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Republican Governor's Association Dinner 10/17/89 [OA 3536] [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 17, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO
REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR'S ASSOCIATION DINNER

The Capitol Hilton
Washington, D.C.

8:38 P.M. EDT

MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you, Chairman Hayden. Thank you, Mike, Governor, for that gracious introduction. And my congratulations go to you for your effective tenure and to your -- the success on this dinner and, of course, to your successor, John Ashcroft, the Governor of Missouri. And I'm just delighted to be here with both of you. (Applause.) And, Lee, it's always good to see you here. I'm very proud of our national chairman. He's doing an outstanding job in broadening the base of our party. (Applause.)

I want to thank the members of my Cabinet for being here. We have a good Cabinet -- outstanding men and women of ability. We have a real team and I think that is understood and appreciated around this country. I'm proud of them all and I'm just delighted they're here with me tonight.

I want to thank the Chaplain of the Senate, Chaplain Halverson, for his invocation. Eight years I was Vice President and that meant I was the President of the Senate. And though I had known Dick Halverson before while I was there that I heard him, and I'm just delighted that he's with us tonight. I don't want to start singling out additional members of the White House staff who are here, but I do think it's appropriate to mention my Chief of Staff, a former governor, John Sununu -- he's out there somewhere. (Applause.) He's gone.

And I'm very pleased that one of our retiring governors -- retiring, meaning leaving office -- Tom Kean will be the part of our team as the head of the Advisory Committee on the President's Points of Light Initiative Foundation -- the whole voluntary effort that I'm determined to see successful. And so, Professor Kean, wherever you may be, before you go on, thank you. (Applause.) It's very important and thank you for doing it. I'm also sorry that my good friend and fellow Texan, Governor Clements could not make it tonight. You may not know this -- I expect Tom Loeffler does -- but the Dallas paper reported last week that Bill Clements was dining in a restaurant when a hold-up and shoot-out occurred right in front of him. The most remarkable part of all, however, is that not once through the whole ordeal did he put down his hamburger. (Laughter.) And I'm not sure if that was Texas courage or hunger or the need for a new pair of glasses or a hearing aid. (Laughter.) But nevertheless, you talk about trauma.

As you all know, I'm not an alumnus of this organization, but over the years as I've worked with the governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility that you are shouldering and the leadership that is provided at the state level. And I'm sure there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It's not possible for a governor to shy away from the hard decisions. But to sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

MORE

And for that reason, I believe we can, indeed that we must, as chief executives take responsibility, join forces and make common cause of building a better America. And that is why we came together in Charlottesville at an historic summit -- only the third of its kind in the history of this country. And we came together with your Democratic counterparts -- and I salute them for the nonpartisan way in which they approached it -- in open, wide-ranging and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. And in the end, we agreed to a historic compact -- a Jeffersonian compact, if you will, to set national goals, to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity and then to be accountable for the results.

And we could achieve this because in Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment and our kids before ourselves. And America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats or conservatives or liberals. And still, in spite of that, there is a Republican approach to the challenges we face and we have proven time and again that the Republican approach is the best approach. (Applause.)

Now, I consider this a matter of record. A record that includes 83 months of economic growth and more than 20 million new jobs. A few years ago when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut the taxes and did it the opposite. And when our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our Armed Forces and the Soviets met us at the negotiation table.

In short, whatever has worked at the federal level happened only because Republicans and enlightened Democrats in Congress joined forces to make it work. And so the bottom line is this: Throughout the 1980's the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the state level. And while Republicans are leading the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identify crisis. And after the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't quite bring themselves to admit that Republicans were right. And nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak is their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin D. Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. Remember the story of the unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a scotch plaid. (Laughter.) And this is precisely what we've got to do -- (applause) -- it's precisely what we have to do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates for the national and state elections of the 1990s -- will not just be a battle of the century. It will be a battle for the century -- the first battle for the 21st century.

We have proven time and again that our party can keep the White House. But to win a majority of governorships, state offices, seats in Congress, we've got to roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. And we must be more competitive; we must rededicate ourselves to the nuts and the bolts of grassroots politics, as our opponents do. And as we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward our rightful place as the majority party of governors. As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of the most critical national goals of our party.

Our second goal is to recapture the United States Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition. But the key to all three goals is the first -- elect more Republican governors. (Applause.) It is no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House of Representatives as we became a minority in state government. The Founding Fathers

intended the House to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. And instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about our son, Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. He's 34 years old. Born on January 22nd, 1955, and three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not once in his lifetime has he seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties not one time. And think of all the millions of men and women across America in the 20s and 30s who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Well, will the House remain static for another 34 years? Yes. But only if Republicans passively accept it.

Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in the states that compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. And as Republican leaders, you can veto these gerrymandering schemes and take our message to the voters of your states by declaring that this form of voter discrimination must end. (Applause.)

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems -- problems that require more than federal solutions. And they require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice, Louis T. Brandeis, foresaw a time when a single courageous state may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country. To borrow a phrase, the states are becoming these laboratories of democracy, with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity the mother of invention has also proven to be the mother of creative politics, of policies. You're following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor, who said that our national greatness is not what we have that will make us a great nation, it is the way in which we use it.

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century. But to be creative, you've got to have freedom. You tell me the federal government must not tie your hands, must not mandate your programs, must not dictate your policies. And I hear you, and I am ready to work with you to ease the federal control and mandates over the states. (Applause.)

The states are at the forefront precisely because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and private sector. And much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it's due.

But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republican governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs that work. The people know this. And come November 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will then vote Republican. (Applause.)

It's been a great pleasure for Barbara and me to be here tonight, and a great pleasure to speak to you tonight. But due to the Gramm-Rudman sequester, I have to cut my remarks by 5.3 percent. (Laughter.) So let me leave this with you tonight. One thought --

to win big, you must think big. And Republican governors are already thinking big -- thinking big, thinking ahead. And you are the planners and the profits and the managers and divisionaries and the dreamers and the doers. And you are the ones I look to, to join me in a partnership to win the future.

So this is our vision. We are going to be the party that leads the states; we're going to be the party that leads Congress, and then we will be the party that leads America into the 21st century. Thank all of you governors for being here tonight, and thank those of you who were supporting this noble quest.

Thank you, and God bless you. And God bless the United States. (Applause.)

END

8:53 P.M. EDT

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC., CAPITOL HILTON
TUESDAY, OCT. 17, 7 P.M.

THANK YOU CHAIRMAN HAYDEN -- MIKE --FOR THAT
GRACIOUS INTRODUCTION. MY CONGRATULATIONS GO TO YOU
FOR YOUR EFFECTIVE TENURE, AND TO YOUR SUCCESSOR, JOHN
ASHCROFT.

LET US ALSO HONOR A GOVERNOR WHO SHOWED GREAT
LEADERSHIP THROUGH A TIME OF TURBULENCE AND TRAGEDY
. . . CARROLL CAMPBELL OF SOUTH CAROLINA.\ \

AND I'M PLEASED THAT ONE OF OUR RETIRING
GOVERNORS, TOM KEAN, WILL BE A PART OF OUR TEAM AS THE
HEAD OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE PRESIDENT'S
POINTS OF LIGHT INITIATIVE FOUNDATION. THANKS
PROFESSOR.

((AND I'M ALSO SORRY THAT MY GOOD FRIEND AND FELLOW TEXAN, GOVERNOR CLEMENTS, COULD NOT MAKE IT TONIGHT. YOU MAY NOT KNOW THIS, BUT THE DALLAS PAPERS REPORTED LAST WEEK THAT BILL WAS DINING IN A RESTAURANT WHEN A HOLD-UP AND SHOOT-OUT OCCURRED RIGHT IN FRONT OF HIM. BUT THE MOST REMARKABLE PART OF ALL, IS THAT NOT ONCE THROUGH THE WHOLE ORDEAL DID BILL PUT DOWN HIS HAMBURGER.\\\ NOW BILL, I'M NOT SURE IF THAT'S COURAGE, HUNGER OR THE NEED FOR A PAIR OF NEW GLASSES.\\\ BUT, YOU HAVE MY ADMIRATION ANYWAY.))

AS YOU KNOW, I AM NOT AN ALUMNUS OF YOUR ORGANIZATION. BUT OVER THE YEARS, AS I WORKED WITH THE GOVERNORS, I HAVE COME TO FULLY APPRECIATE THE RESPONSIBILITY YOU ARE SHOULDERING, AND THE LEADERSHIP YOU PROVIDE.

I'M SURE THERE ARE TIMES WHEN FEDERALISM SEEMS TO BE A MIXED BLESSING. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR A GOVERNOR TO SHY AWAY FROM THE HARD DECISIONS. BUT TO SIT WHERE THE BUCK STOPS, TO RESOLVE DISPUTES, TO HELP THOSE IN NEED AND TO SET A COURSE FOR THE FUTURE IS TO KNOW A SPECIAL KIND OF SATISFACTION.

FOR THAT REASON I BELIEVE WE CAN, WE MUST, AS CHIEF EXECUTIVES TAKE RESPONSIBILITY, JOIN FORCES, AND MAKE A COMMON CAUSE OF BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA.

THAT IS WHY WE CAME TOGETHER IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, AT AN HISTORIC SUMMIT, ONLY THE THIRD OF ITS KIND IN OUR HISTORY. WE CAME TOGETHER, WITH YOUR DEMOCRATIC COUNTERPARTS, IN OPEN, WIDE-RANGING AND CREATIVE SESSIONS TO SEEK A NEW DIRECTION IN EDUCATION. IN THE END, WE AGREED TO AN HISTORIC COMPACT -- A JEFFERSONIAN COMPACT -- TO SET NATIONAL GOALS; TO ALLOW FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY, MORE CREATIVITY; AND THEN TO BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE RESULTS.

WE COULD ACHIEVE THIS, BECAUSE IN CHARLOTTESVILLE WE PUT PROGRESS BEFORE PARTISANSHIP, THE FUTURE BEFORE THE MOMENT AND OUR CHILDREN BEFORE OURSELVES. AMERICA SIMPLY FACES TOO MANY OF THESE LONG-TERM CHALLENGES FOR US TO ACT ONLY AS REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS, CONSERVATIVES OR LIBERALS.

STILL, THERE IS A REPUBLICAN APPROACH TO THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. AND WE HAVE PROVEN, TIME AND AGAIN, THAT THE REPUBLICAN APPROACH IS THE BEST APPROACH.\

I CONSIDER THIS A MATTER OF RECORD, A RECORD THAT INCLUDES EIGHTY-THREE MONTHS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND MORE THAN TWENTY MILLION NEW JOBS.\ A FEW YEARS AGO, WHEN OUR OPPONENTS SAID THAT A TAX CUT WOULD HURT THE ECONOMY, WE CUT TAXES -- AND IT DID THE OPPOSITE. WHEN OUR OPPONENTS SAID THAT A STRONGER DEFENSE WOULD MAKE THE SOVIETS MORE MILITANT, WE REVITALIZED OUR ARMED FORCES -- AND THE SOVIETS MET US AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IN SHORT, WHATEVER HAS WORKED AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL HAPPENED ONLY BECAUSE REPUBLICANS AND ENLIGHTENED DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS JOINED FORCES TO MAKE IT WORK.

SO THE BOTTOM LINE IS THIS -- THROUGHOUT THE 1980S, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BEEN THE PARTY OF IDEAS. THIS IS NO LESS TRUE AT THE STATE LEVEL.

AND WHILE REPUBLICANS ARE LEADING THE WAY, WHERE IS THE OPPOSITION? ANSWER: IN THE THROES OF AN IDENTITY CRISIS. AFTER THE LONGEST PEACETIME EXPANSION IN HISTORY, THE DEMOCRATS CAN'T QUITE BRING THEMSELVES TO ADMIT THAT REPUBLICANS WERE RIGHT. NOR DO THEY HAVE A NEW VISION OF WHERE AMERICA SHOULD BE GOING. ALL THEY CAN DO IS CLOAK THEIR OUT-OF-STEP IDEAS IN THE LANGUAGE OF MODERATION.

I DON'T OFTEN QUOTE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT ON PARTISAN MATTERS. BUT THE LITTLE STORY HE TOLD TO MAKE FUN OF HIS REPUBLICAN OPPONENTS FITS THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS SO WELL TODAY. IT IS THE STORY OF THE "UNFORTUNATE CHAMELEON WHICH TURNED BROWN WHEN PLACED ON A BROWN RUG, AND TURNED RED WHEN PLACED ON A RED RUG, BUT WHO DIED A TRAGIC DEATH WHEN THEY PUT HIM ON A SCOTCH PLAID."

THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT WE MUST DO IN THE 1990 ELECTION -- TO KEEP THE FOCUS ON THE ISSUES, AND EXPOSE THE TRUE COLORS OF THE CHAMELEON CANDIDATES. FOR THE NATIONAL AND STATE ELECTIONS OF THE 1990S WILL NOT JUST BE A BATTLE OF THE CENTURY; IT WILL BE A BATTLE FOR THE CENTURY -- THE 21ST CENTURY.

WE HAVE PROVEN, TIME AND AGAIN, THAT OUR PARTY CAN KEEP THE WHITE HOUSE. BUT TO WIN A MAJORITY OF GOVERNORSHIPS, STATE OFFICES AND SEATS IN CONGRESS, WE MUST ROLL UP OUR SLEEVES AND GET DOWN TO THE BASICS OF WINNING ELECTIONS. WE MUST BE MORE COMPETITIVE. WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE NUTS AND BOLTS OF POLITICS, THE GRASSROOTS, AS OUR OPPONENTS DO.

AS WE LOOK TO THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS, WE HAVE THREE OBTAINABLE GOALS. FIRST, TO MOVE TOWARD OUR RIGHTFUL PLACE AS THE MAJORITY PARTY OF GOVERNORS.\\ AS FEDERALISM HAS ENHANCED YOUR ROLE, SO THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNORSHIPS HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL NATIONAL GOALS OF OUR PARTY. OUR SECOND GOAL IS TO RECAPTURE THE U.S. SENATE. AND THIRD, WE MUST OPEN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO TWO-PARTY COMPETITION.\\ BUT THE KEY TO ALL THREE GOALS IS THE FIRST -- TO ELECT MORE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

IT'S NO COINCIDENCE THAT OUR PARTY SLIPPED TO MINORITY STATUS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AS WE BECAME A MINORITY IN STATE GOVERNMENT. THE FOUNDING FATHERS INTENDED THE HOUSE TO BE THE MOST SENSITIVE BAROMETER OF THE CHANGING NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. INSTEAD, WHOLE GENERATIONS HAVE NEVER KNOWN WHAT IT MEANS TO EXPERIENCE A CHANGE IN PARTY CONTROL OF THE HOUSE.

LET ME TELL YOU ABOUT MY SON NEIL, AS A WAY TO ILLUSTRATE THE SEEMINGLY UNENDING NATURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY. NEIL IS THIRTY-FOUR YEARS OLD. HE WAS BORN ON JANUARY, 22, 1955, THREE WEEKS AFTER THE LAST REPUBLICAN SPEAKER TURNED THE GAVEL OVER TO A DEMOCRAT. NOT ONCE IN HIS LIFETIME HAS HE SEEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CHANGE PARTIES. NOT ONE TIME. THINK OF ALL THE MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN ACROSS AMERICA IN THEIR TWENTIES AND THIRTIES WHO HAVE NEVER KNOWN TRUE TWO-PARTY COMPETITION IN THE HOUSE.

WE'VE SEEN THE DEMOCRATS USE THEIR POWER IN THE STATEHOUSE TO DRAW CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS TO SUIT THEMSELVES. I'VE HEARD SOME SAY THE GERRYMANDERED DISTRICTS OUT IN CALIFORNIA REMIND THEM OF MODERN ART. THAT'S A TERRIBLE INJUSTICE... // TO PICASSO. ///

WILL THE HOUSE REMAIN STATIC FOR ANOTHER THIRTY-FOUR YEARS? YES, BUT ONLY IF REPUBLICANS PASSIVELY ACCEPT IT. TODAY, DEMOCRATS NOW HAVE A REDISTRICTING ADVANTAGE IN STATES THAT COMPOSE ABOUT 90 PERCENT OF THE SEATS IN CONGRESS. AS REPUBLICAN LEADERS, YOU CAN VETO THESE GERRYMANDER SCHEMES AND TAKE OUR MESSAGE TO VOTERS OF YOUR STATES BY DECLARING THAT THIS FORM OF VOTER DISCRIMINATION MUST END.\

BUT WE HAVE FAR GREATER REASONS THAN REAPPORTIONMENT TO PURSUE THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF AMERICA. AMERICA FACES TOUGH PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE MORE THAN FEDERAL SOLUTIONS. THEY REQUIRE NATIONAL SOLUTIONS. AND SOLUTIONS ARE NOW POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE STATES ARE EMBRACING A NEW DYNAMISM BASED ON AN OLD VISION.

THE GREAT SUPREME COURT JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS FORESAW A TIME WHEN: "A SINGLE COURAGEOUS STATE MAY . . . SERVE AS A LABORATORY AND TRY NOVEL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS WITHOUT RISK TO THE REST OF THE COUNTRY." ((TO BORROW A PHRASE)) THE STATES ARE BECOMING THESE "LABORATORIES OF DEMOCRACY," WITH EACH STATE ENDOWED WITH FREEDOM -- FREEDOM TO FAIL, FREEDOM TO SUCCEED, AND FREEDOM TO DISCOVER AND SHARE ITS DISCOVERIES.

IN AN ERA OF TIGHT RESOURCES, NECESSITY, THE MOTHER OF INVENTION, HAS ALSO PROVEN TO BE THE MOTHER OF CREATIVE POLICIES. YOU ARE FOLLOWING THE ADVICE OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT, A GREAT REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR, WHO SAID THAT OUR NATIONAL GREATNESS "IS NOT WHAT WE HAVE THAT WILL MAKE US A GREAT NATION; IT IS THE WAY IN WHICH WE USE IT."

DOZENS OF STATES ARE EXPERIMENTING WITH WAYS TO REMOVE OBSTACLES TO OPPORTUNITY, AND TO BRING THE CREATIVE ENERGY OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR. SOME OF YOUR EXPERIMENTS ARE CERTAIN TO BECOME THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF THE NEXT CENTURY.

BUT TO BE CREATIVE, YOU NEED FREEDOM. YOU TELL ME THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST NOT TIE YOUR HANDS; MUST NOT MANDATE YOUR PROGRAMS; MUST NOT DICTATE YOUR POLICIES. I HEAR YOU. AND I AM READY TO WORK WITH YOU TO EASE FEDERAL CONTROL.\

THE STATES ARE AT THE FOREFRONT PRECISELY BECAUSE THE FIRST INSTINCT OF OUR GOVERNORS IS NOT TO LOOK TO WASHINGTON, BUT TO THE COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR. MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT HOW GOVERNORS IN BOTH PARTIES ARE REJECTING THE OLD IDEOLOGIES AND STALE APPROACHES OF THE PAST. CREDIT SHOULD BE GIVEN WHERE IT IS DUE. BUT I HAVE TO SAY, WHILE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN ADEPT AT PROMOTING NEW PROGRAMS THAT ATTRACT A LOT OF FANFARE, THE REPUBLICANS GOVERNORS HAVE QUIETLY DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES WITH PROGRAMS THAT WORK. THE PEOPLE KNOW THIS. AND COME NOVEMBER, 1990, I BELIEVE THE VOTERS WILL CHOOSE INNOVATION AND DARING FOR THEIR STATE GOVERNMENT. THEY WILL VOTE REPUBLICAN. ////

[[IT'S BEEN A PLEASURE TO SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT. HOWEVER, DUE TO THE GRAMM-RUDMAN SEQUESTER, I HAVE TO CUT MY REMARKS. /// BY 5.3 PERCENT.]]

BUT, LET ME LEAVE YOU WITH THIS THOUGHT: TO WIN BIG, YOU MUST THINK BIG. AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ARE ALREADY THINKING BIG, THINKING AHEAD. YOU ARE THE PLANNERS AND THE PROPHETS, THE MANAGERS AND THE VISIONARIES, THE DREAMERS AND THE DOERS. YOU ARE THE ONES I LOOK TO JOIN ME, IN A PARTNERSHIP, TO WIN THE FUTURE.

SO THIS IS OUR VISION: WE ARE GOING TO BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS THE STATES. WE ARE GOING TO BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS CONGRESS. THEN WE WILL BE THE PARTY THAT LEADS AMERICA INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.\

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/16/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION
 CAPITOL HILTON, TUES., OCT. 17, 1989

SUBJECT: (10/10 - draft: two)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

61:34 91 OCT 16 P 3:19
James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1989 OCT 14 PM 2:49

Oct. 14, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Through: CHRISS WINSTON *CU*
From: MARK DAVIS *amfermo*
Subject: Republican Governors Association

SUMMARY: You will address the Republican Governors Association at 7 p.m., Tuesday, Oct. 17, at the Capitol Hilton. You will be introduced by Governor Mike Hayden of Kansas, the current RGA Chairman, who will soon relinquish his post to Governor John Ashcroft of Missouri. The crowd will consist of 500 people. Your remarks will be teleprompted and last approximately 12 to 15 minutes.

DISCUSSION: This speech looks back to the Charlottesville summit, and acknowledges the need for bipartisan cooperation on urgent national issues. At the same time, the best ideas and leadership have always come from the Republican Party -- a claim proven by our record of peace and prosperity. This speech denounces the unfair, partisan gerrymander -- a form of voter discrimination that governors can help end. At the same time, this speech makes it clear that in this age of federalism, governorships are valued for what they can achieve -- not just for their influence on reapportionment. Majority control of the governorships is a national goal of the Republican Party.

Davis/Martin
Oct. 10, 1989
Title: Governors
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC., Capitol Hilton
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 7 p.m.**

Thank you Chairman Hayden for that gracious introduction. My congratulations go to you for your effective tenure, and to your successor, Governor Ashcroft.

Let us also honor a governor who showed great leadership through a time of turbulence and tragedy . . . Carroll Campbell of South Carolina.\\

And I'm pleased that one of our retiring governors, Tom Kean, will be a part of our team as the head of the Advisory Panel of the Thousand Points of Light Foundation.

((It's good to see my good friend, Gov. Clements, from my home state of Texas. You may not know this, but the Dallas papers reported last week, that Gov. Clements was dining in a restaurant when a hold-up and shoot out occurred right in front of him. But the most remarkable part of all, is that not once through the whole ordeal did Gov. Clements put down his hamburger. \\ \\ Bill, I'm not sure if that's courage or hunger. \\ \\ But, you have my admiration anyway.))

((Finally, I also want to recognize a former chairman of this association, and my chief of staff, John Sununu.\\ John, did you hear of the boy in the spelling bee who was asked if he could spell your last name? The boy said he could spell "Sununu," but he just wasn't sure when to stop.))\\

As you know, I am not an alumnus of your organization. But over the years, as I worked with the governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility you are shouldering, and the leadership you provide.

But of course, there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It is not possible for a governor to shy away from the hard decisions. You are responsible, as am I. You are forced to confront the gritty problems, as am I. Some describe this responsibility as a great burden. But as I said before, for us, if it is a burden, it is one we cheerfully accept. To sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

For that reason I believe we can, we must, as chief executives take responsibility, join forces, and make a common cause of building a better America.

That is why we came together at Charlottesville, at an historic summit, only the third of its kind in our history. We came together, with your Democratic counterparts, in open, wide-ranging and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. In the end, we agreed to an historic compact -- a Jeffersonian compact -- to set national goals; to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity; and then to be accountable for the results.

We could achieve this, because at Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment and

our children before ourselves. America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals. We must work together to redeem our schools. We must work together to save our children from drugs. We must work together to protect the environment and meet the changing needs of the American family.

Still, this does not mean that there is no time and place for partisanship. There is a Republican approach to the challenges we face. And we have proven, time and again, that the Republican approach is the **best approach.**\\

I consider this a matter of record, a record that includes **eighty-three months** of economic growth and **more than twenty million new jobs.**\\ A few years ago, when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut taxes -- and it did the opposite. When our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our armed forces -- and the Soviets met us at the negotiating table. In short, whatever has worked at the federal level happened only because Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress joined forces to **make it work.**

So the bottom line is this -- throughout the 1980s, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the state level.

And while Republicans are leading the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. After the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't

quite bring themselves to admit that Republicans were right. Nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. It is the story of the "unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch Plaid."\\

This is precisely what we must do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues, and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and state elections of the 1990s will not just be a battle of the century; it will be a battle for the century -- the 21st century.

We have proven, time and again, that our party can keep the White House. But to win a majority of governorships, state offices and seats in Congress, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. We must be more competitive. We must rededicate ourselves to the nuts and bolts of politics, the grassroots, as our opponents do.

As we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward our rightful place as the majority party of governors.\\ As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of

the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the U.S. Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition.\\ But the key to all three goals is the first -- to elect more Republican governors.

It's no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in state government. It's no coincidence that the House majority remains in force today. The Founding Fathers intended the House of Representatives to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. Instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about my son Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. Neil is thirty-four years old. Neil was born on January, 22, 1955, three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not one time in his life has Neil seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties. Not one time. Just like Neil, there are millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Will the House remain static for another thirty-four years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that

compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. **This must not continue.**\\

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republicans and Independents across this country. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to raise our voices, to become true activists. As Republican leaders, you can take our message to voters of your states. You must declare that **this form of voter discrimination must end.**\\

To lead America in the next century, we must make aggressive gains at the state level in the next few years. A majority, or even a large minority, of Republicans in state legislatures can join with you to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymander schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Strong state parties can also help us to win back the U.S. Senate.

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems that require more than federal solutions. They require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when: "a single courageous state . . . may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the nation." ((To borrow a phrase)) The states are becoming these "laboratories of democracy," with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative policies. You are following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor who said that our national greatness "is not what we have that will make us a great nation; it is the way in which we use it."

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity, and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century.

The states are at the forefront because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and the private sector. Much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it is due. But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republicans governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs that work.

The people know this. And come November, 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will vote Republican.

But to win big, you must think big. We must have the audacity -- not just to hold our own in the Senate, but to win it back. We must have the tenacity -- not just to elect more Members of Congress, but to reach for the Speaker's Chair. And

we must have the daring to seize the majority position among governors.

Republican governors are already thinking big, thinking ahead. You are the planners and the prophets, the managers and the visionaries, the dreamers and the doers. You are the ones I look to join me, in a partnership, to win the future.

So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. Then we will be the party that leads America into the 21st Century.\\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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-Franklin Delano Roosevelt

"a single courageous statement^{may} may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the nation."

"laboratories of democracy"

rest of the country

-Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis

"is not what we have that will make us a great nation; it is the way in which we use it."

-Teddy Roosevelt [re: national greatness]

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC., CAPITOL HILTON
TUESDAY, OCT. 17, 1989, 7 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/17/89

1989 OCT 16 PM 6:16

--Mike--

THANK YOU CHAIRMAN HAYDEN FOR THAT GRACIOUS
INTRODUCTION. MY CONGRATULATIONS GO TO YOU FOR YOUR
EFFECTIVE TENURE, AND TO YOUR SUCCESSOR, GOVERNOR JOHN
ASHCROFT.

LET US ALSO HONOR A GOVERNOR WHO SHOWED GREAT
LEADERSHIP THROUGH A TIME OF TURBULENCE AND TRAGEDY
. . . CARROLL CAMPBELL OF SOUTH CAROLINA.\ \

AND I'M PLEASED THAT ONE OF OUR RETIRING
GOVERNORS, TOM KEAN, WILL BE A PART OF OUR TEAM AS THE
HEAD OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE PRESIDENT'S
POINTS OF LIGHT INITIATIVE FOUNDATION. THANKS
PROFESSOR

RINE I like it -
But If we can work
in a little humor near
the end it would
help - an anecdote
a joke ()

AND I'M SORRY THAT + FELLOW TEXAN,
((IT'S ALSO GOOD TO SEE MY GOOD FRIEND, GOVERNOR
CLEMENTS, ^{COULD NOT MAKE IT TONIGHT.} FROM MY HOME STATE OF TEXAS. YOU MAY NOT
KNOW THIS, BUT THE DALLAS PAPERS REPORTED LAST WEEK
THAT BILL WAS DINING IN A RESTAURANT WHEN A HOLD-UP AND
SHOOT-OUT OCCURRED RIGHT IN FRONT OF HIM. BUT THE MOST
REMARKABLE PART OF ALL, IS THAT NOT ONCE THROUGH THE
WHOLE ORDEAL DID BILL PUT DOWN HIS HAMBURGER.\\\ NOW
BILL, I'M NOT SURE IF THAT'S COURAGE, HUNGER OR THE
NEED FOR A PAIR OF ^{NEW} GLASSES.\\\ BUT, YOU HAVE MY
ADMIRATION ANYWAY.))

AS YOU KNOW, I AM NOT AN ALUMNUS OF YOUR
ORGANIZATION. BUT OVER THE YEARS, AS I WORKED WITH THE
GOVERNORS, I HAVE COME TO FULLY APPRECIATE THE
RESPONSIBILITY YOU ARE SHOULDERING, AND THE LEADERSHIP
YOU PROVIDE.

I'M SURE THERE ARE TIMES WHEN FEDERALISM SEEMS TO
BE A MIXED BLESSING. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR A GOVERNOR
TO SHY AWAY FROM THE HARD DECISIONS. BUT TO SIT WHERE
THE BUCK STOPS, TO RESOLVE DISPUTES, TO HELP THOSE IN
NEED AND TO SET A COURSE FOR THE FUTURE IS TO KNOW A
SPECIAL KIND OF SATISFACTION.

FOR THAT REASON I BELIEVE WE CAN, WE MUST, AS CHIEF EXECUTIVES TAKE RESPONSIBILITY, JOIN FORCES, AND MAKE A COMMON CAUSE OF BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA.

THAT IS WHY WE CAME TOGETHER IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, AT AN HISTORIC SUMMIT, ONLY THE THIRD OF ITS KIND IN OUR HISTORY. WE CAME TOGETHER, WITH YOUR DEMOCRATIC COUNTERPARTS, IN OPEN, WIDE-RANGING AND CREATIVE SESSIONS TO SEEK A NEW DIRECTION IN EDUCATION. IN THE END, WE AGREED TO AN HISTORIC COMPACT -- A JEFFERSONIAN COMPACT -- TO SET NATIONAL GOALS; TO ALLOW FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY, MORE CREATIVITY; AND THEN TO BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE RESULTS.

WE COULD ACHIEVE THIS, BECAUSE AT CHARLOTTESVILLE WE PUT PROGRESS BEFORE PARTISANSHIP, THE FUTURE BEFORE THE MOMENT AND OUR CHILDREN BEFORE OURSELVES. AMERICA SIMPLY FACES TOO MANY OF THESE LONG-TERM CHALLENGES FOR US TO ACT ONLY AS REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS, CONSERVATIVES OR LIBERALS.

STILL, THERE IS A REPUBLICAN APPROACH TO THE CHALLENGES WE FACE. AND WE HAVE PROVEN, TIME AND AGAIN, THAT THE REPUBLICAN APPROACH IS THE BEST APPROACH.\

I CONSIDER THIS A MATTER OF RECORD, A RECORD THAT INCLUDES EIGHTY-THREE MONTHS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND MORE THAN TWENTY MILLION NEW JOBS.\ A FEW YEARS AGO, WHEN OUR OPPONENTS SAID THAT A TAX CUT WOULD HURT THE ECONOMY, WE CUT TAXES -- AND IT DID THE OPPOSITE. WHEN OUR OPPONENTS SAID THAT A STRONGER DEFENSE WOULD MAKE THE SOVIETS MORE MILITANT, WE REVITALIZED OUR ARMED FORCES -- AND THE SOVIETS MET US AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. IN SHORT, WHATEVER HAS WORKED AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL HAPPENED ONLY BECAUSE REPUBLICANS AND ENLIGHTENED DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS JOINED FORCES TO MAKE IT WORK.

SO THE BOTTOM LINE IS THIS -- THROUGHOUT THE 1980S, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BEEN THE PARTY OF IDEAS. THIS IS NO LESS TRUE AT THE STATE LEVEL.

AND WHILE REPUBLICANS ARE LEADING THE WAY, WHERE IS THE OPPOSITION? ANSWER: IN THE THROES OF AN IDENTITY CRISIS. AFTER THE LONGEST PEACETIME EXPANSION IN HISTORY, THE DEMOCRATS CAN'T QUITE BRING THEMSELVES TO ADMIT THAT REPUBLICANS WERE RIGHT. NOR DO THEY HAVE A NEW VISION OF WHERE AMERICA SHOULD BE GOING. ALL THEY CAN DO IS CLOAK THEIR OUT-OF-STEP IDEAS IN THE LANGUAGE OF MODERATION.

I DON'T OFTEN QUOTE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT ON PARTISAN MATTERS. BUT THE LITTLE STORY HE TOLD TO MAKE FUN OF HIS REPUBLICAN OPPONENTS FITS THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS SO WELL TODAY. IT IS THE STORY OF THE "UNFORTUNATE CHAMELEON WHICH TURNED BROWN WHEN PLACED ON A BROWN RUG, AND TURNED RED WHEN PLACED ON A RED RUG, BUT WHO DIED A TRAGIC DEATH WHEN THEY PUT HIM ON A SCOTCH PLAID."

THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT WE MUST DO IN THE 1990 ELECTION -- TO KEEP THE FOCUS ON THE ISSUES, AND EXPOSE THE TRUE COLORS OF THE CHAMELEON CANDIDATES. FOR THE NATIONAL AND STATE ELECTIONS OF THE 1990S WILL NOT JUST BE A BATTLE OF THE CENTURY; IT WILL BE A BATTLE FOR THE CENTURY -- THE 21ST CENTURY.

WE HAVE PROVEN, TIME AND AGAIN, THAT OUR PARTY CAN KEEP THE WHITE HOUSE. BUT TO WIN A MAJORITY OF GOVERNORSHIPS, STATE OFFICES AND SEATS IN CONGRESS, WE MUST ROLL UP OUR SLEEVES AND GET DOWN TO THE BASICS OF WINNING ELECTIONS. WE MUST BE MORE COMPETITIVE. WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE NUTS AND BOLTS OF POLITICS, THE GRASSROOTS, AS OUR OPPONENTS DO.

AS WE LOOK TO THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS, WE HAVE THREE OBTAINABLE GOALS. FIRST, TO MOVE TOWARD OUR RIGHTFUL PLACE AS THE MAJORITY PARTY OF GOVERNORS.\\ AS FEDERALISM HAS ENHANCED YOUR ROLE, SO THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNORSHIPS HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST CRITICAL NATIONAL GOALS OF OUR PARTY. OUR SECOND GOAL IS TO RECAPTURE THE U.S. SENATE. AND THIRD, WE MUST OPEN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO TWO-PARTY COMPETITION.\\ BUT THE KEY TO ALL THREE GOALS IS THE FIRST -- TO ELECT MORE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

IT'S NO COINCIDENCE THAT OUR PARTY SLIPPED TO
MINORITY STATUS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AS WE
BECAME A MINORITY IN STATE GOVERNMENT. THE FOUNDING
FATHERS INTENDED THE HOUSE TO BE THE MOST SENSITIVE
BAROMETER OF THE CHANGING NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.
INSTEAD, WHOLE GENERATIONS HAVE NEVER KNOWN WHAT IT
MEANS TO EXPERIENCE A CHANGE IN PARTY CONTROL OF THE
HOUSE. *In fact the Democrats have controlled
the House for so long that*

LET ME TELL YOU ABOUT MY SON NEIL, AS A WAY TO
ILLUSTRATE THE SEEMINGLY UNENDING NATURE OF THE
DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY. NEIL IS THIRTY-FOUR YEARS OLD.
HE WAS BORN ON JANUARY, 22, 1955, THREE WEEKS AFTER THE
LAST REPUBLICAN SPEAKER TURNED THE GAVEL OVER TO A
DEMOCRAT. NOT ^{ONCE} ~~ONE TIME~~ IN HIS LIFE ^{TIME} HAS HE SEEN THE
LEADERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CHANGE
PARTIES. NOT ONE TIME. ^{THINK OF ALL THE} ~~JUST LIKE NEIL,~~ THERE ARE
MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN ACROSS AMERICA IN THEIR
TWENTIES AND THIRTIES WHO HAVE NEVER KNOWN TRUE TWO-
PARTY COMPETITION IN THE HOUSE.

WILL THE HOUSE REMAIN STATIC FOR ANOTHER THIRTY-
FOUR YEARS? YES, BUT ONLY IF REPUBLICANS PASSIVELY
ACCEPT IT. TODAY, DEMOCRATS NOW HAVE A REDISTRICTING
ADVANTAGE IN STATES THAT COMPOSE ABOUT 90 PERCENT OF
THE SEATS IN CONGRESS. AS REPUBLICAN LEADERS, YOU CAN
VETO THESE GERRYMANDER SCHEMES AND TAKE OUR MESSAGE TO
VOTERS OF YOUR STATES BY DECLARING THAT THIS FORM OF
VOTER DISCRIMINATION MUST END.\ \

Joke

BUT WE HAVE FAR GREATER REASONS THAN
REAPPORTIONMENT TO PURSUE THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF AMERICA.
AMERICA FACES TOUGH PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE MORE THAN
FEDERAL SOLUTIONS. THEY REQUIRE NATIONAL SOLUTIONS.
AND SOLUTIONS ARE NOW POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE STATES ARE
EMBRACING A NEW DYNAMISM BASED ON AN OLD VISION.

THE GREAT SUPREME COURT JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
FORESAW A TIME WHEN: "A SINGLE COURAGEOUS STATE . . .
MAY SERVE AS A LABORATORY AND TRY NOVEL SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS WITHOUT RISK TO THE NATION." ((TO
BORROW A PHRASE)) THE STATES ARE BECOMING THESE
"LABORATORIES OF DEMOCRACY," WITH EACH STATE ENDOWED
WITH FREEDOM -- FREEDOM TO FAIL, FREEDOM TO SUCCEED,
AND FREEDOM TO DISCOVER AND SHARE ITS DISCOVERIES.

IN AN ERA OF TIGHT RESOURCES, NECESSITY, THE MOTHER OF INVENTION, HAS ALSO PROVEN TO BE THE MOTHER OF CREATIVE POLICIES. YOU ARE FOLLOWING THE ADVICE OF TEDDY ROOSEVELT, A GREAT REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR, WHO SAID THAT OUR NATIONAL GREATNESS "IS NOT WHAT WE HAVE THAT WILL MAKE US A GREAT NATION; IT IS THE WAY IN WHICH WE USE IT."

DOZENS OF STATES ARE EXPERIMENTING WITH WAYS TO REMOVE OBSTACLES TO OPPORTUNITY, AND TO BRING THE CREATIVE ENERGY OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP TO THE PUBLIC SECTOR. SOME OF YOUR EXPERIMENTS ARE CERTAIN TO BECOME THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF THE NEXT CENTURY.

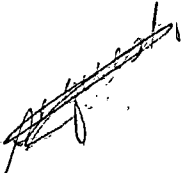
BUT TO BE CREATIVE, YOU NEED FREEDOM. YOU TELL ME THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST NOT TIE YOUR HANDS; MUST NOT MANDATE YOUR PROGRAMS; MUST NOT DICTATE YOUR POLICIES. I HEAR YOU. AND I AM READY TO WORK WITH YOU TO EASE FEDERAL CONTROL.\

THE STATES ARE AT THE FOREFRONT PRECISELY BECAUSE THE FIRST INSTINCT OF OUR GOVERNORS IS NOT TO LOOK TO WASHINGTON, BUT TO THE COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR. MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT HOW GOVERNORS IN BOTH PARTIES ARE REJECTING THE OLD IDEOLOGIES AND STALE APPROACHES OF THE PAST. CREDIT SHOULD BE GIVEN WHERE IT IS DUE. BUT I HAVE TO SAY, WHILE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN ADEPT AT PROMOTING NEW PROGRAMS THAT ATTRACT A LOT OF FANFARE, THE REPUBLICANS GOVERNORS HAVE QUIETLY DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES WITH PROGRAMS THAT WORK. THE PEOPLE KNOW THIS. AND COME NOVEMBER, 1990, I BELIEVE THE VOTERS WILL CHOOSE INNOVATION AND DARING FOR THEIR STATE GOVERNMENT. THEY WILL VOTE REPUBLICAN.

LET ME LEAVE you with this thought:
~~BUT~~ TO WIN BIG, YOU MUST THINK BIG. AND

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ARE ALREADY THINKING BIG, THINKING AHEAD. YOU ARE THE PLANNERS AND THE PROPHETS, THE MANAGERS AND THE VISIONARIES, THE DREAMERS AND THE DOERS. YOU ARE THE ONES I LOOK TO JOIN ME, IN A PARTNERSHIP, TO WIN THE FUTURE.

////


SO THIS IS OUR VISION: WE ARE GOING TO BE THE
PARTY THAT LEADS THE STATES. WE ARE GOING TO BE THE
PARTY THAT LEADS CONGRESS. THEN WE WILL BE THE PARTY
THAT LEADS AMERICA INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.\\

THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Oct. 14, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Through: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
From: MARK DAVIS *MD*
Subject: Republican Governors Association

SUMMARY: You will address the Republican Governors Association at 7 p.m., Tuesday, Oct. 17, at the Capitol Hilton. You will be introduced by Governor Mike Hayden of Kansas, the current RGA Chairman, who will soon relinquish his post to Governor John Ashcroft of Missouri. The crowd will consist of 500 people. Your remarks will be teleprompted and last approximately 12 to 15 minutes.

DISCUSSION: This speech looks back to the Charlottesville summit, and acknowledges the need for bipartisan cooperation on urgent national issues. At the same time, the best ideas and leadership have always come from the Republican Party -- a claim proven by our record of peace and prosperity. This speech denounces the unfair, partisan gerrymander -- a form of voter discrimination that governors can help end. At the same time, this speech makes it clear that in this age of federalism, governorships are valued for what they can achieve -- not just for their influence on reapportionment. Majority control of the governorships is a national goal of the Republican Party.

Davis/Martin
Oct. 10, 1989
Title: Governors
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC., Capitol Hilton
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 7 p.m.**

Thank you Chairman Hayden for that gracious introduction. My congratulations go to you for your effective tenure, and to your successor, Governor Ashcroft.

Let us also honor a governor who showed great leadership through a time of turbulence and tragedy . . . Carroll Campbell of South Carolina.\

And I'm pleased that one of our retiring governors, Tom Kean, will be a part of our team as the head of the Advisory *Committee on the President's Points of Light Initiative Foundation.* ~~Panel of the Thousand Points of Light Foundation.~~

((It's good to see my good friend, Gov. Clements, from my home state of Texas. You may not know this, but the Dallas papers reported last week, that Gov. Clements was dining in a restaurant when a hold-up and shoot out occurred right in front of him. But the most remarkable part of all, is that not once through the whole ordeal did Gov. Clements put down his hamburger. \\\ Bill, I'm not sure if that's courage or hunger. \\\ But, you have my admiration anyway.))

((Finally, I also want to recognize a former chairman of this association, and my chief of staff, John Sununu.\ John, did you hear of the boy in the spelling bee who was asked if he could spell your last name? The boy said he could spell "Sununu," but he just wasn't sure when to stop.))\

As you know, I am not an alumnus of your organization. But over the years, as I worked with the governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility you are shouldering, and the leadership you provide.

But of course, there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It is not possible for a governor to shy away from the hard decisions. You are responsible, as am I. You are forced to confront the gritty problems, as am I. Some describe this responsibility as a great burden. But as I said before, for us, if it is a burden, it is one we cheerfully accept. To sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

For that reason I believe we can, **we must**, as chief executives **take responsibility**, join forces, and make a common cause of building a better America.

That is why we came together at Charlottesville, at an historic summit, only the third of its kind in our history. We came together, with your Democratic counterparts, in open, wide-ranging and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. In the end, we agreed to an historic compact -- a Jeffersonian compact -- to set national goals; to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity; and then to be accountable for the results.

We could achieve this, because ^{IN} ~~at~~ Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment and

our children before ourselves. America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals. We must work together to redeem our schools. We must work together to save our children from drugs. We must work together to protect the environment and meet the changing needs of the American family.

Still, this does not mean that there is no time and place for partisanship. There is a Republican approach to the challenges we face. And we have proven, time and again, that the Republican approach is the **best approach.**\\

I consider this a matter of record, a record that includes **eighty-three months** of economic growth and **more than twenty million new jobs.**\\ A few years ago, when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut taxes -- and it did the opposite. When our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our armed forces -- and the Soviets met us at the negotiating table. In short, whatever has worked at the federal level happened only because Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress joined forces to **make** it work.

So the bottom line is this -- throughout the 1980s, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the state level.

And while Republicans are leading the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. After the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't

quite bring themselves to admit that Republicans were right. Nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. It is the story of the "unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch Plaid."\\

This is precisely what we must do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues, and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and state elections of the 1990s will not just be a battle of the century; it will be a battle for the century -- the 21st century.

We have proven, time and again, that our party can keep the White House. But to win a majority of governorships, state offices and seats in Congress, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. We must be more competitive. We must rededicate ourselves to the nuts and bolts of politics, the grassroots, as our opponents do.

As we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward **our rightful place as the majority party of governors.**\\ As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of

the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the U.S. Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition.\\ But the key to all three goals is the first -- to elect more Republican governors.

It's no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in state government. It's no coincidence that the House majority remains in force today. The Founding Fathers intended the House of Representatives to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. Instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about my son Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. Neil is thirty-four years old. Neil was born on January, 22, 1955, three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not one time in his life has Neil seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties. Not one time. Just like Neil, there are millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Will the House remain static for another thirty-four years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that

compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. **This must not continue.**

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republicans and Independents across this country. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to raise our voices, to become true activists. As Republican leaders, you can take our message to voters of your states. You must declare that **this form of voter discrimination must end.**

To lead America in the next century, we must make aggressive gains at the state level in the next few years. A majority, or even a large minority, of Republicans in state legislatures can join with you to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymander schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Strong state parties can also help us to win back the U.S. Senate.

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems that require more than federal solutions. They require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when: "a single courageous state . . . ^{may, . . .} ~~may~~ serve as a laboratory, and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the ~~nation~~ ^{rest of the country.}" ((To borrow a phrase)) The states are becoming these "laboratories of democracy," with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative policies. You are following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor who said that our national greatness "is not what we **have** that will make us a great nation; it is the **way** in which we **use** it."

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity, and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century.

The states are at the forefront because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and the private sector. Much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it is due. But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republican governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs **that work**.

The people know this. And come November, 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will vote Republican.

But to win big, you must think big. We must have the audacity -- not just to hold our own in the Senate, but to win it back. We must have the tenacity -- not just to elect more Members of Congress, but to reach for the Speaker's Chair. And

we must have the daring to seize the majority position among governors.

Republican governors are already thinking big, thinking ahead. You are the planners **and** the prophets, the managers **and** the visionaries, the dreamers **and** the doers. You are the ones I look to join me, in a partnership, to win the future.

So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. **Then we will be** the party that leads America into the 21st Century.\\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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Bush Orders 5 Percent Cuts In Federal Programs To Meet Deficit

In the second-largest federal budget cut ever approved, President Bush ordered slashes Monday of about 5 percent in many federal programs to meet a deficit-reduction deadline. However, congressional leaders said they expected to rescind the cutbacks within a few weeks.

Among the most immediate impact of the cuts is that Medicare checks will immediately be reduced by 2 percent. If the cuts remain in effect, more than 160,000 military personnel could be laid off, the anti-drug budget could be slashed by 10 percent and the anti-AIDS budget could be cut by 5 percent.

Bush, who was required by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law to sign the \$16 billion cutback order, said through a spokesman that it might be all right to leave the cuts in effect. And his budget director, Richard Darman, told reporters Monday that if Congress approved legislation erasing the cutbacks Bush might veto that legislation so the cutbacks remained in effect. Congressional leaders, however, dismissed that as a negotiating ploy.

(Michael Kranish, Boston Globe)

Bush Poised To Sign Mandatory Cuts As Congress Starts Budget Talks

President Bush was prepared to order \$16.1 billion in across-the-board spending cuts Monday as House leaders began negotiations to craft a budget measure that would satisfy mandatory deficit reduction targets.

Bush was required to sign the order by midnight Monday because Congress and the Administration failed to produce a fiscal 1990 budget that would cut the deficit to \$110 billion. While the so-called sequestration would not be immediately noticeable to most Americans, it could eventually require deep cuts in military and domestic programs.

"We do not have any choice," said White House Budget Director Darman.... It is important to have discipline in this system, and it is the only trace of discipline that we have got," Darman said.

(Robert Dodge, Dallas Morning News)

Bush Orders \$16.1 Billion Cut From Budget

President Bush ordered \$16.1 billion set aside from the new budget at 12:01 a.m. Tuesday after six months of negotiations failed to reduce this year's deficit to levels set in a bipartisan agreement....

Bush's order -- signed at about 7 p.m. Monday and sent to the Federal Register for use if a bill had not passed by midnight -- mandates cuts across the board, with 5.3 percent cut from non-defense programs that do not require "entitlement" payments and 4.3 percent from each line item in the Department of Defense budget.

(Frank Murray & Chris Harvey, Washington Times, A3)

BUSH LIKELY TO VETO ABORTION FUNDING
After Series Of Meetings, Aides Expect
President To Stand By Position

President Bush is almost certain to veto legislation that provides abortion funding to poor women who are the victims of rape and incest, White House officials said Monday.

Despite Bush's statement last week that he was seeking "room for flexibility" on the issue, two White House officials said a series of White House meetings and phone conversations with congressional opponents of abortion and Republican leaders failed to provide "any good, solid reasons" why the President should change his opposition to such funding.

A formal veto threat may come Tuesday, either in a letter from Bush to lawmakers who are meeting on the legislation, or in a White House statement, officials said.

Administration and congressional sources suggested that in the wake of the failed coup in Panama the White House is particularly sensitive to charges that Bush is unwilling to back up his words with deeds. "We don't need any more Bush waffles stuff," said an adviser to the White House.

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A5)

LIBERALS DENOUNCE FLAG AMENDMENT

Senate conservatives launched their campaign Monday for a constitutional amendment to outlaw desecration of the U.S. flag and ran into a barrage of opposition from liberals who charged it was a partisan, political ploy by President Bush.

The proposed amendment was denounced as a desecration of the Constitution, an attempt to censor speech and an attack on the First Amendment that would not protect the flag and lead to a "hodge podge" of conflicting state laws.

Supporters of the amendment brushed off the accusations, saying that only a constitutional amendment could assure that desecration of the flag would be outlawed.

(Steve Gerstel, UPI)

BENNETT'S ANTI-DRUG INITIATIVE
MAKING LITTLE HEADWAY IN D.C.

National drug policy director Bennett called it an "emergency" initiative -- an immediate dose of federal aid to help the District government fight a drug problem that was spiraling "out of control."

But six months later, Bennett's efforts have failed to make any discernible dent in the local drug trade, federal and city officials agree. And Bennett's campaign has been plagued by bureaucratic roadblocks and squabbling, leaving his office unable to deliver on crucial elements of his plan.

Bennett's biggest failure, critics say, has been his inability to relieve the city's clogged prisons -- which Bennett had said in April was what the District needed the most. They are now more crowded than ever.

"My problems are worst today than they were six months ago," said Walter Ridley, the District's acting corrections director, whose office had been targeted for the most help under Bennett's plan. "I can't think of any significant assistance that we've gotten."

At a news conference scheduled for Thursday, Bennett plans to release the first of what he promised would be regular semiannual progress reports on the D.C. initiative.

(Michael Isikoff, Washington Post, A1)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1989 OCT 14 PM 2:49

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Oct. 14, 1989

10/16/89

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Through: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
From: MARK DAVIS *MD*
Subject: Republican Governors Association

*Mark - language on
let's add - but reduce
blue - length by 1
full page*

SUMMARY: You will address the Republican Governors Association at 7 p.m., Tuesday, Oct. 17, at the Capitol Hilton. You will be introduced by Governor Mike Hayden of Kansas, the current RGA Chairman, who will soon relinquish his post to Governor John Ashcroft of Missouri. The crowd will consist of 500 people. Your remarks will be teleprompted and last approximately 12 to 15 minutes.

*It is
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DISCUSSION: This speech looks back to the Charlottesville summit, and acknowledges the need for bipartisan cooperation on urgent national issues. At the same time, the best ideas and leadership have always come from the Republican Party -- a claim proven by our record of peace and prosperity. This speech denounces the unfair, partisan gerrymander -- a form of voter discrimination that governors can help end. At the same time, this speech makes it clear that in this age of federalism, governorships are valued for what they can achieve -- not just for their influence on reapportionment. Majority control of the governorships is a national goal of the Republican Party.

*12 is
better than
15*

*Speech is
fine
small*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/15/89

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: mark / Chavis ✓

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talk about the
"burden of the office"
etc.

② Please cite ^{almost} unanimous
view of Congress
"Stop tying our hands,
Stop mandating our programs
Stop Dictating to the States"
I agree with this view

Davis/Martin
Oct. 10, 1989
Title: Governors
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC., Capitol Hilton
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 7 p.m.**

Thank you Chairman Hayden for that gracious introduction.

✓ My congratulations go to you for your effective tenure, and to your successor, Governor Ashcroft.

Let us also honor a governor who showed great leadership through a time of turbulence and tragedy . . . Carroll Campbell of South Carolina.\\

And I'm pleased that one of our retiring governors, Tom Kean, will be a part of our team as the head of the Advisory Panel of the Thousand Points of Light Foundation.

^{AKO} ((It's good to see my good friend, Gov. Clements, from ^{my} home state of Texas. You may not know this, but the Dallas papers reported last week, that Gov. Clements was dining in a restaurant when a hold-up and shoot out occurred right in front of him. But the most remarkable part of all, is that not once through the whole ordeal did Gov. Clements put down his

hamburger. \\ \\ Bill, I'm not sure if that's courage or hunger, ^{or} ~~the need for a hearing aid or new glasses.~~ \\ \\ But, you have my admiration anyway.))

~~((Finally, I also want to recognize a former chairman of this association, and my chief of staff, John Suhunu.\\ John, did you hear of the boy in the spelling bee who was asked if he could spell your last name? The boy said he could spell "Sununu," but he just wasn't sure when to stop.))\\ \\~~

As you know, I am not an alumnus of your organization. But over the years, as I worked with the governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility you are shouldering, and the leadership you provide.

^{Limbo}
~~But of course~~, there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It is not possible for a governor to shy away from the hard decisions. You are responsible, ^{and} ~~as am I~~. You are forced to confront the gritty problems, ~~as am I~~. ~~Some describe this responsibility as a great burden. But as I said before, for us, if it is a burden, it is one we cheerfully accept.~~ ^{you} To sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

For that reason I believe we can, **we must**, as chief executives **take responsibility**, join forces, and make a common cause of building a better America.

That is why we came together at Charlottesville, at an historic summit, only the third of its kind in our history. We came together, with your Democratic counterparts, in open, wide-ranging and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. In the end, we agreed to an historic compact -- a Jeffersonian compact -- to set national goals; to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity; and then to be accountable for the results.

We could achieve this, because at Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment and

our children before ourselves. America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals. ~~We must work together to~~ [?] redeem our schools. We must work together to save our children from drugs. We must work together to protect the environment and meet the changing needs of the American family.

Still, ~~(this does not mean that there is no time and place for partisanship.)~~ There is a Republican approach to the challenges we face. And we have proven, time and again, that the Republican approach is the **best approach.** \\

I consider this a matter of record, a record that includes **eighty-three months** of economic growth and **more than twenty million new jobs.** \\ A few years ago, when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut taxes -- and it did the opposite. When our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our armed forces -- and the Soviets met us at the negotiating table. In short, whatever has worked at the federal level happened only because Republicans and ^{enlightened} ~~conservative~~ Democrats in Congress joined forces to **make it work.**

So the bottom line is this -- throughout the 1980s, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the state level.

And while Republicans are leading the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. After the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't

quite bring themselves to admit that Republicans were right. Nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. It is the story of the "unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch Plaid."\\

This is precisely what we must do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues, and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and state elections of the 1990s will not just be a battle of the century; it will be a battle for the century -- the 21st century.

We have proven, time and again, that our party can keep the White House. But to win a majority of governorships, state offices and seats in Congress, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. We must be more competitive. We must rededicate ourselves to the nuts and bolts of politics, the grassroots, as our opponents do.

As we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward our rightful place as the majority party of governors.\\ As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of

the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the U.S. Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition. \ \ But the key to all three goals is the first -- to elect more Republican governors.

It's no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in state government.

~~It's no coincidence that the House majority remains in force~~

today. The Founding Fathers intended the House ~~of~~ Representatives to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. Instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about my son Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. Neil is thirty-four years old. Neil was born on January 22, 1955, three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not one time in his life has Neil seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties. Not one time. Just like Neil, there are millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Will the House remain static for another thirty-four years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that

compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. ~~This must not continue.~~

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republicans and Independents across this country. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to raise our voices, to become true activists. (As Republican leaders, you can take our message to voters of your states. You must declare that this form of voter discrimination must end.)

(To lead America in the next century, we must make aggressive gains at the state level in the next few years. A majority, or even a large minority, of Republicans in state legislatures can join with you to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymander schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Strong state parties can also help us to win back the U.S. Senate.)

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems that require more than federal solutions. They require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when: "a single courageous state . . . may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the nation." ((To borrow a phrase)) The states are becoming these "laboratories of democracy," with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

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In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative policies. You are following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor who said that our national greatness "is not what we **have** that will make us a great nation; it is the **way** in which we **use** it."

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity, and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century.

The states are at the forefront because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and the private sector. Much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it is due. But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republicans governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs **that work**.

The people know this. And come November, 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will vote Republican.

But to win big, you must think big. ~~We must have the audacity -- not just to hold our own in the Senate, but to win it back. We must have the tenacity -- not just to elect more Members of Congress, but to reach for the Speaker's Chair. And~~

← *Step 1
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Republican governors are already thinking big, thinking ahead. You are the planners and the prophets, the managers and the visionaries, the dreamers and the doers. You are the ones I look to join me, in a partnership, to win the future.

So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. Then we will be the party that leads America into the 21st Century.\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/16

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: JOHN S. GARDNER
Special Assistant to the President
and Assistant Staff Secretary

- Information
- Action
- Let's Discuss

On the President's comments,
"blue" refers to the "From the
President" note attached. Also,
the President's middle comment
on your memo reads "It is before
dinner."

Thanks.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1989 OCT 14 PM 2:49

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Oct. 14, 1989

10/16/89

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Through: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
From: MARK DAVIS *MD*
Subject: Republican Governors Association

*Mark - language on
let's add - but reduce
blue - length by 1
full page*

SUMMARY: You will address the Republican Governors Association at 7 p.m., Tuesday, Oct. 17, at the Capitol Hilton. You will be introduced by Governor Mike Hayden of Kansas, the current RGA Chairman, who will soon relinquish his post to Governor John Ashcroft of Missouri. The crowd will consist of 500 people. Your remarks will be teleprompted and last approximately 12 to 15 minutes.

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Davis/Martin
Oct. 10, 1989
Title: Governors
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Tuesday, Oct. 17, 7 p.m.**

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Let us also honor a governor who showed great leadership through a time of turbulence and tragedy . . . Carroll Campbell of South Carolina.\\

And I'm pleased that one of our retiring governors, Tom Kean, will be a part of our team as the head of the Advisory Panel of the Thousand Points of Light Foundation.

((It's good to see my good friend, Gov. Clements, from my home state of Texas. You may not know this, but the Dallas papers reported last week, that Gov. Clements was dining in a restaurant when a hold-up and shoot out occurred right in front of him. But the most remarkable part of all, is that not once through the whole ordeal did Gov. Clements put down his

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So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. **Then we will be** the party that leads America into the 21st Century.\\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/12/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY, OCT. 13, 4:00 pm

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1989
(draft: one)

SUBJECT: _____

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, x2930, no later than 4:00 p.m., Friday, October 13, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Comments phoned
Chriss Winston
10-13-89

91:1d 91100
OCT 16 P 1:16 '89

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

Davis/Martin
Oct. 10, 1989
Title: Governors
Draft: One

1989 OCT 12 PM 7:04

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOC.,
Tuesday, Oct. 17, 7 p.m.**

Thank you Chairman Hayden for that gracious introduction. My congratulations go to you for your effective tenure, and to your successor, Governor Ashcroft.

I also ask you to join me in honoring another governor among us today, someone who stood his ground through a time of turbulence and tragedy, a great governor and a true leader . . . Carroll Campbell of South Carolina.\\

((Finally, I also want to recognize a former chairman of this association, and my chief of staff, John Sununu.\\ John, did you hear of the boy in the spelling bee who was asked if he could spell your last name? The boy said he could spell "Sununu," but he just wasn't sure when to stop.))\\

((By the way, did you hear that ABC is going to air a made-for-T.V. movie entitled: "George Bush, the War Years"?\\ You can pretty much guess what this movie will be about. It'll be about the time I had to bail out.\\ And to think, Terry Branstad, that there are actually people out there who would want to see a movie about the Iowa primary.\\ \\ \\ \\))

As you know, I am not an alumnus of your organization. But over the years, as I worked with the governors, I have come to fully appreciate the responsibility you are shouldering, and the leadership you provide.

-Jim WASHK

857-5114

But of course, there are times when federalism seems to be a mixed blessing. It is not possible for a governor to shy away from the hard decisions. You are responsible, as am I. You are forced to confront the gritty problems, as am I. Some describe this responsibility as a great burden. But as I said before, for us, if it is a burden, it is one we cheerfully accept. To sit where the buck stops, to resolve disputes, to help those in need and to set a course for the future is to know a special kind of satisfaction.

For that reason I believe we can, **we must**, as chief executives **take responsibility**, join forces, and make a common cause of building a better America.

That is why we came together at Charlottesville, at an historic summit, only the third of its kind in our history. We came together, with your Democratic counterparts, in open, wide-ranging and creative sessions to seek a new direction in education. In the end, we agreed to an historic compact -- a Jeffersonian compact -- to set national goals; to allow for greater flexibility, more creativity; and then to be accountable for the results.

We could achieve this, because at Charlottesville we put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment and our children before ourselves. America simply faces too many of these long-term challenges for us to act only as Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals. We must work together to redeem our schools. We must work together to save our children

from drugs. We must work together to protect the environment and meet the changing needs of the American family.

Still, this does not mean that there is no time and place for partisanship. There is a Republican approach to the challenges we face. And we have proven, time and again, that the Republican approach is the **best approach.**\\

I consider this a matter of record, a record that includes **eighty-three months** of economic growth and **more than twenty million new jobs.**\\ A few years ago, when our opponents said that a tax cut would hurt the economy, we cut taxes -- and it did the opposite. When our opponents said that a stronger defense would make the Soviets more militant, we revitalized our armed forces -- and the Soviets met us at the negotiating table. In short, whatever has worked at the federal level happened only because Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress joined forces to **make it work.**

So the bottom line is this -- throughout the 1980s, the Republican Party has been the party of ideas. This is no less true at the state level. Who is implementing alternative teacher certification? Our Republican governors. Who enacted the first child-care programs based on the principle of choice? Our Republican governors. Who is leading the way to welfare reform? Or to protect our wetlands and environment? Again, it is you.

While Republicans lead the way, where is the opposition? Answer: in the throes of an identity crisis. After the longest peacetime expansion in history, the Democrats can't quite bring

themselves to admit that Republicans were right. Nor do they have a new vision of where America should be going. All they can do is cloak their out-of-step ideas in the language of moderation.

I don't often quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt on partisan matters. But the little story he told to make fun of his Republican opponents fits the liberal Democrats so well today. It is the story of the "unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch Plaid."\\

This is precisely what we must do in the 1990 election -- to keep the focus on the issues, and expose the true colors of the chameleon candidates. For the national and state elections of the 1990s will not just be a battle of the century; it will be a battle for the century -- the 21st century.

We have proven, time and again, that our party can keep the White House. But to win a majority of governorships, state offices and seats in Congress, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to the basics of winning elections. We must be more competitive, for when it comes to the nuts and bolts of politics, our opponents are the master mechanics of all time.

As we look to the upcoming elections, we have three obtainable goals. First, to move toward **our rightful place as the majority party of governors.**\\ As federalism has enhanced your role, so the control of the governorships has become one of

the most critical national goals of our party. Our second goal is to recapture the U.S. Senate. And third, we must open the House of Representatives to two-party competition.\\ But the key to all three goals is the first -- to elect more Republican governors.

It's no coincidence that our party slipped to minority status in the House as we became a minority in state government. It's no coincidence that the House majority remains in force today. The Founding Fathers intended the House of Representatives to be the most sensitive barometer of the changing needs of the American people. Instead, whole generations have never known what it means to experience a change in party control of the House.

Let me tell you about my son Neil, as a way to illustrate the seemingly unending nature of the Democratic majority. Neil is thirty-four years old. Neil was born on January, 22, 1955, three weeks after the last Republican Speaker turned the gavel over to a Democrat. Not one time in his life has Neil seen the leadership of the House of Representatives change parties. Not one time. Just like Neil, there are millions of men and women across America in their twenties and thirties who have never known true two-party competition in the House.

Will the House remain static for another thirty-four years? Yes, but only if Republicans passively accept it. Today, Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that

compose about 90 percent of the seats in Congress. **This must not continue.**\\

You know how the ugly gerrymander dilutes the votes of Republicans and Independents across this country. We have protested this in the past; but now it is time for us to raise our voices, to become true activists. As Republican leaders, you can take our message to voters of your states. You must declare that **this form of voter discrimination must end.**\\

To lead America in the next century, we must make aggressive gains at the state level in the next few years. A majority, or even a large minority, of Republicans in state legislatures can join with you to sustain the veto of outrageous gerrymander schemes, strengthening our numbers in the U.S. House. Strong state parties can also help us to win back the U.S. Senate.

But we have far greater reasons than reapportionment to pursue the governorships of America. America faces tough problems that require more than federal solutions. They require national solutions. And solutions are now possible because the states are embracing a new dynamism based on an old vision.

The great Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis foresaw a time when: "a single courageous state . . . may serve as a laboratory and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the nation." ((To borrow a phrase)) The states are becoming these "laboratories of democracy," with each state endowed with freedom -- freedom to fail, freedom to succeed, and freedom to discover and share its discoveries.

In an era of tight resources, necessity, the mother of invention, has also proven to be the mother of creative policies. You are following the advice of Teddy Roosevelt, a great Republican governor who said that our national greatness "is not what we **have** that will make us a great nation; it is the **way** in which we **use** it."

Dozens of states are experimenting with ways to remove obstacles to opportunity, and to bring the creative energy of entrepreneurship to the public sector. Some of your experiments are certain to become the national policies of the next century.

The states are at the forefront because the first instinct of our governors is not to look to Washington, but to the combined strength of the public and the private sector. Much has been written about how governors in both parties are rejecting the old ideologies and stale approaches of the past. Credit should be given where it is due. But I have to say, while Democrats have been adept at promoting new programs that attract a lot of fanfare, the Republican governors have quietly distinguished themselves with programs **that work**.

The people know this. And come November, 1990, I believe the voters will choose innovation and daring for their state government. They will vote Republican.

But to win big, you must think big. We must have the audacity -- not just to hold our own in the Senate, but to win it back. We must have the tenacity -- not just to elect more Members of Congress, but to reach for the Speaker's Chair. And

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So this is our vision: We are going to be the party that leads the states. We are going to be the party that leads Congress. **Then we will be** the party that leads America into the 21st Century.\\

Thank you, God bless you and God bless America.

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Draft: Two

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Let us also honor a governor who showed great leadership
through a time of turbulence and tragedy . . . Carroll Campbell
of South Carolina. \\

Draw. Accuracy
And I'm plsd that one of BOO. Tom Keen, will ...
~~Governor Kean, New Jersey's lost is the Administration's~~

~~gain. I'm pleased you will be a part of our team as the head of
the Advisory Panel of the Thousand Points of Light Foundation. }~~

~~(I'm sure we'll be just perfect together.))//~~

Comments
((Finally, I also want to recognize a former chairman of
this association, and my chief of staff, John Sununu. \\ John,
did you hear of the boy in the spelling bee who was asked if he
could spell your last name? The boy said he could spell
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/12/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FRIDAY, OCT. 13, 4:00 pm
 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION
 TUESDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1989
 (draft: one)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
3:20 VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE N/C	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES N/C	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS N/C	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON N/C	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WRAY 7730	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY N/C	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Room 122, x2930, no later than 4:00 p.m., Friday, October 13, with a copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

89 OCT 13 10:32

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

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