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**Collection:** Roberts, John G.: Files  
**Folder Title:** JGR/Article on the Presidency,  
*National Forum* (7 of 7)  
**Box:** 4

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** ROBERTS, JOHN: FILES

**Withdrawer**

RBW 8/3/2005

**File Folder** JGR/ARTICLE ON THE PRESIDENCY, NATIONAL FORUM (7 OF 7)

**FOIA**

F05-139/01

**Box Number**

COOK

6RW

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions	
1	CHECK	PERSONAL CHECK	1	11/21/1985	B6	439

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

B-5 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

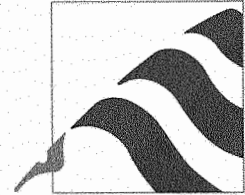
B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

E.O. 13233

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

August 28, 1985



**THE NEW  
FEDERALIST  
PAPERS**

Mr. John Roberts  
Associate Counsel to the President  
Room 106, EOB  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

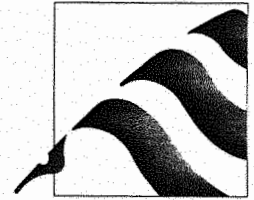
Dear Mr. Roberts:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter of this date to Mr. Fielding, requesting permission to reprint the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities" from the Fall, 1984 issue of National Forum. I hope the President will give his permission for us to use an excerpt from his article, and I would be very grateful for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

Jack Barlow  
Editor

PUBLIC RESEARCH,  
SYNDICATED  
400 N. Indian Hill Blvd.  
Suite 2  
Claremont, CA 91711  
(714) 621-5831



August 28, 1985

Mr. Fred Fielding  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

## THE NEW FEDERALIST PAPERS

Dear Mr. Fielding:

I write at the suggestion of Dr. Mark Cannon to request permission to reprint President Reagan's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," from the Fall, 1984 National Forum as part of The New Federalist Papers.

The New Federalist Papers is the bicentennial project of Public Research, Syndicated, and is supported in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The project began in January of 1984. Each month we syndicate six articles on constitutional themes to a nationwide audience. Two articles a month are sent, free of charge, to more than two thousand small, community newspapers. A weekly article is sent to some one hundred daily papers. The articles examine the various provisions of the Constitution, as well as its historical roots, its political principles, and its meaning today.

A distinguished roster of authors has contributed to the series, including Chief Justice Burger, former Attorney General Smith, Civil Rights Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton, and former Senator Eugene McCarthy. From the scholarly community, we have had articles from Henry Steele Commager, Samuel Beer, Gordon S. Wood, Harry V. Jaffa, and many others. We hope the President will be willing to join this group.

Dr. Cannon and the editors of National Forum have given us their permission to excerpt and syndicate selected articles from the Fall, 1984 issue of National Forum, of which Dr. Cannon was guest editor. We have already syndicated articles by Dr. Cannon, Speaker of the House O'Neill, and Chief Justice Burger, and we plan to use two or three more as well.

We would excerpt about 800 words from the President's article; if we are given permission, we would plan to do the preliminary editing here and send it to you for

Editorial Advisors:

Francis Canavan  
Fordham University

Don E. Fehrenbacher  
Stanford University

Suzanne Garment  
The Wall Street Journal

Philip Kurland  
The University of Chicago

Leonard W. Levy  
Claremont Graduate School

Abigail Thernstrom  
Twentieth Century Fund

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4650 ARROW HIGHWAY  
SUITE D7  
MONTCLAIR, CA 91763

approval. If, however, it would be preferable to have the editing done by someone on the staff there, we would certainly be open to such an arrangement. We offer an honorarium of \$250.

Both the legislative and the judicial branches have been represented in our series; I hope the President will be willing to join in this public celebration of the Constitution's bicentennial. If I can provide you with further information about the project, or answer any questions, please call me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jack Barlow". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Jack Barlow  
Editor

cc: John Roberts

JB/wp

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: Request to Reprint President's Article:  
"The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

The Editor of The New Federalist Papers, a bicentennial project of Public Research, Syndicated, has asked permission to reprint and distribute an 800-word excerpt from the President's article "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," which first appeared in the Fall 1984 National Forum. The New Federalist Papers project provides articles to newspapers across the country free of charge. Several articles from the National Forum edition have already been syndicated by The New Federalist Papers, including the Chief Justice's and the Speaker's, not to mention Dr. Mark Cannon's.

Permission is not required to reprint the President's article, since it was prepared in the course of his official duties. 17 U.S.C. § 105. The attached reply notes that permission is not required, and thanks the editor for offering to let us approve their editing of the President's article.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

Dear Mr. Barlow:

Thank you for your letter of August 28, requesting permission to reprint and distribute the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," as part of The New Federalist Papers. Permission is not required to reprint and distribute the article, and I have no objection to your plans to do so.

You have indicated that you plan to excerpt 800 words from the President's article, and that you will submit the edited version for our approval. I appreciate your willingness to do this, and look forward to receiving your proposed excerpt.

The New Federalist Papers is an exciting project and I am pleased to learn of your plans to include the President's article.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jack Barlow  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D7  
Montclair, CA 91763

FFF:JgR:aea 9/4/85  
bcc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

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PRO1409

JV

WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

JP

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1

Name of Correspondent: Jack Barlow

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Request to reprint POTUS' article "The Presidency: Roles & Responsibilities"

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
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		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

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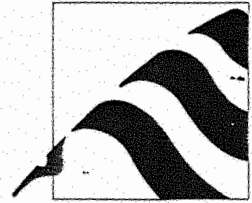
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- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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343999



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The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

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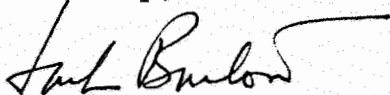
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63

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Both the legislative and the judicial branches have been represented in our series; I hope the President will be willing to join in this public celebration of the Constitution's bicentennial. If I can provide you with further information about the project, or answer any questions, please call me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jack Barlow", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Jack Barlow  
Editor

cc: John Roberts

JB/wp

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1985

*Daug*  
Dear Professor Kmiec:

Thank you for your recent note transmitting a copy of the issue of the Journal of Law, Ethics and Public Policy devoted to the line-item veto. As you know, the President has long supported a constitutional amendment to provide this power to the Chief Executive.

As the President explained in an article on the Presidency for the issue of National Forum devoted to the Bicentennial of the Constitution, granting such power to the Chief Executive would not alter the constitutional balance but in fact restore the Framers' original design. In return for your sending along a copy of the Journal, I have taken the liberty of enclosing a copy of the National Forum issue containing this article.

Thank you again for the Journal issue, which I am certain will be helpful to those at the White House most actively involved with this timely topic.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Professor Douglas W. Kmiec  
Notre Dame Law School  
Notre Dame, IN 46556

FFF:JGR:aea 10/18/85

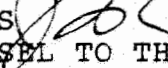
cc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM MARTIN  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS   
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Article  
for The Times (of London)

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

cc: David L. Chew

## WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: D Chew

MI Mail Report      User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Presidential article for The Times (of London)

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUITAU</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>85,10,22</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>
<u>CUIT 18</u>	B	<u>85,10,22</u>
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**FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**

- Type of Response - Initials of Signer
- Code - "A"
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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/21/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10/22/85, 4:00 p.m.

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE FOR THE TIMES (OF LONDON)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LACY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
MILLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHAVEZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DANIELS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	THOMAS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please submit your comments, edits or recommendations directly to Bill Martin of the NSC with an info copy to my office by 4:00 p.m. TOMORROW. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 21, 1985

*Has short summary,  
Tx, BR*

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID L. CHEW

FROM: WILLIAM F. MARTIN *WFM*

SUBJECT: Presidential Article for The Times (of London)

Attached is an NSC-approved article, to be signed by the President, for submission to The Times (of London) for inclusion in a Special Supplement commemorating The Times' 200th anniversary. The Times has asked various Heads of State to submit 850-word articles on their vision for their own country in the year 2000.

Please circulate to appropriate members of the White House staff for clearance and return comments to the NSC, as this article must be submitted to the Washington office of The Times by Tuesday afternoon, October 22.

Many thanks.

## Attachments

TAB A Proposed Presidential article  
TAB B Incoming letter from The Times

The daily press of events often leaves one little time to reflect on the future, so I welcome The Times' invitation to write about my vision of America in the year 2000. It is appropriate that I do so in the pages of the oldest daily newspaper in the world, a symbol of freedom older than our own Constitution.

Unlike most nations, the United States was founded on a vision. We see our history as a constant striving toward the vision set down in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. That vision is of a nation where every person, regardless of background or beliefs, is free to realize his or her full potential, spiritual and material. America was founded on the principle that freedom and progress should not be the preserve of the lucky few, but the universal right of all.

I see an America in the year 2000 which has made further progress toward realizing this noble vision. All Americans today have the freedom to think and worship as they please. The vast majority have the freedom to find fulfillment in their work, in their quality of life, and with their loved ones.

We will not be satisfied until every American knows this freedom. The remaining barriers to self-fulfillment are largely economic in nature, so economic growth is the key to future opportunity. This growth depends on keeping government out of the way of human talent and initiative. Where people are free to pursue their ideas and dreams, prosperity and opportunity are the rule. Where government becomes the people's master, rather than their servant, creativity is stifled and progress impeded. In the past four and a half years, with policies trusting to the people, America has restored its economic vigor; we have created 8 million new jobs in the past three years. Government has an essential role to play, but there can no longer be any doubt that the true source of economic growth is the individual, not the state.

If we stick by this truth, the opportunity for fulfillment that most Americans know today can be available to even more by the year 2000. My vision is one where poverty will be greatly reduced. We will have succeeded in tearing down completely the walls of intolerance that once divided our citizens. Technology will be making unprecedented advances in spreading knowledge and facilitating human comfort; science will have immeasurably enhanced life and, I pray, found a cure for cancer and other dread diseases.

If other nations follow the path of economic freedom, and uphold a system of free and fair trade, then more rapid economic growth will surge throughout the world. Expanding opportunity will be an international phenomenon. And the more advanced nations will be able to be more generous in helping those nations in need. The gap between developed and developing nations will narrow; indeed, many of the latter will join the ranks of the former.

The exercise of freedom presupposes peace. I pray that as we look back from the year 2000, we will be able to contrast with the horrors of the first half of the century, the relative peace of the second half. I do not expect the stark differences between the democracies and the totalitarian countries to have vanished, so I see an America and a Western alliance that have maintained their strength and resolve such that no aggressor could have thought he could gain from war. If we do this, my prayer will be met.

The United States will continue to rely on deterrence to keep the peace, but it will be a safer, more stable kind of deterrence than today's. Rather than rely solely on the threat of retaliation -- of avenging lives lost -- it will be based more on the ability to defend human lives against nuclear attack. Our Strategic Defense Initiative is a research program, so I cannot predict at what stage we will find ourselves in 2000.

I am an optimist, however, and I have to believe the same scientific and engineering genius that invented the steam engine and sent a man to the moon will find ways to make feasible defenses against ballistic missiles, defenses that are survivable against counter-measures and are cost-effective. If the Soviet Union sees the potential of such defenses in its own research program, as I believe it will, perhaps it will agree with us on a cooperative transition to a system of deterrence based on a stable balance of defense and offense -- at sharply lower levels of offensive forces than today. Such an outcome would enable us to move some time in the next century toward the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. A strong conventional deterrent would, however, remain vital.

Continued Western resolve could lead to the most hopeful development of all. Frustrated in its expansionist aims, and recognizing the imperatives for change at home, the Soviet Union could agree with us to turn our competition away from armaments to competition in benefiting mankind. We are not afraid of such a competition. Is Mr. Gorbachev? I call on him to join us, today, in this new context. Mankind would then be able to look toward the new century, the third millennium of the modern era, with an optimism and hope justified as never before.

7-34-13

# THE TIMES

Times Newspapers Limited, P.O. Box 7,  
200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ (registered office)  
Telephone 01-837 1234 Telex 264971 Registered no. 894646 England

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*13C/Kain*  
*Small*

From the Editor

September 25, 1985

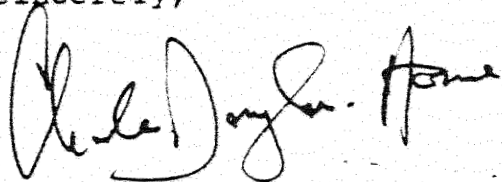
President Ronald Reagan,  
The White House,  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue,  
Washington DC 20500,  
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President,

As you know, The Times is celebrating its bicentenary this year and in the course of the year we have carried a number of bicentenary Special Reports on those major countries of the world with which we have had a close and continuous relationship during the 200 years. In each case we have invited the Head of State to contribute to our Report with a short article of 850 words. The theme of this article would be your vision for the United States in the year 2000 and we would need the article by October 21.

I know how busy you are, Mr. President, but I do hope you would be able to find time to enhance this paper's coverage of the United States past and future as you would surely do with an article of that kind.

Yours sincerely,




Charles Douglas-Home

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: Draft Version of the President's Article  
"The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

We previously noted no objection to the proposal to publish an 800-word excerpt from the President's article on the Presidency as part of the New Federalist Papers series. The editor of the series has now submitted the 800-word excerpt. I have no objection to the excerpt.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1985

Dear Mr. Barlow:

Thank you for your letter of October 29. Along with that letter you submitted an 800-word excerpt from the President's article on the Presidency, which you propose to distribute as part of the Bicentennial project of the New Federalist Papers.

I have reviewed the excerpt and have no objection to it. Thank you for your consideration in permitting us to review the excerpt. Once again, best of luck with this exciting project.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

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ID # 343999 CU  
PR014-09

**WHITE HOUSE  
 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

*JR-F*

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
 Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: Jack Barlow

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Draft version of the President's article "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

ROUTE TO:		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>W Holland</u>		<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>8511101</u> <i>JWS</i>		<u>1/1</u>
<u>WAT18</u>		<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>D</u> <u>8511104</u> <i>JWS</i>	<u>5</u>	<u>851114</u>
		<u>Referral Note:</u>			
		<u>Referral Note:</u>			
		<u>Referral Note:</u>			

- ACTION CODES:**
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  - C - Comment/Recommendation
  - D - Draft Response
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  - S - Suspended
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- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.



October 29, 1985

Mr. Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

**THE NEW  
FEDERALIST  
PAPERS**

Dear Mr. Fielding:

Please forgive my delay in preparing a draft version of the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," a copy of which I enclose. In cutting such a long article to 800-odd words, it was necessary to discard much good material; what remains is the general treatment of the powers and duties of the presidential office. I hope that this draft will meet your approval. If there are particular things that in your opinion should be included in the article, please feel free to suggest them; bearing in mind that the article is already somewhat over the word limit that National Forum has agreed to.

We plan to send the President's article to our list of some 2100 small, community newspapers, and we will be happy to forward copies of the tearsheets we receive, if you wish to see them. We would like to send the article out November 27, if that schedule is not an inconvenience for you.

Again, we are very pleased that we can include the President's article in our Bicentennial series. We are hopeful that the series can have the effect of reminding Americans of the principles of the Constitution's framers, and of the importance of maintaining the institutions the framers created. The President's article is an important contribution to that effort.

Sincerely,

Jack Barlow  
Editor

Editorial Board:

FRANK CHAMBERLAIN  
Fordham University

DON E. FENSTERMAKER  
Stanford University

SUZANNE GARNER  
The Wall Street Journal

PHILIP KURTZ  
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Claremont Graduate School

ABIGAIL THORNTON  
Twentieth Century Fund

PUBLIC RESEARCH,  
SYNDICATED  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D-7  
Montclair, CA 91763  
(714) 621-5831

**THE PRESIDENCY: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

by Ronald W. Reagan

For nearly 200 years, the Constitution has endured with relatively few amendments as a blueprint for freedom. In commemorating the Bicentennial of the Constitution we celebrate not simply the historic event that took place in Philadelphia on September 17, 1787, but the process by which we govern ourselves today. There is no better time than this Bicentennial period to refamiliarize ourselves with the Constitution and rededicate ourselves to the values it embodies.

The central challenge confronting the Framers of the Constitution was to create a strong national government that would not threaten the liberties so recently won. The solution the Framers embraced was to diffuse the national governmental authority. Power was to be shared among separate institutions -- the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary -- in order that no single branch could become so powerful as to threaten the liberties of the people. In our study of the allocation of authority in the Constitution, it is important to keep in mind the purpose of this allocation -- nothing less than the preservation of liberty.

The Framers looked primarily to the president to provide the critical element of "energy" in the government. The problem with the government of the Articles of Confederation had been that it was "destitute of energy." The Drafters of the Constitution redressed that problem by vesting "competent powers" in the executive to lead the Nation.

The president's popular mandate justified this grant of authority. The president and the vice president are the only officials in our government elected through a process involving all the voters. Only the president can claim to speak for all the people, because, as Hamilton wrote, his selection looks "in

the first instance to an immediate act of the people of America." The office of president has "a due dependence on the people, and a due responsibility."

Perhaps the most pervasive responsibility of the president is to administer the executive branch. The Framers were practical men who recognized, as Hamilton wrote, "that the true test of a good government is its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration." The people look ultimately to the president to ensure the efficient performance of duty by the millions of federal employees scattered among the various departments and agencies.

The challenge confronting the modern presidency is to "produce a good administration" when the federal establishment has grown so far beyond anything the framers could have imagined. It is an amazing fact that there are more federal employees today than people living in America when the Framers drafted the Constitution. Perhaps President George Washington could play an active role in supervising the details of the first administration, but it is now the responsibility of his successors to create mechanisms for the control and coordination of the executive branch.

The president has no more important responsibility under the Constitution than the conduct of foreign affairs. The Framers recognized that of the two democratic branches, only the executive could successfully conduct foreign relations. Hamilton noted in his description of the executive that "Decision, activity, secrecy, and dispatch will generally characterize the proceedings of one man in a much more eminent degree than the proceedings of any greater number," and John Jay -- himself one of our most successful early diplomats -- argued that "the President will find no difficulty to provide" those qualities, though they were beyond the capability of a basically deliberative body such as Congress.

Apart from executive functions, the Constitution accords the president a significant role in the legislative process. The people have grown to expect

leadership from the president not only in executing the laws but also in presenting a legislative program to Congress for consideration.

Perhaps the most prominent of the president's legislative powers is the qualified veto power. This power is qualified in the sense that a bill returned by the president with disapproval can nonetheless be enacted into law by a two-thirds vote of both houses. The Framers accorded the president a veto power for two reasons. First, they recognized the "propensity of the legislative department to intrude upon the rights, and to absorb the powers, of the other departments" and provided the president a veto so that he could defend the prerogatives of his office. The second purpose of the veto was as "an additional security against the enactment of improper laws."

The powers of the presidency are limited, and the president discharges constitutional responsibilities in a system according other powers to the coordinate branches of the legislature and the judiciary. The members of all three branches take an oath to uphold the Constitution, and it is a monument not only to the genius of the Framers but also to the statesmanship of those who have held office under the Constitution that the system has worked as well as it has.

Presidents have learned advisors at their disposal, and they can consult with Congress, but the difficult and potentially momentous decisions the Constitution vests in the executive are, in the final analysis, the president's alone. Our most tested president, Abraham Lincoln, announced a guide for making those decisions that has yet to be bettered:

I desire so to conduct the affairs of this Administration that if, at the end, when I come to lay down the reins of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be down inside of me.

END-END-END

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

Dear Mr. Barlow:

Thank you for your letter of August 28, requesting permission to reprint and distribute the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," as part of The New Federalist Papers. Permission is not required to reprint and distribute the article, and I have no objection to your plans to do so.

You have indicated that you plan to excerpt 800 words from the President's article, and that you will submit the edited version for our approval. I appreciate your willingness to do this, and look forward to receiving your proposed excerpt.

The New Federalist Papers is an exciting project and I am pleased to learn of your plans to include the President's article.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jack Barlow  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D7  
Montclair, CA 91763

FFF:JgR:aea 9/4/85  
bcc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

**WHITE HOUSE  
 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
 Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

**COPY**  
 from ORM  
 JR-F

Name of Correspondent: Jack Barlow

MI Mail Report      User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Draft version of the President's article "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

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<u>WAT18</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>8511104</u> <sup>WTS</sup> <u>Cent. Control</u> <u>C</u> <u>8511106</u> <sup>25</sup>
<u>CUFIEL</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>8511106</u> <u>FF F</u> <u>8511106</u>
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 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1985

Dear Mr. Barlow:

Thank you for your letter of October 29. Along with that letter you submitted an 800-word excerpt from the President's article on the Presidency, which you propose to distribute as part of the Bicentennial project of the New Federalist Papers.

I have reviewed the excerpt and have no objection to it. Thank you for your consideration in permitting us to review the excerpt. Once again, best of luck with this exciting project.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jack Barlow  
480 N. Indian Hill Blvd.  
Suite 2  
Claremont, CA 91711

FFF:JGR:aea 11/6/85  
cc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: Draft Version of the President's Article  
"The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

We previously noted no objection to the proposal to publish an 800-word excerpt from the President's article on the Presidency as part of the New Federalist Papers series. The editor of the series has now submitted the 800-word excerpt. I have no objection to the excerpt.

Attachment

October 29, 1985

Mr. Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

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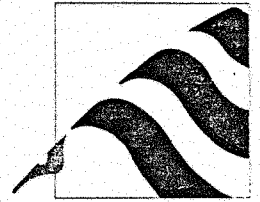
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Jack Barlow  
Editor



## THE NEW FEDERALIST PAPERS

Editorial Advisors:

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Fordham University

Don E. Fehrenbacher  
Stanford University

Suzanne Garment  
The Wall Street Journal

Philip Schlesinger  
The University of Chicago

Leonard W. Levy  
Claremont Graduate School

Robert T. Orr  
Twentieth Century Fund

PUBLIC RESEARCH,  
SYNDICATED  
4650 Arrow Highway  
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END-END-END

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

Dear Mr. Barlow:

Thank you for your letter of August 28, requesting permission to reprint and distribute the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," as part of The New Federalist Papers. Permission is not required to reprint and distribute the article, and I have no objection to your plans to do so.

You have indicated that you plan to excerpt 800 words from the President's article, and that you will submit the edited version for our approval. I appreciate your willingness to do this, and look forward to receiving your proposed excerpt.

The New Federalist Papers is an exciting project and I am pleased to learn of your plans to include the President's article.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jack Barlow  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D7  
Montclair, CA 91763

FFF:JgR:aea 9/4/85

bcc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

343999 cu

PR 014-09



JV

**THE NEW  
FEDERALIST  
PAPERS**

September 16, 1985

Mr. Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

COPY  
from ORM

Editorial Advisors:

Francis Canavan  
Fordham University

Don E. Fehrenbacher  
Stanford University

Suzanne Garment  
The Wall Street Journal

Philip Kurland  
The University of Chicago

Leonard W. Levy  
Claremont Graduate School

Abigail Thernstrom  
Twentieth Century Fund

Dear Mr. Fielding:

Thank you for your letter of September 4, regarding permission to reprint the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities."

I shall be forwarding an edited version of the article within the next couple of weeks, for your approval. We are very pleased that we can include the President's article in our bicentennial series.

With thanks for your interest in our project,

Sincerely,

Jack Barlow  
Editor

JB/ch

PUBLIC RESEARCH  
SYNDICATED

(714) 621-5831

4650 ARROW HIGHWAY  
SUITE D7  
MONTCLAIR, CA 91763

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 9.24.85

Suspense Date \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jed

FROM: DIANNA G. HOLLAND

ACTION

- Approved
- Please handle/review
- For your information *then to Central Files*
- For your recommendation
- For the files
- Please see me
- Please prepare response for \_\_\_\_\_ signature
- As we discussed
- Return to me for filing

COMMENT

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

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Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jack Barlow  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D7  
Montclair, CA 91763

FFF:JgR:aea 9/4/85  
bcc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

PRO 1407

**WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

- O - OUTGOING
  - H - INTERNAL
  - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

*JR*

**COPY**  
**FORM**

Name of Correspondent: Jack Barlow

MI Mail Report      User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: Request to reprint POTUS' article "The Presidency: Roles & Responsibilities"

**ROUTE TO:**

**ACTION**

**DISPOSITION**

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHALL</u>	<b>ORIGINATOR</b>	<u>85, 09, 03</u> <sup>WS</sup>		<u>C 85, 09, 04</u>
<u>Unit 18</u>	<b>Referral Note:</b>	<u>D 85, 09, 04</u>		<u>C 85, 09, 04</u>
<u>CUFIEL</u>	<b>Referral Note:</b>	<u>F 85, 09, 04</u>	<u>FF A</u>	<u>85, 09, 04</u>
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	<b>Referral Note:</b>			
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	<b>Referral Note:</b>			

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

Dear Mr. Barlow:

Thank you for your letter of August 28, requesting permission to reprint and distribute the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," as part of The New Federalist Papers. Permission is not required to reprint and distribute the article, and I have no objection to your plans to do so.

You have indicated that you plan to excerpt 800 words from the President's article, and that you will submit the edited version for our approval. I appreciate your willingness to do this, and look forward to receiving your proposed excerpt.

The New Federalist Papers is an exciting project and I am pleased to learn of your plans to include the President's article.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jack Barlow  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D7  
Montclair, CA 91763


FFF:JgR:aea 9/4/85  
bcc: FFFielding  
JGRoberts  
Subj  
Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS 

SUBJECT: Request to Reprint President's Article:  
"The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

The Editor of The New Federalist Papers, a bicentennial project of Public Research, Syndicated, has asked permission to reprint and distribute an 800-word excerpt from the President's article "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," which first appeared in the Fall 1984 National Forum. The New Federalist Papers project provides articles to newspapers across the country free of charge. Several articles from the National Forum edition have already been syndicated by The New Federalist Papers, including the Chief Justice's and the Speaker's, not to mention Dr. Mark Cannon's.

Permission is not required to reprint the President's article, since it was prepared in the course of his official duties. 17 U.S.C. § 105. The attached reply notes that permission is not required, and thanks the editor for offering to let us approve their editing of the President's article.

Attachment

8/28/85



**THE NEW  
FEDERALIST  
PAPERS**

August 28, 1985

Mr. Fred Fielding  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Fielding:

I write at the suggestion of Dr. Mark Cannon to request permission to reprint President Reagan's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities," from the Fall, 1984 National Forum as part of The New Federalist Papers.

The New Federalist Papers is the bicentennial project of Public Research, Syndicated, and is supported in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The project began in January of 1984. Each month we syndicate six articles on constitutional themes to a nationwide audience. Two articles a month are sent, free of charge, to more than two thousand small, community newspapers. A weekly article is sent to some one hundred daily papers. The articles examine the various provisions of the Constitution, as well as its historical roots, its political principles, and its meaning today.

A distinguished roster of authors has contributed to the series, including Chief Justice Burger, former Attorney General Smith, Civil Rights Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton, and former Senator Eugene McCarthy. From the scholarly community, we have had articles from Henry Steele Commager, Samuel Beer, Gordon S. Wood, Harry V. Jaffa, and many others. We hope the President will be willing to join this group.

Dr. Cannon and the editors of National Forum have given us their permission to excerpt and syndicate selected articles from the Fall, 1984 issue of National Forum, of which Dr. Cannon was guest editor. We have already syndicated articles by Dr. Cannon, Speaker of the House O'Neill, and Chief Justice Burger, and we plan to use two or three more as well.

We would excerpt about 800 words from the President's article; if we are given permission, we would plan to do the preliminary editing here and send it to you for

Editorial Advisors:

- Francis Canavan  
Fordham University
- Don E. Fehrenbacher  
Stanford University
- Suzanne Garment  
The Wall Street Journal
- Philip Kurland  
The University of Chicago
- Leonard W. Levy  
Claremont Graduate School
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SYNDICATED  
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Claremont, CA 91711  
(714) 621-5831

4650 ARROW HIGHWAY  
SUITE 200  
MONTCLAIR, CA 91763

approval. If, however, it would be preferable to have the editing done by someone on the staff there, we would certainly be open to such an arrangement. We offer an honorarium of \$250.

Both the legislative and the judicial branches have been represented in our series; I hope the President will be willing to join in this public celebration of the Constitution's bicentennial. If I can provide you with further information about the project, or answer any questions, please call me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jack Barlow". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Jack Barlow  
Editor

cc: John Roberts

JB/wp

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

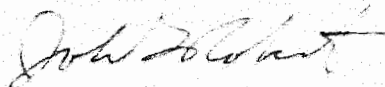
December 11, 1985

Dear Mr. Silver:

This is in response to your letter of December 2 to the President. Along with that letter you sent a check for \$250.00 as payment for the President's article, "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities." The article first appeared in the Fall 1984 National Forum. This office advised the editor of The New Federalist Papers that permission was not required to reprint and distribute the President's article.

Pursuant to established White House policy, the President does not accept honoraria or payment for work of this nature. Accordingly, we are returning your check.

Sincerely,



John G. Roberts  
Associate Counsel to the President

Mr. Thomas B. Silver  
President, Public Research  
Syndicated  
480 N. Indian Hill Boulevard  
Suite 2  
Claremont, CA 91711

ID # 343999 CU

12014-09

*JK - direct return*

# WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING  
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Jack Barlow

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

Subject: forwards check to POTUS for article "The Presidency: Roles and Responsibilities"

### ROUTE TO:

### ACTION

### DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>WH Holland</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>0851/2/09</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
<u>WAT18</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>851/2/10</u>		<u>CS</u>	<u>851/2/20</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				

#### ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

#### DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

#### FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.  
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, DEOB).  
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.  
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

ARCH - QUERY  
001 NEW WITH FEDERALIST WITH PAPERS

J.R.

3999CU DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1

CTDATE = 850903  
DDNUMP =  
REDATE = 850904  
OCDATE = 850828  
SPDATE = 850904  
NAME = BARLOW  
CVDATE = 850904  
ECID = 343999CU  
TATE = CA  
PDATE = 851113  
IP = 91763  
ID WS  
CDATE 850828  
CTYP IBA  
DIA I  
AFF FRED FIELDING  
CUFIEL  
NAME MR. JACK BARLOW  
TITLE EDITOR  
ORG THE NEW FEDERALIST PAPERS  
DIR MONTCLAIR CA 91763  
REET 4650 ARROW HIGHWAY  
SUITE D7  
SUBJECT REQUEST TO REPRINT POTUS ARTICLE "THE  
PRESIDENCY: ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES"  
BCODE PR014-09  
PP001 BE003-04 FG001 PU  
DCODF 4800 4620  
TION CUHOLL ORG 850903 C 850904  
CUAT18 RSD 850904 C 850904  
CUFIEL RSR 850904 FF A 850904  
CUHOLL ORG 851101 CONTINUING CORRESPONDENCE C 851106  
CUAT18 RSD 851104 C 851106  
CUFIEL RSS 851106 FF A 851106  
COMMENTS SEP 16 85 JACK BARLOW THANK YOU LETTER TO  
FRED FIELDING ATTACHED

601 \* END OF DOCUMENTS IN LIST - ENTER RETURN OR ANOTHER COMMAND.



**THE NEW  
FEDERALIST  
PAPERS**

December 2, 1985

J. Jackson Barlow  
Editor

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of \$250.00  
as payment for your article, "The Presidency: Roles  
and Responsibilities."

Thank you for your contribution to Public Research,  
Syndicated.

Sincerely,

Thomas B. Silver  
President

TBS:jp

Enclosure Check #3460

PUBLIC RESEARCH,  
SYNDICATED  
4650 Arrow Highway  
Suite D-7  
Montclair, CA 91763  
(714) 621-5831

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

*Collection Name*  
ROBERTS, JOHN: FILES

*Withdrawer*  
RB 8/3/2005  
W

*File Folder*  
JGR/ARTICLE ON THE PRESIDENCY, NATIONAL FORUM (7  
OF 7)

*FOIA*  
F05-139/01  
COOK

*Box Number*

6RW

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<i>DOC Document Type</i>	<i>No of</i>	<i>Doc Date</i>	<i>Restric-</i>
<i>NO Document Description</i>	<i>pages</i>		<i>tions</i>

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1	CHECK  PERSONAL CHECK	1	11/21/1985	B6	439
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

E.O. 13233

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.