends of Virginia:

IN THE olden days the welcome of the fathers and mothers of Virginia drew hither guests from all the colonies and from all the Nations of Europe: you, Governor Pollard, and you, the people of the Commonwealth of today, are giving to us a welcome of equal sincerity, a welcome which we and our families appreciate to the full and will always cherish. Ask us again, and we will come again.

At this hour when the purposes of civilization are challenged; when unrest is apparent; when new problems and new valuations call for a new leadership, it is well for America to view again the honor, the purity and the unselfish devotion of him who became the keystone in the making of the Nation, and who rightly won the imperishable title of Father of his Country.

A Tribute to George Washington

In many ways this great gathering in the Capitol of Virginia constitutes the perfect tribute to the memory of George Washington. To this Commonwealth of his birth have come the Chief Executives of the Sovereignities of the Nation he founded to join with Governor Pollard, and, with you, his fellow-Virginians, in recreating in our hearts a deeper understanding of one who, by the grace of God, continues to shed his influence upon mankind.

You my fellow Governors, representing not the thirteen original States alone, but States which include vast territories that were unknown and unexplored in the days of the founding of the American Republic—you have equal right in our common heritage; and I am certain that the gallantry of Virginia will permit to the State of New York a natural pride in the thought that during the War of the Revolution, and later at the founding of constitutional government, General and President Washington's service to his country lay so greatly in my State.

I call tonight's great gathering a perfect tribute because I am confident that Washington himself would have desired a national tribute. His every prayer, his every thought, his every action, which related to his fellow men—all were founded upon a breadth of view and a breadth of vision that allowed no part to obscure the whole.

I like to believe that at this very hour his spirit is dwelling among us, helping us to turn away from sordid desires, and summoning us to a renewal of the ancient faiths.

It is generally agreed that more has been said and written about George Washington than about any other American. His biographers constitute a varied multitude, from the dry-as-dust scholastic who spends a life upon minutiae, to the "humanizer" who in brisk patois seeks to clothe the eighteenth-century gentleman in the latest garb of the modern, and not, it seems to me, to the end that we shall understand him any the better.

Far more interesting and, I believe, infinitely more profitable, is what Washington wrote and said and did himself. He made no pretense to oratory or to authorship, and yet in perfect detail and with painstaking industry Washington himself has set forth

A Tribute to George Washington

for us the wisdom of his life. Examination easily puts to rest an all too prevalent impression that Washington was an emblem merely, and that Hamilton and others constituted the real directing genius of that great era. His own letters indicate the extent to which the policies of these brilliant minds were in the last analysis given initial shape and direction by Washington himself. If one will but read he will see the extent to which Washington, in his painstaking way and enlightened by a vast experience, actually directed the making of a Nation. Out of his letters emerges the man himself. One is struck by that habit of forceful but homely expression in which, while still a mere boy, he tells us of assuming great responsibilities, of his deep interest in developing the western lands, of his seeking after every kind of knowledge.

This diversity of knowledge, which, after all, is the foundation stone of his superbly realistic statesmanship, came from the fact that he was probably the most travelled man in the colonies.

My mind has perhaps unconsciously given first emphasis to Washington, the traveller, because we Governors in the space of three days have been given the privilege of seeing more of the Old Dominion's territory and landmarks than he could have covered in three weeks. It was perhaps fortunate for our life and limb and comfort that we have substituted a motorized caravan on splendid concrete roads for the chaise, the coach and the saddle on red clay roads. . . .

No other President has brought to his office a more complete knowledge of the country—and most of it acquired on horseback at that! Yet, notwithstanding his unique equipment President Washington decided that it was one of "the duties of (his) station to visit every part of the United States in the course of (his) administration of government." He wanted "to acquire knowledge of the face of the Country, the growth and agriculture thereof, and the temper and disposition of the inhabitants themselves."

His many journeys carried him north to Crown Point in New York; south to Savannah in Georgia; west to Gallipolis in Ohio;

east to Boston and to Kittery in Maine. A student of his travels has recently plotted, after months of careful research, the routes followed. That map shows that Washington covered vast distances, if we keep in mind the means of transportation of those days.

This first President of ours was enormously in touch with his United States—the States that he, perhaps more than any individual, made United in fact.

Extraordinarily for an individual, he animated his country, motivated it, inspired it. In the eyes of universal adulation he became its symbol. The special point is that he did all of this at first hand: he did nothing vicariously; he delegated next to nothing in his Americanization.

He knew at this same first-hand every geographical section of the Colonies he made into a Nation. Even in these days of Pullmans, motor-cars and airplanes such itineraries would be a remarkable achievement on the part of a public man half as busy as he was. . . .

While he loved best the serene life of a master farmer at Mount Vernon, it was not given him to enjoy such peace for any considerable time. His life was a succession of long, arduous periods of public service. For six years, military duties relating to the conflict with the French and Indians exacted his energies and at times seriously endangered his health. For the next sixteen years his life at Mount Vernon was more and more disturbed by that growing spirit of revolt against the Mother country which stirred the colonies. Then followed the eight years of Revolution with interludes of despair and disaster. When peace with England came, the affairs of the young Nation were still critical and nearly six years were given to the making of the new Nation. Finally, there were eight years of the Presidency—perhaps the most arduous of all. It is difficult to find any parallel in history for this career, made up of a hard succession of tasks, each, it would seem, harder than its predecessor. It was a lifetime of stern and seemingly endless difficulties. Other lives in other Nations and other times have been similarly filled with action and

with tasks. America has no Caesar, America has no Charlemagne, America has no Henry the Eighth, America has no Napoleon, America has no Lenin: America prefers and always will prefer her Washington.

When he laid down the care of office in 1797, he had completed practically forty-five years of service for his Country and his countrymen—a period covering a succession of infinitely critical times of stress. In spite of a constant burden of treachery, of injustice, of slander and criticism and often of the stupidity of his associates, he maintained—with a few exceptions, when he displayed delightfully human fits of temper—a calm and patient devotion to fundamental issues.

We who have suffered ourselves the pains of public criticism can realize what he meant when he said toward the end of his long career, that he had been “assailed in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter or even to a common pick-pocket.”

He met his problems by patient and informed planning, enlightened by a lively imagination but restrained by practical prudence. This practical and prudent manner of working has made him seem to many historians ultra-conservative, but careful examination of his policies shows that they were far-reaching and liberal for the time and circumstances under which he was working.

Speculation, for example, was prevalent during his career. Some of this, of course, was unavoidable in a period of rapid expansion in a virgin and immature country, but its effect on the industry and habits of the people and on normal economic affairs he deeply deplored. In writing to Jefferson in 1788, he said, “I perfectly agree with you that an extensive speculation, a spirit of gambling, or the introduction of anything which will divert our attention from agriculture must be extremely prejudicial, if not ruinous to us.” Some of my fellow Governors have given voice to this same thought during these past three days.

With respect to the rise of manufacturing, he did not commit himself to a governmental policy of encouraging only manufac-

turing, constantly pointing out that manufacturing should be considered as an aid to what he conceived to be the dominant economy of the country—agriculture. In a letter to Lafayette, he stated in substance, that he would regret to see manufacturing draw vast numbers of workers from the land, and that he felt that such a result was not necessary.

Washington repeatedly emphasized the responsibility of Government for the encouragement of agriculture. This real Father of his Country spoke repeatedly of the wisdom of developing agricultural aid and in 1796, his message said, "It will not be doubted, that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as Nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage." What a pity that recent national leadership and, therefore, recent national thought have so little heeded that precept!

Because he saw that agriculture was a thing that was not susceptible to the principles of competition, it followed for him that it was intimately related to and dependent on governmental policy. Consequently, in his magnificent matter-of-fact manner, he reasoned directly from what he saw to what he thought ought to be done by the Government, not disturbing his mind by mere efforts to reconcile conflicting schools of economic theory. It is some such matter-of-fact attitude that modern statesmen might apply in greater measure to public problems. To concern ourselves less with theory and more with a realism based on the hard lessons of experience, is to serve well the memory of Washington and also the fundamental interests of popular government.

Of the nationalism that dominated Washington's policies, another Virginian President said, speaking at the darkest moment of the Great War, July 4, 1918, at Washington's tomb in Mount Vernon: "It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that

Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted not for a class, but for a people . . . They entertained no private purpose, desired no advantage." So spoke your President and mine—Woodrow Wilson.

This absence of sectionalism, together with his interest in the means of knitting the scattered people of the new Nation together, was the imperishable contribution of Washington. And it was born, as we know, of a firm and accurate knowledge. He saw that nothing could be gained by preaching a mere theory of unity. He first grasped the units and then sought the means of union. He identified the sections and interests, sought with a sympathetic and penetrating mind their special problems and needs and stated them with fairness and courage. Then he sought whether by roads or waterways or by the less material instrumentality of education, the means of national unity. First identify, then unify. "The separate interests," he said, "as far as it is practicable, must be consolidated; and local views must be attended to, as far as the nature of the case will admit . . . If the union of the whole is a desirable object, the component parts must yield a little in order to accomplish it."

It is of interest to note at this Conference of Governors the essential part of a circular letter addressed by him to the Governors of the States at the close of the War of the Revolution. He said: "With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellencies the language of freedom and of sincerity without disguise . . . There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence, of the United States, as an independent power:—

"First. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

"Second. A regard to public justice.

"Third. The adoption of a proper peace establishment; and,

"Fourth. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposi-

tion among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."

Nearly a century and a half later we, as Governors, can accept that calm advice from our First President. We can accept from him those fine fundamentals, and learn from him that theory without practical action moves a Nation but a short distance along the path of progress. . . .

Our styles may change, our means of unity are ever transformed by mechanical invention and by increasing knowledge. To the roads and waterways of his age and generation are now added railroads, air transportation, the telegraph and telephone, the radio and that portentous and enormously valuable national interest, giant electrical power. To surround new means of national usefulness with proper safeguards and legitimate assistance is the way of a statesmanship that depends upon knowledge and facts rather than theory and prejudice. We need education, justice, foreign relations, all cut to the pattern of modern necessity, but above all, unity in the spirit and form of Washington's common sense—a unity based upon a deep and sympathetic knowledge of differences; for knowledge puts away fear, and fear is the father of disunion.

May his spirit watching over us here in his native State and his native land breathe upon us his courage, his sympathy, his knowledge, to the end that we his children may safeguard and foster through all the years the great trust he has given into our keeping.

Join me therefore in these his words:

"That your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained; that its administration may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States under the auspices of liberty may be made complete—this is my unceasing prayer to Heaven."

124 ¶ A Thanksgiving Day Proclamation.

November 18, 1932

I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Governor of the State of New York do proclaim Thursday, the twenty-fourth day of November, this year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirty-two, as Thanksgiving Day.

I ask the people of the State to come together in families, communities and in churches for the giving of thanks to God.

May the many of our people fortunate in their temporal being, and the many who are bearing the stress of poverty, in the common purpose of seeking divine guidance toward greater extending of unselfish charity and help in behalf of fellow men.

It is fitting that men and women of all creeds should join in the words of the prayer:

"O God, almighty and merciful, who healest those that are broken in heart, and turnest the sadness of the sorrowful into joy, let thy fatherly goodness be upon all that thou hast made."

"Remember in pity such as are this day destitute, homeless, forgotten of their fellow men. Bless the congregation of thy poor. Uplift those who are cast down. Mightily befriend in suffering, and sanctify to them the endurance of their wrongs."

"Cheer with hope all discouraged and unhappy people, and by thy heavenly grace preserve from falling those whose pride tempteth them to sin; though they be troubled on every side, suffer them not to be distressed; though they be perplexed, deliver them from despair."

125 ¶ Radio Greeting to the Christmas Ship

Puerto Rico. December 21, 1932

AT THIS hour a unique ceremony is taking place on board the *S. S. Coamo* at her pier in the East River, New York City. Members of the Puerto Rico Child Feeding Committee, repre-

22ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1988 The New York Times Company;
The New York Times

December 28, 1988, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section C; Page 17, Column 4; Cultural Desk

LENGTH: 1108 words

HEADLINE: From Yale to the Ball Park, Good Conduct Is What Counts

BYLINE: By HERBERT MITGANG

BODY:

A. Bartlett Giamatti, one of the country's leading authorities on Dante, Spenser's "Faerie Queene" and the nuances of baseball's balk rule, is the author of a new book called "A Free and Ordered Space: The Real World of the University." Its wide-ranging ideas prove that even after trading the campus for the diamond he's still a Renaissance man.

The former president of Yale, now president of the National League and beginning next season the commissioner of baseball, sat in his Park Avenue office the other day and talked about education, literature, theater, movies and, of course, baseball.

"I used to be able to sit in the dugout during the Yale games," he said. "I thought of it as my franchise, and they still let me do so."

"But I obviously can't sit with one of the big league ball clubs or it would look like favoritism," he said wistfully, sounding like a closet Boston Red Sox fan. Although the most frequently consulted volume on his desk these days is the Official Rules of Baseball, he continues to keep his hand in as a scholar.

The Importance of Civility

A word that keeps coming up in his conversation and his book is civility. He's for it - on and off the playing field. But he also holds strong views about the need for the freedom of conflicting ideas in the university.

Mr. Giamatti believes that William J. Bennett, the former Secretary of Education, and Allan Bloom, the University of Chicago philosophy professor who wrote the best seller "The Closing of the American Mind," have both been wrongheaded in their warnings against the state of American universities and the lack of emphasis on teaching the basic subjects necessary for a well-rounded education.

"Bill Bennett has been flailing the colleges for the last few years, and the tone of Professor Bloom's book is mean-spirited," Mr. Giamatti said. "I don't think information and education are the same; that's a notion that Bennett has exploited. He's on a mission to reform our souls. I don't have any problems with reformation, but these neo-Puritans make me very nervous. Bloom has been traumatized by the 60's. Everyone was, but it's 20 years later now. He has this kind of supply-side, trickle-down theory of education. The notion that American higher education has let down American democracy strikes me as bizarre."

(c) 1988 The New York Times, December 28, 1988

And Mr. Giamatti's Book

Did he consider his book a counterweight to Messrs. Bennett and Bloom?

"Yes, but without necessarily taking them on on their own ground," said Mr. Giamatti, who is 50 years old and lives in New Haven. "Mine is another perspective. If you read Allan Bloom, you'd never think that the American university had any life outside the philosophy department. His view of the classics and mine are not the same. I don't limit a classic education to a particular list of books or subjects. The whole point of education is to have a variety of competing voices, not a single chorus. To mix a yeasty feisty debate and exchange ideas, the universities have to speak up or there will only be these other sounds."

Mr. Giamatti's book, which was published by W. W. Norton, has three parts: the nature and purpose of a university, which he believes has not been explained adequately by university officials; the goals and principles of a liberal education (he is strongly in favor of the humanities instead of emphasizing vocationalism), and the affiliation of the university and government, private industry and other institutions (he says the university should follow "an independent path for the nation's good").

All the Free and Ordered Spaces

As an expert on the Renaissance, what did he think the classics had to do with the free and ordered space of the university world today?

"The Renaissance drew upon the ancient view that the purpose of education is to create a good citizen," Mr. Giamatti said. "That is not a theme any less vital now than it was 500 years ago. The purpose was intellectual training for civil goals and a broadly educated mind - almost to toughen the mind as a muscle. This would prepare you for the problems that the world would confront you with."

"Even the act of creating a work of literature had an ethical purpose for Dante, Spenser, Milton and Shakespeare. It isn't necessary to accept Dante's doctrinal religious framework, but there is a moral perspective to his writing. I've always found it immensely satisfying that literature has an ethical impulse."

Mr. Giamatti said he did not find a great difference between running Yale and the National League. In both cases, people try to fulfill their gifts in "a free and ordered space."

"The university world is a marketplace of ideas essential to the welfare of society," he said. "The ball park is a creative place where people come to take their pleasure by watching players doing their utmost. Wherever, you have to have a sense of order for individual freedom to exist. What always intrigued me about baseball is the relationship of the individual to the group. It's very much an individual sport that you play as a team member, but it isn't a team sport the way football is, where 11 men move on a prearranged signal. Baseball has a random serendipitous nature."

Mr. Giamatti reached for the baseball rule book and flipped the pages until he found what he was looking for.

(c) 1988 The New York Times, December 28, 1988

"There's a wonderful phrase here about the role of the umpire," he said. "It says that his job is to maintain 'the good conduct of the game.' It's almost a Renaissance phrase. I spend a lot of time talking with the umpires because they are the extension of the league on the field. I was just as worried about 'the good conduct of the game' at Yale as here. Allowing people the freedom to behave to their potential is what you would call the glory of the game."

Baseball Books and Movies

Mr. Giamatti has read and seen some of the baseball novels and movies. His favorite is Mark Harris's 'Bang the Drum Slowly.' He found the movie 'Bull Durham' fun because it captured the flavor of the minor leagues. He liked the movie version of Bernard Malamud's 'Natural'; he thought the novel was remarkable but found its mythology puzzling.

"There are marvelous histories of baseball that are really social histories of the country," he said. "More and more I see citations used from baseball archives. The baseball records are sitting there and are a wonderful source for historians. Baseball is one of the free-standing institutions that has survived without radical changes since before the Civil War. It's one of the things that keeps the country together - a kind of lingua franca."

GRAPHIC: Photo of A. Bartlett Giamatti (DOT/Brad Trent)

NAME: GIAMATTI, A BARTLETT; MITGANG, HERBERT

of an outstanding commentary on the *Phänomenologie*, usually presents a restrained humanistic interpretation of the Hegel of Jena. This renaissance of the study of Hegel has conditioned the thought of some of the major thinkers of France. Particularly notable, however, is the Hegelian conditioning of German philosopher-sociologists such as Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno and Herbert Marcuse. The former is sometimes regarded as the most Hegelian thinker of the mid-20th century because he sought to bring again to the fore Hegel's dialectic, understood in a new anti-intellectualistic sense, as a method for the solution of present-day social problems. Marcuse, a partisan of a Diltheian interpretation, approaches the position of the first Hegelian left, ending up in what critics see as a neoromantic anarchism. The major merit of both of these thinkers lies in their incisive analyses of aspects of modern consumer societies, especially American—though their proposed remedies remain uncertain.

Three
currents of
Marxist
interpreta-
tion

The major interest, however, in the contemporary interpretation of Hegel is displayed by the Marxist camp. Marxist interpretation of Hegel had permeated the entire history of Hegelianism (notwithstanding the fact that the critical activity of young Marx against Hegel had been vehemently conducted and had led to various effects). This interpretation had settled upon the distinction made by Engels between the method and the system of Hegel's philosophy—i.e., between the dialectic considered as a revolutionary "principle of movement" that achieves fulfillment in human culture and regarded, on the other hand, as reactionary because idealistic and conservative. With varying emphases on critical issues, this interpretation was continued in subsequent Marxist thinkers—from the Russians Georgy Plekhanov and Lenin to Mao Tse-tung and Stalin—the latter of whom affirmed the complementarity of historical and dialectical Materialism.

Today many Marxist scholars, especially in the countries of eastern Europe, remain favourable to the traditional line of Engels; and above all György Lukács, a Hungarian philosopher and literary critic and author of a volume on the young Hegel, does so. With the intention of revealing the romantic and irrationalistic presuppositions of Naziism, Lukács re-evaluates, in German culture, the tendency of the Enlightenment and of democracy, which he recognizes in the young Goethe, in Schiller, in Hölderlin, and in the young Hegel—in whom he sees, however, a reactionary involution.

A secondary tendency, which is drawing attention in France, with the work of Louis Althusser, draws Marx close to Structuralism, a recent school that seeks, through a "human science," to probe the systematic structures evinced in cultural life. In this school Marx's humanism is viewed as a temporary, Feuerbachian phase, surpassed by commitment to the scientific observation of the structure of bourgeois society. Such Structuralistic interpretation of Marxism thus runs the risk of departing from a due emphasis on the *historical* substance of Marxian Materialism.

The latter motive is, on the other hand, the essential aim of a third Marxist current, in Italy, initiated by Galvano della Volpe, a critical aesthetician who discusses the relationship between bourgeois and Socialist democracy and champions, in aesthetics, a critical and antiromantic Aristotelianism. This current has been continued by Mario Rossi, who asks one to read again in full the texts of Hegel and Marx, to reconstruct the related movements, and to compare the Materialistic conception of history with more recent philosophical currents such as Structuralism, present-day sociology, and the logic of the sciences.

A conclusion of a theoretical-systematic nature concerning Hegelianism has today become not only impossible but also inopportune, because its possible interest has been effectively replaced by that of the sheer history of the movement. The latter has shown how the substantial ambiguity of the philosophy and dialectic of Hegel can be resolved only when its claim to be able to solve all problems on a theoretical level and to achieve a

"circular" decisiveness in its arguments—which violates the conditioning specificity of historical facts—is refuted. It is then the scholar's task to explore the limits of Hegel's thought as well as its conditioned inadequacies—but also its merits, which are above all those of having expressed and documented the major part of the cultural problems of modern civilization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Critical works: Works presenting a critical consideration of Hegelianism viewed as a whole are very few. See, however: STEPHAN D. CRITES, "Hegelianism," in the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 3, pp. 451-459 (1967); MARIO ROSSI, *Introduzione alla storia delle interpretazioni di Hegel* (1953), and *Da Hegel a Marx*, 2 vol. (1970); and RENE SERREAU, *Hegel et l'hégélianisme*, 3rd ed. (1968).

Historical works: J.E. ERDMANN, *Darstellung der Deutschen Philosophie seit Hegels Tode* (1963); WILLY MOOG, *Hegel und die Hegelsche Schule* (1930); KARL LOWITH, *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche*, 3rd ed. (1953; Eng. trans., *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought*, 1964); the two anthologies edited by KARL LOWITH, *Die Hegelsche Linke* (1962), and HERMANN LUBBE, *Die Hegelsche Rechte* (1962), on the Left and Right, respectively.

In various countries: (Germany): HEINRICH LEVY, *Die Hegel-Renaissance in der deutschen Philosophie* (1927). (Italy): MARIO ROSSI (ed.), *Sviluppi dello Hegelismo in Italia* (1957); BENEDETTO CROCE, *Saggio sullo Hegel*, 5th ed. (1967). (Slavic countries): Contributions of authors from Russia, Poland, the Balkans, and Czechoslovakia are presented in *Hegel bei den Slaven*, 2nd ed., ed. by DMITRIJ TSHCHIZEWSKIJ (1961); see also BORIS JAKOWENKO, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hegelianismus in Russland* (1934). (England): HIRA-LAL HALDAR, *Neo-Hegelianism* (1927). (United States): LOYD D. EASTON, "Hegelianism in Nineteenth-Century Ohio," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23:355-378 (1962), for the Cincinnati school; HENRY A. POCHMANN, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences 1600-1900*, pp. 257-294 (1957), for the St. Louis school.

Other works: A. CORNU, *Karl Marx et Friedrich Engels*, 2 vol. (1955-58), is very rich in materials and citations from the *Hallsische* and *Deutsche Jahrbücher*. See also HERBERT MARCUSE, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*, 2nd ed. (1954); SIDNEY HOOK, *From Hegel to Marx* (1950); and *The Monist*, vol. 48, no. 1 (1964), of which the entire issue is on the topic "Hegel Today."

(M.R.)

Heidegger, Martin

Martin Heidegger has been called the most original thinker in the field of contemporary German philosophy. As a leading exponent of Existentialism in the broad sense of that term, he exerted a profound influence on a younger generation of continental European cultural personalities. A critic of technological society and of the role of science, Heidegger has no place for God, whose absence nevertheless plays an important role in his thinking. He does not exalt human goals but sees human existence as a cult of Being—a notion not very unlike certain notions of God. Heidegger invented a strange and difficult vocabulary in order to obviate the trivializing effect of traditional philosophic jargon; but he believed, on the other hand, that some of the most common words, like "to dwell" and "to see," can reveal basic truths about man's existence. Heidegger has made the study of human existence subservient to more profound purposes—to the quest for the meaning of Being conceived as the fundamental principle of reality. This concern is also revealed in the central issue explored in his *Einführung in die Metaphysik* (1953; Eng. trans., *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, 1959); namely, the question "Why is there anything at all and not rather nothing?" Heidegger is thus the most influential ontologist, or student of "Being" as Being, among contemporary philosophers.

Background and youth. Heidegger was born September 26, 1889, in the small town of Messkirch, in Baden, southwest Germany. The son of a Catholic sexton, Heidegger showed an early interest in religion and, upon finishing high school, joined the Jesuits as a novice.

At the University of Freiburg, he studied Catholic theology and medieval Christian philosophy. In fact, his interest in philosophy had already begun when, at secondary school, he started an intensive study of the late 19th-

His
education

Heide
Camer.

cent.
"desc
der 1
totel
cordi
For
the p
be" i
study
Gree
mark
trans
philc
The
upon
Arist
know
posit
centr
er S
Niet:
vital
of pl
by th
Wh
with
axio
alrea
Pher
close
their
espe
into
steac
mine
disse
Heic
forga
mea:
liene
ciolc
ance
His
start
wint
thro
phil
leag:
Pher
spirit
youn
in 19
an a

cial (but never uninteresting), interpretations and etymologies.

Man stands out (*ex-sists*, not merely *ex-ists*) from things, says Heidegger in *Being and Time*, never being completely absorbed by them, but nevertheless being nothing (no-thing) apart from them. Man dwells in a world that he has been and continues to be thrown into until death. Being thrown into things, being-there (*Da-sein*), he falls away (*Verfall*) and is on the point of being submerged into things. He is continually a project (*Ent-wurf*); but periodically, or even normally, he may be submerged in things to such a degree that he is temporarily absorbed (*Aufgehen in*). He is then nobody in particular; and a structure that Heidegger calls *das Man* ("the they") is revealed, which recalls certain Anglo-American sociological criticisms of modern industrial society that stress man's "other-directedness," his tendency to measure himself in terms of his peers. But Heidegger's phenomenological metaphors avoid social science terms as much as possible in favour of ontological terms. Characteristic of *das Man* are idle talk (*Gerede*) and curiosity (*Neugier*). In *Gerede*, talker and listener do not stand in any genuine personal relation or in any intimate relation to what is talked about; hence, it leads to shallowness. Curiosity is a form of distraction, a need for the "new," a need for something "different," without real interest or capability of wonder.

But there is a mood, anxiety or dread (*Angst*), that functions to disclose (dis-close) authentic being, freedom (*Frei-sein*), as a potentiality. It manifests the freedom of man to choose himself and take hold of himself. The relevance of time, of the finiteness of human existence, is then experienced as a freedom to meet his own death (*das Freisein für den Tod*), a preparedness for and continuous relatedness to his own death (*Sein zum Tode*). In anxiety, all entities (*Seiendes*) sink away into a "nothing and nowhere," man hovers in himself as ex-sisting, being nowhere at home (*Un-heimlichkeit, Un-zu-hause*). He faces no-thing-ness (*das Nichts*); and all average, obvious everydayness disappears—and this is good, since he now faces the potentiality of authentic being.

Thus, the "sober" (*nüchtern*) anxiety and the implied confrontation with death are for Heidegger primarily of methodological importance: fundamentals are revealed. Among the structures revealed are potentialities for being joyfully active ("... knowing joy [*die wissende Heiterkeit*] is a door to the eternal"). Anxiety opens man up to Being. But this does not imply that Being partakes in the dark aspect of dread; Being is associated with "light" and with "the joyful" (*das Heitere*). Being "calls the tune"; "to think Being" is to arrive at one's (true) home. Though Heideggerian students are often baffled by just what Being and thinking stand for, it is clear that Heidegger opposes a mere cult of mankind and wishes to call attention to something greater.

Later life. In the early 1930s, there occurred an event in the thought of Heidegger that scholars call his *Kehre* ("turning around"), which is said by some specialists to involve a turning away from the problem of *Being and Time*. This was denied by Heidegger himself, who insisted that he had been asking the same basic question since his youth. But in his later years he clearly became more reluctant to offer any answer. He did not even indicate a way in which to reach an answer to the basic problem of *Being and Time*.

At about the time of the *Kehre*, there also occurred Heidegger's short but eloquent pro-Nazi participation in the cultural politics of the Third Reich, which became a matter of considerable controversy. Even before Hitler assumed power in November 1933, German universities were exposed to heavy pressures. They were supposed to support the "national revolution" and eliminate Jewish scholars and doctrines (such as relativity). The anti-Nazi scientist who had been the rector at Freiburg resigned in protest, and the teaching staff unanimously elected Heidegger as his successor.

Heidegger's inauguration speech ("The German University's Self-Affirmation") was widely declared to be an

affirmation of Nazism. To be sure, he divided student tasks into work service, military service, and scientific service; but this fell within the area of the authoritarian educational policy of Plato; and the speech ended not with a "Heil, Hitler!" but with a quotation from Plato's *Republic*: "All great things stand in peril." The speech turned against scientific specialization; it urged the asking of the question "What is it to be?"; and it warned against losing oneself in "things" (*Seiendes*; opposite *das Sein*). On other occasions, however, Heidegger gave solidly pro-Hitler speeches. "The Führer himself," he said, "and he alone is the German reality, present and future, and its law." In short, Heidegger succumbed to Hitlerism, but not to Nazi cultural policy or philosophy.

Under some pressure, Heidegger joined the Nazi Party and did not try to leave it. His relations to the party, however, and to the whole Nazi environment rapidly deteriorated. He resigned as rector as early as the beginning of 1934. After World War II, Heidegger characterized Hitlerism as the historical explosion of a structural sickness in mankind as a whole and expressed concern that it would take time to get rid of the poison.

In November 1944 Heidegger terminated his university lectures, and in 1945 the occupying powers forbade him to take up official lecturing again. He was "investigated"; but his support of Hitler in 1933–34 was not found to be of the serious, "active" kind, and he did not lose his professional rights. His status remained a matter of controversy, however, until he reached the age of retirement in 1959. Nevertheless, he gave influential regular lectures in the years 1951–58, and his attitude in 1933–34 did not affect his strong position within the international Phenomenological movement.

Perhaps the specific pretension of Heidegger's phenomenological method rests on a grandiose illusion, and perhaps the search for thinking Being is merely a disguised quest for a kind of belief in God; perhaps his abstruse terminology is only a mask covering and mystifying a more traditional approach. Such irreverent evaluations would scarcely be unsympathetic to Heidegger, if joined with the intent to verify or falsify it by genuinely following his own path through his writings. After all, he asks, or rather, provokes, us to *question*, not to listen to any answers. It is, therefore, misleading to present Heidegger's philosophy as a set of clearly understandable results. His metaphors must remain, rather than be translated into a usual philosophical terminology that he rejected.

Heidegger preferred to live in his retreat in the Black Forest and in his last years had few followers in his effort to think Being. He died in the town where he was born on May 26, 1976.

MAJOR WORKS

"Das Realitätsproblem in der modernen Philosophie," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 25 (1912); *Die Lehre vom Urteil im Psychologismus: Ein kritisch-positiver Beitrag zur Logik* (1914); *Die Kategorien- und Bedeutungslehre des Duns Scotus* (1916); "Der Zeitbegriff in der Geschichtswissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 161 (1916); *Sein und Zeit: Erste Hälfte*, first as a contribution to the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung*, 8 (1927), then as a separate book (1927; 11th ed., 1967; *Being and Time*, 1962); *Kant und das Problem der Metaphysik* (1929; Eng. trans. by James Churchill, *Kant and the Problem of Metaphysics*; 1962); *Vom Wesen des Grundes* (1929; *The Essence of Reasons*, 1969); *Was ist Metaphysik?* (1929; 10th ed., 1969; "What Is Metaphysics?" in the selective volume *Existence and Being*, ed. by W. Brock, 1949); *Die Selbstbehauptung der deutschen Universität* (1933); *Hölderlin und das Wesen der Dichtung* (lecture of 1936, printed 1937; Eng. trans. in *Existence and Being*); *Platons Lehre von der Wahrheit*, first as a contribution to *Geistige Überlieferung* (1942), then in book form (1947), Eng. trans. in William Barrett and H.D. Aiken (eds.), *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2 (1962); *Vom Wesen der Wahrheit* (1943, from lectures given 1930–32; 4th ed., 1961; Eng. trans. in *Existence and Being*); *Erläuterungen zu Hölderlins Dichtung* (1944; 3rd ed., 1963); *Brief über den "Humanismus"*, first with *Platons Lehre . . .* (1947), then separately (1949), Eng. trans. in *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century*; *Holzwege* (1950; 4th ed., 1963); *Einführung in die Metaphysik* (1953; 3rd ed., 1967; *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, 1959); *Der Feldweg* (1953; 4th ed.,

Anxiety
and
freedom

Evaluation

1969); *Vo. heisst Denk der Erfahrung losophie? frage* (1953; *Grund (19 Metaphysik Sprache (Ursprung städter and 1964); Nie Zu Kant's 1 What Is a*

BIBLIOGR
nunft (19c
ception of
tion to wh
Martin H.
deggers S
nitions an
verely res
Martin,"
; vol. 3 (19
able trans
conception
the Gerr.
Heidegger
sche Fors
ger redivi
fluentia
and influ.
MACQUARI
Heidegger
ger's syste
and guilt-
"Heidegg
genstein,
lines of ti
tin Heide
tion to I
Through
ger (196:
study, the
nomenok
the Pre-S
clear acc
conclusio

Heilun

Heilun
the nor
(former
and eas
the He
Soviet
(Wu-su-
Autono
Chinese
derived
The pro
(705,30
area of
was tra
nomous
was ove
000. TH
Heilun
the thr
this re:
popula
lians, f
groups
Union
the 17t

HISTOR

The pr
consist
Tungic
Stone
along
mainec
forest

Heilun
Tungic
Stone
along
mainec
forest



Heidegger.
Camera Press—Pix

century Catholic philosopher Franz Brentano, author of a "descriptive" psychology, as presented in Brentano's *Von der mannigfachen Bedeutung des Seienden nach Aristoteles* (1862; "On the Manifold Meaning of Being According to Aristotle").

For the rest of his life Heidegger was to contemplate the possibility that there is a basic sense of the verb "to be" that lies behind its variety of usages. From his early study of Brentano also stems his enthusiasm for the Greeks, especially the pre-Socratics, whose thought marks the dawning of the penetrating reflection that transpired before the cleavage of thinking into poetry, philosophy, and science occurred.

The philosophy of Heidegger is obviously dependent upon the philosophers prior to Socrates, upon Plato and Aristotle, and upon the Gnostics, who claimed secret knowledge. He was particularly influenced, however—positively or negatively—by several 19th- and early 20th-century philosophers: by the Danish theological thinker Søren Kierkegaard and the Dionysian vitalist Friedrich Nietzsche, founders of Existentialism; by the historical vitalist Wilhelm Dilthey, noted for directing the attention of philosophers to the human and historical sciences; and by the founder of Phenomenology, Edmund Husserl.

When still in his 20s, Heidegger studied at Freiburg with Heinrich Rickert, later of the southwest school of axiological Kantianism, and with Husserl, who was then already famous; and for five years he was schooled in the Phenomenological method, in which the philosopher closely examines immediate experience and its objects in their essential aspects. Husserl's Phenomenology, and especially his struggle against the intrusion of psychology into essential studies of man—which he felt should, instead, be conducted on the philosophical level—determined the background of the young Heidegger's doctoral dissertation, completed in 1914. Consequently, what Heidegger later said and wrote about anxiety, thinking, forgetfulness, curiosity, distress, care, or awe was not meant as psychology; and what he said about man, publicness, and other-directedness was not intended to be sociology, anthropology, or political science. His utterances were meant, instead, to disclose ways of Being.

His magnum opus: "Being and Time." Heidegger started teaching at the University of Freiburg during the winter semester of 1915 and earned his habilitation through a study of the 13th-century British Franciscan philosopher Duns Scotus. In this position, now as a colleague of Husserl, Heidegger was expected to carry the Phenomenological movement further along within the spirit of his former master. As a religiously inclined young man, however, he went his own way instead and in 1927 astonished the German philosophical world with an almost unreadable work, *Sein und Zeit* (Eng. trans.,

Being and Time, 1962)—a work that, however, was immediately felt to be of prime importance, whatever its relation to Husserl might be. In spite of, or perhaps partly because of, its intriguingly difficult style, this book, which was Heidegger's magnum opus, was acclaimed as a deep and important work not only in German-speaking countries but also in Latin countries, where Phenomenology was already well known. It strongly influenced Sartre in France and other Existentialists; and despite Heidegger's protestations, he was classed, on the strength of this book, as the leading atheistic Existentialist. Its reception in the English-speaking world, however, was rather chilly, and its influence negligible until the 1960s. Since then, more and more universities have offered courses on Heidegger, and careful translations and commentaries have begun to appear. The influence of this book up to 1970 was still profound, but hardly stirring.

In *Being and Time*, Heidegger's declared purpose is to bring to light what it means for a man to be, or, more accurately, *how* it is to be. This leads to a more fundamental question: what it means to ask "What is the meaning of Being?" These questions lie behind the obviousness of everyday life and, therefore, also behind the empirical questions of natural science. They are usually overlooked because they are too near to be grasped in everyday life. One might say that the whole prophetic mission of Heidegger amounts to making each man ask that question with maximum involvement. Whether he will ever arrive at any definite answer or not is, in the present crisis of mankind, of secondary importance.

This crisis, according to Heidegger, stems from a deep fall (*Verfall*) that Western thought has undergone, owing to a one-sided technical development, a development that results in alienation (*Entfremdung*), or, as expressed in terms more central to Heidegger's thought, in a "highly inauthentic way of being." Fallenness, or inauthenticity, belongs to the inescapable way of human existence; *i.e.*, it is an existential, an essential, potentiality (*Möglichkeit*), but epochs and individuals may be coloured by it in different degrees. This somewhat stern outlook has been mitigated, however, in Heidegger's later writings, in which he suggests that there are possibilities of redemption by "thinking of Being" and, thus, again coming closer to Being—a process in which, he believes, continental European rather than Eastern or Western countries are to lead the way.

The wealth of ideas contained in *Being and Time* is best discussed, however, in conjunction with those developed in another, short work, *Was ist Metaphysik?* (1929; Eng. trans., *What is Metaphysics?*, 1949). At the time of publishing *Being and Time*, Heidegger had been a professor ordinarius at Marburg for several years (since 1923). He resigned that post and, in 1928, returned to Freiburg, this time as Husserl's successor. *What Is Metaphysics?* was Heidegger's inaugural lecture; it elaborates one of his favourite themes, *das Nichts* ("nothing"); *i.e.*, the no-thing (see below).

As Heidegger learned from Husserl, it is the phenomenological and not the scientific method that unveils man's ways of Being. Thus, in pursuing this method, Heidegger comes into conflict with the dichotomy of the subject-object relation, which has traditionally implied that man, as knower, is something (some-thing) within an environment that stands over against him. This relation, however, must be transcended. The deepest knowing, on the contrary, is a matter of *phainesthai* (Greek: "to show itself" or "to be in the light"), the word from which phenomenology, as a method, is derived. Something is just "there" in the light. Thus, the distinction between subject and object is not immediate but comes only later through conceptualization, as in the sciences.

As an aid in the effort to get back to "Thinking of Being" and its redemptive effects, Heidegger employs linguistic or hermeneutical techniques. He develops his own German, his own Greek, and his own kind of etymologies. He coins, for example, about 100 new complex words ending with "-being." In reading his works one must, thus, translate many of its key terms back into Greek words and then consider his free, often very spe-

Heidegger's notion of the meaning of Being

Phenomenological and etymological methods

DRAFT

September 11, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER

SUBJECT: Public Perceptions About America's Schools

This is the first in a series of background memorandums on education as you prepare for the Education Summit Conference With Governors. This memo focusses on the attitudes of the American public toward education.

The American public overwhelmingly is committed to a quality education system. A 1988 Gallup Poll showed that 88 percent of the public believes that "developing the best educational system in the world" is "very important" to American strength over the next twenty-five years. By contrast only 65 percent felt that "developing the most efficient industrial production system" was very important and only 47 percent felt that "building the strongest military force" was very important.

At the same time, the public expresses general satisfaction with the performance of the schools their children are attending and a feeling that educational trends are moving in the right direction. A widespread assumption exists among policy makers that American schools are performing poorly and the public senses that there is a national problem with education in general. One might make the analogy to the public's view of Congress. While the institution of Congress is generally held in low esteem, individual Congressmen are quite popular in their own districts.

Level of Satisfaction

The more familiar Americans are with schools, the more pleased they are. This fact manifests itself in two ways. First, satisfaction rises as people have more first-hand knowledge of the school system. Second, people are happier about their local schools than about schools in general.

1. Parents with children in public schools are far more supportive of their schools than non-parents.

The Gallup poll asked respondents to grade their local public schools on an A,B,C,D,F basis. As the following table indicates, local public school parents were the most positive about the schools their children attended. The next most favorable reaction came from public school parents about the public schools in general. Adults with no school age children ranked their local public schools less favorably.

GRADES GIVEN SCHOOLS BY PARENTS AND OTHER ADULTS

	A or B	C	D or F
Grade given by parents to school their oldest child attended	71	19	6
Grade given by parents to local schools generally	57	29	13
Grade given by other adults to local schools generally	38	34	16

2. People are more pleased with the schools in their town than they are with the situation at schools in the nation as a whole.

The most favorable comments about schools were in regard to the local public school system. Respondents gave much lower grades to the public schools in the nation as a whole.

GRADES GIVEN LOCAL SCHOOLS VS. SCHOOLS NATIONALLY

	A or B	C	D or F
Grade given local public schools	43	35	15
Grade given public schools nationally	22	47	19

3. When asked how much confidence they have in the nation's institutions, people rate schools relatively high.

Forty-nine percent of all respondents said they had a "great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in the public schools. By contrast, the most confidence expressed was in churches in which 59 percent expressed a "great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence. Only 35 percent expressed as much confidence in Congress, only 27 percent in television, and only 25 percent in big business.

Trends: Moving in the Right Direction

While many policy makers believe that our schools are in decline, the public in general thinks that our schools are improving.

1. Survey data suggests that people think that the schools in their community have improved over the last 5 years.

Among the entire population, 29 percent feel that the schools have gotten better while 19 percent feel that they have gotten worse. That 29-19 margin in 1988 is up from 25-22 in 1987. Furthermore, parents of public school children, who should be the most sensitive to any change, feel that things have gotten better by a 39-16 percent margin. Even those who one would imagine would be most skeptical, parents of children in non-public schools, feel that the public schools are getting better by a 36-25 percent margin. Those people least sensitive to any changes, adults with no school age children, are also least likely to see improvement.

2. Adults see the education of today's children as being better than their own education.

Among all adults, the margin seeing today's education as better is 48-35. Among those with children currently in public school the margin is 58-31. Even those with children outside the public schools see a substantial improvement, by a margin of 54-38. Again, those least sensitive to the current school environment are those who are the least positive. People with no school age children think things have gotten better by a margin of 44-37.

Furthermore, this sense of generational improvement has developed within the last 10 years. In 1979, adults felt that the education of children that year was worse than that which they received by a margin of 42-41.

Conclusion

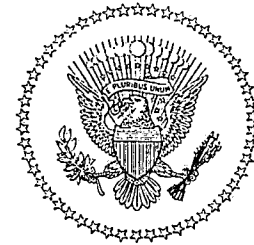
These data contain both good news and bad news. On the one hand, the public is more satisfied than one might think about the quality of their schools. Unfortunately, this satisfaction might make it more difficult to convince people that significant changes are needed. Future memos will provide you ~~provide you~~ with information indicating that the attainment levels of America's school children are a serious matter for concern.

The survey results also suggest that the public is feels that the reforms of recent years are having a positive impact on the nation's schools. Many of these reforms emphasized your goals of choice, excellence, accountability, and targeting the needy. The second memo in this series will highlight public attitudes toward specific reform initiatives.

J81
.22
1982
11
0.4

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1982

(IN TWO BOOKS)

JANUARY 1 TO JULY 2, 1982

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1983

plied to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after February 23, 1979, and was to continue through February 22, 1982, unless earlier modified or terminated. The quota permitted the importation of a quantity or value of articles which is not less than the average annual quantity or value of such articles imported into the United States in the 1973-1978 period.

2. On December 7, 1981, the United States International Trade Commission (USITC), in accordance with sections 203(i)(3) and (5) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(i)(3) and 2253(i)(5)), reported the results of its investigation as required in section 203(i)(3) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(i)(3)) to the President (USITC Publication 1201). The USITC advised the President that termination or reduction of the import relief presently in effect with regard to certain clothespins will have an adverse economic effect on the domestic industry producing like or directly competitive products.

3. Section 203(h)(3) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(h)(3)) provides that any import relief instituted under the authority of section 203 may be extended by the President at a level no greater than that in effect at the time of extension if the President determines, after considering the advice of the USITC and the factors indicated in section 202(c) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2252(c)), that an extension is in the national interest.

4. In accordance with sections 203(h)(3) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(h)(3)), I have determined that import relief hereinafter proclaimed as to imports of certain clothespins should be extended at the level of relief in effect for the period of February 23, 1979, through February 22, 1982, and

that such extension is in the national interest.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including sections 203 and 604 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253 and 2483), and in accordance with Article XIX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (61 Stat. (pt. 5) A58; 8 UST (pt. 2) 1786), do proclaim that—

(1) Part I of Schedule XX to the GATT is modified to take into account the actions taken in this proclamation.

(2) Subpart A, part 2 of the Appendix to the TSUS is modified by deleting, in the superior heading to items 925.11, 925.12, and 925.13, the years "1979" and "1982" and by inserting "1982" and "1984", respectively, in lieu thereof.

(3) This proclamation shall be effective as to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after February 23, 1982, and before the close of February 22, 1984, unless the period of its effectiveness is earlier expressly modified or terminated.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-second day of February, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-two, and of the independence of the United States of America the two hundred and sixth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:05 a.m., February 23, 1982]

Note: The text of the proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 23.

Nomination of Peter Otto Murphy To Have the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as United States Negotiator on Textile Matters

February 23, 1982

The President today announced his intention to nominate Peter Otto Murphy, of the

District of Columbia, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United

States Negotiator on Textile Matters. He would succeed Michael B. Smith.

Mr. Murphy joined the Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations in November 1974, to participate in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland. During these negotiations, he participated in a number of nontariff meas-

ure issues and was responsible for the United States position on textile tariff negotiations. He has worked in the USTR's textile office since February 1977.

He graduated from Washington and Jefferson College (B.A., 1971) and Georgetown University (M.S.F.S., 1974). He was born March 23, 1948, in Providence, R.I.

Appointment of William P. Horn as a Commissioner of the United States Section of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission

February 23, 1982

The President today announced his intention to appoint William P. Horn to be a Commissioner of the U.S. Section of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission. He would succeed Robert L. Herbst.

Mr. Horn is currently Deputy Under Secretary of the Interior. Previously he was staff assistant to the Secretary of the Interior. He was minority consultant to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, in 1977-81;

special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior (Land and Water) in 1976-77; confidential assistant to the Secretary of Commerce in 1975-76; and acting executive director, House Republican Conference, U.S. House of Representatives, in 1975.

He graduated from the American University (B.A., 1972). He is married and resides in Falls Church, Va. He was born December 16, 1950, in Dover, Del.

Toasts at a White House Dinner Honoring the Nation's Governors

February 23, 1982

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, there's nothing like a dinner by candlelight, is there? *[Laughter]*

Well, your advice and counsel during these past days and in the year since I came to office have been invaluable as we've worked to renew the health and promise of this country. And together, we've begun restoring the partnership between the levels of American government.

I'm aware that some of you feel caught between yesterday's call for greater autonomy and tomorrow's fear of being left alone with problems you didn't create. To you I give this pledge: The Federal Government will not turn its back on people, communities, or States in need of help. We will not create winners and losers, turning States

and regions against each other. Our goal has been and will remain to bring prosperity to all Americans in every part of our country.

The reforms that we've proposed won't work miracles, but they will bring progress. They don't confuse the ideals of Federal assistance with the failed realities of bureaucracy.

You know, I have to stop and tell you one of my favorite stories about bureaucracy. There was a man in Washington whose job was sitting at a desk in his particular department. And papers came to his desk, and he decided where they should go and initialed them and sent them on. And one day a classified paper came to him, but he read it and figured out where it should go, ini-

tialed it and sent it on. And a couple of days later it came back to him saying, "You were not supposed to read this." [Laughter] "Erase your initials, and initial the erasure." [Laughter]

Well, sometimes you recognize that programs that have helped will wipe away those that have failed or made matters worse is what it is—what we're aiming at. In this centennial year of the birth of Franklin Roosevelt, a former Governor, we should read again his words with regard to our need to restore economic sanity to Washington and power and resources to you. He said, "Civilization cannot go back. Civilization must not stand still. It is our task to perfect, to improve, to alter when necessary, but, in all cases, to go forward."

F.D.R. also expressed his belief in giving back to the States authorities which he said had been unjustly usurped by the Federal Government. And I figure if we give enough of them back, then I'm going to be able to go to the ranch more often. [Laughter]

But we of this era must understand that we, too, have come upon a new day. We must change the way that we view government's role in our rapidly changing society. Roosevelt's challenge is our challenge tonight and in the weeks and months ahead. We must summon the courage to move forward. Governor Snelling put it very well when he said, "Either you believe in democracy or you don't." Well, I do, and I know you do, too.

Our program for economic recovery and our proposal to restore the partnership between State, local, and Federal Government are born from that belief. They spring from an abiding faith in the American people and in our ability to govern ourselves.

I'm pleased and encouraged by your action this morning in passing a federalism resolution in a spirit of bipartisanship and cooperation. I'm waiting to read and hear about it in the media, but—[laughter]—anyway, I know you've done it. [Laughter]

You've taken a significant step toward the achievement of the revitalized federalism we've all been requesting for a number of years.

So, now I ask you to join me in a toast

that we can all drink to, those ideals of democracy and to our partnership for progress through which we will make them live again.

Thank you very much, and thank you all for being here.

Governor Snelling. Mr. President, on behalf of the Governors of the States and territories of this nation, we want to thank you and your very gracious First Lady for this welcome. The state dinner is the highlight always of any meeting of the National Governors' Association, and we consider it a very great privilege to join you here in this house.

Mr. President, one of the reasons why I admire you so much is because you understand and appreciate Cal Coolidge of Vermont. And you have spoken quite a bit about Cal Coolidge, and you understand that Cal didn't say very much. As a matter of fact you've already said more than Cal said in his entire life. But what Cal said he said wisely, and he was not only a man who had great insight about government, but also a very deep sense of humor, and your references to the news reports of what we did reminds me of the story they tell about Cal Coolidge.

People in Plymouth really appreciated him, and they liked the fact that even after he was President of the United States, he still cared about his farm in Plymouth, and he came home often. So, they decided on one occasion to honor him, and they decided they'd have something made—hand-made as a symbol of their respect for him. And they finally had a rake made—a hay rake, of course. And they invited him back to Plymouth, and when he was next there they agreed to have the most eloquent person in town present the rake to the President.

And it came to pass, and the loquacious gentleman got up and said, "Mr. President, we're just so honored to present this rake to you which we have hand-made of hickory, because hickory is a very durable wood, and because like you, Mr. President, hickory, when it is fashioned, holds its shape and no longer changes, and because, like you, Mr. President, hickory weathers well. And we want you to have this as a symbol of our

affection for you and our appreciation of your affection for Vermont." And the man handed it to the President. Cal took it, turned it over twice, looked out at the audience, and said, "It's ash." [Laughter]

Mr. President, no matter what you hear about the Governors of the United States rejecting your overture to make federalism a high priority item on your agenda, the Governors of the United States did not do that. The Governors of the United States appreciate the fact that you who have been one of us have fully appreciated that sense of urgency with which the American people wish to see government come back home. And we want to salute you for not only appreciating that urge but for acting upon it, and for putting before us and putting before the Congress and putting before the people of the United States an agenda in which the recognition of the constitutional rights and obligations of the States and of local government has a very high priority. And in that spirit, the Governors of these

States and territories have responded by making specific suggestions to you and by accepting your offer to work with them.

And so, we want to salute you for being the kind of leader who recognizes not only what is important to the people of this country but who also takes the kinds of actions which makes it clear that he believes fully in what he says. I think your offer to negotiate with us these matters, and to meet with us, and to provide some give and some take is very, very much appreciated by everyone in this room, because you've not just offered, you have demonstrated that you will treat the Federal partners as partners. And for that, Mr. President, we salute you, and we thank you.

To the President.

Note: The President spoke at 9:50 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Governor Richard A. Snelling of Vermont is chairman of the National Governors' Association.

Executive Order 12347—Agreement on Government Procurement February 23, 1982

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Title III of the Trade Agreements Act of 1979 (19 U.S.C. 2511–2518), and to reflect that the Maritime Administration continues to be one of the agencies to whom the Agreement on Government Procurement is applicable, notwithstanding the transfer of the Maritime Administration from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Transportation (46 U.S.C. 1601), it is hereby ordered that the Annex to Executive Order

No. 12260 is amended by adding thereto the following: "54. Maritime Administration of the Department of Transportation."

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
February 23, 1982.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:43 a.m., February 24, 1982]

Note: The text of the Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 24.

CLINTON / PERICH / ^{BOOTH} GARDNER / on Board

mini-summits

Mrs. BUSH AND

FORMAT

POTUS 5-7 MINUTES

WORKING SESSION 90 min

3 working groups / POTUS to all 3

Dine AT MONTECELLO

(ED. AID)

Plenary session / Break out / 30 minutes in each

CONVOCATION @ U. Va. / Working lunch.

CLOSING REMARKS FOR PRESS CONF.

ED. TRADE Press

Prof. ED.  @ U. Va.

Thomas Jeff.

BEGINNING / OPENING THE DOORS / HISTORIC /

/ Never before Cabinet + Gov.s /

(S. Korea / Two looks)

We speak too much of returning to trad. Trad. values of hard work? Yes. Tradition of competition? Yes. ~~But we must shatter~~

We must embrace and renew those

traditions that lead to excellence. But why? traditional way of doing ed. doesn't work; doesn't this, ~~and that~~, then tradition must be shattered.

get A do not counsel a ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~not~~

J81

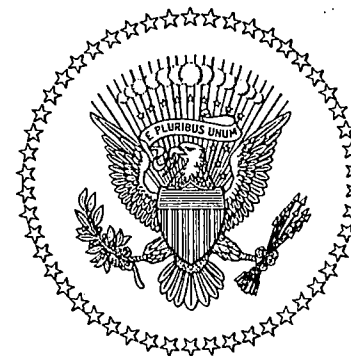
.C2

1981

11/1

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1981

JANUARY 20 TO DECEMBER 31, 1981

1967. In 1961-65 he was a staff member with Stoughton, Den Hartog & ... became a certified public accountant in 1965.

He is a member of several CPA organizations. His participation in community activities has included the regional advisory committee of the Small Business Administration in Fresno and San Francisco

areas. He has also been a charter member of the Latin-American Businessmen's Association where he was selected Man of the Year in 1979. Mr. Cardenas has been active in various Republican campaigns at the local, State, and national level since 1967.

Mr. Cardenas is married and has two children. He is 47 years old and resides in Fresno, Calif.

Nomination of Ann McGill Gorsuch To Be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency February 23, 1981

The President announced today his intention to nominate Ann McGill Gorsuch to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

She is an attorney with the Colorado Department of Mountain Bell Telephone. She also served as deputy attorney general for Denver.

She served 4 years as a Colorado State Senator. She served as vice chairman of the House Judiciary Committee in 1978, chairman of the House

State Affairs Committee in 1978-80, member of the House Transportation Committee in 1977, chairman of the House Legal Affairs Committee, and chairman of the Joint (House/Senate) Committee.

In 1977, as a member of the House Transportation Committee, she played a key role in the enactment of the Colorado stationary sources (air quality) bill.

Mrs. Gorsuch is a resident of Denver, Colo. She was born in Casper, Wyo., on April 21, 1942.

Nomination of John Whitlock Hernandez To Be Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency February 23, 1981

The President announced today his intention to nominate John Whitlock Hernandez to be Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Dr. Hernandez has been professor of civil engineering at New Mexico State University. He has served as dean of the School of Engineering, codirector of the Environmental Institute and the Southwest Resources Institute and Engineering.

Dr. Hernandez has a B.S. in civil engineering from the University of New Mexico, a M.S. in sanitary engineering from the University of New Mexico, and a Ph. D. in water

resources from Harvard University. A registered professional engineer and land surveyor in New Mexico, Dr. Hernandez has written extensively in professional publications on water quality and waste treatment. He received a letter of commendation from President Nixon in 1970 for exceptional service in the field of air and water pollution. In 1978 he received the Engineer of the Year Award by the New Mexico Society of Professional Engineers.

Dr. Hernandez is married and resides in Las Cruces, N. Mex. He was born in Albuquerque, N. Mex., on August 17, 1929.

Nomination of Emanuel S. Savas To Be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development February 23, 1981

The President announced today his intention to nominate Emanuel S. Savas to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (Policy Development and Research).

Since 1973 Dr. Savas has been professor of public systems management and director of the Center for Government Studies, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University. In 1970-72 he was first deputy city administrator, city of New York. In 1967-69 Dr. Savas was deputy city administrator, office of the mayor, city of New York. Previously he worked with the IBM Corp., first as control system consultant in 1959-65; assistant to the director of personnel in 1965-66; and manager of urban systems in 1966-67.

He has served on the editorial board of Urban Affairs Quarterly since 1978. He is a member of the American Public Works Association, American Society for Public Administration, Council of University Institutes of Urban Affairs, Urban and Regional Information Systems Association. He is the author of many books and articles.

Dr. Savas was graduated from the University of Chicago (B.A., 1951; B.S., 1953); Columbia University (M.A., 1956; Ph. D., 1960). He served in the U.S. Army in 1953-55.

Dr. Savas is married and has two children. He resides with his family in New York City.

Remarks at a White House Meeting With the National Governors' Association February 23, 1981

Well, I just want to say this is a time for nostalgia for me. I see some familiar faces around here, and I want you to know that when you're all in town and around a hotel and walking down the corridor, I do the same thing that you do. Somebody says "Governor," and I turn around. [Laughter] But I appreciate this opportunity for some dialog with almost the entire membership of the National Governors' Association and look forward to working with you in a new approach to solving all the problems that, I think, we have together.

I am looking forward to having a coordinating task force on federalism and would appreciate your suggestions before you leave as to how we can organize this. In the meantime I'll be working with Rich Williamson¹ on the initial planning stages.

¹Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs Richard S. Williamson.

As you know, this is a longtime dream of mine, this thing of balancing up the divisions of government. I think they've been badly distorted over the years. I've dreamed about it before and just today was going through some things that are still in the desk drawers from the old days. And I came across this set of figures—I don't know what they would be today, but back when I was Governor, that for every 10,000 Americans there are 12 doctors, 11 lawyers and judges, 40 gas station attendants, and 37 telephone employees. So, that's a total of 100 for every 10,000 people to keep us healthy and give us legal advice and sit in the courts and fill our cars with gas and take care of the telephones. But there were 130 Federal civilian employees for every 10,000 people, and I thought that was too many then, and I think it's too many now. But the Intergovernmental Affairs Office of

the White House will be playing a part in our deliberations.

And I'd like also your thoughts on revenue sharing. Again, my dream has always been that, if possible, the ideal situation would be not the connection of Federal grants but of eventually turning over to the States—and turning, I'd say, back to the States, tax sources that more properly belong there and which would then help fund responsibilities that also properly belong at the State level instead of at the Federal level.

Now, we haven't made a final decision on

some of the things with regard to revenue sharing, but I would like to hear from you and to hear your comments. But first I'm going to call on Governor Busbee for comments from chairmen of your standing committees.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 4 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Governor George Busbee of Georgia is chairman of the National Governors' Association.

Proclamation 4821—Save Your Vision Week February 23, 1981

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Of all God's gifts, the ability to see is one of the most precious. It is the sense of sight that saves mankind from living in darkness. It is the sense of sight that permits individuals to communicate with each other and to future generations through literature and art. It enables man to enjoy the magnificence of a sunset and the promise of a rainbow.

Unfortunately, sight is often taken for granted. Few realize how many of our citizens lose their sight every year. Yet many forms of blindness can be cured if discovered soon enough, and many blinded by accident could have kept their sight had they taken only minor eye safety precautions.

Each of us has the responsibility to care for that which is ours. Our eyesight and the eyesight of our children should be paramount on the list of personal responsibilities. Money cannot buy it, but a check-up and early care can preserve it.

To remind all Americans of the importance of good vision and of the ways we can

safeguard our eyesight, the Congress, by joint resolution approved December 20, 1973 (77 Stat. 629, 26 U.S.C. 169a), has requested the President to proclaim the first week in March of each year as "Save Your Vision Week."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning March 1, 1981, as Save Your Vision Week. I urge all of our citizens to join this observance by showing greater concern for preserving vision and preventing eye injury at home, at work, and at play. Also, I call upon educators and communicators, as well as eye care professionals, to stress to the public the importance of eye care and eye safety for Americans of all ages.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of February, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred eighty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:52 a.m., February 24, 1981]

Executive Order 12292—Foreign Service Act of 1950 February 23, 1981

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (94 Stat. 2071; 22 U.S.C. 3901 *et seq.*), and in order to conform existing Executive Orders to changes resulting from that Act, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Section 1(k) of Executive Order No. 9154, as amended, is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof a comma and the words "or under authority of section 303 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (22 U.S.C. 3943)".

Sec. 2. Section 1 of Executive Order No. 10471 is amended as follows:

(a) strike out "section 202(c) of the Annual and Sick Leave Act of 1951, as added by the act of July 2, 1953, Public Law 102, 83rd Congress" and insert in lieu thereof "section 6305(b) of title 5 of the United States Code";

(b) strike out "said section 202 (c) (2)" and insert in lieu thereof "said section 6305(b)";

(c) strike out "section 411 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946" and insert in lieu thereof "section 401 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (22 U.S.C. 3961)".

Sec. 3. Section 2 of Executive Order No. 10624, as amended, is amended as follows:

(a) In clause (1), strike out "Title II of the Overseas Differentials and Allowances Act" and insert in lieu thereof "subchapter III of chapter 59 of title 5 of the United States Code";

(b) Clause (2) is amended to read as follows: "so much of the authority vested in the Secretary of State by chapter 9 of Title I of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as relates to allowances and benefits under the said chapter 9 of Title I of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as relates to allowances and benefits under the said chapter 9 of title I;"

Sec. 4. Executive Order No. 10903 is amended as follows:

(a) In the preamble, strike out "section 303 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 (22 U.S.C. 843)";

(b) In section 1(a) (3) of the Overseas Allowances Act (74 Stat. 707) thereof "section 5922 of the United States Code,";

(c) In Section 1(b): (1) strike out "Title II of the Overseas Differentials and Allowances Act" and insert in lieu thereof "chapter 59 of title 5 of the United States Code,";

(2) strike out "202(c) of that Act" and insert in lieu thereof "5922(b), 5922(c), and 5922(d) of title 5 of the United States Code,";

(3) strike out "Title II of the Overseas Differentials and Allowances Act" and insert in lieu thereof "chapter 59 of title 5 of the United States Code,";

(d) In Section 1(c), of the Administrative Order (added by section 3 of the Overseas Differentials and Allowances Act) insert in lieu thereof "section 6305(b) of the United States Code";

(e) In Section 1(e): (1) strike out "235(2) of that Act" and insert in lieu thereof "235(2) of the Foreign Service Act of 1946";

(2) strike out "section 411 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946" and insert in lieu thereof "section 401 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (22 U.S.C. 3961)";

(f) strike out paragraph 1 and redesignate paragraph 2 as paragraph 1.

Sec. 5. Executive Order No. 10624, as amended, is amended by striking out "provided by section 303 of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 (22 U.S.C. 3950)".

Sec. 6. Executive Order No. 10903 is amended as follows:

(a) Section 1 is amended by striking out "officer or employee thereof" and inserting "member";

(b) Section 1 (b) is amended by striking out "as amended, 1946 Act of 1980," and by

Toasts at a Dinner Honoring the Nation's Governors February 24, 1981

The President. Well, let me just say Nancy and I are both delighted that the first state dinner that we've had here should be this dinner on this occasion, to have you here in this room which traditionally is reserved for chiefs of state. It's been a nostalgic thing, as I said to some of you—ladies, to your husbands—the other day, because present are faces of men that I served with when we came here and sat as guests at the White House in the Governors' Conference and, of course, many new friends here also.

We've discussed in less pleasant surroundings some of the problems that confront us today. I'm sure that the Governors, whether they all agree or not, do realize that what we're trying to do is alter the economic situation in our country by changing one simple two-letter word, economic control *by* government to economic control *on* government. And I look forward to collaboration and cooperation with all of you because of my belief that our Constitution calls for the 50 sovereign States being the basis of our freedom here in this land.

You know, it isn't so different. I find sometimes that just in the short time that we've been here that I feel a little like I did many times and as you feel as Governor. Sometimes it's as Lincoln described the man that was being ridden out of town on a rail, tarred and feathered. He said, "If it wasn't for the honor I would really have preferred to walk." [Laughter]

But Bob Ray's State, the Des Moines Register and Tribune invited grade school children to write letters to the paper, which they guaranteed would be printed, as to what they would advise the President to do if they had the opportunity. And I was amazed at these letters from 9-, 10-, 11-, 12-year-old children, their grasp of the economic problems, the world situation, the things they recommended. But one letter that really moved me was from an 11-year-old boy who wrote and said, "When you get there, don't look to the past; look to the future. You won't have time to look to the past." And he said, "Make up your mind

that when you leave there you will be older, and tired, and there will be a few more gray hairs in your wise old head." [Laughter] And then he said, "Just get to the office, go to work, and be happy that you're only President, you don't have to be God." [Laughter] Out of the mouths of children.

Well, anyway, it's a great pleasure to have you here, and I look forward to contact as we've talked about in our previous meetings in the days ahead with all of you.

And now, I would like to propose a toast to the Right Honorable George Busbee, Governor of Georgia and chairman of the National Governors' Association.

And so that all can drink, including George, to the days ahead when between us we are going to see America solve its problems and have the cooperation that I think should properly exist between you, the chief executives of your States, and this Federal Government which was created by the States. So, a toast.

Thank you.

Governor Busbee. Thank you, Mr. President.

On behalf of the Governors of this Nation and their ladies, we would first like to express our appreciation to you and to Mrs. Reagan for your kind and your generous hospitality this evening. Listening to your remarks I reflect back to our meeting in Denver this past August when we looked at all the problems of our States, the problems of this Nation, formed by our States, and we said, "We need one priority to address the problems of all, and that is to relook at this question of federalism. And we adopted this as our number one priority. About that time we had a former Governor that was making speeches about the country espousing the same thoughts. Now, he's here with us. And those words have become acts and deeds.

You've asked, Mr. President, that the Governors of this Nation join with you in a partnership as you look at this great economic crisis that we as a nation face that demands immediate action, which you've

taken. You have stated that you feel that we need to look at this system of government that we have, the levels of government we have that deliver the services to our people, and we need some realignment. You've asked for our input, and you've provided access by meeting with the executive committee, with the standing committee chairmen, now with all of the Governors on yesterday. And I just would like to say to you, Mr. President, that we accept your invitation.

At this time, Mr. President, I would like to ask that we raise our glasses to the President of the United States.

The President. Now, if we'll all make our way to the Blue Room, the Green Room, and the Red Room for coffee and liqueurs, and then on to the East Room for entertainment, where a cast of 26 of the great Broadway musical, "A Chorus Line," are going to entertain. I think it is very fitting for them to entertain, because I have found out that the cast of 26 come from 18 separate States.

[The President spoke at 9:36 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.]

Following the entertainment in the East Room, the President spoke at 10:38 p.m., directing most of his remarks to the performers, as follows.]

I think you can tell by the happy faces how much you've done for—well, if a bomb should fall in this room right now, there'd be an awful strain on the country because here are most of the Governors of all the 50 States. [Laughter] And I understand you come from a spread of about 18 States, and show business would certainly have a terrific loss if something should happen to this room: right now. [Laughter]

We want to thank you, and I'm sure you realize how happy you've made everyone here. And thank you very much for this, you've honored us greatly by being here. We appreciate it very much. Thank you.

And now I'm sure you almost feel like dancing yourselves, and out in the foyer there'll be an orchestra and there will be dancing. And thank you to the musicians who are here for all of this. Thank you very much.

I wish I'd started in show business. [Laughter]

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Max Cleland as Administrator of Veterans Affairs February 25, 1981

Dear Mr. Cleland:

This letter is to accept your resignation as Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, effective today.

Your willingness to serve during this transition period has been greatly appreciated.

You have served our veterans and our Nation well. I know that in the years ahead you will be able to look back with pride on this experience.

As you return to private life, you take with you my very best wishes for every future success and happiness.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

[The Honorable Joseph Maxwell Cleland, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20420]

Note: The text of the letter was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on February 26. On the same day, the White House announced that Rufus H. Wilson, Deputy Administrator of the Veterans Administration, would serve as Acting Administrator until Mr. Cleland's successor was announced.



J81
.C3.
1980-1981
v.1

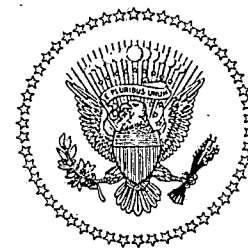
PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Jimmy Carter

1980-81

(IN THREE BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO MAY 23, 1980



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1981

1-5. *The Federal Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health.*

1-501. The Federal Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health, established pursuant to Executive Order No. 11612, is continued. It shall advise the Secretary in carrying out responsibilities under this order. The Council shall consist of sixteen members appointed by the Secretary, of whom eight shall be representatives of Federal agencies and eight shall be representatives of labor organizations representing Federal employees. The members shall serve three-year terms with the terms of five or six members expiring each year, provided this Council is renewed every two years in accordance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act. The members currently serving on the Council shall be deemed to be its initial members under this order and their terms shall expire in accordance with the terms of their appointment.

1-502. The Secretary, or a designee, shall serve as the Chairman of the Council, and shall prescribe rules for the conduct of its business.

1-503. The Secretary shall make available necessary office space and furnish the Council necessary equipment, supplies, and staff services, and shall perform such functions with respect to the Council as may be required by the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I).

1-6. *General Services Administration.*

1-601. Within six months of the effective date of this order the Secretary of Labor and the Administrator of the General Services Administration shall initiate a study of conflicts that may exist in their standards and other requirements affecting Federal employee safety and health, and shall establish a procedure for resolv-

ing conflicting standards for space leased by the General Services Administration.

1-602. In order to assist the agencies in carrying out their duties under Section 19 of the Act and this order the Administrator shall:

(a) Upon request, require personnel of the General Services Administration to accompany the Secretary or an agency head on any inspection or investigation conducted pursuant to this order of a facility subject to the authority of the General Services Administration.

(b) Assure prompt attention to reports from agencies of unsafe or unhealthy conditions of facilities subject to the authority of the General Services Administration; where abatement cannot be promptly effected, submit to the agency head a timetable for action to correct the conditions; and give priority in the allocation of resources available to the Administrator for prompt abatement of the conditions.

(c) Procure and provide safe supplies, devices, and equipment, and establish and maintain a product safety program for those supplies, devices, equipment and services furnished to agencies, including the issuance of Material Safety Data Sheets when hazardous substances are furnished them.

1-7. *General Provisions.*

1-701. Employees shall be authorized official time to participate in the activities provided for by this order.

1-702. Nothing in this order shall be construed to impair or alter the powers and duties of the Secretary or heads of other Federal agencies pursuant to Section 19 of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, Chapter 71 of Title 5 of the United States Code, Sections 7901, 7902, and 7903 of Title 5 of the United States Code, nor shall it be construed to

alter any other provisions of law or Executive Order providing for collective bargaining agreements and related procedures, or affect the responsibilities of the Director of Central Intelligence to protect intelligence sources and methods (50 U.S.C. 403(d)(3)).

1-703. Executive Order No. 11807 of September 28, 1974, is revoked.

1-704. This order is effective July 1, 1980.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
February 26, 1980.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,
11:39 a.m., February 26, 1980]

National Governors' Association

Toast at a White House Dinner Honoring Governors Attending the Association's Winter Session. February 26, 1980

Again, I would like to say that Rosalynn and I are extremely pleased to have you with us tonight. Fritz and Joan join us in the welcome.

It's been difficult for me to keep my mind on the events of the evening. [Laughter] As Brendan Byrne¹ said when we came in, he won't be able to relax until he knows who won tonight. [Laughter] As you know, Penn and Princeton are playing for the Ivy League championship. [Laughter]

This is the fourth year that we've been honored by having the Governors of our States come to be our guests here at the White House and to spend a few days, as you know, in Washington with my Cabinet, with my staff members, and with Members of the Congress, discussing the major issues of our country. This is a time

¹ Governor of New Jersey.

of rapid change, not only for our own Nation but for the entire world. And the closeness with which we have dealt with these major issues is an extremely gratifying thing for me.

I'm the first President who was a Governor since Franklin Delano Roosevelt. And I think that that base of common experience has really stood me in good stead, not only in my own responsibilities as President in an isolated fashion but in being able to turn to you, individually on many occasions and collectively on almost every major issue, to discuss as full partners the present and the future circumstances in our country—the quality of Americans' lives, how to deal with domestic and foreign issues, how to meet difficult challenges, overcome obstacles, answer questions. I have been very deeply reassured and grateful to have you as my partners.

We do face many difficult challenges as executive officers of our States and territories and of this country, but I think the most reassuring thing of all is to recognize the insurance that we have. Sometimes we make mistakes; sometimes we delay a difficult decision; sometimes we have to change our position. And the fallibility of human leaders is always of deep concern, particularly to those leaders themselves. But there's an underlying stability and an underlying strength and an underlying unity in this country which we lead, which corrects our mistakes and repairs our errors and lets our Nation progress in spite of our human fallibilities.

In my opinion, our country rallies and shows its finest moments at a time of crisis. And during this last 3 or 4 months, there's been a remarkable absence of partisanship and a remarkable presence of common purpose and inspiration and unity.

Our Nation stands for what is right and what is clean and what is decent. Our Nation is a world leader. There is no way to avoid that responsibility. And other countries, no matter how independent they might appear or how strong they might be within themselves or how unified their own people may be or how different and fragmented their people might be, look to us for leadership. And if we stand firm and strong and resolved and definite in our purposes, then we can expect and have realized their support. If we waver and fail to exert leadership, then they themselves suffer and send out messages of concern.

All of us have been brought to our knees in prayer for 53 Americans who are held in Tehran. To me, there's a special demonstration here of one of the prime characteristics of American people, in that 220 million strong Americans have been almost completely obsessed with the lives of 53 relatively unknown Americans, formerly not very important—and not only their lives but their freedom. I think this has sent a clear message around the world that we do indeed practice human rights, because we respect life, individuality, and freedom.

And I think our Nation has also exhibited a reservoir of strength in facing the Soviet threat to our own vital interests in Southwest Asia when, in an unprecedented fashion, they invaded the freedom-loving, deeply religious country of Afghanistan. There's a sharp difference between that action and our own concern about our innocent Americans, who are presently, at this moment, being held prisoner.

We have not taken any steps that would lead to war or to conflict. Every action that our country has taken has been designed for peace. Every action has been peaceful in nature. Our opportunities are diverse and substantial, but they are con-

finied to either economic or political or military action. We've not taken military action. We're prepared to do so if necessary, but we've not had to. But we have taken economic action unilaterally, and we've had adequate support from our allies and friends, many of whom are not as strong as we, some of whom are quite vulnerable and not as free to act as we.

We've taken political action. And there have been overwhelming expressions of concern about the Soviet Union's invasion, both with the 103 other nations who joined with us in the United Nations to condemn the Soviets' action and demand an immediate withdrawal of troops, and also independently of us, to a major degree, among the 34 Moslem countries who met in Islamabad and condemned the Soviets even more stringently and demanded more urgently that they withdraw from Afghanistan. Some of them are almost subservient to the Soviet Union, heavily dependent upon the Soviet Union, but they acted out of conviction and with a great deal of courage and with strength.

No one can predict any time schedule for the resolution of these issues, and I would certainly not deign to do so. But I think to the extent that our country is unified, is strong, our purposes are clear, our voice can be heard and understood, and a maximum support can be aroused among other nations—allies, friends, non-aligned countries, small, weak countries—to that extent, we will prevail and preserve the essence, freedom, and the individual life and also the independence and freedom of nations who might be threatened because they are relatively weak and relatively vulnerable.

I know that you all recognize that we've faced rapidly changing times in other areas of the world. I've pointed to two crises, but other things have changed.

Less than a year ago, just a few yards from here, Egypt and Israel signed a peace treaty after 30 years of war. And I had an urgent call from President Sadat just a few minutes before I joined you tonight, about 5 o'clock. And he said, "Mr. President, I just want to make a report to you. We've exchanged Ambassadors with Israel. Everything went well. The people of Egypt are very excited and very proud. And we want to express our deep gratitude to the people of the United States for helping to make this miracle come true."

And of course, we now have 1 billion new friends in the People's Republic of China, and we haven't lost our friends in Taiwan, as well.

So—I'm not going into a litany of things—but there are good achievements for our great country, and there are difficult times, which we face with courage and with conviction and in a spirit of unity of purpose.

Inflation is always present on my mind. The resolution of an energy problem, which is nationwide and going to get worse, is always present on my mind. You share that responsibility with me, and it's reassuring to me to know that you do.

As President of the greatest nation on Earth, I would like to raise my glass in a toast: To the leaders of our States, to the people that you and I both represent, and to the future of a free people, our leadership in the world, and the unity and commitment of the ideals and principles which have always made our country great and which will see us lead a greater country in the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:52 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Following the dinner, the President and Mrs. Carter and their guests attended a performance of "The Elephant Man" at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

New Hampshire Democratic Party Primary

*Informal Exchange With Reporters.
February 26, 1980*

Q. What do you think of your victory?
Q. Is it big enough for you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was very pleased, of course. I think this return showed that the people of the country, at least the ones in New Hampshire, support the policies that we've espoused in international affairs, in our attempts to deal with the inflation issue, and in energy. I think their vote demands quick action on the energy legislation.

And I'm very grateful that, because I couldn't be up there and campaign personally, that the special need for volunteers and workers was realized in such a delightful way. So, I'm very deeply grateful to everybody who helped us there.

Q. Is Kennedy through now?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that's a judgment for him to make. I would guess not.

Q. Mr. President, some analysts are saying that it was a very strong anti-Kennedy vote.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'd rather assume that it was a vote for me.

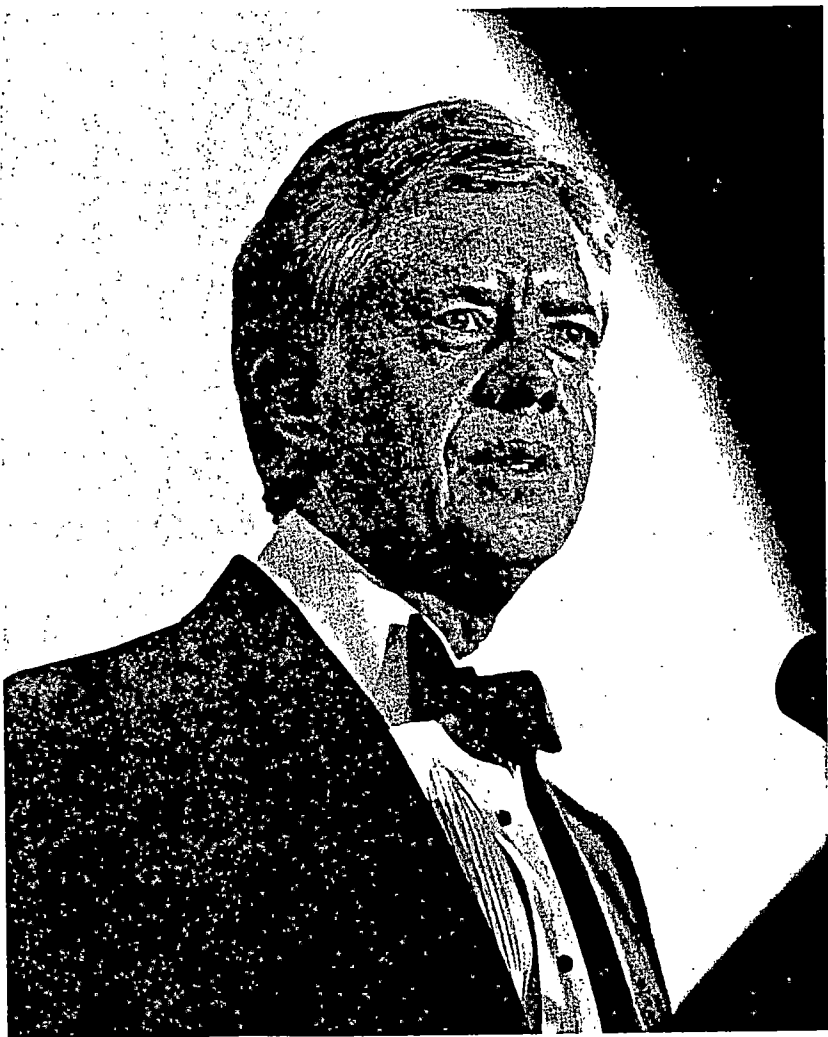
Thank you very much.

Q. Mr. President, what about Massachusetts? Do you have any predictions about a week from today in Massachusetts?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't think anyone in my administration or my campaign organization would even think that we could defeat Senator Kennedy in his own State. I think that would be—

Q. You're talking about your policies, sir. Do you think you can go on winning if you can't get the inflation rates down?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think people realize that our country is strongly united,



J81
.C2
1979
v.1
WH

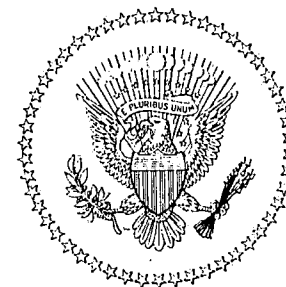
PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Jimmy Carter

1979

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 22, 1979



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1980

year. The other two partners in these negotiations share this determination.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. to reporters assembled on the South Lawn of the White House.

Prior to his meeting with Prime Minister Khalil and Foreign Minister Dayan, the President met at the White House with Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

National Governors' Association

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Members of the Committee on International Trade and Foreign Relations. February 25, 1979

THE PRESIDENT. Last September, in a meeting of a few Governors, including the chairman, Julian Carroll, at the White House, we discussed very briefly the possibility of having a new National Governors' Association committee established to promote international trade.

As a former Governor of a Southeastern State, I probably devoted 25 percent of my time to either recruiting investments in Georgia from other States in the Nation and also from overseas, or trying to sell Georgia products to foreign countries. I visited, I think, 10 different nations when I was Governor to promote international trade. And we established trade offices in different places around the world in a very aggressive fashion.

After I became President, I could see with much more clarity not only the economic advantages of this effort but the political advantages as well, because a basis of friendship, commerce, common visitors, negotiations among even non-governmental leaders is one of the soundest possible bases on which permanent political alliances can be maintained and

peace and harmony can be enhanced throughout the world.

Typically, my own expectations as they related to the National Governors' Association have been far exceeded by accomplishments. I had no idea a few months ago that we would be sitting in a room like this, with a packed audience, 30 or 35 Governors intensely studying the possibilities for the enhancement of international trade. I want to congratulate the chairman of the National Governors' Association, also my good friend, George Busbee, the chairman of this new committee. I think its potential is almost unlimited.

There's no question in my mind that relatively speaking, as a percentage of budget allocations, as a percentage of time invested, many States, perhaps almost all the States, do a far better job of promoting international trade than does the Federal Government. I think this is to be expected, because I cannot possibly devote 25 percent of my total time as President just to promoting international commerce itself. But there's no doubt in my mind either that working as new partners now, we can greatly enhance the ability of both Governors and a President to lead our respective Governments toward reaching a common goal.

There is a great advantage, in my opinion, in having 50 Governors directly involved through this committee and individually in this effort. Because of the diversity of interests of the States themselves, each one of the States is so different—different employment needs, different products evolved, different investment potential, different environment, different attitude—that you all can be, in effect, 50 experiment stations for determining how the Nation's thrust can be oriented to help in this very important realm of national interest.

We have a difficult assignment in controlling inflation in our Nation, in trying

to have prosperity, providing jobs for our people, and in cementing, as I said earlier, closer relations with our natural friends and allies throughout the world. And the enhancement of international trade is a partial, sometimes almost a complete answer to some of those specific problems. We have a very high adverse trade balance, as you well know, primarily resulting from our extraordinary and excessive imports of oil from overseas. And the redressing of this trade balance by improved sale of American products overseas with which you can help is very beneficial indeed.

There's another element that ought to be mentioned. When I correspond directly and privately with President Brezhnev of the Soviet Union, I don't believe I've ever received a secret message from him that did not include an emphasis on his desire to improve trade relationships with our country. In my recent visit to Mexico, at the root of all our difficulties and potential successes in the future—the alleviation of tension, misunderstanding, the repairing of historical mistakes—the word "trade" can almost be considered a magic key to open up doors of progress in every one of those areas of question.

Mike Blumenthal is now in the People's Republic of China, a billion people now hoping for and expecting better relationships with our country, a wonderful opportunity if it's handled well. Secretary Kreps will be following his trip with her own. In our dealings with other countries who have historically been our friends, the same thing applies.

I've just left the White House a few minutes ago, having met with the Prime Minister of Egypt, the Foreign Minister of Israel to receive a report from them on progress made at Camp David this week and, hopefully, to prepare for a head-of-state meeting later on this coming week to proceed with these peace negotiations.

And again, at the root of basic problems, and as an incentive to further progress, is the question of trade, economic stability, economic prosperity, improving the quality of life of people in those countries.

We are now facing a difficult decision in Congress about how to handle the Taiwan question, to honor our commitments to those good friends. And as you well know, one of the things that I insisted upon in normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China was the continued trade and commerce and cultural exchange with the people of Taiwan.

So, in every one of these areas, the importance of trade cannot be overemphasized. Ambassador Bob Strauss has been negotiating day and night for months to bring about an international alleviation of obstacles to trade through the Multilateral Trade Negotiations, to reduce existing protectionism and to prevent the selfish protectionist tendencies that always exist in every country, including our own, from prevailing in the future. This is not going to be an easy agreement to have ratified or approved by the Congress. And speaking frankly, I hope that all of you will study the details of these agreements and the benefits that we can derive from them, and use your own influence, speaking constructively and soundly and from a basis of knowledge and intelligence, to encourage the Congress to approve these agreements, once they have been reached.

I've recognized the limitations on what the Federal Government can do. And your chairman and I use that primarily as the reason for making this move among the Governors. I have tried to improve the quality of service by the Eximbank, for instance. I think in the 1977 budget, the total amount of money available to the Eximbank was about \$700 million. In the budget that I've just presented to Congress, it's \$4.1 billion, about six times

as much. And we would like to make sure that this still limited amount of money is expended in the most efficacious way for our country.

When I made my own trade missions as a Governor, I almost invariably took a representative of the Eximbank along with me, because that is an avenue by which very good, sound investments of taxpayers' money in our own country can be greatly magnified in benefits. And I think your own private study or concerted study of trade opportunities using governmental entities like the Eximbank or OPIC or the Small Business Administration can be very helpful to you and to the people who look to you for leadership in your own States.

I'd like to just say two other things: There has been a study made by Juanita Kreps, under her, Secretary of Commerce, and your role in this expansion of trade will be significant, and she is working closely with you, as you well know.

There will be an analysis given to me in April of the regulatory obstacles to international trade so that we can see clearly what well-meaning regulations in the past established for international trade now have served their purposes or are ill-advised and ought to be removed because they are an obstruction to increased trade. And in these studies, working closely with Secretary Kreps and in concluding the recommendations on regulatory obstacles and other areas of the Federal Government's functions, I would like for the Governors to be a full partner with me.

Obviously, we can't have 50 new Secretaries of State. We've got at least enough Secretaries of State already. [Laughter] But I think that as you want to expand your own contacts with foreign countries, you need to have an intimate knowledge of the political circumstances or military circumstances or economic circumstances

in the nations with which you are trying to enhance business. And we have now appointed, as you know, a very highly qualified Ambassador to work directly with you. And Secretary of State Vance, whom I left just 5 minutes before I arrived here, is very eager to participate in giving you detailed briefings and including, of course, you, in the knowledge that we share of other countries who look to us as a stabilizing factor in the world and admire our strength and who know that our own strength can be enhanced, our thrust for peace can be enhanced if your own efforts are successful.

Governor Busbee, I want to congratulate you for your new leadership role here and pledge, again, as I have in the past, my full support as an equal partner with you in this important element of American life.

Thank you very much.

GOVERNOR BUSBEE. We're going to continue with the questions and answers of the other panel members in just a few minutes, but the President says that he has time for two or three questions before he has to leave again for a meeting. So, I'll entertain the first question.

THE PRESIDENT. Or comment. If you all have—

GOVERNOR BUSBEE. Or comment. This is Governor Thompson.

QUESTIONS

GOVERNOR THOMPSON. Mr. President, has your administration yet concluded, following Vice Premier Deng's visit to the United States, to what extent substantially increased trade with the People's Republic of China will depend upon expansion of credit available, and if it will depend substantially on that, what plans the administration, perhaps Congress as well, has to expand credit relationships with China?

THE PRESIDENT. We, obviously, have done preliminary assessments of Chinese credit. My own guess is that other than extending most-favored-nation status to the People's Republic of China, that it would not involve any credit directly from our Government. The credit status of the PRC is very good, primarily because of the enormous resources of that country and also because they've been so reticent in the past in accepting any credits whatsoever. And now a multibillion dollar expansion program in their own trade and also a multibillion dollar expansion program in investments, commercial investments in China, could very easily be financed through normal or private business loans because of China's very excellent credit rating.

GOVERNOR BUSBEE. Next question? Representative Conable.

REPRESENTATIVE CONABLE. Mr. President, you announced an export policy last September, and you're going to have a review, apparently, this coming spring. To what extent will there be new legislation suggested, do you think, or are you going to be relying primarily on administrative changes? We've heard a lot here today about the extent to which the Government stands in the way of exports. Of course, if we're going to get through the MTN, we've got to be persuaded that Americans will benefit from an increased export trade.

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Export Administration Act is up for renewal in September.

REPRESENTATIVE CONABLE. It is, yes.

THE PRESIDENT. It will be completely reassessed, and I think in the renewal process, amendments will undoubtedly be proposed and considered. I've not gone into that in any detail yet. I would like to see as much as possible the obstacles removed from international trade and the

emphasis be placed on the promotion or the enhancement of international trade.

I would like to express one caution, however. One of the prerogatives of a President is to have authority enough to carry out a major responsibility that the Constitution gives me, and that is to protect the security of our country. There must be times, inevitably, in the life of any President, when some trade restraints can be used effectively to prevail in an altercation or to protect American interests or the interests of our friends as an alternative to possible military or much more serious action. And with that one exception, and the protection of the American free enterprise system, I would like to see all the unwarranted obstacles, regulations to trade removed. And I think there's a lot of area of improvement there to be tapped when the studies are completed.

Secretary Kreps feels that this is so. My own White House staff members believe this is the case, and Secretary Vance feels the same. So, with the exception of protecting our own free enterprise system—and I'm a strong supporter of antitrust laws and deregulation and the protection of the President's prerogative to ensure that our Nation is protected itself—within those very tight bounds, I think everything that can be done ought to be done this year to remove any further obstacles to trade.

GOVERNOR BUSBEE. Governor Link had a question; North Dakota.

GOVERNOR LINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, prior to recognition of mainland China, trade teams have visited and had been visiting individual States, making some purchases of commodities and goods and agricultural products that they wanted and needed.

What is the recommendation and the attitude of the administration regarding

continuation of negotiations between the individual States in response to the visits and the trade that had been already established?

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to see those efforts escalated. I might say that I believe that in this particular realm of trade, we are benefiting in both ways. I don't see any deleterious effect on our trade with Taiwan from our new normal relations with the People's Republic of China. And it opens up enormous new possibilities, as you well know, Art, for new trade and enhanced trade with China, mainland, itself.

As a matter of fact, after Japan normalized relations with the People's Republic of China several years ago, their trade with that great country exploded into tens of billions of dollars of presently existing contracts, more than \$10 billion. At the same time, they established the same relationship with Taiwan that we have now proposed the Congress approve. And under those circumstances, their trade with Taiwan has more than tripled, almost quadrupled just in the last few years. So, I think we'll have a continuation or even an expansion of our trade with Taiwan and a greatly magnified, new opportunity for trade with the People's Republic of China.

I would hope that when Secretary Kreps returns from her trip to the People's Republic of China, that she could relay, through George Busbee, to all of you her assessment of the advisability of your making individual trips with trade missions to the People's Republic. I think this would be very good for your State. It would certainly be very good for our country, and it would, in addition, let the Chinese people understand us better and vice versa. I think through your own initiative and exploration of possibilities you can uncover opportunities that we could never hope to uncover, even with the best

organized and most enthusiastic effort from the Federal Government itself.

GOVERNOR LINK. You see, we've had a standing invitation even prior to the recognition of mainland China, and they indicated they hoped it would continue. And I was interested in knowing what the attitude—

THE PRESIDENT. I think you ought to accept the invitation.

Maybe one more question.

GOVERNOR BUSBEE. Mr. President, before you depart, the chairman of the National Governors' Association, Governor Carroll of Kentucky, wanted to make a statement.

GOVERNOR CARROLL. Mr. President, on behalf of the Governors, I want to say thank you for your suggestion. This committee would not be sitting here today were it not for this personal suggestion of the President of the United States, and I think the Governors should be grateful to him for his suggestion.

It was made at the White House while we were having lunch one day. And I said to him, "Well, Mr. President, if you're serious, would you mind writing a letter and asking us to do it." And he was that serious. He wrote the letter and suggested that it be done, and indeed the National Governors' Association executive committee then created this standing committee. And you see how enthusiastic the Governors are responding to it.

And indeed, we believe that it's going to create improved international relations from a resource that has never been utilized before by the Federal Government, and that's the resource of its own States. And we compliment you for it; we thank you for it and look forward to helping you. And as a Governor who's got all kinds of coal, I'm looking for some of those countries that are now burning oil that could burn coal and let us have their oil. *[Laughter]*

THE PRESIDENT. Well, let me say in closing—I've got to go back to another meeting at the White House—but let me say in closing that I'm very proud of what's been done already. I think this has tremendous, exciting potential.

One of the most delightful and fruitful efforts that I ever made as Governor—and sometimes I was disappointed in my projects—was in international trade. And I've seen a remarkable change take place in Georgia because we've had people come there from foreign countries, and now we understand people much better that were formerly quite alien to us. And the foreigner tag which used to be a source of vituperation has now become a matter of an avenue for new friendships. And nothing could help our Nation more.

I think had this committee been formed maybe back in 1936 or '38, we might very well have avoided the war with Japan—if there were constant, multiple avenues of commerce and trade and trade missions and Governors' exchange and the Congresses working closely, we might very well have avoided our breakdown in relationships with Japan. Nobody knows that. But there's no doubt in my mind that we can alleviate tensions and search out new avenues, not only of commercial benefit, but also new avenues of peace and excitement and an expanded quality of life for all our people by closer relationships between the States and foreign countries.

There are exceptional responsibilities on those State Governors who live on the border, in the south with Mexico and in the north with Canada. I know that historically those interrelationships have been very closely woven, and you can help me in dealing with the problems with Mexico if you give me advice and work closely with me in making sure that I can benefit from the knowledge and the historical interrelationships that have been enjoyed by the Southwestern States. The

same thing, obviously, applies to Canada.

So, I just can see many, many opportunities here for this meeting to go down in history as one of the great steps forward for our own great Nation and to let us become even greater in the future.

Thank you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3 p.m. in the Yorktown and Valley Forge Rooms at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

Small Business Week, 1979

Proclamation 4641. February 23, 1979

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Small business has been the economic backbone of American life since the earliest colonial days. Traders, craftsmen and merchants spurred the economy and played a vital role in the Nation's westward movement and growth. They helped create the multitude of opportunities which have become the hallmark of our free enterprise system—a system which has made American progress the envy of the world.

There are 13.9 million businesses in the United States today, and 13.4 million are small, including nearly three million farms. Together, they provide employment for over half the business labor force and account for more than 48 percent of the gross business product. They are an important source of the major innovations that create new markets and improve our quality of life. America's prestige in the world today could never have been achieved without this outstanding productivity by small business.

Meetings are currently being held in every State of the Union in preparation for the first White House Conference on

National Governors' Association

Toasts at a White House Dinner Honoring Governors Attending the Association's Winter Session. February 27, 1979

THE PRESIDENT. First of all, let me say that it's a great delight for Rosalynn and me to have you here in the White House. A few weeks ago, Rosalynn helped to pot these lilies of the valley, and they're for you to take home with you as a memento of tonight. When you leave through the Diplomatic Room, they'll be there, so each couple can pick one up and take it with you.

I was sitting here computing the time since I left the Governor's office in Georgia. It's exactly 49 years—[laughter]—49 months. I guess I spent 2 years campaigning and 47 years as President. [Laughter] But I don't think I've ever spent a more exciting and challenging and delightful 4 years than I did as Governor of Georgia.

And as the different Governors went by in the receiving line and I shook hands with you, I had a recurring sense that was hard for me at first to describe in one word. But I finally realized it was jealousy. [Laughter] Cecil Andrus had the same feeling. [Laughter]

There is a deep emotional sense that I have, as President, when I have the Governors of our Nation come to visit me here. Thinking back on the history of this house, it's almost overwhelming. Every President who served our Nation has lived in this house, except George Washington. And to see the furnishings in the rooms, to recall some of the history of this place is a sobering experience, but also a very challenging and inspirational experience. To see the room where Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, wrote the Gettysburg Address; to see a little, small writing desk, about this large,

that Thomas Jefferson made with his own hands, designed and carried around on the back of his horse when he was President, on the back of a buggy; to see the desk that belonged to Daniel Webster; and to see the sculpture here—it's really overwhelming.

But I think the basic strength of our country, that tides us over in times of trial and stress and tribulation and challenge, is our system of federalism. As you know, the local governments and the Federal Government only have the authority and the power that was delegated to those two governments by the States. And the depository of the remaining authority, power, initiative, opportunity for innovation, experiment, the consummation of ideals, the administration of laws that direct dealings with people remain in the hands of Governors and the governments of the States.

This is reassuring to me as President. We share a lot of responsibility, obviously, in the realm of domestic affairs—to control inflation, to decide how to amend the Constitution—[laughter]—to deal with the problems of energy, transportation, air pollution, water pollution, the aged, education—these kinds of things affect you and me both as equal partners. And if there is any inequality of it, the biggest responsibility is on your shoulders.

I think there's a new developing sense, however, among the Governors, partially initiated by me, of a sharing of a responsibility for foreign affairs as well. The new formation of a committee to enhance international trade may be one of the most historic developments in the history of the National Governors' Conference, now Association.

And I think it opens up not only an opportunity for us to learn about how to enhance job opportunities, to market American products, to extend hands of

friendship and cooperation to foreign nations, but it also gives you an opportunity and a renewed responsibility to deal with foreign affairs as such.

Obviously, you can't negotiate for our Nation, you can't take the place of a President's constitutional responsibilities, but I thought tonight, in about 5 minutes, I would like to outline for you some of the foreign affairs considerations that affect me as a President. And I thought I'd go back to my early notes when I first was elected President. And the 10 goals that I set for myself then are still kind of guiding lights for me in these deliberations.

Obviously, this is an oversimplistic version, but I thought, following that, I would take about 10 minutes more time—and I'll time us so we won't go over—to answer a few questions that you might have on foreign policy. This has never been done before at a Governors conference, and I thought it might be a little bit different, since your own concepts and your own responsibilities and interests have been expanded in that direction.

The first thing that I wanted to do, of course, was to maintain the strength of our own Nation around the world, and particularly to align toward mutual concepts our European allies and Japan.

We've had a very good evolutionary process going on now, which is still continuing, and I think the basic Western democracies, including Japan in that stretched definition, is kind of core of the sense of democracy, commitment, freedom, idealism, and a beneficent influence that needs to be both strengthened and expanded.

We have a very good, personal friendship extant among those of us who are responsible for leadership in those countries, and I think that's one of the elements of our foreign policy that has, in the past, sometimes been overlooked.

The second thing, obviously, that is important for us is to deal with changing times. We can't control change. We don't want to prevent change. But we have to understand it and accommodate it and try to use it in an evolutionary way toward the goals and the ideals, the aspirations, the principles of our own country.

We also have to identify newly emerging leaders and try to make sure that our own relationships with them in key parts of the world are sound and strong and that there's a mutual benefit to be derived. Countries like Indonesia or Brazil or Venezuela, Nigeria, or India, obviously, are strong, vibrant nations, some of them very firmly committed to democracy. In the past, many of those have not been friends of ours at all, and we've tried to change that circumstance. And we've deliberately visited those countries—either I or the Secretary of State or Vice President Mondale or my wife, Rosalynn—to try to get firm relationships built with those newly emerging regional leaders.

Four or 5 years ago, for instance, when the Secretary of State wanted to visit Nigeria, he was not permitted to come into the country. Now Nigeria, which is the strongest, most vigorous, most populous, wealthiest black nation in Africa, is one of our soundest and most valued friends.

Another thing that we tried to do in this first few months is to strengthen our ties and our understanding with the developing nations of the world. There are people who have an average per capita income of only \$90 or \$95 or \$100 a year. And the burgeoning sense of realization and aspirations on their part is and can be an overwhelming worldwide trend. Just in the last—in our generation, we've had a hundred new nations formed. And they go through a traumatic experience when

they shake off colonialism or establish their own government.

Quite often they turn to the Soviet Union or some other ready suppliers of weapons in the revolutionary times, but eventually they turn to a more stable interrelationship and they become more nationalistic in spirit. But they still have enormous, almost indecipherable problems in the low quality of life of people. And they are reaching out to us for technology, for trade, and, quite often, we overlook them. We try to treat them as a homogeneous mass of people: We say "the people of South America," when the countries of South America are just as individualistic, perhaps even more so, obviously, than the countries, say, in Europe or in Asia. We've tried to treat those countries with respect, with decency, as equals, which they are, and as individuals.

I think this is a very important concept for us. In dealing with trade problems we quite often forget the fact that a small country has only one major export item. And the price of coffee or the price of tin or zinc or bauxite or sugar is life or death to them. And I have a responsibility, as do you, to learn about those nations and perhaps to visit them. You might be wanting to go to a small country in the Caribbean on vacation. It would really pay rich dividends for you to understand what their lifestyle is, what their needs are, what their yearnings are, what their frustrations are, what their political alignments are, what their challenges are. And just a small gesture of friendship is reciprocated in an overwhelming degree.

One of the major goals that I espoused when I was running for Governor [President] was eventually to have normal relations with the People's Republic of China and to deal fairly and simultaneously with the people of Taiwan. I think we've taken

a major step in that direction, successfully. This is a quarter of the world's population. Coming from the South, being a Baptist, I grew up as a kid who used to give a nickel or a dime for missionaries to go to China. I've always had a warm feeling in my heart for the Chinese people. And I think they respond. I think the recent visit by Vice Premier Deng showed that there's an instant response when finally those barriers are broken and you can actually reach across and shake hands.

And we've been very careful in establishing this new relationship not to sever our good relationships with the people of Taiwan. I think we'll benefit in both those ways.

I would say the most important single responsibility on my shoulders is to have peace, an improved understanding, consultation, communication with the Soviet Union, because on the super powers' shoulders rests the responsibility for peace throughout the world.

We've spent 2 years now negotiating a SALT treaty. I spent an hour this afternoon with the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, talking about all the differences that we have between us, all the possibilities for improving our relations, and this preys very heavily on my shoulders. And I mentioned Sunday afternoon that I have never gotten a private letter from President Brezhnev that in the heart of his letter he didn't mention their intense desire to improve trade relationships with our country.

And I hope that over a period of years that all of you will take an opportunity to travel to China, to travel to the Soviet Union, and to help me engender peace, friendship with both those nations and, of course, with others as well.

Another thing, obviously, that we try to do is to stamp out disharmony, combat,

confrontation in troubled areas of the world. In Namibia, Rhodesia, Cyprus, the Mideast, we have sometimes gratuitously injected ourselves into those disharmonies. And it's very difficult, because you quite often are castigated by both sides.

One of the most difficult and frustrating and discouraging experiences I've ever had in my life is dealing with the Mideast settlement between Israel and Egypt. Both peoples yearn so deeply for peace. We've come so close to the consummation of a peace agreement, and we still have some absolutely insignificant differences that are now creating apparently insurmountable obstacles. But we've been careful and tenacious and, I think, fair.

But both sides feel that we've not been fair. The Arab world thinks that we've been overly committed to the protection and the strengthening of Israel, and quite often the Israeli people feel that we've been at first evenhanded, since we were fair. They thought we ought to be biased toward Israel. But I think in the process we've not benefited politically, and we may fail. But that is a major challenge for us that we have not successfully resolved.

In southern Africa, our country had never been involved directly in Africa before; we were not a colonial power there, as you know. But we've tried to join forces with the Canadians, with the French, the British, the Germans, under auspices of the United Nations, to bring about the development of a new democratic nation in Namibia, formerly South West Africa, and to break that portion of southern Africa away from South African domination. And the South African Government has cooperated with the United Nations and with us and the other countries. And we're on the verge now of having free elections there and the establishment of a democratic government based on one-person-one-vote, majority rule,

which would be a very great step forward if it can be concluded.

Rhodesia—much more difficult. But there, Great Britain has legal ties to Rhodesia. We've worked in harmony with the British, and we hope to bring some peace, some resolution, some end of racism in that part of the world.

Just two other things I'd like to mention: We have strengthened NATO, and we've had a nationwide commitment to reducing armaments, not only with the SALT negotiations but also in other ways—the sale of conventional armaments, the promotion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which was evolved in Mexico before I became President, which absolutely bans any placement or transportation of or development of nuclear explosives in this Southern Hemisphere. And this is the kind of thing that we're trying to do. Test ban treaties are being negotiated, and I hope that this will be an effort that will be successful in the future.

And, of course, we've tried to raise the banner of human rights throughout the world. But we've been sometimes criticized for this, because the very concept of human rights, which seems to us kind of a hazy but admirable concept, in some countries is like a razor. It slashes through the obfuscation and the confusion to the very bone of people's sensitivities and yearnings and aspirations, and has caused governments to change. It's caused attitudes to change. It's created differences, sometimes, between us and our potential adversaries or our friends, but I feel that our Nation ought to stand firmly for the protection of the individual human being and basic concepts of human rights as was espoused and promulgated when our own Nation was founded.

This is kind of a conglomeration of concepts and thoughts and problems and opportunities that we face on a daily ba-

sis, and it's one of the things that makes being President both different from a Governor, in some respects, but also exceptionally challenging. And I really welcome the opportunity for you now to be an enhanced, much more important partner with me in pursuing these goals—and others that I don't have a chance to mention tonight—in months ahead.

I hope that as you plan trips on your own to promote trade or the sale of your own products overseas, that you won't hesitate to come to Washington to meet with Secretary Vance or myself or Dr. Brzezinski or Fritz Mondale or others that we would get to help you, working with Ambassador Carter, who's been designated to be your liaison, and prepare yourselves very thoroughly. And if you have questions, don't restrict them just to trade matters, but try to learn about the military interrelationships, political interrelationships, the human interrelationships, social interrelationships, religious interrelationships that might deal with the particular country you visit. I think, in that way, our country can be even stronger and more beneficially influential than it has been in the past. You'll certainly help to make my job easier, and that's the reason I invited you here tonight.

Before I give a very brief toast, I'll answer maybe two questions if anybody has them, and just on any of the foreign affairs matters that I described.

Yes, Jim?

GOVERNOR THOMPSON. Mr. President, on Sunday you talked about developing trade with the People's Republic of China, and I asked about the possibility of credit relationships. And you mentioned the possibility of most-favored-nation status as one of the ways by which the Government would extend credit.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. It struck me afterwards, when I was thinking about it, that perhaps the extension of most-favored-nation status to China occurs—poses a political problem with regards to the Soviet Union—

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. You're very discerning.

GOVERNOR THOMPSON. —their attitudes toward human rights. Am I making too much of the necessity for governmental credit relationships with China, or are you going to run into that problem? And, if so, how are you going to resolve it, given their current attitude towards human rights?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the extension of credit is one thing that can be handled on a strictly private lending basis. We don't need to grant credits to China or to the Soviet Union directly, although that is done. But the most-favored-nations legislation would permit the reduction of trade barriers and the charging of tariffs. It means that whatever trade relationships we have with Great Britain, for instance, or Germany or France or Japan, we would also have to grant that same trade relationship with the Soviet Union or China.

The Jackson-Vanik amendment to the trade bill that was passed 2 or 3 years ago prevented our granting most-favored-nations treatment to a nation like the Soviet Union, for instance, or Romania or, perhaps, Hungary or others in the Eastern bloc if they had restrictions on the outmigration of citizens. This was designed primarily because of the restraints that the Soviet Union had on the outmigration of Jewish citizens who wanted to come here or to Israel or to some other place. In the last 6 months, the Soviet Union has permitted an outmigration of Jews in excess of 40,000 per year, which is right at the highest rate of outmigra-

tion, I think, in history, certainly in recent history.

So, I would guess that the Soviet Union is now approaching the point where they would comply with the most-favored-nations as interpreted by the Congress. And I would hope that we could have a removal of that restraint if the Soviets meet that standard, and increase our trade with the Soviet Union. There are legal restrictions on what we can sell to the Soviets. We cannot sell them anything under the law that would contribute directly to the enhancement of their military capability that might be used against us.

China is a different proposition altogether. They don't have the outmigration problem. As a matter of fact, when I mentioned the most-favored-nations restraints and the Jackson-Vanik amendment to Deng Xiaoping, he immediately said, "We'll qualify right now. If you want us to send you 10 million Chinese tomorrow"—[laughter]—"we'll be glad to do it." I said, "I'll reciprocate by sending you 10,000 news correspondents." He said, "No"—[laughter]—he said, "No, this might prevent normalization from going forward."

But I would hope, Jim, in the next few months, that we might find it possible to have most-favored-nations status granted both to China and to the Soviet Union. That's my hope, and that's my expectation. But the Congress, obviously, is involved in that decision.

Maybe one more question.

GOVERNOR BYRNE. Mr. President, in the wake of the upheaval in Iran there are renewed threats to "destroy Israel." Does the United States have a response to that, and is that response in any way dependent on the outcome of the continued Camp David discussions?

THE PRESIDENT. I think almost every responsible or significant element in Iran

is strongly anti-Communist. The Shah's followers, those who challenged the Shah in the secular world, and the religious leaders all are intensely anti-Communist, although there is a small group, the Tudeh party there, who comprise maybe three or four thousand total—nobody knows exactly—who have relationships with the Soviets indirectly through East Germany.

Iran was supplying a large part of Israel's oil, and among the countries of that region, they were the only ones who had fairly advanced trade relationships with Israel. That has been terminated now. And they've severed relations with Israel, and the Israeli Ambassador has left, as you know.

Iran does not border on Israel, and I would guess that the Iranian Government, any time in the foreseeable future, would not find an opportunity to attack Israel directly.

This does create a change in attitude in the Mideast, and it cuts both ways. And I'll be very frank with you: I think it increases the importance of Egypt as a stabilizing factor in the Arab world, since Iran cannot be considered any more, if it ever was, the policeman of that region. I think Egypt, with their very large population, their very large armed forces, will be looked upon much more in the future as a possible stabilizing factor. I won't go into too much detail.

Another problem, though, that has arisen, demonstrated in Iran, has been the ability of the relatively few militants, who had deep and fervent commitments, to succeed against an all-powerful military force and an entrenched government. I think the success exceeded even the ones who were among the revolutionaries, the speed of it, the completeness of their victory. And I think this would tend to inspire or to instigate uprisings among the Palestinians, for instance, or other

militant groups, in the future, to assert their own authority.

I don't have any doubt that in the West Bank, Gaza Strip area that the Israelis are strong enough to put down dissident groups who might arise. But the shedding of blood in a situation like that, even if it only involved a dozen people or a hundred people or maybe a thousand people, might very well escalate rapidly. It would certainly make it more difficult for Sadat to continue to negotiate with Israel under those circumstances, even though it was something that Israel couldn't prevent—they certainly would like to prevent any such thing—and something that Sadat couldn't directly become involved in.

The other factor, too, and this is typical of the confusion in the Mideast negotiations, is that Israel might—seeing Iran shaken so deeply—might be reluctant to withdraw from the Sinai, for instance, thinking that their own security would be best enhanced if they maintained the status quo for a while.

However, if the negotiations are delayed, my guess is that it will become increasingly difficult for Sadat to stand in limbo, where he's not part of a cohesive Arab world and he's apparently not making any progress in finding peace with Israel. He might be inclined to withdraw from the negotiations and go back and re-establish himself as part of the Arab world in a cohesive sense of brotherhood.

So, that's why we've been so insistent on trying to bring the talks to a conclusion. I think Israel is strong enough any time in the near future—4, 5, 10 years—adequately to protect themselves. And the overwhelming responsibility that I feel as President is to help guarantee the security of Israel, the permanence of

their government, and their ultimate peace. And I'm dedicated to it.

As I said before, we get criticized from both sides because we try to negotiate in good faith. I guess that's a role of a mediator, but I think it is accurate to say that both the Israelis and the Egyptians trust us and both desire us to continue in that role.

I don't have any idea what's going to happen when Begin comes over here Thursday night. We'll be negotiating all day Friday. We'll probably stop for the Sabbath on Saturday, and then negotiate some more. And if those talks open up an opportunity for improvement in the negotiation directly with Egypt, I have no doubt that Sadat and/or his Prime Minister would be here immediately to resume the negotiations.

But I think that Israel is secure. Obviously, they would be better off with peace. Egypt is the main military threat that could possibly attack Israel successfully, even in combination with all the other Arabs, and even then I don't think they could be successful. They've never insinuated privately or publicly that they want American military forces to be involved. They don't want American fighting men to be involved in Israel. They feel like if we give them economic and military aid, as we have in the past, that they are fully capable of protecting themselves. What the long-range trend might be 10, 15, 20, 50 years in the future, I don't know. But I don't have any doubt that whatever you project for the future, peace with Egypt is an integral requisite for the permanence of good relationships within Israel.

They have economic problems, as do many other countries, including our own. I think the inflation rate in Israel last year was in excess of 50 percent, for in-

stance, and of course, they don't have the ability to trade with their normal neighbors. And I would hope that if we could ever get a peace treaty signed and open the borders and have diplomatic relations and exchange of ambassadors and student exchange and tourism and mutual trade and us and other nations help them develop water resources, mine different minerals like potash and so forth, the common use of the Suez Canal, common defense exchanges, that this would make it permanent. And we are that close to it.

The remaining differences on the peace treaty are absolutely insignificant. It's just disgusting, almost, to feel that we're that close and can't quite get it, but the feelings are deep and the sense of doubt and trust, on occasions, are just missing.

I've overanswered your question. I don't want to answer any more questions. It's an intriguing sort of thing, and I hope that over a period of months that you will become more and more involved in sharing with me some of the things that I described so briefly tonight.

In closing, I would like to propose a toast to the Governors of the States, to our great Nation, and to the people that you and I both represent, and to the United States of America.

Thank you.

GOVERNOR CARROLL. Mr. President, Mrs. Carter, again the Governors of America have come for your hospitality, and we particularly appreciate your intimate knowledge of the foreign affairs of the world.

One must be impressed by a President that can stand and speak so intimately about the problems of foreign affairs around the world. And I know that I speak for all of the Governors tonight, as well as your fellow Americans, that give

you our prayers and our blessings as you begin to further negotiate the differences between Egypt and Israel. And we will leave Washington tomorrow with a deep prayer on our hearts that your efforts will be successful.

We commend you for your excellent leadership. And you, probably, in being so candid as you are, are correct. I'm not sure that all the American people fully appreciate the difficulty of your task, one that you can really not be a winner in, because no negotiator is ever a winner. But no matter whether or not the effort is finally totally successful, your leadership has contributed substantially to world peace. And the Governors are pleased to be your partner in that effort.

As we said on Sunday afternoon, because of your leadership we have initiated a committee on international trade and foreign affairs. And it was our pleasure recently to host Vice Premier Deng, when he and other members of his delegation from the People's Republic of China were here. And our hearts were warmed like yours in finding that the people of China and the people of the United States had so much in common, knowing their interest in exchanging technology, in education, and certainly, in goods and services.

The Governors of America appreciate the partnership which we enjoy with the executive branch. Obviously, we have some differences. But no Governor, regardless of his particular political persuasion, would deny that we continue to negotiate to find common ground. And through our communication we have found common ground, because we begin to understand the burdens and responsibilities of each other.

We feel that our meeting, concluded this afternoon, has probably been one of

the most successful in the history of our association. I believe most of the Governors would tell you they're somewhat exhausted tonight, because if words were a premium, we would have balanced your budget. [Laughter]

Indeed, as Governors, we come to support you totally in your effort to balance your budget. And Dr. Kahn was with us today. Indeed, Jim McIntyre was with us. And we understand the problems of inflation, and we are trying diligently to assist you, and we support you totally in that regard. And the other Secretaries and the directors of your various agencies and departments, along with the Members of the Congress, have certainly enlightened all of the Governors and, I'm sure, our 21 new Governors that have joined us in this conference.

And now, to the President and Mrs. Carter, particularly our prayers and our blessings as we toast the President and his First Lady, and to the United States of America, and to continued world peace. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Governor Julian Carroll of Kentucky is chairman of the National Governors' Association.

United States-Federal Republic of Germany Agreements on Social Security

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Agreements. February 28, 1979

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 233(e)(1) of the Social Security Act as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1977 (P.L. 95-216; 42 U.S.C. 1305 note), I

am transmitting the Agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.), signed on January 7, 1976, the Final Protocol to the 1976 Agreement, also signed on January 7, 1976, and the Administrative Agreement to implement the 1976 Agreement, signed on June 21, 1978.

These U.S.-F.R.G. agreements are similar in objective to the U.S.-Italian social security agreements which I submitted to the Congress on February 28, 1978. Such bilateral agreements, which are generally known as totalization agreements, provide for limited coordination between the United States and foreign social security systems to overcome the problems of gaps in protection and of dual coverage and taxation. In addition to remedying these problems, the 1976 U.S.-F.R.G. Agreement and Administrative Agreement would extend under specified conditions voluntary coverage rights under the F.R.G. system to U.S. citizens who have a prior connection with the F.R.G. system or who reside in the United States and were victims of persecution.

I also transmit for the information of the Congress a comprehensive report prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which explains the provisions of the Agreement and provides data on the number of persons affected by the agreements and the effect on social security financing as required by the same provision of the Social Security Amendments of 1977.

The Department of State and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare join in commending this Agreement, Protocol, and Administrative Agreement.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
February 28, 1979.

Military Awards Program of the Departments of Defense and Transportation

Message to the Congress Transmitting Two Reports. February 28, 1979

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 1124, I am forwarding reports of the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation on awards made during Fiscal Year 1978 to members of the Armed Forces for suggestions, inventions and scientific achievements.

The participation of military personnel in the cash awards program was authorized by the Congress in 1965. More than two million submissions since that time attest to the program's success in motivating military personnel to find ways of reducing costs and improving efficiency. Of the suggestions submitted, more than 325,000 have been adopted, with tangible first-year benefits of more than a billion dollars.

Of the 98,011 suggestions submitted by military (including Coast Guard) personnel during Fiscal Year 1978, 14,830 were adopted. Cash awards totalling \$1,001,257 were paid for adopted suggestions during Fiscal Year 1978. These awards were based not only on the tangible first-year benefits of \$37,263,734 realized from adopted suggestions during Fiscal Year 1978, but also on many additional benefits and improvements of an intangible nature.

Enlisted people received \$820,006 in awards during Fiscal Year 1978, representing 81 percent of the total cash awards paid during the periods. Officers received \$181,251 during Fiscal Year 1978.

The attached reports of the Secretaries of Defense and Transportation contain statistical information on the military

awards program and brief descriptions of some of the more noteworthy contributions of military personnel during Fiscal Year 1978.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
February 28, 1979.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Statement on the Appointment of Gen. Bernard W. Rogers as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and Commander in Chief, U.S. Forces in Europe. February 28, 1979

I am pleased today to announce that the Defense Planning Committee of the North Atlantic Council has appointed Gen. Bernard W. Rogers to be the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, succeeding Gen. Alexander Haig, who served with great distinction in that important post for the past 4½ years. In addition, I am appointing General Rogers to be Commander in Chief, United States forces in Europe, a position also being vacated by General Haig on June 30. General Rogers is currently serving as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army.

The change of military command in NATO is an appropriate time to reflect upon the importance of the Alliance to the United States, to the West as a whole, and to the cause of world peace.

Thirty years ago, we joined Europe and Canadian friends in creating the North Atlantic Alliance. Since that time NATO has been the cornerstone of our security policy, reflecting the vital importance of the security and well-being of Western Europe to the security of North America. NATO has served us well: it has helped keep the peace in an area h



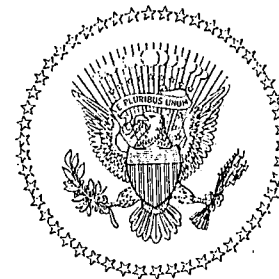
PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Jimmy Carter

1978

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 30, 1978



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1979

but is in the tradition of a number of treaties between the United States and Italy. The first United States treaty to deal with any aspect of social security was concluded with Italy in 1948 and the 1948 treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with Italy was the first of the post World War II treaties to contain broad social security provisions. This totalization agreement can be expected to be even more advantageous to Americans who have worked in Italy either as U.S. citizens or before their immigration to this country, than the earlier treaties or agreements. I transmit for the information of Congress a comprehensive report prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare which explains the provisions of the Agreement and provides actuarial data on the number of persons affected by the agreements and the effect on social security benefits as required by the same provisions of the Social Security Amendments

Department of State and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in commending this Agreement, and Exchange of Notes.

JIMMY CARTER

White House,
February 28, 1978.

Report on Environmental

to the Congress Transmitting a
February 28, 1978

Congress of the United States: In 1977, we took together a number of measures to protect and improve our environment. Most notable was a "mid-course correction" amendment that strengthened the basic goals

of our air and water pollution control laws; a strong stripmining bill; and our selection, with Canada, of the least damaging route for a natural gas pipeline from Alaska to the lower 48 states.

The Administration began reviews of traditional policies on our use and development of natural resources, especially water and non-fuel minerals; put into effect new policies to reduce oil spills and regulate development of oil and gas on the Outer Continental Shelf; proposed expansions of wilderness and park areas; started work on a coherent Federal strategy for the control of toxic substances; and advocated measures to curb nuclear proliferation. On some of these matters we submitted legislative proposals to Congress.

We share a record of solid accomplishment in the environmental area, and we have set out worthwhile plans for the future.

In June, 1977, the Council on Environmental Quality convened a series of meetings at my direction. The purpose was to develop recommendations for improving National Environmental Policy Act procedures, including the familiar "environmental impact statement". CEQ solicited testimony from corporations, state governments, labor unions, environmental groups, other Federal agencies, and the public.

Virtually every witness criticized some aspect of the Government's procedures for translating environmental policy into practical action. But, remarkably, *not a single witness* called for the repeal or serious weakening of the National Environmental Policy Act. On the contrary, all agreed that the goals of NEPA were sound, and that its procedures—while needing improvement—should be retained.

Such unanimity on the value of NEPA indicates to me how far we have come in

those few years since we first began to see the damage we were doing to our surroundings. Not long ago, environmental awareness was frequently seen as an emotional excess and an economic disaster. But now, concern for the integrity of our natural systems has become an accepted criterion for judging our actions.

We have not yet learned, of course, to balance all our environmental objectives against the other social goals that must concern us. But it is now clear that the American people believe our needs for food, for shelter, and for the necessities as well as the amenities of civilization, can be met without continuing the degradation of our planet. It is clear that they wish, as Congress stated in the National Environmental Policy Act, "to create and maintain conditions under which man and nature can exist in productive harmony, and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations of Americans."

In less than a year, this Administration and this Congress have substantially advanced the American search for "productive harmony" with our earth. I pledge to continue this search with you.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
February 28, 1978.

NOTE: The report is entitled "Environmental Quality: The Eighth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality—December 1977" (Government Printing Office, 445 pages).

National Governors' Conference

Remarks at a White House Reception for Governors Attending the Mid-Winter Conference. February 28, 1978

This is an evening for hospitality and friendship, for dancing and conversation, and not for speeches. And I wanted to

say on behalf of myself and Rosalynn and Fritz and Joan [Mondale], the members of our Cabinet and staff, that we're delighted to have all of you come to the White House to be our guests here. It's your home as well as ours.

This is a home that's been occupied by every President since George Washington, and there's been great history made and great entertainment, and great leaders have occupied this beautiful room here on the east side of the White House.

When I was in the State senate, I always felt that I could go to the Governor of my State and get all the answers to my problems. When I got to be Governor, I felt that I could come and see the President and I could get all the answers to my problems. And now that I'm President, I feel like I can go back to the Governors. [Laughter]

I think your Mid-Winter Conference has been superb. I've had reports from my own staff, Jack Watson, and also our Cabinet members, some of whom are here tonight. I think it's been a hard-working, dedicated group, and the partnership that exists between us, as Fritz pointed out to you today, is one that's very valuable to us here in Washington.

So, I'd like for you tonight just to get to know us better, the new Governors of you; sympathize with me, the ones that were Governors when I was. And I give my condolences to the ones who are visiting the White House for the last time as Governors.

But I would like to say now that we have a wonderful store ahead of us of superb entertainment. This past Sunday afternoon we had a historical performance on this platform by Vladimir Horowitz, perhaps the greatest, certainly one of the greatest pianists who ever lived. And tonight we have wonderful entertainment in store for us again. Our country has produced great musicians, and one of the

most beautiful and talented of those is Beverly Sills.

This is a night for dancing and for waltzing. She's going to sing some selections from "The Merry Widow," and she'll be accompanied by a great baritone, Allan Titus. So, Beverly, if you and Allan would come forward, we are very eager to hear from you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:35 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Black Lung Benefits Reform Act of 1977

Remarks on Signing H.R. 4544 Into Law.
March 1, 1978

THE PRESIDENT. I think the attendance here this morning at this signing ceremony indicates the extreme importance of this legislation. Coal mining has always been a difficult and a dangerous trade, and among its most tragic risks has been black lung disease.

Three weeks ago, I signed a bill that provided for a new trust fund to be supported by an excise tax on coal to pay for black lung benefits. Today, I'm quite pleased to sign House bill 4544, the Black Lung Benefits Act of 1977, to strengthen the administration of that program.

These two bills, in conjunction with the Mine Safety and Health Amendments Act of 1977, which was signed last year, amount to a comprehensive Federal effort to reduce the human and social costs to our growing dependence on coal.

Coal miners have a right to working conditions as free as possible from dangerous coal dust. The black lung program recognizes that miners and their families also deserve compensation under a fair system when they contract this terrible

disease and die or are disabled as a result of their work in the mines.

In the past, miners disabled by black lung disease too often have been denied the benefits they deserve. This bill will remedy many defects in the program. It simplifies and streamlines the process of filing for benefits and expands the eligibility to include respiratory and pulmonary impairment other than just to the lungs.

It eliminates unfair rules and time limits that have prevented disabled miners and their survivors from receiving benefits. The Labor Department will now be allowed to set fair standards of eligibility, based on the latest medical developments. Together, these amendments will ensure that more miners and their families will receive the benefits that they deserve.

The Congress and my administration have worked closely to develop these bills because of our great concern about the tragic effects of black lung disease. Many Members of the Congress have worked for this bill and the companion revenue bill already passed.

I want especially to thank Congressman Perkins in the House and Jennings Randolph in the Senate, who have visited me frequently about this legislation since I've been in office, and also, of course, Congressmen Thompson and Ullman, Senators Byrd, Williams, Long, and DeHuddleston, and many others on the committees for the passage of these good reforms.

We could not restore life or health to the victims of this disease, but we can at least help to lift the financial burdens that these disabled miners and their families must bear. This bill accomplishes that goal.

As we've come to recognize, increased coal production is vital to our success in meeting future energy needs. But in-

creased coal production must not be accomplished at the expense of greater suffering for coal miners and their families. This bill is another demonstration that the Federal Government will do all it can to give miners the support and the fair treatment that they deserve.

On behalf of the people of our country and particularly those States where coal mining is a major industry, I want to express my deep thanks to the Members of the Congress, to the members of the Cabinet, and to other interested persons who have made this comprehensive legislation—three major bills in the last 6 or 8 months—possible to alleviate the affliction that has for so long been suffered by the brave and courageous and dedicated and sometimes long-suffering coal miners of our country.

[At this point, the President signed the bill.]

Senator Randolph, would you like to say a word?

SENATOR RANDOLPH. Mr. President, there is a commitment not only of your administration but of the Congress and, especially, I think, of the American people to do justice in connection with what has now become law. It's been a long battle, really, to aid the miners and their survivors. We began in 1969, and that was the first bill.

Senator Williams, Senator Byrd, Senator Javits, Senator Stafford, many, many in the Senate remember those days. We did that, Mr. President—and I must not speak too long—we did it one year before we passed the occupational health and safety legislation, because it was believed in the House and in the Senate that this had a priority, this type of work done by the miners.

Then, as you know, and others who are gathered here—and I express appreciation to all of them—we had the amend-

ments of 1972, where we had relied on X-ray, practically without any other procedure and we brought in pulmonary and respiratory ailments as possible proof of black lung. And then in 1977, we continued with legislation that, I think, is the finalization of this effort.

And as you and all who are here know we have moved from the Federal commitments of the Government, now, to tonnages which will be produced by miners—50 cents a ton on deep mining, 25 cents a ton on surface mining. And I'm sure Arnold Miller will recognize the need for productivity of coal, because it is the manner in which the money comes in with which the black lung benefits will be made.

This final thought: We believe there are approximately 170,000 to 190,000 pending and denied cases that will be viewed and, hopefully, acted on as quickly as possible.

I think this is a good day for America. Mr. President. It's a day not just of passion, but it's a day of the realization of the responsibility of people to help those who deserve help. And I take this responsibility—and I'll be forgiven—I want to say that Anice Floyd stands here and she's left, never missing a day in working these matters. And I want to thank her because she represents, really, thousands and thousands of people.

I never am a partisan in the sense of being, you know, a partisan that goes far. [Laughter] But I want to say in the final days of the enactment of this legislation—Bob, and you know it—on the Hill, Senator Javits deserves very, very much credit. He helped us in a very difficult time, when in the conference it looked as if we might not make it.

And although we had some rough words—and I hope Carl Perkins somehow will know what I've said to him—that no one labored more dilig-



J81
.C2
1977
v.1
WH

U.S. President
PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

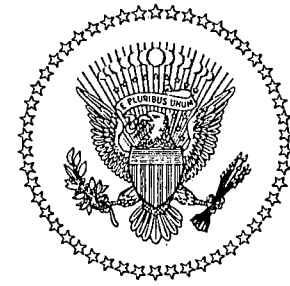
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Jimmy Carter

1977

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 20 TO JUNE 24, 1977



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1977

pressed, also, when we had a reception my first day or two in the White House for representatives of the military—enlisted leaders, up through the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense.

We met with many groups in those first 2 days—politicians in and out of office, diplomatic officials, and others—and I was deeply impressed, as the military representatives came by, at the unbelievable number who said, "Mr. President, I'm praying for you," or, "God be with you," or some other demonstration of a deep religious commitment.

Well, I just want to be sure that as President, as a human being with weaknesses and acknowledged inabilities, that I can do a good job. I'll do the best I can not ever to disappoint you.

And I know that, based on your past record and your constant commitment, you will never disappoint me or the American people as we try to exemplify the finest aspects of the greatest nation on Earth.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:03 a.m. in the Inner Court at the Pentagon.

National Governors' Conference

Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Governors Attending the Conference's Winter Session. March 1, 1977

I guess the time has come for me to say a word. I notice that everybody got quiet when the lights came on. [Laughter]

Well, for all of you distinguished visitors from around the country who are visiting Washington, we Washington insiders want to give you a hearty welcome. [Laughter]

After serving as Governor for 4 years and having been entertained all over the

Nation, obviously by many of you, I want to let you see how it is to rough it here in the White House. [Laughter]

We've had a good time so far, and I think it's meant an awful lot to us to have been able to serve as the first family of Georgia. It made it easy for us to understand executive management and problems.

I've come through the crisis of not any longer being in office, so far, fairly well. When I got through being Governor, I didn't know what to do. I could see the end of my term coming, and I didn't particularly want to go back to the peanut farm—[laughter]—and I talked to Jody Powell. And he said, "Why don't we maybe go into the newspaper business?" I said, "Well, the only house I've got is in Plains." And he said, "Well, we'll just start a newspaper in Plains." I said, "Nobody lives there but 680 people." He said, "How about the tourists?" I said, "Look, Jody, if there is one thing I am absolutely positive of, above all other things in my life, there will never be a tourist in Plains, Georgia." [Laughter]

And then I talked to Rosalynn and she said, "Well, why don't you take up a hobby of some kind." And I couldn't think of anything. So one afternoon, I talked to Hamilton Jordan. I said, "Hamilton, what kind of hobby would you recommend that we take up after I go out of office as Governor?" So he had a suggestion to make, and so here I am. [Laughter]

I've noticed a lot of similarities about being a Governor and being President. And in some ways, there are advantages in both offices. I know that as Governor, whenever anything bad occurred in the State there was no way that I could ever figure out to avoid responsibility for it. It is impossible to shovel it off onto a Cabinet officer or the legislature. The Governor is always it. He's always accessible.

I've tried to do it differently up here. I've tried to give my Cabinet officers credit for all—[laughter]—. Well, I've really tried to give them credit for all the good things. When we decided to cancel \$5.1 billion worth of water projects, I let Cecil Andrus get the credit—[laughter]—for all the savings that he brought to the taxpayers. When I get invitations to explain to the Texas State Convention or the Chamber of Commerce the repeal of 14(b), I'll let Ray Marshall go down in his home State and take responsibility for that. When we have an international problem, I try to turn to the people with the most experience.

As you know, my first week in office I asked Fritz Mondale, the Vice President, to go on a round-the-world trip. And he did so well—I haven't announced it before—but Mr. Idi Amin¹ has asked me to send a delegation. [Laughter]

I want to send the most experienced person I have to do the negotiations. In the future, when we close down military bases, Harold Brown has volunteered to take the credit for that.

So, you can see there are a lot of advantages both ways. I have been particularly blessed, yesterday afternoon, to have you come up and to let me and my Cabinet and Vice President Mondale spend 2½ hours or a little bit more meeting with you.

I believe in our country, and I believe in the system of federalism. It's ever-present on my mind after 2 years of campaigning that your constituents are mine. And when something goes wrong in your State and I hear it on the news or read about it in the paper, I think about the lonely days that I spent campaigning through your States and the hospitality that I and Rosalynn and all our family received. And it's not an artificial sense

of a common sharing of responsibility with you for the welfare and happiness and benefit of your own people at home. And this is a sobering thing, but it's also a very gratifying thing.

I know that I'm going to make a lot of mistakes—economically and, perhaps, in foreign affairs, as well. But the thing that gives me a reassuring feeling is my sense of partnership with you. I've learned a lot about government as a Governor. And I know that the cumulative experience and ability and sensitivity and idealism in this room by the men and women who serve as executive officers of the 50 States is a tremendous resource for me and the Cabinet and others in Washington to tap. You have a practical understanding of what goes on, where services are delivered. And I'm very eager to continue that close relationship with you.

It was particularly beneficial, I think, to the members of the Cabinet yesterday to get to know you and for you to get to know them. This is a time, I think, of restoration in our country of some of the higher ideals and the surest sense of confidence in the future—not because of me at all, but just because our country has come through a difficult time. And as we look back on it, there is a growing realization of the basic, unchangeable strength of the American people. And I think this gives us all a sense of assurance about the future.

I've got an awful lot to learn. And I think that you can help me with it and, perhaps, we can learn together. I've had a chance to learn about matters concerning defense and matters concerning intelligence and matters concerning foreign affairs. And I've seen in other parts of the world a great sense of dependence and a growing trust in our country and what it stands for. I just want to be true

¹ President Field Marshal of Uganda.

to those ideals, along with you, in the months to come.

Finally, I'd like to say that we are going to do some things that we hope that you will share with us. When I was Governor of Georgia, we had a sister state in Brazil named Pernambuco. Recife is the capital. And Rosalynn and I went down to visit Brazil, I think, the first year I was in office. We formed a lot of friendships. And when we got back, we organized just on our own, with the help of other people in Georgia, of course, an exchange of citizens. We chartered a plane. I think it cost \$200 per person, about, and we loaded about 200 people on either a 707 or a plane of that size and flew down to Brazil. I didn't go. Rosalynn did. And those 200 people, Georgians, unloaded in Recife, and 200 Brazilians got on the plane and came back to Georgia.

None of them ever stayed in a hotel or motel. They all stayed in each other's homes. And the 200 Georgians had made arrangements while they were gone for 200 of their neighbors to take in the Brazilians. And the same thing had happened in Brazil.

It was a tremendous exhibition of the yearning of people in another country who spoke Portuguese—none of the Georgians spoke Portuguese—to learn about us and for us to learn about them. So we're going to try to do this on a nationwide basis and ask those of you who are interested, either the Governors or their spouses, to be thinking about it, and later on you'll get a letter concerning it. And perhaps your own State this first year would like to just take one airplane, and we've asked the State Department to give us advice. And we would like to have somebody go, maybe a couple of hundred folks go from, say, Idaho, to perhaps Morocco, and let 200 Moroccans come back.

There won't be any public funds involved at the State or Federal level. We're going to try to join in and raise enough money in private places to finance these trips.

But I want to see the ties of our own country with other foreign countries—large and small, powerful and weak, very friendly and not so friendly—strengthened. I think it will be an exciting thing.

Perhaps the first time, you might get some fairly affluent people to go who could not only pay their \$300 or \$400 or whatever it is these days but could also help pay the price of a Moroccan to come back to one of the homes.

We're going to try to work it out in detail. But we will hope that we can get you to help us with it. You can either wait till you get a letter or you can volunteer. We're going to try maybe a few trips this first year. But eventually, we'd like to have it be kind of a massive exchange of people going back and forth from the United States of America and for the other countries around the world.

And I particularly want to keep it removed from Government. The only thing that we'll provide is mine and Rosalynn's personal involvement in our spare time and, perhaps, yours and the help from the State Department in giving us advice on where to go. And we'll try to provide a little school for the ones who volunteer to go, about the country to which the visit will be made.

So, if you're interested in doing it, you can contact Rosalynn directly, or we'll be writing you a letter soon. There is a volunteer in Georgia, a young man who happens to be a Presbyterian minister, who was a missionary in Brazil. He was the one who had the idea for our first exchange. And he's going to just volunteer to kind of coordinate the whole effort.

But I think this is the kind of thing that we can do that is a little above and beyond Government—kind of nice, that perhaps you can help us with.

But I particularly want to break down any remaining barriers that exist between the State governments and the Federal Government. We want to make there be a common sense of community between people in your communities and the city of Washington, and remove any sort of last remaining feeling that this is an alien Government or that it doesn't care about you and doesn't need your help.

Only those of you who've served as Governor know how much I need your help. And I hope that you'll be free with it.

To conclude my brief remarks before we go in for some entertainment, I'd like to offer a toast to one of the finest groups of public servants in the world who will provide a constant inspiration to me and my family, the Governors of the 50 States of the most wonderful nation on Earth.

Here's to the Governors and their families.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Limitation on Hiring in the Federal Government

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies. March 1, 1977

Memorandum for Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

One of the top priorities of this Administration is to manage the affairs of Government more efficiently. As part of this effort, we must hold Federal employment to the lowest number needed to operate effectively. Toward that end, I am imposing a limitation on the hiring of Fed-

eral civilian workers pending the establishment of revised employment

I ask that you issue instructions regarding the number of appointments to time permanent positions in your agency to not more than 75 percent of the number of vacancies occurring after January 28, 1977. This limitation shall be made effective at once and will remain in effect until new employment ceilings for fiscal years 1977 and 1978 have been established.

I am instructing the Office of Management and Budget and the Civil Service Commission to issue guidance on this directive. In addition, I delegate authority to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to grant specific exceptions in a very limited number of cases when such action is necessary to preserve the continuity of Government by providing that essential services are provided and that fundamental needs are met.

You should make every effort to avoid requesting exceptions by making personnel reallocations within your respective agencies to meet needs of highest priority and to assure that vital and basic services are not interrupted. Contracting with firms and institutions outside the Government will not be used to alleviate the effect of this directive.

I am depending on you to give your effort your sincere support and prompt attention.

JIMMY CARTER

NOTE: The text of the memorandum was released on March 2.

On the same day, the White House Office released the following information for announcement on the memorandum:

The reductions in current employment will be met by attrition. No one will be laid off. As of December 31, the Federal payroll included 1,902,000 permanent civilian employees (excluding the Postal Service). The Office of Management and Budget estimates attrition of 10 percent of the Federal work force and

Volume One
THE GENESIS OF THE NEW DEAL
1928-1932

Volume Two
THE YEAR OF CRISIS
1933

Volume Three
THE ADVANCE OF RECOVERY AND REFORM
1934

Volume Four
THE COURT DISAPPROVES
1935

Volume Five
THE PEOPLE APPROVE
1936

1
.R6
1933
WHRC.

^t
THE PUBLIC PAPERS
AND ADDRESSES OF
FRANKLIN D.
ROOSEVELT
WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT



LIBRARY

JUL 10 1941

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

Volume Two
THE YEAR OF CRISIS
1933

RANDOM HOUSE · NEW YORK · 1938

The Governors' Conference at the White House

armistice. To the end that the efforts I am giving in these first days of my Administration may be crowned with success and that we may achieve a lasting restoration of national well-being, I invite the support of the men of the Legion and of all men and women who love their country, who know the meaning of sacrifice and who in every emergency have given splendid and generous service to the Nation.

4 (Address before the Governors' Conference at the White House. March 6, 1933

I HAVE been so occupied since noon on Saturday that I have not had a chance to prepare any formal remarks. I start off by saying to the Governors and their representatives that as a Governor myself for the past four years I am on somewhat intimate terms with the duties of Governors and also with the rights and duties of States. The country needs cooperation between the States and the Federal Government. I think this has been well demonstrated by the events of the past forty-eight hours.

The States acted with remarkable promptitude in preventing a panic at a time when it might well have developed. The situation, however, did get to the point yesterday where some kind of uniform action seemed necessary, and as you know resulted in two things: the calling of a Special Session of Congress for Thursday, and a proclamation to take care of the immediate emergency between now and Thursday.

In that proclamation there were four or five main objectives. The first one was to prevent the withdrawal of any further gold and currency. The old War Statute of 1917 had not been repealed and we used it. It was an exceedingly useful instrument. The second objective was to provide some form of circulating medium for the country in addition to the outstanding currency, because a large part had been put into hiding. I have confidence the public will accept that circulating medium.

We should provide some method by which banking can go on

The Governors' Conference at the White House

with new cash coming in. It is proposed through the Treasury Department that every bank will be authorized to open new accounts, and that the money deposited in the new accounts can be withdrawn at any time. The only way in which that money can be kept absolutely safe beyond peradventure of doubt is by using methods to keep it safe—first, keeping the money in cash the way it is put in; second, depositing it in the Federal Reserve Bank; and third, purchasing Government bonds with it.

Recognized Government bonds are as safe as Government currency. They have the same credit back of them. And, therefore, if we can persuade people all through the country, when their salary checks come in, to deposit them in new accounts, which will be held in trust and kept in one of the new forms I have mentioned, we shall have made progress.

All I can say is, I am very grateful for what the States have done in this emergency. We want if possible to have a general banking situation, that is to say, one covering national banks and State banks, as uniform as possible throughout the country. At the same time we want to cooperate with all of the States in bringing about that uniformity. I have no desire to have this matter centralized down here in Washington any more than we can help. I don't believe there is much more to say about banking.

The letter that I sent to you took up several matters: First, there is the conflicting taxation between Federal and State Governments. Every one of you has been seeking methods to find new sources of taxation. It has been natural and human to expect that the Federal Government also should try to find some method of raising revenue.

A second question relates to Federal aid in unemployment relief. The Federal Government, of course, does have to prevent anybody from starving, but the Federal Government should not be called upon to exercise that duty until other agencies fail. The primary duty is that of the locality, the city, county, town. If they fail and cannot raise enough to meet the needs, the next responsibility is on the States and they have to do all they can.

The Governors' Conference at the White House

If it is proven that they cannot do any more and the funds are still insufficient, it is the duty of the Federal Government to step in.

We come to the question of coordinating work. It is very difficult to know in the Federal Government what States are doing well for unemployment relief and what States are not, and it is my thought that I can create some kind of central relief agency which will be a fact-finding body, which will coordinate the work of States, and act as a clearing house for the relief of the Nation. I hope to get that set up in the next two or three weeks.

The third proposition is the reorganization and consolidation of local government to reduce the taxation cost. That is your problem and it has been my problem for the past four years.

And there is the question of mortgage foreclosures especially on farm land and on small homes. There again we have no national policy. Some of the States are doing it one way and other States are doing it another way. Some States and some localities are closing their eyes to existing laws and do not have any foreclosures. As yet we have no national policy for it, but I believe we can have one.

NOTE: I had had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with most of the Governors of the United States during the previous four years while I was Governor of New York, particularly at the various Governors' Conferences which I attended regularly during that period.

About a month before my inauguration I had invited the Governors of all the States, most of whom expected to attend the inauguration in Washington, to confer with me and with each other at the White House on Monday, March 6th, to discuss several problems which would require coopera-

tion between the Federal and State Governments. When I invited them, it was my intention to spend the entire day of March 6th going over with them various matters of common interest which required common attention.

Subsequent events, however, including the banking crisis, compelled me to change that plan. There simply was not enough time in which to do all the things which had to be done. Events were happening so quickly, in fact, that it was impossible for me even to prepare a speech in advance, to deliver to the Governors' Conference. There was only time for me to go

A Pledge of Support to the President

to the East Room of the White House, where the conference was in progress, and speak extemporaneously.

There were twenty-five Governors present and representatives of twelve others.

In response to my request for help

and cooperation, the Governors' Conference passed the following resolutions. These resolutions are printed to show the united spirit of cooperation which the Governors "without regard to political affiliations" displayed in the hour of the country's need.

5 (A Pledge of Support to the President by the Governors' Conference. March 6, 1933

IN THIS anxious hour of a national emergency in our banking and economic life a heavy responsibility rests on our President to lead us out of our difficulties. He is ready to lead if we are ready to follow. He needs the united support of all our people in carrying out his plans.

Without regard to our political affiliations we Governors and representatives of Governors of States, met in conference in the City of Washington, March 6, 1933, hereby express our confidence and faith in our President and urge the Congress and all the people of our united country to cooperate with him in such action as he shall find necessary or desirable in restoring banking and economic stability.

B. M. Miller, Alabama
A. G. Schmedeman, Wisconsin
Ruby Laffoon, Kentucky
Clyde L. Herring, Iowa
Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado
by John T. Barnett
David Sholtz, Florida
Clarence D. Martin, Washington
by Frank T. Bell
Samuel Conner, Mississippi
Miriam Ferguson, Texas
by Mrs. J. E. King
Louis J. Brann, Maine

J. M. Futrell, Arkansas
by C. G. Smith
Floyd B. Olsen, Minnesota
by John R. Foley
William H. Murray, Oklahoma
by G. B. A. Robertson
Paul V. McNutt, Indiana
J. C. B. Ehringhaus, North Carolina
Hill McAlister, Tennessee
Theodore F. Green, Rhode Island
B. B. Moeur, Arizona
by Mrs. J. C. Greenway

the fact or the fear of unemployment, I am justified in saying a word of encouragement because the codes and the agreements already approved, or about to be passed upon, prove that the plan does raise wages, and that it does put people back to work. You can look on every employer who adopts the plan as one who is doing his part, and those employers deserve well of everyone who works for a living. It will be clear to you, as it is to me, that while the shirking employer may undersell his competitor, the saving he thus makes is made at the expense of his country's welfare.

While we are making this great common effort there should be no discord and dispute. This is no time to cavil or to question the standard set by this universal agreement. It is time for patience and understanding and cooperation. The workers of this country have rights under this law which cannot be taken from them, and nobody will be permitted to whittle them away but, on the other hand, no aggression is now necessary to attain those rights. The whole country will be united to get them for you. The principle that applies to the employers applies to the workers as well, and I ask you workers to cooperate in the same spirit.

When Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," died, someone asked, "Will he go to Heaven?" and the answer was, "He will if he wants to." If I am asked whether the American people will pull themselves out of this depression, I answer, "They will if they want to." The essence of the plan is a universal limitation of hours of work per week for any individual by common consent, and a universal payment of wages above a minimum, also by common consent. I cannot guarantee the success of this nationwide plan, but the people of this country can guarantee its success. I have no faith in "cure-alls" but I believe that we can greatly influence economic forces. I have no sympathy with the professional economists who insist that things must run their course and that human agencies can have no influence on economic ills. One reason is that I happen to know that professional economists have changed their definition of economic laws every five or ten years for a very long time, but I do have faith, and

retain faith, in the strength of the common purpose, and in the strength of unified action taken by the American people.

That is why I am describing to you the simple purposes and the solid foundations upon which our program of recovery is built. That is why I am asking the employers of the Nation to sign this common covenant with me—to sign it in the name of patriotism and humanity. That is why I am asking the workers to go along with us in a spirit of understanding and of helpfulness.

(See Items 59, 78, 79, 81, 93, 98, 105 of this volume.)

102 ¶ Radio Address to Governors' Conference at San Francisco—"Mutual State and Federal Undertakings." July 25, 1933

I SEND my greetings across many States to the Conference of Governors assembled tonight. I wish I could meet with you and renew old and pleasant associations, created during the four years during which I was one of you. I like to recall that I was a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Governors and that I attended all four meetings during my term of office as Governor of New York. I found then, and subsequent observation has confirmed my belief, that the Governors' Conference is a vital and necessary organization.

I take this occasion to assure you of my deep appreciation of the cooperative spirit which you have recently shown in your resolution addressed to me. We are all engaged in the business of lifting this country from economic chaos and I congratulate you on the efforts that you are making.

I feel that one of the great problems before us is to adjust the balance between mutual State and Federal undertakings—to determine the joint responsibilities of many great tasks. I think we are making progress in this direction. There are many problems that extend beyond the power of single States. I can use

Address to Governors' Conference

as illustrations two which happen to be in the foreground in Washington at this moment.

The problem of oil production, for example, must be viewed and measured from the standpoint of the national total of production and of consumption. But, in coming to grips with the problem of limitation, the States have a function to perform which is of great importance. I am happy that the oil-producing States are cooperating with each other and with the Federal Government in this matter.

Another problem is a consideration of a wider and more effective use of the land over wide areas in such natural units as the Tennessee or the Arkansas or the Missouri or the upper Mississippi valleys. Here are problems where the individual State and regional groups of States and the Federal Government may well find possibilities of fruitful cooperation.

I extend to you a very personal note of greeting. I am more than pleased with the contacts which I have had with the Governors of the forty-eight sovereign States since I have been President. I have maintained a constant and active interchange of ideas with many of you. We have communicated by mail and telephone and more particularly by personal conferences at the White House. I hope that these contacts will continue and increase in number and importance. I hope, furthermore, that during the coming winter I may have the pleasure of meeting with you here in Washington once more, and I take this occasion to extend to you a cordial invitation for such a meeting during the coming winter.

Let us look forward to this gathering in the hope that it will mark further solid accomplishments by all of us in the direction of national recovery. It is a major purpose of my Administration to strengthen the bonds between State and Federal executive authorities, to the great common ends to which we are all devoted.

My warm greetings to you all, old associates and new friends.

(See Item 4 of this volume.)

Telegram to Ramsay MacDonald

103 (The President Appraises the Achievements of the London Economic Conference—Telegram to Prime Minister MacDonald.

July 26, 1933

BEFORE the recess of the Conference I want you to know of sincere admiration and respect for your courage and your patience as its presiding officer. I feel that because of it the Nations of the world can continue to discuss mutual problems with frankness and without rancor. Results are not always measured in terms of formal agreements. They can come equally from the free presentation of each Nation's difficulties and each Nation's methods to meet its individual needs. We in the United States understand the problems of other Nations better today than before the Conference met and we trust that the other Nations will in the same spirit of good-will view our American policies which are aimed to overcome an unprecedented economic situation at home.

Such interchange, especially if it results in full discussion of all problems and not a few, only makes progress more and not less possible in the future.

That is why I do not regard the Economic Conference a failure. Largely because of your tact and perseverance the larger and more permanent problems will continue to be analyzed and discussed. You recognize with me that new adjustments are necessary to meet world and national conditions which have never existed before in history. You can count on our continued effort toward world rehabilitation because we are convinced that the continuation of the work of the World Economic Conference will result in practical good in many fields of joint endeavor.

NOTE: Although at the time the Economic and Monetary Conference did not arrive at any outstanding agreement between the Nations (see Items 34, 43, 87, 88, 103 of volume), the intervening years have proved that it did serve various useful purposes.

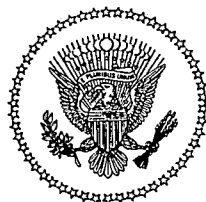
United States
Government
Printing Office

Superintendent
of Documents
Washington, D.C. 20402

Special Business
Rate for private use, \$300

BULK RATE
Postage and Fees Paid
U.S. Government Printing Office.
PERMIT G-26

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, March 2, 1987
Volume 23—Number 8
Pages 181-198

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
AND
RESEARCH CENTER

EOP Library
308 EOB
3-copies

To insure continued prompt
delivery, call x2500 with
all changes.

made in terms of labor force participation of women. It's an incredible achievement."

An incredible achievement indeed, but one to build upon, not take for granted. And that's why in my address on Tuesday I put forward an array of proposals, including worker retraining, redoubled efforts to open foreign markets to American goods, and new research initiatives to spur innovation in science and technology. This quest for excellence must be a great national undertaking that challenges Americans to achieve their best—that challenges workers to take greater pride in their product; businessmen to become even more enterprising and innovative; and educators to instill in our children a willingness to strive for that magic word, "excellence." So, I call on Congress to put our proposals at the top of its agenda and to act upon them promptly. Working together I'm confident that we'll go on to still more jobs and even greater prosperity. After all, when it comes to world competitiveness, we Americans have quite a history behind us.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

National Governors' Association

*Toast at a Dinner Honoring the Governors.
February 22, 1987*

The President. It's been a pleasure to have met with you this evening and to have had this opportunity to break bread and to get to know you. Pardon me, but the circumstances remind me a bit of the story of the Christians in ancient Rome who are thrown into the arena there. And moments later, why, the hungry lions were released and came charging out at them. And before they could quite get to them, one of the Christians stood up, stepped forward, and said something. And the lions suddenly just laid down and refused to attack the Christians. Well, the crowd at the Coliseum got mad. They yelled at the lions. They were throwing rocks at them and everything, but

they couldn't get them to eat the Christians. Finally, Nero called the Christian leader to his side and said, "What is it that you told the lions?" He said, "I simply told them there would be speeches after the meal." [Laughter]

Well, tonight there are no speeches after the meal, so I'll be brief. Having been a Governor, I can sympathize that sometimes it feels like you're out in the middle of the arena and the voters are rooting for the lions. After our meeting I hope that each of you understands that this administration is rooting for you.

In these last 5 years we've done our best to make certain the Federal Government doesn't increase taxes and drain away the revenue base that you depend on at the State and local level. Federal money is, as we all know, nothing more than local money that is given back, minus a carrying charge and coupled with complex guidelines and regulations. Well, we'd rather have local and State officials, and the people themselves, keep that revenue right at home. And as far as those guidelines—you've helped us save the States billions of dollars by ridding the books of needless paperwork and trimming back the red tape. I've thought from my own days as Governor that the best thing the Federal Government can do for the States is get out of your pockets and out of your way.

Today State government has resumed its rightful role as a major force in our society. The subjects we'll concentrate on tomorrow—welfare, employment training, and education—are the biggest challenges of today. They cannot be solved unless you are a major part of the solution. In the case of welfare reform—for example, our program is your program, what works best for your citizens in the unique circumstances that you know best. It's clear that centralized planning doesn't work here anymore than it works in socialist countries. There's a story about two Russians who are walking down the road in Moscow. And one of them said to the other, "Comrade, do you really think now that we finally have achieved all that there is—the highest state of communism—that we've reached that?" And the other one said: "Oh, no. Things are going to get a lot worse." [Laughter]

Seriously though, it's a pleasure to share this wonderful evening with you all. So, there isn't a place on here to set this. I always have to go over and get it. I now lift a glass to all of you, to our country, may her 50 States and 5 territories always shine as the stars in the constellation of freedom and democracy.

Audience. Here, here!

The President. Thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 9:25 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

National Governors' Association

*Remarks to Members of the Association.
February 23, 1987*

Thank you all very much, and welcome to the White House. It's a great pleasure to have you all here in Washington and have this opportunity to talk to you, as one chief executive to others, about our plans to prepare America for the century ahead.

With me, as you saw—usually a group anywhere I go anymore, so we—Secretary Bennett and Secretary Bowen, Chuck Hobbs, the Vice President.¹ And they'll all help me in answering any questions that you may have. Mostly, however, we want to listen to you, to hear what's happening at the State level; because I may be prejudiced, having been a Governor myself. But I'm convinced that it's in our States and communities that we find many of the most innovating and exciting answers to our problems.

First, however, I want to talk about what we see as our three top agenda items: welfare reform, education, and competitiveness. All three, of course, are connected. Success in all three areas is necessary if America is going to be all it can be.

¹ Secretary of Education William J. Bennett; Secretary of Health and Human Services Otis R. Bowen; Charles D. Hobbs, Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Development; and Vice President George Bush.

On the subject of welfare reform: Tomorrow we'll be sending our legislative proposal to Congress, to start that long and convoluted process by which we hope to get true reform started. Our goal is to establish a process that allows States and communities to implement their own antipoverty ideas based on their own unique experiences. States and communities are in the best position to find solutions to welfare dependency. In fact, a number of you already have used the limited independence that you now have to improve your welfare systems. Dozens more of you've demonstrated that you're eager to pursue new ideas and fresh strategies.

I'm also convinced that for any plan to work, it must be based on the advice of experts—not the ones in the universities and the think tanks, whose expert advice helped create the current welfare crisis, but the real experts: people like a lady named Kimi Gray, a one-time welfare mother with five children. We had her here in the White House the other day, and she told us about how she had gotten herself off of welfare and sent her five children to college. Not only that but she went on to become the driving force behind the Kenilworth Parkside Resident Management Association, taking over the management of these housing projects.

And when she started out, she says that Kenilworth Parkside was referred to as "the end of nowhere, the part of the city that's been forgotten." But through the resident management concept, welfare recidivism was reduced from 85 percent to 22 percent and teenage pregnancy was cut by 50 percent. Crime in the neighborhood fell, and new businesses started up.

And how did she do it? Well, her work echoes what every other true expert about welfare knows, what everyone who's had success getting people off of welfare, rather than on, will tell you. "Our philosophy," she said, "is that the only way we could save our community was by saving our families." And how did they do that? Well, here are her words: "By returning respect and responsibility and pride back to the fathers of our community."

There, spoken with the eloquence that comes from experience, is the fundamental

truth about the difference between dependency and self-sufficiency: It hinges on the family. The fundamental principle that must guide all our efforts at reform is that anything we do, any change we make, must strengthen, support, and give encouragement to the family. We must do all we can to ensure that the family is a safe haven for its children, a source of strength and security for all its members.

And let me make a related point: In some cases day care may be a necessity, but it can never replace the love and care of the parents themselves. We've always been a nation that's drawn its strength from the values of family life. If America hopes to enter the 21st century united and free, we must once again make a wholesale, conscious commitment to strengthening and protecting those basic family values and the strong, stable families from which they spring.

I know you all recently received my letter on welfare reform. And I know that you're as dissatisfied with the present system as we are. And many of you've thought long and hard about what needs to be done. Well, that's why we're anxious to hear what ideas your task force, headed by Governor Mike Castle, has to offer. And all of you, individually, have made great strides. We need your ideas, but not just your ideas. I'm asking each of you to help get our legislation through Congress. And I'm asking each of you, then, to use your new freedom to try new approaches in your State so that we can work together to make welfare work better.

Also, I've previewed the ideas you're going to consider tomorrow as a group, ideas developed over the past year by your task force on welfare reform. And I want you to know that I applaud those efforts, especially the emphasis that you're putting on increased self-responsibility among people the welfare system has too often assigned to long-term dependency.

An important part of the solution for many is education. And may I take a minute here to congratulate all of you on the impressive strides you're making in this area. Last August you issued a report called "Time For Results." And you raised some tough questions and offered some bold recommendations for reform.

You told us that our education system should set high standards and hold teachers and administrators accountable for the jobs they do. You told us that we should encourage more parental choice and involvement, and you told us to open up the education profession to qualified individuals from other professions. And you said that our colleges should be judged by their success or failure in educating our students.

Secretary Bennett tells me that you're moving full speed ahead to put your recommendations into practice. Well, I want to urge you today to continue to build on your report and to carry your ideas through, specifically ensure that all our students have good teachers by opening up the profession to all competent individuals who have mastered the subjects to be taught and make an even greater push for higher standards and higher expectations for all of our children, regardless of their social or economic background.

You've taken the lead, and the Federal Government is going to work to do our part. Last week I sent two important pieces of legislation to the Congress: our ECIA proposal to improve the education of disadvantaged children and our bilingual proposal to restore flexibility to decisions on the best means of teaching children whose first language is not English. These proposals complement your reform efforts. We're encouraged by the progress of our education reform movement. You're on the front lines, so let's stick with it.

And finally, the task of competitiveness. Welfare reform and education are a big part of that. People are our most valuable resource; and their imagination and creativity, hard work, and faith—that's what'll drive America into the 21st century. We can't afford to leave anyone out, and no one must be excluded.

And that's why I recently sent to Congress proposed legislation to ensure that government will contribute its share to America's quest for excellence. Ours is a diverse package, as diverse as the challenge before us. But diverse though it is, every part of it has one central purpose—and that is to make certain that in the years ahead the door of opportunity and excellence is open to all Americans.

Well, now I've broken my promise of last night at dinner. I've talked too long. Our friends from the press will be leaving now. And when they've cleared the room, I'll just turn to your Chairman, Bill Clinton, so that I can hear some of your ideas.

Nice to have had you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:54 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Medicare Catastrophic Illness Coverage Act

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation. February 24, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit today for your immediate consideration and enactment the "Medicare Catastrophic Illness Coverage Act." This landmark legislation would provide protection under the Medicare program for elderly and disabled Americans who suffer an acute care catastrophic illness. The legislation would help provide peace of mind for 30 million Americans without adding to the tax burden of their children.

We all know family, friends, or neighbors who have suffered a devastating acute care illness that has destroyed their financial security. A catastrophic acute care illness requires treatment so costly that families can only pay for it by impoverishing themselves. A catastrophic illness is financially devastating and requires personal sacrifices that can haunt families for the rest of their lives.

Elderly Americans require more medical care than younger persons. Average health care spending for an elderly person in 1984 was \$4,200, compared to \$1,100 for a person under 65.

Virtually all the elderly have acute care insurance protection under Medicare. About two-thirds also have private supplementary insurance, or Medigap. These two types of insurance together still have some significant limitations in coverage. As a result, unpredictable health care expenses

loom large in the personal budgets of the elderly.

There are gaps in Medicare as currently structured for acute care expenses. Hospital coverage is limited. After 60 days of hospital care, a Medicare patient begins to make increasingly costly payments—rising from \$130 per day for days 61 through 90, to \$260 per day for days 91 through 150, to the full cost of care for more than 150 days in the hospital. On top of this, there is a required 20 percent co-payment for all physician services covered by Medicare. The Medicare program, then, requires the greatest payments from those with the most serious health problems.

About 13 percent of the elderly are also covered by Medicaid, a health program for the poor. Medicaid is State-operated, and many States limit the amount and kind of services they will pay for under the program.

The proposed "Medicare Catastrophic Illness Coverage Act" would provide improved acute care coverage for the elderly and disabled by restructuring the Medicare program. The proposal would set an annual limit on out-of-pocket expenses for approved charges, with the additional coverage financed by a modest additional premium to be paid by beneficiaries.

Under the proposed legislation, a \$2,000 out-of-pocket limit for Medicare-proposed expenses would be established. Beneficiaries would be assured that once they had incurred out-of-pocket expenses of \$2,000 for approved charges, the Medicare program would pay for all remaining covered services.

As part of the added protection, all hospital and skilled nursing facility coinsurances would be eliminated. Further, no beneficiary would ever pay more than two hospital deductibles in any year. Skilled nursing facility care would be fully covered for 100 days each year. The complicated "spell-of-illness" concept would be eliminated. The current deductible and coinsurance for physician-related services would not be changed until the \$2,000 limit was reached.

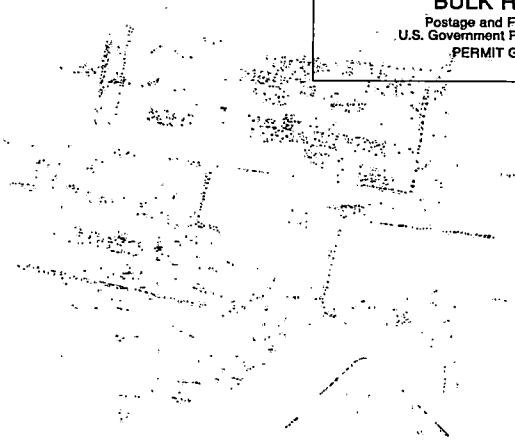
The proposal would be completely financed by a modest addition to the existing monthly Supplementary Medical Insurance (part B) premium. Any beneficiary electing

United States
Government
Printing Office

SUPERINTENDENT
OF DOCUMENTS
Washington, D.C. 20402

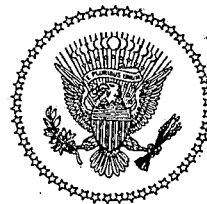
OFFICIAL BUSINESS
Penalty for private use, \$300

BULK RATE
Postage and Fees Paid
U.S. Government Printing Office
PERMIT G-26



308 LISD
Pres. Documents 3

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, August 15, 1988
Volume 24—Number 32
Pages 1017-1054

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
AND
RESEARCH CENTER

308 LISD

Pres. Documents 3

I'm talking about your important efforts toward a drug free workplace. Through preemployment testing, employment counseling, and treatment, you've really made a difference. Here and around the country, workplace drug programs have brought dramatic improvements in worker safety. There is no place for illegal drugs in the workplace or anyplace else in this land. I believe that programs like yours make a positive impact throughout the community. In addition to making this plant safer and more productive, you can also be proud that you're sending a message to our children to be drug free because illegal drug use will not be tolerated.

Well, before I go, I want to let you know that I'm delighted you were all able to get in to work today. [Laughter] They weren't going to let me in at first, but luckily someone recognized me. [Laughter] Of course, it's always nice to be recognized. You know, years ago, after a quarter of a century in the picture business and a number of years then on television and the General Electric Theatre and so forth, you're used to being recognized, and it's nice. And I was walking down Fifth Avenue in New York one afternoon, and suddenly a fellow about 30 feet ahead of me, coming my way, stopped. And he pointed, and he said, "I know you. I know you. I see you in those pictures and on that television screen all the time." Well, you know New Yorkers. They all stopped, and everybody in the street kind of lined up, made an alley. And here he came, down the middle of the alley, and he was fumbling in his pocket up here, coming toward me. And he keeps on talking about how well he's known me and how much he's seen me on the screen and everything. Gets right to me and sticks out a pad and a pencil and said, "Ray Milland." [Laughter] So, I signed "Ray Milland." There was no sense in disappointing him.

Well, it's been a real joy for me to be here with you and to see the work that you do and the tremendous pride with which you do it. And I think that's enough for me. I just thank you all, and God bless you all.

[At this point, Mr. Howe presented the President with a magnifying glass.]

Thank you all. Thank you very much. And to the two Congressmen over here,

now I can read the fine print in those things you send me. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. on the warehouse floor at the facility. In his opening remarks, he referred to Roger Howe and David Hinchman, chief executive officer and president, respectively, of U.S. Precision Lens, Inc. Prior to his remarks, the President toured the facility's manufacturing and production areas.

**Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Governors' Association in Cincinnati, Ohio
August 8, 1988**

Thank you all very much, and thank you, Governor Sununu. And I know someplace here with us are two Congressmen who came out with me, Gradison and McEwen from Ohio. And a special thanks to you, John, for your leadership in restoring the balance of Federal-State relations.

Before I begin my prepared remarks, I have a piece of very good news for you. The United Nations Secretary-General will announce later today a cease-fire in the Persian Gulf. This is news the world has waited for and the United States has pressed for—news that we may finally see an end to that long and bloody war. Although this is only a first step, it's an affirmation of a policy of strength and commitment. Our forces in the Persian Gulf and those of our allies have demonstrated that we have the resolve and the staying power in the Gulf, as well as in the Security Council when it comes to securing peace. On behalf of all Americans, I applaud and encourage the efforts of Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in bringing an end to this tragic war, and I send him this message: The hopes of the world are with you.

It's always with a special affection that I appear before the National Governors' Association. It seems just like yesterday that I was sitting where you're sitting, and I was talking about the need to get the Federal Government off the backs of the States and to let those who were closest to the people

serve the people as the people tell them they want to be served.

Now that I'm approaching the end of my Presidency, I have to be careful about these waves of good feeling and where they might carry me. That's why I keep reminding myself of a trip that Nancy and I made to Ireland. We were in Cashel Rock, where Saint Patrick is supposed to have raised the first cross in Ireland. And a young Irish guide was showing us through the ruins of the old cathedral where that took place, and then he took us through the ancient cemetery. And we came to one huge tombstone there, and the inscription on that tombstone was: "Remember me as you pass by, for as you are, so once was I. And as I am, you too will be, so be content to follow me." And that had proven too much for some Irishman who had scratched underneath the inscription on the stone: "To follow you I am content. I wish I knew which way you went." [Laughter]

I hope that history will record that this former Governor went on to practice what he'd preached and to fight the use of Federal dollars first as bait and then as a club and to return power and responsibility to the States, where they belong. And I am confident that history will also find that the States were up to the challenge and that, in these years, America entered a new era of democracy and had a new birth of freedom.

Yes, a new era, a new beginning, a rediscovery—in this time when we hear so much about competitiveness, we also hear about the necessity for businesses to do what some call flattening hierarchies. Simply put, this means that company presidents listen to and work with the men and women on the shop floor, in the stores, and driving the trucks. Along these lines, scholars tell us that one of the great advantages entrepreneurial firms have over giant corporations is that they do this better. And as we all know, the vast proportion of America's new jobs and much of our new technology come from entrepreneurial firms, firms less than 5 years old and firms beginning with 100 or fewer employees, which only proves that those advantages are big advantages. The most modern business consultant has rediscovered a wisdom known to our Founding Fathers: that the genius of America, whether in governing ourselves or in providing

our daily bread, is in the ordinary man and woman. America's strength and wisdom have never come from the power and cleverness of those on top, but from the strength and wisdom of the American people. And after years of skepticism, the wisdom of our founders is once more the accepted guide to practice in Washington.

In the last 7½ years, we've broken the Federal Government of its compulsion to control every breath the States take. We've consolidated dozens of categorical grants into nine block grants, putting power that was once in the hands of Federal agencies back into the hands of Governors and State legislatures. We've loosened Federal controls on the States in a number of other areas. We've required that Federal agencies consult more often and in greater detail with State and local officials on issues dealing with Federal grants and economic development aid to their areas. We've issued uniform rules governing grants and cooperative agreements. And we have listened. Too often in the past when Washington listened to the States, it heard only what it wanted to hear.

It was like the story of a fellow who went off to the Army and learned marksmanship. And he won a medal for it and came home on leave very proud. When he got to the edge of town, he saw a wall, and on the wall someone had chalked dozens of bull's-eyes. And in the middle of each bull's-eye was a bullet hole. The fellow had to find out who shot like that. And pretty soon he did. It was a six-year-old boy. And the fellow said, "How did you do that?" And the boy replied, "Simple. I take this rifle, and I shoot at the wall. And then I take this chalk, and I draw a circle around the hole." [Laughter]

Well, that's how on target Washington used to be when it responded to the States. Today things are different. When Governors talk, we not only listen but we hear. We've been listening especially closely since John Sununu wrote to me almost 2 years ago with your suggestions for improving how we run Federal assistance programs. And as we reported to you in February, many of these suggestions have either been put into practice or will be soon. Now we have a second round of suggestions, and you

saw the results of that yesterday in phase II of the regulatory reform report that you received.

Nowhere has this partnership been closer than in responding to the current drought. From the NGA's June conference in Chicago, which Secretary [of Agriculture] Lyng attended, to your Washington meeting in early July with the administration and congressional leaders to the consultations Secretary Lyng has had with so many of you, we have worked side by side to meet this crisis. You have advised, and we responded. America's farmers are getting help.

But at the heart of this new era in American government is not the idea that the Federal Government will merely let the States toss ideas into a suggestion box but that we in Washington will also honor the leadership role the States have to play. And from education to transportation to helping America's poor and homeless, you have led. While Washington has been caught up in partisan intrigue, you've gone out and done the job.

Almost 6 years ago, I proposed that America's most depressed areas should receive an extra dose of hope and opportunity, and I asked Congress to enact enterprise zone legislation. Despite some minor moves last year, Congress still has failed to pass meaningful enterprise zone legislation. Over half the States have gone forward with their own enterprise zones, and today those zones are credited with creating hundreds of thousands of jobs and saving hundreds of thousands of others. In fact, this city, Cincinnati, has an Ohio enterprise zone. Across the river, Kentucky has established an enterprise zone in Covington. And up the road, Indiana has one in Richmond. The way I look at it, if enterprise zones are good enough for Ohio and good enough for Kentucky and good enough for Indiana, good enough for so many others, they should be more than good enough for the Congress, too.

Welfare reform is another field in which you've been way out front. Congress today is still debating a welfare reform package years after States started taking advantage of the greater flexibility we gave them. One State after another has returned to the basic, homespun, enduring wisdom that the best way to learn to work is to work. And

the best way to get people to work is to make sure they have the incentives to work. Once we gave you the flexibility, you abandoned the destructive and bizarre prejudices that had crept into programs designed and administered from Washington—prejudices such as that public assistance carried no obligations for the recipient, or that, if one had a choice, it was as acceptable to live on welfare as to be independent.

Now even more ambitious experiments have begun. Over the years, Congress has come up with program after program that was advertised as a way to wean long-term welfare recipients from their dependence on the Government check. All those programs had one thing in common: They failed. And that's why just over a year ago we said it was time to stop looking for another program from Washington. We said that it was time for Washington to show a little humility, that in 50 States and thousands of communities across our land there are millions of sparks of genius. Why not kindle them into flames? And so, we asked for State proposals for treating public assistance programs as an integrated system and for using that system to help recipients climb up from dependency. And we said we would approve any State proposal that had a chance of reducing dependency as long as it ensured that needs continued to be met, it created no net increase in Federal costs, and it could be soundly evaluated.

Well, I don't have to tell you what happened next. So far we have approved proposals from New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Washington State, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. We're reviewing proposals from Georgia, South Carolina, Illinois, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. By the end of the year, we expect that at least half the States will have proposals approved or under consideration. And over a quarter of all AFDC recipients in the Nation will soon be involved in projects already approved or pending. AFDC—we're so used to initials in Washington, maybe I should say that's Aid for Dependent Children. And let me make a prediction here: After decades of Washington flailing from one dependency-producing welfare program to another, I believe that

the States will find the way truly to help welfare families become independent and productive and to put them on the ladder of opportunity that we call the American dream.

All this vitality in our States couldn't have come forth, of course, if our nation had remained stuck in the era of inflation and stagnation of a decade ago. State and local receipts have doubled in the last decade—dollar for dollar, a bigger climb than we had in Federal revenues. Some of this was because—with our 1981 tax cuts, with tax reform in 1986, and by restraining some Washington eager beavers—we've broadened the tax base of the States and either stopped the Federal Government or kept the Federal Government from preempting State revenue sources.

But more than that, our States, like our citizens, have known the blessings of the longest peacetime economic expansion on record. You know the story. Since our recovery began, America has created—and forgive me, John—is more now than 17 million jobs, and the percentage of the labor force employed this year is the highest not only in our history but in the peacetime history of the industrial world. Now, at the same time, unemployment is at the lowest level in 14 years; and the income of the typical American family, after dropping almost 7 percent between 1977 and '81, has soared nearly 10 percent in these last 8 years. Some talk about the declining middle class, and it turns out that the middle class is smaller not because more people are poor but because more people have become better off.

Since 1982 manufacturing production has risen at a faster rate than Japan's. One authority on manufacturing said not long ago that we had become the most competitive manufacturing nation in the world. As a result, we are today exporting chopsticks and Hondas to Japan; highly processed high-tech sand to Egypt; and all in all, more goods and services than ever before in our history.

Here in Cincinnati, I met this morning with some of the men and women who had pushed our exports to the highest level in history. U.S. Precision Lens makes more than two-thirds of its sales to foreign companies. And meeting the men and women

there, I just couldn't help remembering what General George C. Marshall said when asked why he was so confident that we would win the Second World War. "We have a secret weapon," he said, "the best blankety-blank kids in the whole world." Well, we, too, have a secret weapon: the best blankety-blank workers in the whole world.

You've seen the result when, as our nation's most effective sales men and women, you've gone on trade missions overseas. From Japan to Germany, you've persuaded international business to invest in America and create new jobs here and, in the process, have seen the respect and awe the American economy commands around the world. By the way, because you asked for it, we've made major revisions in the foreign trade data the Federal Government collects. Soon you will have better tools for keeping pace in the international economy.

But State Governments see the sunshine of our expansion in other ways as well. Next door to Ohio in Indiana—thanks to the strong rises in the financial markets since 1982—the assets and earnings of the State employee pension fund have nearly tripled. Indiana has made up for what was lost in the stagnation and inflation of the seventies, has increased the benefits to its retired State employees in each of the past 6 years, and has more assets available to pay future benefits than ever before. With few exceptions, the story is the same all over the Nation: State and local pension funds have shared in the growth of America in these years. Since 1981 total assets in State and local government pension funds have more than doubled. Guiding the policies that have given America what one economic writer has called the silent boom is the same old, as well as modern, wisdom that, as I said, has guided Federal-State relations in our 7½ years. Flattening hierarchies; less power for Washington, more for the people—however you describe it, it has produced in America a blooming of entrepreneurship, investment, innovation, and opportunity unlike what the world has ever seen.

Some say this blooming has gone hand in hand with a rise in greed. But every Governor can point to just the opposite: to the

record highs in charitable contributions; to the growing endowments of schools, universities, and museums. Yes, thanks to this silent boom and to a rediscovered initiative, State and local governments, together with private charities and churches, have done more for those indeed than ever before. Last year total private cash giving—cash—was over \$94 billion.

Looking at all this, I can't help thinking that, while much of the 20th century saw the rise of the Federal Government, the 21st century will be the century of the States. I have always believed that America is strongest and freest and happiest when it is truest to the wisdom of its founders. In Federalist 45, James Madison wrote that "The powers delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State Government are numerous and indefinite." Or to put it another way, "We the People." As long as we remember these words—"We the People"—and make them our guide, so long as we remember that America has always drawn its inspiration from the people and has always been governed best when governed most by those governments closest to the people, America will remain strong and free, the envy of the world.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the main hall at the Dr. Albert B. Sabin Convention Center. He was introduced by Gov. John H. Sununu of New Hampshire, president of the National Governors' Association. At the conclusion of his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Statement by the Assistant to the President for Press Relations on the Bomb Attack on Secretary of State Shultz in Bolivia
August 8, 1988

Terrorist tactics, such as used against Secretary Shultz and his motorcade in Bolivia today, are always repugnant. Thankfully, the Secretary's party was not injured, but the fact remains that an attack on U.S. offi-

cial cannot be tolerated. We ask the Government of Bolivia to bring those responsible to justice.

Statement by the Assistant to the President for Press Relations on the Antiballistic Missile Treaty Review
August 8, 1988

The third 5-year review called for by the ABM treaty will be held in Geneva beginning on August 24. The U.S. delegation, headed by Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director William F. Burns, will consist of the U.S. Commissioner to the Standing Consultative Commission, Ambassador Richard Ellis; the U.S. Ambassador to the defense and space talks, Ambassador Henry Cooper; and senior officials from the Departments of State and Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and their advisers. The principal U.S. objective for this review session is to obtain the Soviet Union's agreement to correct its violations of the ABM treaty and to satisfy other U.S. concerns regarding Soviet noncompliance with its obligations under the treaty.

The Soviet Union's large, phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is a significant violation of a central element of the ABM treaty. The Krasnoyarsk radar will be one of the key topics of the upcoming review. In preparation for the upcoming review, the President has issued guidance that the U.S. delegation should continue to make it clear that the existence of the Krasnoyarsk radar violation calls into question the viability of the ABM treaty and, therefore, it should be dismantled without further delay and without condition. Unless resolved, the Krasnoyarsk radar violation will force the United States to consider the exercise of its rights under international law to take appropriate and proportionate responses. In this context, the United States will also have to consider whether to declare the Krasnoyarsk radar to be a material breach of the ABM treaty. The President has also directed that the Department of Defense, working with other executive branch agencies and the Congress, take the lead in developing a range of appropriate and proportionate re-

sponses for consideration if the Soviet Union continues to refuse to correct the Krasnoyarsk violation.

After hearing what the Soviet Union has to say at the 5-year ABM treaty review, should the situation remain unresolved, the President will consult with the Congress and our allies concerning next steps.

Designation of William Barclay Allen as Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights
August 8, 1988

The President today announced his intention to designate William Barclay Allen to be Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights. He would succeed Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr.

Since 1987 Dr. Allen has been a member of the Commission on Civil Rights in Washington, DC, and a member of the Commission's California advisory committee, 1985-1987. Prior to this, he was a professor of government for the Claremont Graduate School at Harvey Mudd College in California, 1983-1987; associate professor, 1976; and assistant professor, 1972. Dr. Allen was assistant professor of government at the American University School of Government and Public Administration, 1971-1972, and a lecturer at l'Université de Rouen in France, 1970-1971.

Dr. Allen graduated from Pepperdine University (B.A., 1967) and Claremont Graduate School (M.A., 1968; Ph.D., 1972). He was born March 18, 1944, in Fernandina Beach, FL. He is married, has two children, and resides in Claremont, CA.

Nomination of Thomas C. Griscom To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Communications Satellite Corporation
August 8, 1988

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas C. Griscom to be a member of the Board of Directors of the

Communications Satellite Corporation until the date of the annual meeting of the corporation in 1991. He would succeed Neal B. Freeman.

From April 1987 to July 1988, Mr. Griscom was Assistant to the President for Communications and Planning at the White House in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was president and chief operating officer of Ogilvy and Mather Public Affairs, 1987. Mr. Griscom served as executive director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, 1985-1986. He was press secretary to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, 1978-1984, and a political writer for the Chattanooga News-Free Press, 1971-1978.

Mr. Griscom graduated from the University of Tennessee-Chattanooga (B.A., 1971). He was born November 13, 1949, in Chattanooga, TN. Mr. Griscom is married, has three children, and resides in Signal Mountain, TN.

Statement by the Assistant to the President for Press Relations on the Angolan Cease-Fire
August 8, 1988

The progress made in Geneva last week is a step toward bringing independence to Namibia and ending military confrontation in southwestern Africa. We welcome the decisions taken by the Governments of South Africa, Angola, and Cuba to begin military disengagement and to formalize a cease-fire. Also important is the setting of target dates to begin implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 and agreement on withdrawal of Cuban military forces from Angola. It is imperative that the parties involved approach the next round of meetings seriously and constructively in order to resolve the one major area of disagreement: a mutually acceptable timetable for total Cuban troop withdrawal.

United States
Government
Printing Office

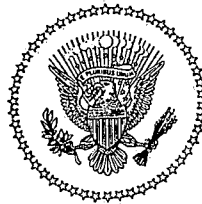
Superintendent
of Documents
Washington, D.C. 20402

Special Business
Postage for private use, \$300

BULK RATE
Postage and Fees Paid
U.S. Government Printing Office
PERMIT G-26

Weekly Compilation of

Presidential Documents



Monday, February 29, 1988
Volume 24—Number 8
Pages 237-269

WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
AND
RESEARCH CENTER

MAR 1 9 07 AM '88
WHITE HOUSE LIBRARY
RESEARCH CENTER

we've created more new jobs than in all of Western Europe and Japan combined.

And even the meaning of unemployment figures is sometimes not fully understood. Our 7 million unemployed citizens are often thought of as people who have lost their jobs, as they're sometimes described in the media. In fact, less than half of the unemployed are job-losers. Fifty-five percent are new entrants, mainly young people looking for their first jobs; reentrants, individuals who left the work force, perhaps to raise a family, and are now seeking to get back in; or job-leavers, who voluntarily left their jobs to change locations or occupations.

We, of course, need to remain concerned about each and every citizen who is seeking work and should not be satisfied until everyone who wants a job—a good job—has one. One person enduring the pressures and frustrations of unemployment is too many. That is why responsible Federal spending and taxing policies—policies that foster growth and expand opportunity for all our citizens—are so important. That is what the budget that I have just sent to Congress is all about.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Toast at a White House Dinner Honoring the Nation's Governors February 21, 1988

I think there are at least two of us in this room who have a great feeling of nostalgia right about now, because it isn't the last time for you, but it is for us under these same circumstances. And we're going to miss this very much.

We're delighted, Nancy and I, to welcome you once again to the White House. Seven years ago some of you were our first guests for a state dinner, and since then I've thought that was the right way to begin. I'm wondering now if we might have started something. I don't want to tie my successor's hands. So, let me say that as a Gov-

ernor I always thought that before a new President began entertaining heads of state from around the world he should show that first things come first and spend an evening with the heads of our 50 sovereign States and our territories.

We've just finished a yearlong celebration: the bicentennial of the drafting of the Constitution. You know, the framers had a way of referring to the States as opposed to the Federal Government. They said "the people." For example, James Madison once noted that "the people" called the Constitutional Convention, meaning the States did, and Congress just sort of tagged along trying to catch up and take credit. But there's a wisdom in saying "the people" to mean the States, a wisdom that until a few years ago was too often forgotten. The founders gave us a Federal system in the first place, because the best government of, by, and for the people is not the National Government but State government.

In the past 7 years, we've tried to return that seminal wisdom to Washington. We've taken federalism seriously. We've lived and breathed it, not just paid lip service to it. Federalism has been an integral part of our policies. For example, we've done our best to make certain that the Federal Government doesn't increase taxes and drain away the revenue base on which State and local governments depend. We've loosened Federal grant guidelines and regulations in general and given States more room to experiment in areas like welfare reform that were once tightly controlled. And we've worked in partnership with you to improve the quality of education.

We've also remembered that part of federalism is recognizing that the States are laboratories of democracy. And so, we've tried to get Congress to follow the lead of the States in one of the most important matters before the government: the Federal budget. You know, I remember it used to be thought of as sophisticated to say that the Federal Government was so much wiser than State government, and that was why it should be kind of a big brother to the States, telling them what to do and how to do it. Well, the Federal budget process should put an end to that myth once and for all. Not one of you would put up with

the mess that we have here in Washington at budget time.

Federal debt, after taking out for inflation, held steady or declined from the late forties until 1974, when it started to soar. Our budget system of checks and balances has become unchecked and unbalanced. That's why I want the Federal Government to follow the lead of so many of the States and give the American people a balanced budget amendment and the next President a line-item veto.

Now, before I take my seat, I ask all of you to join me in raising a glass to one of America's outstanding Governors and your chairman—he's feeling lonely right now; his State just lost half its population—[laughter]—and to another distinguished Governor and your vice chairman: to John Sununu and Gerry Baliles.

Note: The President spoke at 9:07 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Governors John H. Sununu of New Hampshire and Gerald L. Baliles of Virginia are chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the National Governors' Association.

Remarks at a White House Meeting With Members of the National Governors' Association February 22, 1988

Thank you all very much, and welcome to the White House again. It was wonderful to see you all at our dinner here last night.

As you know, I recently visited Mexico to meet with President De la Madrid. And I was reminded in that visit of when I was Governor of California and had been asked by the then-President to go down and represent him there. And like many of you, I've traveled to other countries, also, of the United States. But on this first visit to Mexico, I gave a speech to a rather large audience and then sat down to rather unenthusiastic and scattered applause. And I was embarrassed and tried to cover all of that, because what made it worse was that the next speaker up was speaking in Spanish, which I didn't understand, but he was getting interrupted virtually every line with

most enthusiastic applause. So, I started clapping before anyone else and longer than anyone else until our Ambassador leaned over and said to me, "I wouldn't do that if I were you. He's interpreting your speech." [Laughter] Well, as I said last night, it's nice to be talking to not one but almost half a hundred heads of state, and with no interpretation required—at least not usually.

I'd like to pick up today on a subject from last night: giving government back to the people, giving many of the responsibilities not specifically stated in the Constitution as Federal functions back to the States and localities where they belong. I remember when we first came to this town over 7 years ago. When you started to talk about federalism, you sometimes felt like a lone voice crying in the wilderness.

It's like the time Abraham Lincoln found his entire Cabinet, with the exception of one member, ranged against him on an issue. Lincoln had a way at times like that of stopping action for the moment and telling a story—I think that habit sort of goes with this job.

So, Lincoln told the story of a man at an Illinois revival meeting who fell asleep halfway through the preacher's sermon. And the preacher was getting really inspired, and he challenged the congregation, "All of you who are on the Lord's side, stand up." And of course, everyone stood up, except for one man who was still sound asleep. And then the preacher in a bellowing voice called out, "And all of you who are on the side of the devil, stand up." At that point, the man woke up, arose, and was standing there all alone. And he said, "I didn't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you, parson, till the last," he said. "But it seems to me we're in a hopeless minority." [Laughter]

Well, we're no longer a hopeless minority. Together, you and I, over the past 7 years, have begun to return balance to the relationship between the Federal Government and the States. This past October, I signed an Executive order that restricts the Federal Government from preempting State laws and requires that all proposed policies and legislation comply with the principles of federalism. And I commend

Governor Sununu and the National Governors' Association in your efforts to examine ways—including constitutional amendments—to restore the balance of power between the National Government and the States.

Federalism, as arcane and maybe even antiquated as it may sound to some, is gaining momentum, with success following success. As States and localities take on more of their rightful responsibilities, they're showing that they can teach the all-wise Federal Government a thing or two.

Not one of our efforts of the past will be more crucial than working to ensure the protection of our children, families, and neighborhoods. As I said in the State of the Union, one of our most important responsibilities is to provide the very best opportunities for the generation that will follow us. Isn't that the dream of every parent, that their children's future will be even better than theirs? Our job is to make sure that government policies are geared to protecting and nurturing our most precious natural resource: our children.

Education, of course, is an essential element. One can't read the writings of our Founding Fathers today without being impressed by the faith that they put in education—the faith they had that an educated populace would guarantee the success of this great experiment in democracy that they were undertaking.

Such a strong faith in education must have been based not just on wishful thinking but on sound observation, observation that the American style of education—not just for the few, not just for the elite, but for all—was working. And so, one can't help but believe they knew what they were doing when they quite consciously left the responsibility to educate the American people up to the States.

I suppose it's the destiny of every second generation or so to think for awhile that maybe they're wiser than our Founding Fathers. And it's the destiny of the generation that follows to realize that this almost certainly is not true and to try to bring the nation back to its first principles.

The mystique of Washington, of big government, held sway for 40 years; and even as the dollars spent on education increased by over 3,000 percent, the quality of educa-

tion in this country precipitously declined. It seems odd to us now that people would actually believe that a collection of bureaucrats sitting in a building in Washington, DC, could actually do a better job designing and running our children's education than the thousands of communities and millions of parents who know intimately their children's needs.

In the last few years, we've arrested the decline in American education by returning to the fundamental common sense of our Founding Fathers and the fundamental common sense of parents across this nation. The States have begun to reassert their authority in education, and many of you Governors have been leading the charge. And with this new renaissance of federalism has come a wealth of new ideas, innovation, and experiment.

But more needs to be done. Secretary [of Education] Bennett makes, I think, an interesting analogy. He says that if you serve a child a rotten hamburger in America, Federal, State, and local agencies will investigate you, summon you, close you down, whatever. But if you provide a child with a rotten education, nothing happens, except that you're liable to be given more money to do it with.

Well, we've discovered that money alone isn't the answer. I'd like to mention a few steps that could be taken now—in 1988—to drastically improve the education our children are getting. These are, of course, primarily matters for local and State authorities to resolve, but I'd like to use my bully pulpit to urge a few changes.

Now, nothing is more important to good education than good teachers, yet in most States unnecessary regulations and requirements block talented people from entering the field. Governor Kean of New Jersey recognized the problem and instituted a new alternative certification program that has been an unqualified success in opening up the teaching profession to all those who have something to offer, increasing the number of applicants to teaching jobs, and improving the quality of teachers.

We also need more accountability in our educational system. That means merit pay at all levels of the system so that those who are doing a good job are encouraged and

rewarded. It also means giving parents a greater choice of the school their child will attend. I've long supported various mechanisms to increase parental choice, including tuition tax credits, vouchers, and magnet schools. It's now clear from the experience of many cities and school districts that increased choice leads to increased competition and better schools—so, better teachers, more accountability, but also better content.

"A Nation at Risk" said our high school students should have 4 years of English and 3 years of math, science, and social studies. Many States have moved in the direction of these requirements, but only 3 States have adopted them. In any case, requiring that students take the key subjects is only the first step; we need to make sure that our students study the basics, but also raise the standards in those courses.

Now, it's not for the Federal Government to specify content of curricula, but I urge educators and citizens to take a look at Bill Bennett's recent proposed model high school curriculum and to make sure that our schools are giving students as rich and challenging a curriculum as they deserve and as equality of opportunity demands.

Perhaps the greatest test of federalism is how we meet the urgent need for welfare reform—how successful we are in fashioning local and community solutions to problems that would destroy families, or worse, keep families from forming in the first place. With a variety of innovative programs, the States are moving forward to meet this challenge, and I think we have reason to be optimistic that in the diversity of these approaches we may find new answers. And that's why I strongly support the Brown-Michel bill on welfare reform. This cost-effective proposal allows for States to demonstrate their ideas for reform of a system that is just not working for poor people. And I know that many of you have already developed demonstration programs, and we hope that more of you will do so.

Another problem for which the States are looking for solutions is child care. Once again, the Brown-Michel bill will permit you to develop your own ideas on child care, ideas that will treat child care in the way that is best for you and the families in

your communities, instead of having the Federal Government jump in.

And now, if I might, I'd just like to sound a note of caution. It's natural in politics—when there's a perceived need in the country, when people are calling out for solutions, they look to government first. Often government has a role, a crucial and a necessary one. Still, maybe it's my conservative bent, but I can't help but feel uneasy sometimes. Some describe a conservative as he who would rather sit and think, and others describe him as someone who would rather just sit.

A program on PBS some time ago described in devastating detail how our current welfare program, originally designed to raise people out of poverty, has become a crippling poverty trap, destroying families and condemning generations to a dependency. Economist Walter Williams, in "The State Against Blacks," details how many laws and regulations—also originally designed with a progressive social purpose—have just the opposite effect. They keep the poor poor.

Now, much of the push for child care is designed to rectify the ills of earlier programs, and many of these efforts are timely and good. But in this area, more than any other, government should tread carefully, humbly, because we're dealing with the most fundamental element of human society: the family.

Of course, one of the best things we could do for families is obliterate drug use in America. Our society's come a long way in 8 years, from do your own thing to just say no. Again, States are taking the lead in helping to make our society intolerant to drug use with stiff penalties and sure and swift punishment for offenders.

And one final word if I may. Over the last year, many of you've been traveling abroad as sort of special trade emissaries, and you've done a tremendous job working to improve trade and open foreign markets to American goods. Well, at this moment, we have before us an unprecedented opportunity to demonstrate to the world just what we mean by free and fair trade. I'm talking about the Canada free trade agreement—the first ever of its kind and scope.

At this moment in history, we have a choice. We can go the way that some are proposing—threats, tariffs and retaliation, and a shrinking world trade system, or openness, expansion, and freer and fairer trade, bringing an upward cycle of prosperity to all who participate. The first leads inevitably and inexorably to Smoot-Hawley. And the second—well, I mentioned our Founding Fathers earlier.

Their primary purpose in calling for a Constitutional Convention in 1787 was to solve the trade disputes between the States that were tearing our young nation apart. Fighting had actually broken out between some States. Blood had been shed. Perhaps as great as the political unity they achieved in Philadelphia in 1787 was the economic breakthrough—the principles that would enable America to become the world's largest free trade zone, a continental economy.

We now have the chance to expand that free trade zone to include our largest trading partner: Canada. And I hope I can count on your support for this historic agreement. As with our Founding Fathers, it will, in many cases, mean transcending the special interests of the moment—no matter how valid they may be in themselves—and looking to the broader interest not just of one State or not just of the United States, but of an entire world whose freedom and prosperity depend on an open and expanding cycle of free trade.

Well, I've gone on long enough. You know, there's a story about Henry Clay, the Senator from Kentucky known for his biting wit. One time in the Senate, one Senator in the middle of a seemingly interminable speech turned to Clay and said, "You, sir, speak for the present generation, but I speak for posterity." And Clay interrupted him and said, "Yes, and you seem resolved to speak until the arrival of your audience." [Laughter]

Well, I'll cut it shorter than that. Thank you very much, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:03 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. John H. Sununu of New Hampshire, chairman of the association.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Canada-United States Legal Assistance Treaty

February 22, 1988

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, with Annex, signed at Quebec City on March 18, 1985. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is one of a series of modern mutual legal assistance treaties being negotiated by the United States in order to counter more effectively criminal activities. The Treaty should be an effective tool to prosecute a wide variety of modern criminals including members of drug cartels, "white-collar criminals," and terrorists. The Treaty is self-executing and utilizes existing statutory authority.

The Treaty provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the treaty includes: (1) the taking of testimony or statements of witnesses; (2) the provision of documents, records and evidence; (3) the execution of requests for searches and seizures; (4) the serving of documents; and (5) the provision of assistance in proceedings relating to the forfeiture of the proceeds of crime, restitution to the victims of crime, and the collection of fines imposed as a sentence in a criminal prosecution.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
February 22, 1988.

Address to Western Europe February 23, 1988

This is Ronald Reagan, speaking to you, the citizens of the North Atlantic alliance, and the satellite channels of WORLDNET and the Voice of America.

In just a few days, I'll be flying to Europe to meet with the heads of the governments of our North Atlantic allies, and this will be our first meeting since General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed the Intermediate Nuclear Forces agreement in Washington in December. That agreement represented a step toward world peace and world freedom, and it was a major victory for the Atlantic alliance. So, at next week's meeting we'll celebrate the success of a policy we launched over 8 years ago, and we'll ask ourselves, What next? Today I'd like to share with you some thoughts we in America have about the alliance, the INF agreement, and the road ahead.

The Atlantic alliance is the core of America's foreign policy and of America's own security. Preservation of a peaceful, free, and democratic Europe is essential to the preservation of a peaceful, free, and democratic United States. If our fellow democracies are not secure, we cannot be secure. If you are threatened, we're threatened. If you're not at peace, we cannot be at peace. An attack on you is an attack on us. This is not simply a matter of treaty language, important as treaty language is. It is an enduring reality—as enduring as the reality that a threat to the security of the State of Maine or New York or California is a threat to the security of all 50 American States. Simply put: An attack on Munich is the same as an attack on Chicago.

We Americans did not come easily or willingly to the lesson of how closely America's peace and freedom are tied to Europe's. We had a tradition dating back to President Washington of avoiding permanent alliances. And yet twice in this century when peace and freedom were under siege in Europe, one way or another, we found ourselves part of the struggle.

At the end of the Second World War, we hoped that peace, freedom, and democracy were at last secure in Europe forever. Even though the United States had a monopoly for a number of years on nuclear weapons,

we did not seek to exploit the advantage for territorial or any other kind of gain. We went home, took off our uniforms, put on our civilian clothes, and got back to the normal life with our families and our communities. Europeans often say that we Americans are naive. Well, four decades ago, perhaps we were.

Soon we learned that the postwar world was not to be as we, through all those years of fighting, had prayed it would be. We watched with growing apprehension and dismay as the Soviet Union turned its back on the commitment made at Yalta to conduct free and open elections in Eastern Europe. Throughout Eastern Europe, the Red Army remained a fully mobilized army of occupation. And there were attempts to subvert the democracies of Western Europe and then the Soviet adventure in Greece, not unlike what the Soviets are doing today in Central America.

As Western Europe, with help from our Marshall plan, rebuilt, all our nations began to face the nature of the Soviet threat to the democracies. And so, beginning with the Brussels treaty in 1948, which established the Western European Union, and then the North Atlantic treaty 1 year later, which included Canada and the United States as well as other European nations, we drew together for our common safety and peace. As President Harry Truman said when he signed the North Atlantic treaty: Through this partnership "we seek to establish freedom from aggression and from the use of force in the North Atlantic community." And he added: "This is the area which has been at the heart of the last two world conflicts. To protect this area against war will be a long step toward permanent peace in the whole world."

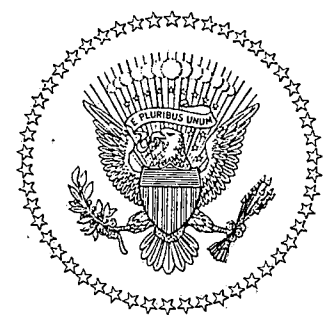
Well, peace has been the alliance's goal, the purpose of its forces and its strategies. And for almost 40 years, peace has been its achievement—an unprecedented period of European peace in which we in the democracies have lived in freedom and prospered. NATO's strategy for peace has always been simple: Prevent aggression before it starts. Be strong enough, be determined enough so that no adversary would think even for a moment that war might pay.



J81
C2
1983
WH

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1983

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JULY 1, 1983

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1984

You have more words thrown at you today, your generation, than has ever been thrown at any generation in history. Well, don't become the sucker generation. Make sure that what someone is telling you is fact and could be substantiated. And that goes for me, too.

Okay. Thanks very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:01 p.m. in

Radio Address to the Nation on Proposed Natural Gas Deregulation Legislation February 26, 1983

My fellow Americans:

Today I'd like to talk to you about a subject that touches on all of us one way or another—in our homes, schools, at workplaces, and in the overall economy. I want to talk about one of our major energy sources—natural gas—and what this administration proposes to do to ensure abundant supplies of it at reasonable prices.

As the situation stands now, the American consumer is being hurt by government regulations that actually contribute to higher gas bills. We want to change that. Now, I know all too well that energy is a subject that some people in public life just can't resist playing politics with. It's unfortunate, but I guess it's a fact of life, or at least a fact of life as we know it in Washington, which can be pretty different from hometown America.

Many of you, I'm sure, recall the howls that went up when we acted to deregulate oil prices 2 years ago. Remember how you were told that deregulation would lead to skyrocketing prices for the gasoline that fuels millions of American cars, or the oil that heats millions of American homes? Well, the evidence is in, and the doom-sayers were dead wrong.

You don't have to go any further than the nearest filling station to see that prices have gone down, not up, since decontrol, just as we promised they would. The economic realities of the marketplace have done more to bring down the price of oil than all those

Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. The question-and-answer session was taped for later broadcast on the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network.

The participants in the session were part of the Close-Up Foundation program, a nonpartisan educational foundation providing secondary school students the opportunity to study the American political system.

years of frenetic government regulating.

I think there's a lesson here for all of us and one that goes a lot deeper than the price of energy. Way back in 1824, Thomas Jefferson wrote about the difference between two kinds of political mentalities. Both of them are still very much with us today. Here's what Jefferson said about them: "Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties—those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them and those who identify themselves with the people and have confidence in them."

Now, the vast majority of us identify with the second group, the one that believes in trusting the wisdom of the people rather than taking power away from them and concentrating it in the other hands. On a more personal level, anyone who's ever wrestled with a tax form or had to make sense out of a complicated bureaucratic regulation knows how costly and time-consuming government overregulation can be. And that brings me back to regulation; in this case, regulation of natural gas.

I'm convinced—and I believe that the evidence backs me up—that just as deregulation of oil has led to a better deal for the American consumer, a freer market in natural gas will have the same beneficial effect for you. So, next week I'm sending the Congress a proposal for correcting the problems that have resulted from past excessive regulation of the natural gas market. While I'm

taking this step out of the deep belief in the principle involved, there are human reasons as well.

In recent months, thousands of you have written to me, to Members of Congress, and to State and local officials expressing your distress about rapidly rising natural gas bills. Some areas of the country have been especially hard-hit, and it's clear that consumers are being poorly and unfairly served by the existing regulatory system. That system prevents natural gas producers and their customers from entering into contracts that respond to market forces, including pressure for lower prices that are now possible due to plentiful gas supplies and declining oil prices.

Today there's a surplus of natural gas, and oil prices are dropping. These factors normally would result in lower natural gas prices. But the regulatory morass has kept the marketplace from achieving lower natural gas prices. In sharp contrast, the Department of Energy estimates that if our proposal is enacted, natural gas prices will drop by at least 10 to 30 cents per thousand cubic feet in the first year.

The measure I will submit to the Congress is not a partisan plan, and it resorts to no quick political fixes. Instead, our approach is a comprehensive proposal that can, and I believe will be supported by Congressmen and Senators of both parties

Toasts at a White House Dinner Honoring the Nation's Governors February 27, 1983

The President. First of all, let me just say that I'm not used to being up here alone without a hostess at these affairs, but right about now Nancy's getting ready to walk into the sound stage at Twentieth Century Fox, where the dinner is being held for Her Majesty, the Queen of England. So, you'll just have to put up with a host. [Laughter]

Our dinner tonight begins another round of discussions between us, a time when we can exchange ideas, explain our points of view, and work toward closer cooperation. Since I've been in this office, I've benefited

and will benefit the consumers they represent.

Basically, our legislative package will allow a freer market for natural gas so that there will be real and long-term incentives to produce and market abundant gas supplies at the lowest possible cost, just as gasoline and home heating oil prices have declined since we deregulated oil. Although we believe free markets not only can but will achieve these results, we aren't asking you, the consumer, to take that on faith.

To assure that consumers are protected, I have insisted on a provision which reverses the present law and provides that until 1986, there will be a moratorium on the automatic pass-through to consumers of increased gas costs by the gas pipelines, other than those caused by inflation, which, as you know, has been declining steadily.

The key to cheaper, more abundant energy for all Americans is a policy that combines consumer protection, incentives to produce, and efficient, economic use of our resources. That's what our program will do. And I look forward to working closely with Members of both parties in the Congress to obtain its passage without delay.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

greatly from your advice and counsel in our many meetings with individual Governors, your executive committee, and your able spokesman, Governor Scott Matheson. I hope you found them useful, too.

The year that's passed since our last state dinner has been a trying one for each of us and for all Americans. Our economy suffered the depths of this recession. Many of our citizens lost their jobs, and millions found themselves suddenly in need of government support. Our budgets were strained and our administrations sorely

tested. But by working together, through cooperation, with give and take, we've weathered the worst of the storm.

And now the economic recovery in America has begun. Inflation has plummeted. Real wages are rising. Industrial production is increasing. Our housing industry is rebounding, and our auto industry is on the upswing. The Big Three are predicting their first year of profits since 1979. One company alone is recalling more than 21,000 workers.

Interest rates, once crippling our economy, are half what they were—10½ percent as of this weekend. And we hope to get them still lower. Unemployment has begun to drop. Personal savings are building, and our overall productivity is up. In fact, our leading economic indicators have been up, signaling a recovery for 8 out of the last 9 months.

I know that times are still difficult. I remember what it was like to be elected Governor and immediately face an enormous revenue shortfall. It has happened before. But our programs for sound fiscal management, spending control, and tax-rate reduction are based on economic principles that consistently produce prosperity.

Our federalism proposals, designed to return decisionmaking to governments closest to the people, are fundamental to our Republic. I would like to thank each of you, and especially your federalism negotiating team, for the efforts that you've made to achieve our federalism reforms.

I hope that in the year ahead we can continue to work together in a bipartisan spirit in the best interests of all our people. We stand at the threshold of great economic growth. But I need your help and your support if we're to realize the potential before us.

As Benjamin Cardozo, the Supreme Court Justice, once said, "The several states must sink or swim together." The Federal Government cannot solve America's problems without your help, just as you need assistance from us. Let us act together, so that when history looks back on our days of decision, it will record that we found the courage, met the challenge, and worked as one to bring about better days for all Americans, in each region and in every

walk of life.

You know, we are unique in all the world with our exact setup, and that is that we were meant to be and must always be a federation of sovereign States. I know of no other government in the world that maintains this, and I believe it is the greatest guarantee of individual liberty that this country has.

So, I thank you for your help and guidance, not only this week but in the last year. And I ask you to join me in a toast to continued cooperation between State capitals and Washington as together we lay the foundations for a more accountable government and a more prosperous future.

Thank you.

Governor Matheson. Mr. President, we're grateful for your hospitality this evening. Many of us have been here many years, and this is the seventh occasion for Norma and for me. It's always as delightful and as exciting as ever.

And this is especially excellent this evening, because normally we come on Tuesday night. *[Laughter]* But you have other responsibilities. We thank you for the special attention you have given the Governors and their ladies by allowing us to come here on Sunday night and join with you in this great, traditional event.

We're here to do the Nation's business. We're working very hard and spent a day facing up to the responsibilities that chief executives have—budget problems throughout the country. You were Governor of California. I'm not sure that Governor Deukmejian wouldn't be very happy to trade places with you right now with that—*[laughter]*—\$1.8 billion deficit which he's coping with. But the States are in serious trouble in terms of their economies, and we see glimmers of hope, change in the economy. And we're grateful for that. And we're here to do the job for all of the people.

We're grateful for the support, for the cooperation and the assistance that you have given us as President and the people that serve us from the White House. Coming from the small State of Utah, I think I should point out to you, Mr. President, that you successfully garnered 73 percent of the vote in 1980. And I must tell

you I was very grateful to win that year. *[Laughter]* But this is a time for all of us to work closely together.

And as chairman of the National Governors' Association this year, it's our pleasure to be here with you this evening and my

pleasure to offer a toast to the President of the United States.

Note: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Statement on Transmitting to Congress Proposed Natural Gas Deregulation Legislation

February 28, 1983

It is a pleasure today to do what we long have anticipated: to send to Congress our proposal for correcting problems that have resulted from excessive regulation of the natural gas market. Our goal must be to obtain an adequate supply of natural gas at a reasonable price. Anything less is not sufficient and will not solve the problems currently faced by many Americans who depend on natural gas.

In recent months, thousands of people have written to me, to Members of Congress, and to State and local officials expressing their distress about rapidly rising natural gas bills. Some areas of the country have been especially hard hit. It is clear that consumers are being poorly and unfairly served by the existing regulatory system—a system which prevents natural gas producers and their customers from establishing contracts that respond to market forces, including *downward* pressure on prices that otherwise would occur as a result of plentiful gas supplies and declining oil prices. There is widespread agreement that something must be done to relieve the regulatory straight jacket in which the natural gas market now operates.

The proposal I am submitting to the Congress today will achieve the needed result. It is not a partisan plan, nor does it resort to seemingly simple "quick fixes," which would turn out to be neither simple nor quick and ultimately would not fix the problems. Instead, our approach is a comprehensive proposal that can—and I believe

will—be supported by Congressmen and Senators of both parties and will be beneficial to the consumers they represent.

Our legislative package will allow, but not require, the parties to negotiate toward a free market, so that there will be real and long-term incentives to produce and market abundant gas supplies at the lowest possible cost. In this regard, I note the declines in gasoline and home heating oil prices that have occurred since we deregulated oil 2 years ago.

Although we believe free markets not only can, but will, achieve these results, the American consumer need not take this on faith alone. To assure that the consumer is protected, I have insisted on a provision which reverses the present law by providing that, until 1986, there will be a moratorium on the automatic pass-through of increased gas costs other than those increases attributable to inflation, which as you know has been declining steadily.

We believe these ideas offer the best achievable combination of consumer protection and efficient, economic use of our valuable gas resources. I look forward to working closely with the Congress to obtain passage of this urgently needed legislation without delay.

Note: The President's statement was sent to the Congress together with his message transmitting the proposed legislation, a copy of the draft bill, and a section-by-section analysis of the bill.

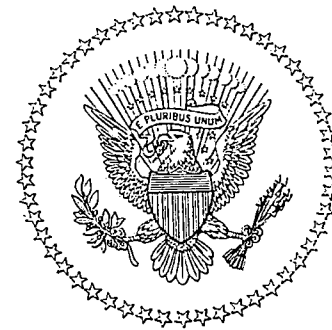


ref.
J81
.C2
1984
WH

1817/15

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1984

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 29, 1984

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1986

morality. References to God can be found in the Mayflower Compact of 1620, the Declaration of Independence, the Pledge of Allegiance, and the National Anthem. Our legal tender states, "In God We Trust."

When the Constitution was being debated at the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin rose to say: "The longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see that God governs in the affairs of men. Without His concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel." He asked: "Have we now forgotten this powerful Friend? Or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance?" Franklin then asked the Convention to begin its daily deliberations by asking for the assistance of Almighty God.

George Washington believed that religion was an essential pillar of a strong society. In his farewell address, he said, "Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." And when John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, was asked in his dying hour if he had any farewell counsels to leave his children, Jay answered, "They have the Book."

But now we're told our children have no right to pray in school. Nonsense. The pendulum has swung too far toward intolerance against genuine religious freedom. It's time to redress the balance.

Former Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart noted if religious exercises are held to be an impermissible activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and state-

created disadvantage. Permission for such exercises for those who want them is necessary if the schools are truly to be neutral in the matter of religion. And a refusal to permit them is seen not as the realization of state neutrality, but rather as the establishment of a religion of secularism.

The Senate will soon vote on a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary vocal prayer in public schools. If two-thirds of the Senate approve, then we must convince the House leadership to permit a vote on the issue. I am confident that if the Congress passes our amendment this year, then the State legislatures will do likewise, and we'll be able to celebrate a great victory for our children.

Our amendment would ensure that no child be forced to recite a prayer. Indeed, it explicitly states this. Nor would the state be allowed to compose the words of any prayer. But the courts could not forbid our children from voluntary vocal prayer in their schools. And by reasserting their liberty of free religious expression, we will be helping our children understand the diversity of America's religious beliefs and practices.

If ever there was a time for you, the good people of this country, to make your voices heard, to make the mighty power of your will the decisive force in the halls of Congress, that time is now.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Toasts at a White House Dinner Honoring the Nation's Governors February 26, 1984

The President. Well, Nancy and I are delighted to welcome you to the White House. We're pleased and honored to have all of you here tonight.

This room is often used for state dinners honoring visiting heads of state, and it's fitting that we, too, share this room in recognition that you are also heads of sovereign

States. Our Federal system of sovereign States is today as vital to the preservation of freedom as it was in the time of Jefferson and Adams and those other farsighted individuals we revere as our Founding Fathers.

They envisioned a system that would secure the greatest degree of liberty, while at the same time be functional and effi-

cient. They knew well that if too much power and authority were vested in the central government, even if intended for a noble purpose, not only would liberty be threatened but it just wouldn't work.

Jefferson warned, "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want for bread." [Laughter] I think during the last decade and before, we've gotten a taste of just what it was that Jefferson was warning us about. So much power had centralized in Washington that frustration and stagnation ruled the day. The Federal Government taxed away the available revenue and set up a confusing web of regulations and bureaucratic controls to be complied with in order to get these resources back. Furthermore, the rules and restrictions, to a large degree, were coming from faraway, unelected officials. This neither worked, nor was it consistent with principles of American freedom.

Over the last 3 years, we put a stop to this ever-increasing centralization of power. Through our block grant programs, through our efforts to get control of Federal spending and taxing, we've halted what I consider to be a very ominous trend. People are no longer looking to Washington to solve every problem. As a result, we're seeing a renaissance of direct involvement—whether in the local schools or in neighborhood-watch programs—and the reemergence of State and local government as significant forces in determining the future of our country and the quality of life of our people.

This has been accomplished with close consultation and cooperation with you and with other State and local officials. I want each of you to know I deeply appreciate the responsible and, in most cases, nonpartisan way that we have worked together to ensure progress in the area of federalism. There's still much to be done, and I hope we can build on the working relationship that we've already established.

Technology today is opening up new opportunities at the State and local level. State government has some of the most competent and hard-working employees to be found in government at any level. And in the last few years, we've seen creativity and

innovation as never before in the statehouses throughout the country. Today that vision of our Founding Fathers of a federal system of States is as viable, if not more so, than at any time in our history. So, let us continue working together to keep faith with that dream.

And now, would you please join me as I toast you, the Governors of the States of the Union, and you can toast each other. And we can toast also to our freedom and to strong and efficient State government.

Governor Thompson. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, the members of your Cabinet and staff, my fellow Governors and their spouses, we are honored to be in this home this evening.

A year ago when we were here, and my wife was able to be with me, on the way in through the door I kind of nudged her and I said, "Hey, not bad for two kids from the west side of Chicago." [Laughter] I think probably all of us here tonight, despite the fact that we are called Governor, and no matter how far we may have traveled, nor no matter what we may have done or accomplished or hope yet to do, feel a rare sense of privilege at being within these walls and being with each other and being with you and Mrs. Reagan.

Tonight, party, philosophy, region, and interest are irrelevant. We are all very proud Americans. This is our house. Every time that I come to Washington and see the lines of tourists stretched around the building with fathers and mothers, particularly young fathers and mothers, holding the hands of the children, I know they're saying, "Be patient. Once inside, you'll see something extraordinary, and you'll remember it. You'll tell the class. You'll tell your brother and sister. You'll tell your grandmother, grandfather." This is an American privilege.

Our session went very long today, Mr. President. Tomorrow, we'll report to you formally on what we have accomplished thus far in our meeting, though we have much to do. We expended many passions today, especially in our committee—issues involving the budget and the deficit, acid rain, and all those controversies which swirl around us in public office—in your office, in

ours, at the other end of the avenue in the legislative branch, and sometimes in the judicial branch.

Those passions have dissipated tonight. Because we're good at our jobs, they'll be back tomorrow morning full steam. And when you see us in the East Room tomorrow morning, we'll probably have some pretty good questions for you and for the members of your staff and your Cabinet. That's why we're here. But tonight we join you as brother.

You were a Governor—a good Governor, a proud Governor. And you share with us many common experiences.

Now you hold the position that we elected you to. And though you are formally now engaged in a contest to retain that office, we still look upon you as brother. And we're glad of the opportunity to come with you once a year in this formal setting. And I must say, in my experience and perhaps in the experience of every Governor in this room, you have extended the hospitality, the warmth and, most importantly the interest of your office to us, your brothers, on so many more occasions, whether in the Oval Office or in our States, than we might reasonably expect, for we know you have to deal with mayors—[laughter]—and legislators, county executives, business people and labor people, and just all sorts of people that it's somewhat remarkable how much time you spend with Governors. I think, perhaps, there's a bias there. At least, we hope so.

The issues which concern us, Mr. President, and about which even we differ among ourselves and within our States are only as good as the men and women who enliven them. There is justice or no justice, depending upon the passions and the caring of men and women, not just on the pages of a book or in the words on those pages.

There will be a better education for our

children than we had for ourselves not only because that is important but because it is necessary, but only achievable if we care to make it so and invest the time and the resources to achieve it. And whether it's the infrastructure of our country—our roads, our highways, our bridges, our dams, our buildings, sewer systems, our water systems—or it's our responsibility for the safety and well-being of our fellow citizens through law enforcement, for public health, or care for abused or neglected children, or infant mortality rates, words are words, pages are pages, and laws are laws unless we, the Governors, infuse them with our care.

We know how hard it is to be a President and a First Lady, because all of us in this room have experienced at least a portion of that which you live. We know there are many nights where you must feel frustrated, tired, mad, but many more where you feel satisfied, glad, challenged. We do, too, or we would not be with you tonight. When we leave this city and go back to our States and try and infuse our political, governmental, and personal lives with renewed vigor and caring, in part because we were here, we will remember you and Mrs. Reagan and wish for you the same. And we know it will be achieved.

And so tonight, Mr. President, from your brothers—and I am pleased to say, from one sister who has now joined the ranks—on behalf of the Governors, I propose a toast to the lady who guides you, sustains you, passionately loves you, and to the President of the United States.

Note: The President spoke at 9:50 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Gov. James R. Thompson of Illinois is chairman of the National Governors' Association.

Nomination of Jack L. Courtemanche To Be Administrator of General Services

February 27, 1984

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jack L. Courtemanche to be Administrator of General Services. He would succeed Gerald P. Carmen.

Since October 1983 Mr. Courtemanche has been serving as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the Office of Public Liaison. Previously, he was Executive Director of the White House Conference on Productivity in 1983; presi-

dent of Crown Coach Corp., Los Angeles, CA, in 1980-1983; president of the Seven Corp., Los Angeles, 1977-1980; and vice president of Mack Trucks, Inc., in Allentown, PA, in 1974-1979.

Mr. Courtemanche is married, has six children, and resides in Washington, DC. He was born March 9, 1935, in McMinnville, OR.

Appointment of Frank J. Donatelli as Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

February 27, 1984

The President today announced his intention to appoint Frank J. Donatelli to be Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison. He will succeed Jack L. Courtemanche.

Mr. Donatelli is presently serving as Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development (African Affairs). Previously, he was an attorney with the law firm of Patton, Boggs & Blow in Washington, DC, in 1981-1983; with the Reagan-Bush transition in 1980-1981; regional political director for the Reagan for

President Committee during the primary and general elections in 1979-1980; campaign manager for the Baker for attorney general campaign in Texas in 1978; and executive director of Young Americans for Freedom in 1973-1977.

Mr. Donatelli graduated from the University of Pittsburgh (B.A., 1967) and American University Law School (J.D., 1976). He is married, has one child, and resides in Alexandria, VA. He was born July 5, 1949, in Pittsburgh, PA.

Proclamation 5154—Cancer Control Month, 1984

February 27, 1984

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The news about cancer is getting brighter. While three out of ten Americans will develop cancer at some time in their lives, half of those who do will live five years or more and are considered curable. For some of the major cancers, more than two-thirds

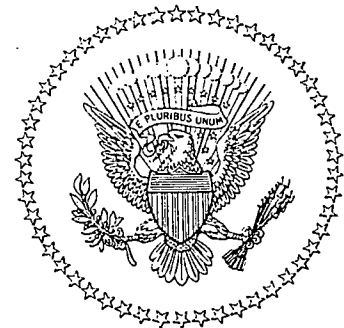
of patients survive beyond the five-year mark.

Physicians treating cancer patients anywhere in the United States now have access to the latest treatment information through a new computerized database. In addition, there are in 34 States new community cancer programs which are affiliated with 200 hospitals and designed to bring the latest and best treatment to cancer patients

REF.
J81
.C2
R96
Y.2
WH

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan

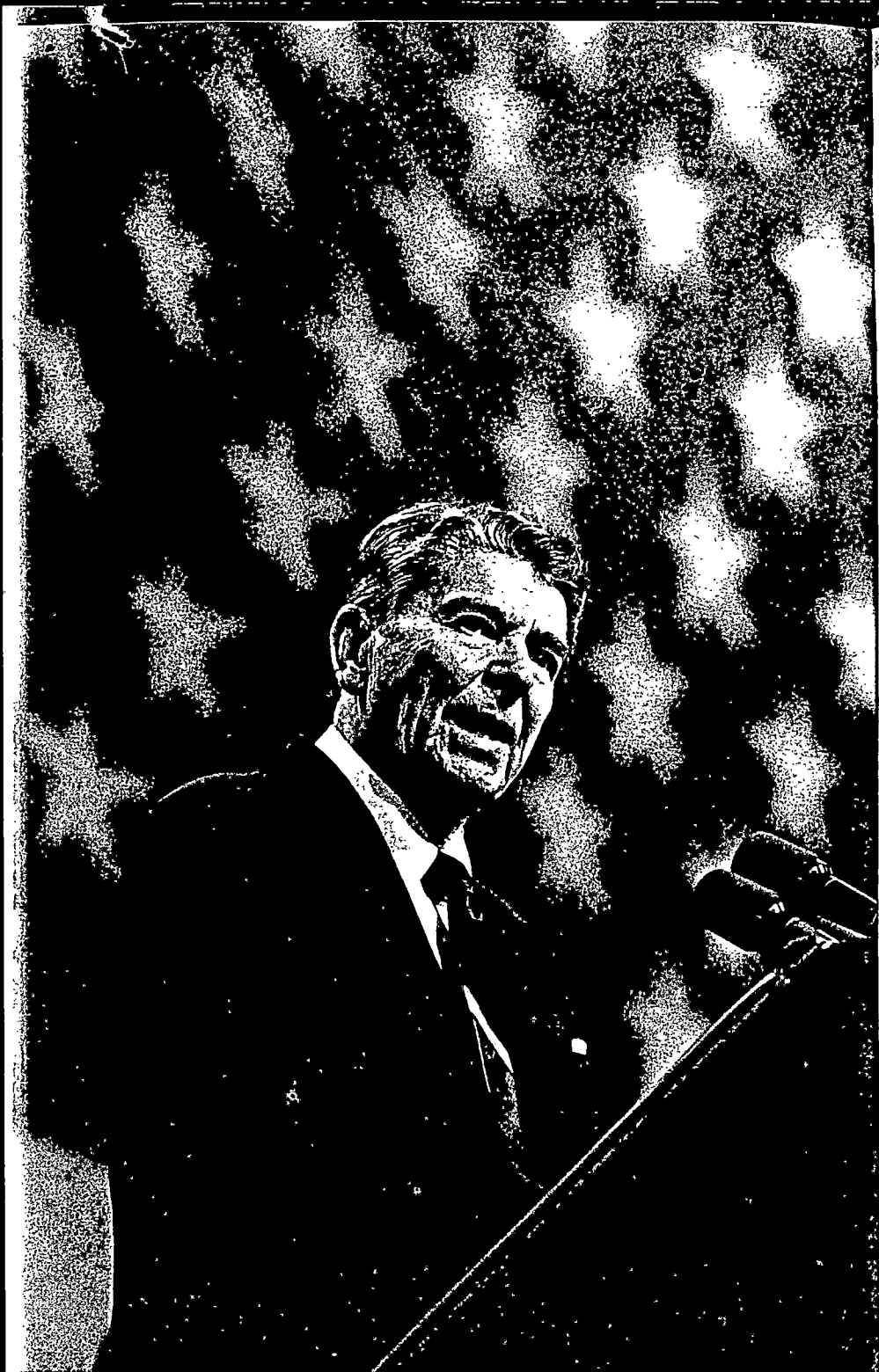


1986

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JUNE 28 TO DECEMBER 31, 1986

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1989



that the bill accords special treatment to a specific institution and does not require selection on a competitive basis. Selecting recipients competitively helps to ensure that the taxpayers' money is spent on projects that address an acknowledged need and demonstrate the greatest promise of success. Legislative provisions that accord special treatment to certain applicants or, as here, identify the sole recipient of assistance are particularly objectionable. I am concerned also that the Institute, proposed as a "regional demonstration center," would set an undesirable precedent for the non-competitive establishment of additional re-

gional centers, without a demonstrated need for a Federal role in this area.

Finally, I note that Title I of the bill would unnecessarily extend two SBA pilot programs. The goal of the pilot procurement program can be accomplished under existing authorities. The extension of the surety bond waiver program provided in Title I has proved unnecessary, as no waivers have been requested since the program was first authorized in 1978.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 7, 1986.

Statement on the Death of Hal Wallis

October 7, 1986

Nancy and I were deeply saddened to learn of Hal Wallis' death. He was a gifted and dedicated artist, who gave the world some of our greatest films.

His talent, professionalism, and instinct

for excellence were an inspiration to all of us who had the privilege to work with Hal. Hal Wallis was a special friend who we will miss. We extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

Remarks at the Republican Governors Association Dinner

October 7, 1986

It's an honor to speak to the Republican Governors Association—all the more so because I used to be a member myself. One of the aspects of these meetings that I used to enjoy most was the sense of diversity—the distances between our States, the different outlooks in our people, even the regional accents. Come to think of it, this sort of diversity reminds me of a story. You'll discover when you get to be my age that quite a few things remind you of a story. [Laughter]

Seems that a farmer from John Sununu's State of New Hampshire was visiting a rancher in Bill Clements' State of Texas. And he was driving down the highway, and there was a Texan driving on the highway. And there was an accident, and they collided. Well, they got to talking then a little bit,

and the Texan took the—no real damage to the cars—and the Texan took the New Hampshire out and said if he needed a lift he'd give him a lift. He said, "Well, let me show you our place down here." So, they got in the car, and he started. And he drove him past some longhorn cattle, and then he showed him how high the corn grew and finally ended up bragging about the size of the ranch itself. He said, "Just imagine, you know," he says, "I can start in the morning and drive all day—one side of my ranch—and I never get to the other side." The New Hampshire says, "Yup. I got an old pickup truck just like that." [Laughter] I don't mean to tell jokes at the expense of the State of Texas; it's just that what happened when I flew to Dallas in July still has me a little annoyed. Air Force One landed

at the airport, I got off the plane, and a Texas Ranger asked to see my passport. [Laughter]

But, ladies and gentlemen, it was good to see so many of you in the Oval Office this afternoon, and I want to thank you again for inviting me to spend a few minutes with you this evening. And I want you to know that I consider myself deeply indebted to each of you, both for the wonderful work you're doing out in your States and to all the help you've given to those of us working here in Washington. Special thanks to your chairman, John Sununu of New Hampshire, to your vice chairman Tom Kean of New Jersey, and to your immediate past chairman Dick Thornburgh of Pennsylvania. To all of them, I can say congratulations on a job well done. And to Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, immediate past chairman of the National Governors' Association, you have everyone's gratitude for your leadership, especially on the NGA's recently announced education initiative.

But if I could, tonight, I'd like to take a moment or two to consider the theme taken up by this year's RGA idea book: the second stage of the revolution. Of course, first we need to be as clear as we can about just what it is that's taken place in the first stage of the revolution. There are the many changes we've been able to effect in policy—themselves tremendously important—changes like the lower tax rates and the more limited role of the Federal Government that have led to some 46 months now of economic growth and to the creation of more than 11½ million new jobs, and changes like the rebuilding of our national defenses and the firm reassertion of America's world role on behalf of human freedom. But beyond the policy itself, it seems to me that something still deeper and more lasting has taken place: a shift in expectations, a change in the very way the American people think about government itself. As one columnist put it: The key fact about all that has happened since our administration first took office is that we have completely altered the terms of what has been called the contemporary political conversation.

Now, this becomes clear in even a brief look at the record. When we started, for

example, the idea of any major tax reform was considered outlandish, maverick. But today we've not only seen our 1981 tax cut take effect, we've seen the passage of the most sweeping and dramatic tax reform in decades. A recent headline in the Washington Post told the story: "The Impossible Became the Inevitable." Consider aid to anti-Communist insurgencies. When we took office, fashionable opinion in Washington still centered on the notion of containment, or merely attempting to slow the Soviet advance. Well, the idea that we should actually offer help to those attempting to reverse that advance seemed outlandish, a deviation from established and comfortable patterns of thought. Yet today we see our country firmly on the side of freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Africa, and Cambodia. El Salvador is safely in the freedom family. When we first got here everyone was talking as if it was Vietnam—Get out of El Salvador—and now there's a healthy democracy there. Grenada has been finally saved. And, yes, aid will soon go to the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Of course I could go on discussing national policy—our strategic defense initiative, in particular, that represents another dramatic change, a quantum leap, if you will, in the very way we think about defending our country. But I want to focus, instead, for a moment on all that this first stage of our revolution has meant to you in your States. From the first, our administration took the concept of federalism seriously. You couldn't put a Governor back here in this job that he wouldn't take it seriously. That's the greatest strength and source of freedom in our nation: that we are a federation of sovereign States. For example, we reduced a large number of complicated programs involving the States into a much smaller number of block grants, and that whittled down an awful lot of expensive Federal overhead. We shifted certain programs from Federal to State management. And we instituted a new openness toward the States. This openness is especially visible in the contributions that so many of you have made to the studies we're now finishing on federalism, the American family, and low-income assistance. Still more recently, of

course, many of you have taken a strong lead in your States in the national crusade against drug abuse.

Now, it's true that in the early days many of you faced difficulties as we cut back Federal financing of State affairs. And believe me I know what you were going through, because I've been there. But overall, these 3 and more years of economic expansion have put our States and cities alike in good economic shape. And in the large cities that demand special attention from so many of you, a recent study by the Urban Institute concluded that budgets are by and large in good condition. Now, I wish I could say the same thing about Washington. *[Laughter]* Indeed, the study found, as early as the end of 1982, the Nation's cities were financially better off than they had been at any time during the 1970's.

And as we've limited government here in Washington, you in the statehouses have been taking the lead on matters that are important to your own people. In Indiana we've seen merit pay for State employees. In North Carolina we've seen the Year of the Child, a sweeping initiative to protect children from kidnaping, neglect, and other abuses. We've seen the teacher career ladder in Tennessee and New Jersey's alternate route for teacher training, a program that allows certain highly motivated college graduates to teach even if they haven't had the traditional training. We've seen job programs in Oregon, New Hampshire, Illinois, and elsewhere. And we've seen tax incentives used to promote economic growth in programs like Pennsylvania's economic revitalization tax credit.

The Christian Science Monitor put it this way: "Decentralization of power . . . could be one of the most long-lasting effects of" my Presidency. Well, you were always ready and willing to go that route. It was just Washington, for a long time, that thought its main goal should be to try and make the States into administration districts of the Federal Government. Then they ran into a bunch of Governors that didn't agree. And a recent statement by Dick Thornburgh and John Sununu put it like this: "Washington has changed . . . but an even bigger change is going on right now in the States . . . in the cities, in America's com-

munities and neighborhoods." So it is that yet another fundamental, long-lasting, and dramatic change has taken place. Power has stopped flowing to Washington and begun to flow back where it belongs: to the States.

Even though this change is already underway, most of stage one of our revolution has taken place here in Washington, as we've continued to limit the scope of the Federal Government. Now it's time for resources, initiatives, and public attention to shift back to the States still more definitely, still more dramatically—in other words, to alter the balance of power permanently in favor of levels of government that are closer to the people. This is stage two of our revolution. And, yes, this means setting aside liberal, Democratic Governors, fixed by choice and habit alike in their dependency upon Washington—setting them aside for Republican Governors, Governors of energy and new ideas. You know, just last month I campaigned in Detroit for Bill Lucas, one of the most impressive men I've ever met and, as you know, our candidate for Governor of Michigan. Later that day I campaigned in Omaha for Kay Orr, one of the five Republican women running for Governor this year. And I couldn't help but think that those two stops demonstrated perhaps more clearly than anything else ever could: Today it's the GOP that's the party of ideas, the party of the future, the party of opportunity for all.

Now, this year we have an historic chance to win back a majority of statehouses for the first time since 1968, to carry the revolution more decisively out of Washington and into the country. And although the media seems to have a near fixation on the U.S. Senate, there can be no doubt that what happens in the statehouses is of equal, if not greater, importance. Just the other day, Dick Wirthlin—you know our pollster—made a remark that I believe sums it up: "Changes in the States can endure longer than almost anything that happens in Washington." And he said, "I'm playing this one for my grandchildren." And as he is for many of you, Dick Wirthlin is for me sort of like that stockbrokerage firm you've heard about on television: When he talks, I listen. *[Laughter]*

But that's just what this year's State races come down to: contests for the future, contests that will help shape our life in America for our children and our children's children. So, I pledge my full commitment. If there's anything at all we can do to help, just let us know. For in the end, these statehouse races are about freedom, about whether or not freedom in America will be expanded by bringing government closer to the people, about whether or not we give to the people the freedom to dream, to dare, and the freedom to which they, as Americans, are so richly entitled. So, my friends, it's on to stage two.

Now, for the benefit of those candidates for Governor who are here in the audience and have not yet been Governors, I'd like to tell you a little bit about what it's all like when you first step in there. I remember in California, I inherited from a Democratic Governor a State that was in almost as bad a shape as the Federal Government was.

And every day it seems someone would stand in front of my desk saying they'd found a new problem. And this went on until I was getting a little harried. And then one day on the way to the office I had the radio on in the car, and it was a disc jockey on. And out of the clear blue sky, he said—and I fell for him—he said, "Every man should take unto himself a wife, because sooner or later something is bound to happen that you can't blame on the Governor." *[Laughter]*

Well, thank you, and God bless you all. And believe me, I'm looking forward to that majority of Republican Governors, because I know that I'll be a lot more comfortable back here. See, I'm outnumbered right now, and I'd like it the other way around. Thanks again.

Note: The President spoke at 7:20 p.m. in the Vista Ballroom at the Vista International Hotel.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Budget October 8, 1986

The President. I have one thing I would like to say—a little statement. We are 8 days into the fiscal year. We do not have a budget. We had a continuing resolution for a few days while the Congress continued to debate. That expires as of midnight tonight, and the Government has no funds. Now, I don't think that we should go for another short-term continuing resolution. I think it is time that we have a budget, and I think it is time that the Congress does not tie to that budget things having to do with armament and national security that will tie my hands now on the eve of going to Iceland to debate and to negotiate with the Soviet Union. And I think the message to Congress should be that it is high time that we have a budget, and a budget that deals with the financial situation and does not try to bring in their views on international relations and national security.

Q. Will you be able to get them to compromise at all?

The President. What?

Q. Are you willing to compromise at all on putting off these amendments until early next year?

The President. And what good would that do? The man I'm talking to across the table would know that all he has to do is wait and the Congress will help him do their work.

Q. You really want to scrap SALT II? It means that much to you?

The President. I want a budget, which I haven't had since I've been here.

Q. You asked them about this yesterday.

The President. What?

Q. You made this request yesterday. What did they [congressional leaders] say?

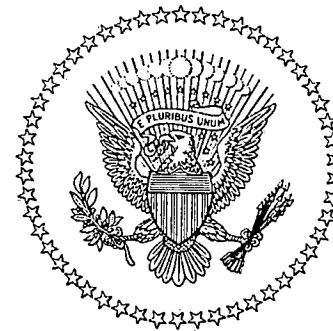
The President. Let me say I did not get a firm answer.

Q. Mr. President, was there any U.S. involvement in this flight over Nicaragua—carrying the arms—any involvement whatsoever?

The President. I'm glad you asked. Abso-

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1985

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 28, 1985

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1988



bountiful as their own harvests.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Toast at a White House Dinner Honoring the Nation's Governors February 24, 1985

Well, I certainly appreciate this opportunity to be with all of you, and thank you very much for being here tonight.

When I was Governor of California, I especially enjoyed the camaraderie of other Governors. And I've changed jobs since those days, yet I still feel that as chief executives there is a special bond between us.

In the early days of the Republic, those holding our jobs weren't so certain of what our relationship should be. They knew that every decision they made would set precedents, especially concerning the sovereignty of State government in relation to the Federal Government. And Frank Chodorov, a man of liberating insight, wrote of the time when George Washington was to make his first visit as President to Massachusetts. And according to Chodorov, Governor Hancock of Massachusetts was beside himself over a matter of protocol. Would it be proper to meet President Washington on his arrival? Or would it be more appropriate for the President to call at the State capitol? What Hancock did, he thought, might be taken as an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Federal Government or simply as a matter of courtesy.

It was a difficult decision, and finally the day of Washington's arrival was at hand. And Hancock boldly made the decision: He pleaded illness. [Laughter] Wouldn't it be nice if feigning illness would substitute for making some of the hard decisions that we face?

Today, of course, that's not an alternative. The challenges before us, especially concerning tax simplification and spending restraint, will require great courage and effort and extraordinary cooperation between us. I hope that I can count on you to continue to work with me in a spirit of good will in the months ahead. I've sought and appreci-

ated your advice and will continue to do so.

The Federal-State relationship should strive to maximize the benefits of limited resources, to eliminate waste, to further reduce the Federal regulatory burden, and to preserve the strength and vitality of our nation's economy. A vigorous and expanding economy must be priority number one. As Governors you know that better than most. Low inflation and high growth have cut your costs and increased your tax base. No Federal program is more important to the viability of State government than economic expansion.

Today the people no longer look to Washington as an Emerald City with magic solutions to every problem. I've been here going on 5 years now, and I can tell you it's more like the Twilight Zone than the Land of Oz. [Laughter] But this new view of the Federal Government, a more realistic understanding of its limitations as well as its potentials, has been a great boon to our country.

Now, all over America we hear stories of the success of innovative and creative State and local enterprises. Only a few years ago people were waiting for the Federal Government to act. Well, today they're taking the initiative, taking the future in their hands, and in doing so, accomplishing things that would never have happened if encumbered by Federal redtape and another layer of bureaucratic entanglement.

We in this room, as chief executives, are lucky to be holding office during a period of great change. It's a difficult time, and what we do will lay the foundation for a better future. Let us not be afraid to make these historic decisions—consulting openly and honestly, one with another.

All of us seek the same goal: America, as our God and our forefathers intended her

to be, a land of limited government and unlimited opportunity, a land of prosperity and freedom. And you know—just to convince you that I do understand, having been there where you presently are—I remember once as Governor, shortly after I'd taken office, and on the way to the office—and the problems seemed to be multiplying as the days went by—and then, on the way in, the car radio was on. And I heard a disc jockey in Sacramento, who became my instant hero, because, for whatever reason he said it—I don't know—but all of a sudden

between records, he said: "Every man should take unto himself a wife, because sooner or later something is bound to happen that you can't blame on the Governor." [Laughter]

So, I offer you a toast: To the Governors of the sovereign States of this federation of United States.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Remarks at a White House Meeting With Members of the National Governors' Association February 25, 1985

Thank you all for coming today. I want you to know I can sympathize with what you're thinking. I was once a Governor visiting the White House. And I can remember sitting where you're sitting and looking around and thinking I could be happy here. [Laughter] But it isn't always roses. [Laughter]

Washington can get pretty cold, and sometimes I really do miss California—California's sandy beaches and the California sunshine and the California surplus. [Laughter]

If I might be serious for a moment, I do want you to know that we've asked you here because I do welcome your advice on the three major questions that currently confront me: what must be done to keep our economy strong, what is needed to keep our nation secure, and what went wrong in Minnesota. [Laughter]

Really now, I do want to be serious. I noted last week in my press conference that we're enjoying the strongest economic expansion since the Korean war and that our first duty now is to prolong and protect this expansion. We intend to do this by carrying out the mandate delivered November 6th by the American people, the terms of which I think were quite clear. We seek the full cooperation of the Congress in moving forward now on this agenda and keeping

our promises.

First, our administration proposes to freeze overall Federal program spending at last year's level, to cut \$51 billion out of programs in need of restraint, to reduce spending by half a trillion dollars over the next 5 years.

And these proposals are rooted both in economic necessity and common sense. There's simply no justification, for example, for the Federal Government, which is running a deficit, to be borrowing money to be spent by State and local governments, some of which are now running surpluses—surpluses resulting from your leadership and a recovery that was brought on by this administration—its recovery plan, I should say.

I ask here particularly for your help and understanding, not as a Republican or a Democrat, but in a spirit of partnership, as one chief executive to another.

I know the States still have their problems. Those of you from the farm States know what I mean. I was Governor of a State with a huge agricultural industry, not to mention the fact that I was born in farm country and got my first job in a farm State. I know what you're going through; things are very tough for you and your farmers. And together, we have to do something about that.

But it's also true that many of your States are in better fiscal shape today because of the courage that you showed and the hard decisions you made during the recent recession. I hope you can understand that these tough calls have to be made now at the Federal level.

And it's up to us to show the same kind of fortitude many of you have shown in the past. And this I intend to do. And I need your help in making the Congress and the public understand that the time has come for budgetary restraint and deficit reduction.

Second, we want to solidify the gains we've already made by institutionalizing reforms against government excess, reforms that will prevent the burden of government from falling so heavily on future generations. We want to take a lesson in federalism and give the Presidency that same powerful tool that 43 of you Governors use to fight pork-barrel items in catchall appropriations—the line-item veto.

We also want to do what 49 States have done in some form. We want to adopt the wisdom understood in every American household: that government shouldn't live beyond its means, that it shouldn't spend more than it takes in. We need that balanced budget amendment. And I'm pleased to see that your executive committee yesterday included language calling for both a balanced budget amendment and a line-item veto authority.

It's especially pleasing for me to see Republicans and Democrats working together. In that same spirit, we can achieve our mutual goals of continued economic growth and declining deficits.

Third is tax simplification. We want it this year; so do the American people. The present tax code burdens some of our citizens too heavily while permitting others to avoid paying their fair share. It makes honest people feel like cheats, and it makes cheats pose as honest citizens. It allows the underground economy to thrive and wastes millions of man-hours on needless paperwork and regulations. It drives money needed for growth, investment, and jobs into unproductive tax shelters. It acts as the single biggest obstacle to enterprise and economic expansion.

To put it simply, our tax system is unfair, inequitable, counterproductive, and all but incomprehensible. I've mentioned before, and this is absolutely a fact, that even Albert Einstein had to write to the IRS for help with his Form 1040. We want to end the trauma and tangle of April 15th, and let's do it this year.

Something else to keep in mind: In 1981, during the debate over our tax bill, we pointed out that the most important effects of reducing tax rates were sometimes not easily quantified or immediately apparent; that its very passage could send out a subtle message and create long-term changes in a political or economic culture that are infinitely more important. So, we have before us a tremendous opportunity to further the spirit of enterprise and growth, to accomplish the greatest deregulatory task of them all, and to haul ourselves out of the morass that is the Federal tax code. Let's get started.

Lots of people told you a few years ago that passing our budget cuts, or tax cut bills, would mean less revenue for you in the States, and some were even saying the States would go bankrupt. Well, all of you know how much truth there was to that. Growth begets growth; hope begets hope. If we can get on with phase two—those budget cuts, so we can steadily shrink the deficit; the line-item veto and constitutional amendment on balancing the budget; and that tax simplification plan—we will be sending out a message of hope and growth, whose potential for good is incalculable.

And let me conclude with an aside about another subject that's very dear to my heart—that of private sector initiatives. We've seen a real surge in them during the last few years. Businessmen are adopting schools, corporations are supporting nonprofit organizations, and record numbers of volunteers are providing for community needs. This growing public-private partnership strengthens our State-Federal partnership.

In closing, I would like to compliment you, the Governors, and especially Governors Carlin and Alexander, for providing the leadership for this enhanced bipartisan partnership. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:32 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Govern-

ors John Carlin of Kansas and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the association.

Remarks at a White House Meeting With Members of the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control in the Federal Government

February 25, 1985

Well, as you know, we have our share of meetings and visitors in this room, but believe me, there's no group that I'd rather see coming my way than all of you; no subject more dear to my heart than the one to which you've so generously dedicated your time and talent during the past few years.

I hope you'll let me reminisce here for a moment. I remember back during the campaign of 1980, I used to bring up the subject of waste, fraud, and abuse in the National Government and even mentioned the idea of a commission such as yours. Out there on the campaign trail, it was an issue that really hit home. But somehow back here in Washington, it didn't play as well. To the permanent establishment, waste and fraud are a little bit like the issue of higher taxes. It was all okay for politicians to talk about it now and then, but it was never really considered proper to go out and talk about it as if you meant it. And come to think of it, we did do something about higher taxes, also.

And then, just when the Washington establishment was getting over the shock from that one, we came up with this little number called the Grace commission. And that put some of them right back in intensive care. [Laughter]

The impact that you've had in this city is testimony to your own dedication and to that of your leadership. Now, right here somebody suggested that I mention that when I asked Peter Grace to take on the responsibility of running this commission, I had no idea the kind of energetic, but healthy, troublemaking I was contracting for. [Laughter]

I'm sure they must have been kidding. I

mean, anybody who knows Peter Grace for more than 5 minutes knows that he is not a man who—let me see how I can phrase this—he's not a man who dislikes taking things to their logical conclusion. [Laughter] And that's exactly what Peter and all of you have done. With dedication and selflessness, you've succeeded where others failed. You provided clear, concise, and practical recommendations to enormously complicated problems. And instead of stopping there, you went out to build a groundswell of support for the Grace commission recommendations throughout this country.

Recently, I know you've participated in the House Budget Committee hearings held at various points around the country. You must have been quite a disappointment to some of them in those commissions. They didn't go out there to hear the kind of things you were saying.

And now, Peter Grace and Jack Anderson¹—and if that isn't an unusual, but high octane team—[laughter]—you've created a group called Citizens Against Waste. It's a group that will be a focus for citizens action, a truly bipartisan organization whose only loyalty is to the one special interest group that we should all support, because we all belong to it—the 77 million United States taxpayers who, with their work, patriotism, and, may I say, immense patience, finance the Federal Government.

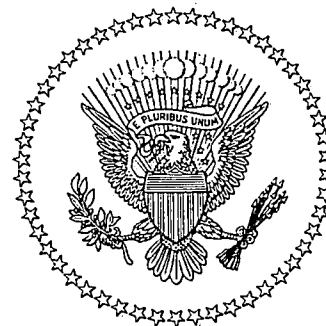
I think this kind of grassroots, educational program will, like the Grace commission itself, focus on the abuse of taxpayer dollars

¹ Nationally syndicated newspaper columnist.



PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1984

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JUNE 30 TO DECEMBER 31, 1984

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1987

Appointment of Paul B. Simmons as Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Policy Information
July 30, 1984

The President has appointed Paul B. Simmons as Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Policy Information.

Mr. Simmons has served as acting executive secretary of the Cabinet Council on Human Resources since September 12, 1983. Previously he was Deputy U.S. Commissioner of Social Security in 1981-1983. He served 4 years, beginning in February 1977, on the senior staff of Gov. James R. Thompson of Illinois, first as director of the State of Illinois Washington office and later as executive assistant to the Governor. He was also director of the Governor's Cost Control Task Force.

Mr. Simmons was a special assistant in the office of the Assistant HEW Secretary for Legislation in 1975-1976; associate commissioner of the New York State Department of Social Services in 1972-1974; executive assistant to the New York State Commissioner of Health in 1969-1972; and with the Capital Newspapers Group of the Hearst Corp. in 1964-1969.

He graduated from St. Michael's College (B.A., 1964) and the State University of New York Graduate School of Public Affairs (M.A., 1965). He is married, has one child and resides in Washington, DC. He was born February 6, 1942, in Portland, ME.

Appointment of Michael A. Driggs as Special Assistant to the President for Policy Development and Assistant Director for Commerce and Trade
July 30, 1984

The President today announced his appointment of Michael A. Driggs to be Special Assistant to the President for Policy Development and Assistant Director for Commerce and Trade.

Since March 1982 Mr. Driggs has been Deputy Assistant Secretary for Automotive Industry Affairs at the Department of Commerce. Previously, Mr. Driggs served as Executive Director of the Chrysler Corporation Loan Guarantee Board at the Department of the Treasury; as a budget examiner

at the Office of Management and Budget, and as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Army.

Mr. Driggs received his master of public administration degree with an emphasis in public finance and economics from West Virginia University in 1973 and his B.A. from West Virginia University in 1969.

Mr. Driggs was born on October 12, 1947, in South Charleston, WV. He resides in the District of Columbia.

Message to the Annual Conference of the National Urban League in Cleveland, Ohio
July 30, 1984

It is a great pleasure for me to send greetings to all the members of the National

Urban League as you gather for your annual conference.

The prospect for urban America is bright today because of the strength of the ongoing economic expansion. The rapid decline in unemployment, coupled with a very low level of inflation, has brought a renewal of prosperity and economic opportunity throughout most parts of our Nation. But there are still some areas and groups which have not fully shared in the general recovery. These areas and groups need an extra boost to join the rest of the Nation, and that is why I have proposed legislation to permit the designation of Enterprise Zones in selected cities across America. On July 24, I called upon the House of Representatives to bring this key measure to the floor for a vote. This proposal has the best potential to build on the progress we have made and to

create jobs, independence and hope for people in inner cities and other economically distressed areas. It is time for Congress to complete action on this vital legislation.

We will not be satisfied with our economic progress until it has spread to every town and neighborhood in our Nation. For many years, the National Urban League has led the way in directing the Nation's attention to the still unresolved problems of our inner cities. I congratulate you on your many decades of distinguished service to America, and I stand ready to work closely with you on ways we can achieve further progress.

Please accept my best wishes for a most successful conference.

RONALD REAGAN

Remarks by Telephone to a Meeting of the National Governors' Association in Nashville, Tennessee
July 31, 1984

Governor Thompson. Mr. President, this is Jim Thompson. We have the Governors of the Nation assembled here, and we appreciate very much your calling this morning.

The President. Well, Jim, thank you very much, and thank all of you for letting me participate in this way.

In our meeting last February at the White House and other subsequent meetings with Governors, we've discussed the importance of keeping the economy on sound footing, and we've discussed the importance, also, of getting the Federal deficit under control and of reducing unemployment. I'm pleased to report we are making progress on both of these fronts.

Regarding the deficit, I understand your concerns, especially about high interest rates and how they affect the States' own economic recovery. I'm pleased to report that we now estimate the deficit to be well below that which was projected last February. My recent signing of the deficit reduction downpayment package is clearly a first step. And I pledge that I'll continue to work to bring down deficits. We'll have to work

together with Congress to get spending under control, as well as to pass a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget.

On the employment side, more Americans are working today than ever before in our history. And I'd like to congratulate all of you on the work that you've done in your States to implement the Joint [Job] Partnership Training Act. It's working well, and 70 percent of those undergoing training have been able to find permanent jobs. That's a dramatic improvement over the old CETA approach. The increased numbers of Americans working because of the economic expansion means more revenue for the States, as well as the Federal Government. And I know this is good news for all of us.

This kind of success justifies the faith we've had in returning power and responsibility to the States. Our invaluable dialog has made our partnership in federalism possible, and our fine working relationship and communication must continue.

Jim, I wanted to congratulate you on the great job that you've done as the National

Governors' Association chairman. And to John Carlin I want to offer my congratulations on your election as the new chairman of NGA. I look forward to working with you and all of the members of NGA during your chairmanship.

Governor Thompson. Thank you, Mr. President. We do appreciate your taking the initiative to speak to us today.

And on a personal note, I think we all had a special feeling on Saturday evening as we watched you and our American athletes join together with other nations of the world with the common goal of excellence. And we were proud for you and proud for our country's athletes.

I'd like to thank you for the access that your administration has granted to the Governors. We have met with Cabinet Secretaries, with your staff, and with you to express our concerns about issues ranging from health care cost containment to highway funding. Those are issues that are near and dear to Governors' hearts, and we appreciate your accessibility, even if we do not always agree.

Your comments indicating your commitment to work with us on the pressing issues of the future are welcome, especially on the issue of deficit reduction. The downpayment just approved is welcome, but, obviously, as you say, only a first step. And we are committed to continue our efforts to work with you and the Congress.

"Flexibility" is a key word to Governors.

Appointment of James S. Stockdale as a Member of the National Voluntary Service Advisory Council July 31, 1984

The President today announced his intention to appoint James S. Stockdale to be a member of the National Voluntary Service Advisory Council. He will succeed Roy Pfautch.

Since 1983 Mr. Stockdale has been deputy secretary of the California Health & Welfare Agency in Sacramento, CA. Previously he was Deputy Under Secretary for

If JTPA has been a success, as you indicate, it has been a success largely because of the capability that the States have to tailor the program to our needs.

In the Medicaid program, the waivers that have been granted by HHS will allow States to implement badly needed cost containment measures. However, we still need greater flexibility in this area, Mr. President, if we are to achieve our common goal of holding down health costs.

We are full partners in the Federal system, and we sincerely appreciate you calling in recognition of that partnership. We look forward to a continuing dialogue with you and your administration on these and other issues.

Thank you very much.

The President. Jim, thank you. Governor Carlin, look forward to working with you. And, believe me, I am committed to what I have long held, the belief that our nation as a federation of sovereign States, that is the very basis of our freedom. And so, I'll continue to work with all of you. And, again, thank you for letting me participate in this way.

Goodbye.

Governor Thompson. Goodbye, Mr. President, and thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. from Rancho del Cielo, his ranch near Santa Barbara, CA.

As printed above, the remarks follow the White House press release.

Intergovernmental Affairs at the Department of Health and Human Services. He was executive director of the California Reagan-Bush campaign in 1980; political director of Citizens for the Republic in 1978-1979; and manager, State and local government affairs, Phillip Morris, Inc., in New York City (1977).

He graduated from Gustavus Adolphus

College (B.A.) in St. Peter, MN, and the University of South Dakota School of Law (J.D., 1972). He is married, has three children, and resides in Carmichael, CA. He was born December 16, 1937, in Pierre, SD.

Telephone Interview With Mort Crim of WDIV-TV in Detroit, Michigan July 27, 1984

Automobile Labor-Management Negotiations

Mr. Crim. Thank you, Mr. President, for joining us today here on News 4.

The President. Well, pleased to.

Mr. Crim. There are several issues that are of unique interest to the people of Michigan and the people of Detroit. Right now the auto companies are negotiating with the UAW. Many of the workers are saying that Reaganomics has not worked for them, that the auto companies are registering record profits, that they have been forced to give concessions. What do you say to these workers?

The President. Well, I think Reaganomics has moved—or worked for everyone, in that we do have a recovery. And we have 7 million more people at work today than were working in 1980. Now, I hope that in the coming negotiations—certainly, government should not interfere. As a former union president, myself, I believe that these problems are between management and labor to work out.

But I do think that we have to keep in mind—yes, workers did make some concessions. On the other hand, while the automobile companies now are back in a profit position, there were several years there in which they were running tremendous losses. And I hope that there will be not only fairness, as there should be, but some restraint also in the negotiations, that we don't do anything right now at this point to turn off the recovery, the expansion that we're having. It is one of the best recoveries in all the seven or eight recessions that have occurred since World War II.

And other than that, I'm not going to insert myself into the middle of that battle. But I don't think it's fair for anyone to sug-

gest that they have not benefited from this recovery. We were in a very precarious state—our entire industrial capacity as a nation.

Federal Deficits

Mr. Crim. Mr. President, you promised during your campaign a balanced budget by the end of your first term. Instead of a balanced budget, we have record deficits. Chairman Lee Iacocca of Chrysler Corporation calls that "the largest threat to a healthy auto industry that exists." How do you answer him?

The President. Well, I answer it by saying that we have had continuous deficits for 50 years. I've been one of the loudest voices, I guess, back over the years in saying that this was a false policy for this country to follow. It followed a policy that believed that a little inflation was good for us. And I, 20 years ago, said that a little inflation one day becomes runaway inflation. And it did in this present time.

Now, when I promised an economic program that, before the end of my term—first term—would eliminate deficits, before the election even took place the economy had so worsened that I said that promise no longer could be kept, that the situation had changed from the time that I, with the help of some fine leaders in this country and business executives, had put together an economic plan to try and bring us down from inflation and deficits and everything else.

We are going to continue to try. The size of the deficits now were in large part brought about by the recession that we were in. They were cyclical, as it's called, because they were the product of that recession. As we recover, we're finding that