

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library  
Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**WHORM Subject File Code: SP**  
(Speeches)

**Case file Number(s): 205764-213199**

**Box: 7**

---

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** WHORM: Subject File

**Archivist:** mjd

**OA/Box:**

**FOIA ID:**

**File Folder:** SP 205764 - 213199

**Date:** 12/30/2001

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	Robert Kimmitt to Charles Hill re Presidential Address in Dublin and Normandy, 1p	4/3/84	B1
2. Memo	Same as Item # 1, 1p	4/3/84	B1
3. Memo	Hill to Robert McFarlane re Presidential Speech in Dublin, 2p	3/26/84	B1
4. Schedule	Of the President (partial), 1p	3/1/84	B7c

### RESTRICTIONS

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

B-2 Release could 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 commercial 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-7a Release could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings [(b)(7)(A) of the FOIA].

B-7b Release would deprive an individual of the right to a fair trial or impartial adjudication [(b)(7)(B) of the FOIA].

B-7c Release could reasonably be expected to cause unwarranted invasion or privacy [(b)(7)(C) of the FOIA].

B-7d Release could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source [(b)(7)(D) of the FOIA].

B-7e Release would disclose techniques or procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions or would disclose guidelines which could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law [(b)(7)(E) of the FOIA].

B-7f Release could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual [(b)(7)(F) 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].

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

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

C.F.

205764

SP

NU019-60

FG011

FG066-12

WTS

March 12, 1984



84 MAR 12 P10: 23

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks to Young Leadership Conference of the UJA, March 13

Attached is the draft of the President's remarks with only a few suggested fixes:

- Page 9: "Helping to meet the rising Israeli demand for consumer goods" is the opposite of the advice we are giving the Israelis with respect to badly needed economic discipline. We have suggested an innocuous fix.
- Page 10: A punctuation suggestion.
- Page 11: Jordan has not recently faced Syrian "military... attacks," though its diplomats have faced terrorist attacks.

*Corey*

Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Draft Presidential Remarks

NSD #8401753

United States and Israel is so strong that we vote together more than nine times out of ten.

Since I took office, the U.S.-Israeli relationship has grown closer than ever before in three crucial ways.

First, the U.S.-Israeli strategic relationship has been elevated and formalized. This is the first time in Israel's history that this relationship has existed. The new American-Israeli Joint Political-Military Group is now meeting to decide how the U.S. and Israel can counter the threat that growing Soviet involvement in the Middle East poses to our mutual interests. Our cooperation adds to deterrence and improves the prospects for peace and security. The negotiations have been positive, and they are moving forward.

Second, we're negotiating to establish a Free Trade Area between the United States and Israel to launch a new era of closer economic relations between our countries. By substantially eliminating duties and non-tariff barriers between our nations, we will enable American producers to <sup>sell and compete</sup> ~~help meet the~~   
 ~~in Israel,~~   
 ~~rising Israeli demand for consumer goods, such as major~~   
 ~~(appliances and automobiles)~~ while providing Israeli manufacturers unimpeded access to the free world's largest market.

Third, the United States is now giving Israel military aid on a grant, not loan, basis. Since Prime Minister Shamir's visit last November, we have restructured our 1985 foreign aid package, and Israel will now receive economic aid totalling \$850 million and a military grant of some \$1.4 billion.

All in all, the friendship between Israel and the United States is closer and stronger today than ever before, and I intend to keep it that way.

In the Middle East as a whole, the United States has three aims. First, we must deter the Soviet threat. As the crossroad between three continents and the source of oil for much of the industrialized world, the Middle East is of enormous strategic importance. Were the Soviets to control the region, and they have expanded their influence there in a number of ways, notably by stationing 6,000 troops and advisors in Syria, the entire world would be vulnerable to economic blackmail. Their brutal war against the Afghan people continues with increasing ferocity. We must not allow the Soviets to dominate the region.

Second, we must prevent a widening of the conflict in the Persian Gulf, which could threaten the sea lanes carrying much of the free world's oil. It could also damage the infrastructure that pumps the oil out of the ground. We must not permit this to happen.

Third, we seek to go on promoting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. In response to the growth of Syrian power and the rise of the Iranian threat, we must help to protect moderate Arabs who seek peace from the radical pressures that have done such harm in Lebanon. Syria is trying to lead a radical effort to dominate the region through terrorism and intimidation aimed, in particular, at America's friends. One such friend, whom we continue to urge to negotiate with Israel, is King Hussein of Jordan.

✓ Today, Jordan is crucial to the peace process. For that very reason, Jordan, like Israel, is confronted by Syria and faces military threats and <sup>terrorist</sup> attacks. Since the security of Jordan is crucial to the security of the entire region, it is in America's strategic interest -- and I believe it is in Israel's strategic interest -- for us to help meet Jordan's legitimate needs for defense against the growing power of Syria and Iran.

We will make certain that Israel maintains its qualitative military edge, so our assistance to Jordan does not threaten Israel, but enhances the prospects for Mideast peace by reducing the dangers of the radical threat.

This is an historic moment in the Middle East. Syria must decide whether to allow Lebanon to regain control over its own destiny or condemn it to occupation. Syria forced the Lebanese government to renounce the May 17 agreement with Israel precisely because it was a good agreement. Now, those who have chosen this course will have to find other ways to secure the withdrawal of Israeli forces. Arab governments and the Palestinian Arabs must decide whether they will move, once-and-for-all, to reach peace with Israel through direct negotiations. And if the Arabs ever choose to negotiate, Israel must decide if she will take the risks necessary to attain the real security that comes only with genuine peace. I have no doubt that, given that choice, Israelis will once again have the courage to choose peace.

I am convinced that the initiative I presented on September 1, 1982, remains the best option for all the parties. It is squarely based on the Camp David framework and U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. It is time for the Arab world

~~NCI~~

RECEIVED 02 MAR 84 19

TO KIMMITT FROM TEICHER  
KIMMITT  
HILL, C

12/13/04

DOCDATE 02 MAR 84  
02 MAR 84  
06 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: MIDDLE EAST SPEECHES  
DARMAN REFERRAL

SUBJECT. PRES ADDRESS TO YOUNG LEADERSHIP OF UNITED JEWISH APPEAL ON MAR 13

ACTION. FOR SIGNATURE DUE 13 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION  
KIMMITT

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

OB E

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( DW )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	- 3/13	recd state memo		
Teicher	S 3/13	Appropriate Action		WM, RC
	< 3/14	Ob per Teicher		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE WH (C)

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1-2 LISTED ON THE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.



WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE APR -3 P 3 5

C

ah

MESSAGE NO. 594 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL PAGES

FROM ROBERT KINMITT, NSC

(NAME)

(EXTENSION)

(ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION

TO (AGENCY)

DELIVER TO:

DEPT/ROOM NO.

EXTENSION

STAT:

CHARLES HILL

EXEC SEC

5/5

DOD

COL STANFORD

EXEC SEC

3/5-5

REMARKS:

NSC 2503

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

# C

3 APR 1984 15 09

APR 15 1984

05

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF  
CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

*M-7A  
12/30/04*

MESSAGE NO. 594 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL PAGES \_\_\_\_\_

FROM ROBERT KIMMITT, NSC

(NAME)

(EXTENSION)

(ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION \_\_\_\_\_

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION:</u>
STATE	CHARLES HILL	EXEC SEC	
DOD	COL STANFORD	EXEC SEC	

REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: PETER <sup>Peter</sup> SOMMER/TYRUS <sup>me</sup> COBB

SUBJECT: Presidential Addresses in Dublin and Normandy

We have been working informally, mostly with State, on developing themes for the President's two major addresses in Europe. State has now officially forwarded suggested themes for the President's speech to the Irish Parliament (Tab II). Now that Bud -- in our memo commenting on Price's message to Deaver -- has blessed the general thrust for Dublin and Normandy, we should task State to begin drafting.

Doug <sup>DM</sup> McMinn concurs.RECOMMENDATION:That you <sup>sign</sup> the memo to Hill at Tab I.Approve   K   Disapprove           

## Attachments:

Tab I      Memo to Hill  
 Tab II     Suggested themes for Presidential Speech

cc: Steve Steiner  
 Bill Martin

DECLASSIFIED  
 White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997  
 By   KMN   NARA, Date   12/30/04  

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 3 LISTED ON THE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

CT  
1089

National Security Council  
The White House

8 MAR 2 9:41

System # I  
Package # 2503

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>L</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>		<u>→ D / COX</u> <sup>UB</sup>
Situation Room			

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

34 MAR 2 AIO: 24

1088  
u

National Security Council  
The White House

MAR 30 P 5:10

System # I

Package # 2503

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u></u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>lc</u>	<u></u>
John Poindexter	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
Wilma Hall	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
Bud McFarlane	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
Bob Kimmitt	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
NSC Secretariat	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
Situation Room	<u></u>	<u></u>	<u></u>
<u>Cobb</u>	<u>3</u>	<u></u>	<u>Redo</u>

I = Information   A = Action   R = Retain   D = Dispatch   N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS          Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

*Done  
 Peter Sommer April 2*

110

30th MAR 1966 Page 110



UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES

RECEIVED 27 MAR 84 08

TO MCFARLANE

FROM HILL, C

*Mar 21/50/04*

DOCDATE 26 MAR 84

KEYWORDS . ECONOMICS  
MEDIA

SUMMIT

SUBJECT. PROPOSED PRES ADDRESS IN DUBLIN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 29 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

~~MCMINN~~

~~ROBINSON~~

~~SMALL~~

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

*SOMMER*

COMMENTS

REF# 8408870

LOG 8401622

NSCIFID

( CL )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>Kimmitt</i>	X <i>3/31</i>	<i>for signature</i>		
<i>CSBB</i>	<i>3/31</i>	<i>For Redo</i>		
<i>Kimmitt</i>	X <i>4/2</i>	<i>for sig</i>	<i>4/3</i>	
	<i>CAPR 0 3 1984</i>	<i>Kimmitt sig</i>		<i>CO, PS, MC, SS, WAA</i>

DISPATCH *ed LDX* *APR 0 3 1984*  
*mqr 413*

W/ATTCH FILE *Wol* *4 (c)*



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

February 17, 1984 207761

1140

SP

PROOF

FG020

FG006-01

To: Craig Fuller

From: Thomas J. Collamore  
Special Assistant to the Secretary

Re: Presidential Speech Planning Schedule

The attached press release may be a useful addition to the Briefing for Asian and Pacific American Leaders on February 23.

Attachment

Speechwriters

CF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
**COMMERCE**  
**NEWS**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

MINORITY BUSINESS  
DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

MBDA 87-01

Contact: Hector deLeon (202) 377-1936

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

COMMERCE ADDS ASIAN PACIFIC  
ENTREPRENEURS TO "MINORITY"  
DEFINITION

Americans of Asian Pacific ancestry are now eligible to receive business development assistance from a Commerce Department agency that helps minority-owned enterprises, the department announced today.

Commerce's Minority Business Development Agency has previously defined the term "minority" according to an executive order listing eligible applicants as being of Black, Hispanic, Native American, Eskimo or Aleut origin.

The agency supports a nationwide network of assistance organizations that provide a range of management and technical help to minority businesses.

"While the executive order does not list persons from Southeast Asia, it does allow federal agencies to add to the list other groups considered 'socially or economically disadvantaged,'" said Commerce Deputy Secretary Clarence J. Brown. "We are guided by a congressional determination in the Small Business Act of 1980 that Asian Pacific Americans are socially disadvantaged."

#

1/20/84

EP

209370CA  
1130  
SP  
PR00701  
FG012  
PY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: March 2, 1984 Number: 186717CA Due By:     

Subject: Presidential Address to the National League of Cities--  
Briefing Paper from Treasury

	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
<b>ALL CABINET MEMBERS</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CEA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vice President	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CEQ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OSTP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Treasury	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Defense	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attorney General	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Baker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Deaver	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Darman (For WH Staffing)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jenkins	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HHS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mc Farlane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Svahn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Counsellor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CIA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
UN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USTR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCCT/Gunn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GSA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCEA/Porter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EPA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCFA/	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OPM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCHR/Simmons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
VA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCLP/Uhlmann	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SBA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCMA/Bledsoe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			CCNRE/	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Background for President's meeting with  
National League of Cities.

RETURN TO:

Craig L. Fuller  
Assistant to the President  
for Cabinet Affairs  
456-2823

Katherine Anderson     Don Clarey  
 Tom Gibson                 Larry Herbolsheimer  
Associate Director  
Office of Cabinet Affairs  
456-2800

Biff -  
please  
log in.

Thanks - marci



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY


WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

March 1, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE CRAIG FULLER  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR CABINET AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Presidential Address to the National League of  
Cities

Attached is a briefing paper on the targeted jobs tax credit and a copy of Treasury's fact sheet on enterprise zone tax incentives in connection with the President's address before the National League of Cities on Monday, March 5.

  
David L. Chew  
Executive Assistant  
To the Secretary

Attachments



## TARGETED JOBS TAX CREDIT

The Administration has proposed in the Budget to extend one year the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC) for eligible individuals hired before 1986. The TJTC provides employers with a tax credit of up to \$3,000 in the first year and \$1,500 in the second year for hiring certain hard-to-employ individuals, including economically-disadvantaged youth and welfare recipients. In addition, a credit of up to \$2,550 is available to employers who hire economically-disadvantaged youth during the summer months.

The main issue surrounding the TJTC is the length of its extension.

- o The Administration has proposed only a one-year extension because we are still evaluating its usefulness. The credit has been available for five years now and has been changed twice. More information is needed to determine whether these changes have improved the credit.
- o Few eligible individuals and employers are participating in the program. Only 350,000, or roughly 15 percent of the eligible workers were certified for the credit last year. Thus, over 85 percent of the eligible individuals found employment without the benefit of the credit.
- o Although the TJTC program may increase the employment of eligible individuals, this Federal subsidy program is unlikely to increase total employment in the economy. Employers will hire subsidized workers in lieu of non-subsidized workers. This substitution effect will increase unemployment of other low-skill (but ineligible) workers.
- o A one-year extension will cost \$900 million between FY 1985 and FY 1987.

## TREASURY FACT SHEET

### Enterprise Zone Tax Incentives

Under current law the only tax incentive targeted at economically distressed areas is a relaxation of certain limitations on industrial development bonds, a portion of the proceeds of which finance residences in such areas. New incentives are needed to stimulate the economic improvement of distressed areas through private initiatives.

- ° The Administration proposes that, beginning in 1984, up to 25 small areas per year (not to exceed 75 in total) be designated as "enterprise zones" within which Federal tax and other incentives for private economic activity will be provided.
- ° State and local governments will nominate small areas that meet criteria of economic distress.
- ° Nominations will include a detailed description of the area, specified commitments of State and local tax and regulatory relief, and proposed arrangements for eliciting community participation in development of the zone.
- ° The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will screen nominations and select up to 25 zones each year using criteria that emphasize (1) the degree of distress in the area, (2) the strength of State and local government commitments relative to their fiscal abilities, and (3) the likelihood of stimulation of new economic activity.
- ° Enterprise zones will be granted a number of tax incentives:
  - Employers will be allowed each year a nonrefundable tax credit equal to 10 percent of the amount their qualified payroll exceeds their qualified payroll in the year before zone designation.
  - Employers will be allowed a separate credit equal to 50 percent of the wages (for the first three years of employment) of disadvantaged



individuals predominantly employed in the zone. The credit will decline by 10 percentage points in the fourth year and each year thereafter, expiring after 7 years.

- Employees of zone firms will be allowed a tax credit equal to 5 percent of the first \$10,500 of wages earned in the zone.
- The regular investment tax credit will be increased by 50 percent for investment in machinery and equipment used in zones.
- A 10 percent investment tax credit will be allowed for new construction and reconstruction of buildings within zones.
- Capital gains on business property in the zones and on interests in businesses predominantly active in the zones will be exempt from tax.
- Small issue tax-exempt bonds used to finance enterprise zone investments will continue to be permitted beyond the 1986 sunset date applicable for small-issue bonds elsewhere.
- All enterprise zone tax incentives will remain fully in effect for the life of the zone, phasing out over the succeeding 4 years.
- o The Federal tax incentives and designation criteria for enterprise zones will encourage the location and expansion of economic activity in areas of economic distress. The tax incentives will stimulate in a balanced manner both job creation and new capital investments, beyond levels existing at the time the zones are designated.
- o For zones designated in 1984, the tax incentives will be effective January 1, 1985.

February 1, 1984



209604

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

JV

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

W/S

FOR

THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1984 -

SP  
PROOF  
WE  
HU016

EVENT: ADDRESS AMERICAN LEGION WOMEN'S AUXILIARY AWARENESS ASSEMBLY

THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION

Remarks

WEATHER

Mostly Sunny  
Upper 30's

DRESS

Men's Business Suit

ADVANCE

KUHN, JAMES  
HART, STEPHEN  
[REDACTED]  
VINZANT, FRANK  
DRENNAN, MAJ. BILL

STAFF  
PRESS  
USSS  
WHCA  
MILITARY AIDE

CONTACT

Presidential Advance Office: 202/456-7565  
HENKEL, WILLIAM  
CAMACHO, KELLI

02/29/84 2:00 p.m.

---

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS

10:35 a.m. Proceed to motorcade for boarding.

---

10:40 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs the Oval Office en route the South Lawn for motorcade boarding.

10:45 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs The White House en route the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Drive Time: 10 mins.

---

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS

Lead

Spare

L. Speakes  
D. Fischer

Limo

THE PRESIDENT  
J. Baker

Follow-up

Control

M. Deaver  
Mil. Aide  
Dr. D. Ruge

Support

Ofcl. Photographer  
Medic

WHCA

Staff I

F. Whittlesey  
M. Weinberg

Staff II

Press Van I

Press Van II

Ambulance

Tail

---

10:55 a.m. THE PRESIDENT arrives Washington Hilton Hotel and proceeds to holding room.

Met by: William Edwards, Jr., New General  
Manager, Washington Hilton Hotel.

02/29/84 2:00 p.m.

See Tab A for diagram.

CLOSED PRESS COVERAGE

Met outside holding room by:

Mrs. Anna Gear, National President,  
American Legion Women's Auxiliary.

Mrs. Helen Adams, National Vice-president,  
American Legion Women's Auxiliary.

Mrs. Miriam Junge, National Secretary,  
American Legion Women's Auxiliary.

11:00 a.m. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mrs. Gear and Mrs. Adams,  
depart holding room en route off-stage announcement area.

See Tab B for diagram.

Announcement (off-stage)

11:05 a.m. THE PRESIDENT proceeds to dais and is seated.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

See Tab C for dais diagram.

Introduction by: Mrs. Anna Gear.

11:10 a.m. THE PRESIDENT proceeds to dais and makes remarks.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

11:25 a.m. THE PRESIDENT concludes remarks and steps back from  
podium.

Mrs. Gear proceeds to podium and presents  
a commemorative plate of the organization  
to THE PRESIDENT.

11:30 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs dais en route motorcade for  
boarding.

Refer to Tab A for diagram.

---

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS

Proceed to motorcade and board.

---

11:35 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs Washington Hilton Hotel en route  
The White House.

Drive Time: 10 mins.

---

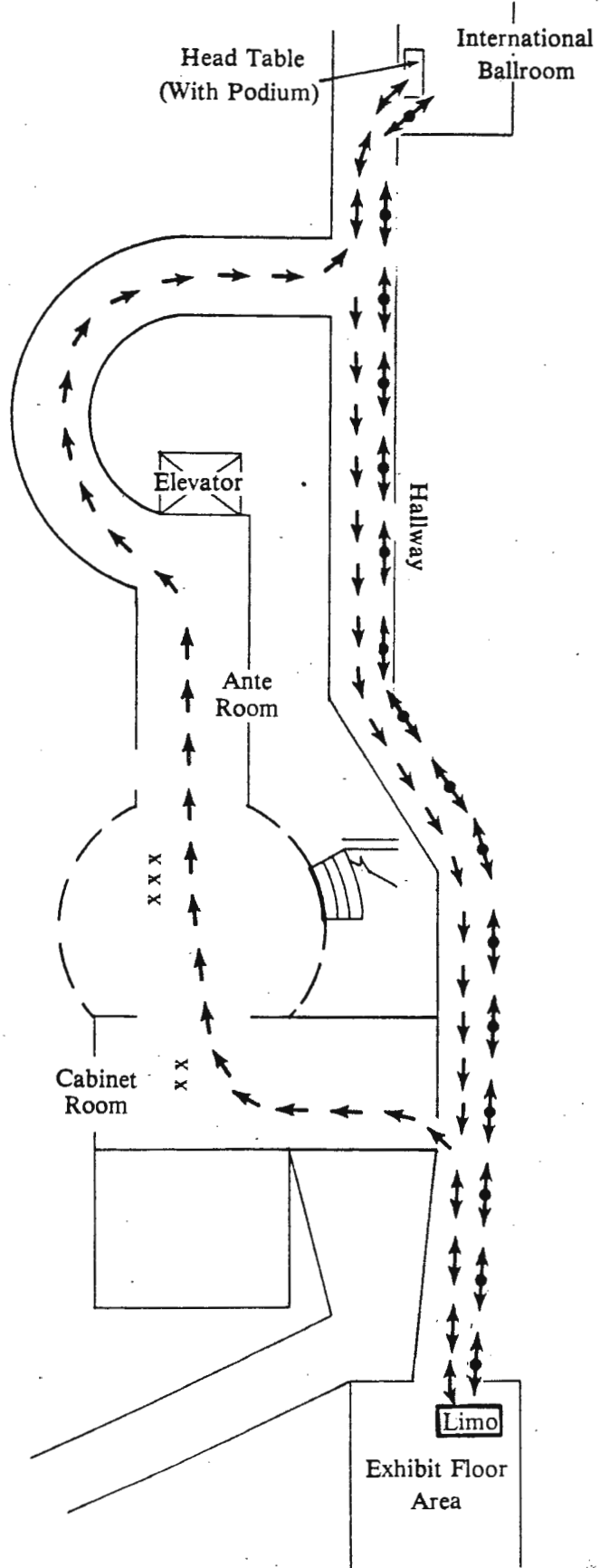
MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS

Same as on arrival.

---

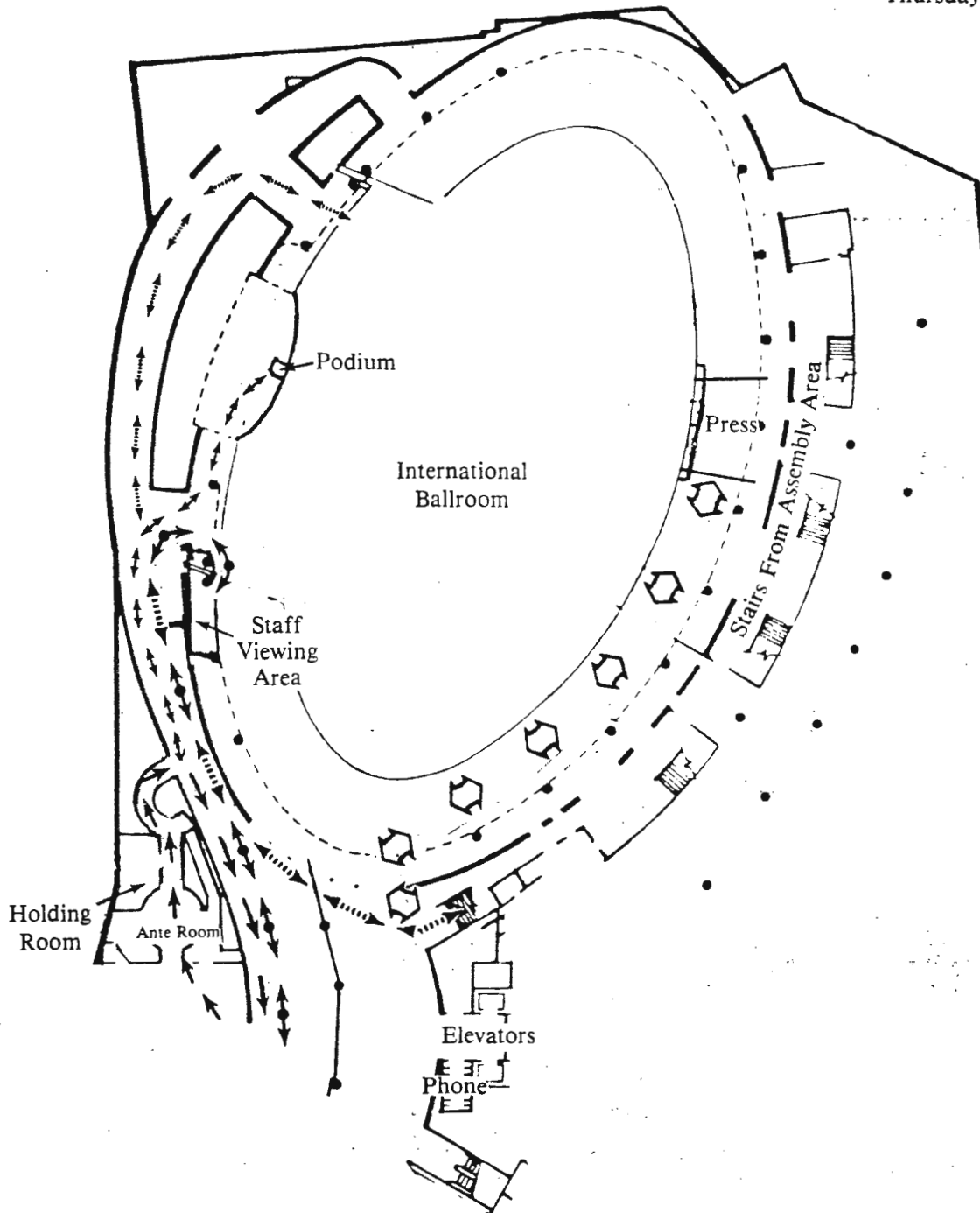
11:45 a.m. THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House and proceeds to  
the Oval Office.

TAB A  
 AMERICAN LEGION  
 WOMEN'S AUXILIARY  
 Washington Hilton Hotel  
 Arrival/Departure Diagram  
 Thursday, March 1, 1984



**KEY:**

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS/STAFF
- X GREETERS



KEY:	
	THE PRESIDENT
	GUESTS/STAFF
	PRESS POOL
	PRESS



AMERICAN LEGION WOMEN'S AUXILIARY  
WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL

THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1984

DAIS ARRANGEMENT

Mrs. Evelyn Sheldon

Mrs. Linda Newsome

Mrs. Ordean Couvillon

Mrs. Barbara Walleth

Mrs. Margaret Sappenfield

Mrs. Miriam Junge

A

U

D

I

PODIUM

Mrs. Anna Gear

THE PRESIDENT

Mrs. Helen Adams

Mrs. Dorothy Volkers

Mrs. Dorothy Boam

Mrs. Adene Steffen

E

N

C

E

210658

4620

SP

FB352

PU

BE00304

HU01360

JV

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 6, 1984

Dear Lou:

The attached is from my remarks to the Holocaust Ceremony in 1981. In it I tell the story of the Nazi death camps film the way I always have. I guess you missed this event -- or is it just that we all make mistakes.

Best regards,

Ron

Mr. Lou Cannon  
The Washington Post  
1150 15th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20071

Comments hand delivered to Mr. Cannon in Mr. Darrman's office on 3-8-84

840308

April 30, 1981

EXCERPTS FROM  
REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY

The East Room

I'm horrified today when I know that in here, that there are actually people now trying to say that the Holocaust was invented, that it never happened, that there weren't six million people whose lives were taken cruelly and needlessly in that event, that all of this is propaganda. Well, the old cliché that a picture is worth a thousand words. In World War II, not only do we have the survivors today to tell us first-hand, but in World War II, I was in the military and assigned to a post where every week, we obtained from every branch of the service all over the world the combat film that was taken by every branch. And we edited this into a secret report for the general staff. We had access to and saw that secret report. And I remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps and had entered those camps. And you saw, unretouched -- and no way that it could have ever been rehearsed -- what they saw -- the horror they saw. I felt pride when, in one of those camps, there was a nearby town, and the people were ordered to come and look at what had been going on, and to see them. And the reaction of horror on their faces was the greatest proof that they had not been conscious of what was happening so near to them.

SS THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
1984 MAR -7 AM 10: 21

**TO:** Dick Darman  
**FROM:** **KATHY OSBORNE**  
**Personal Secretary**  
**to the President**  
**DATE:** 3-7-84

Jim Baker asked me to  
prepare this on the plane  
yesterday. He wants the  
excerpts and the copy of  
Lou's column to accompany  
the letter.

OK/SS



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Dear Jon -

The attached is from  
my ~~speech~~<sup>remarks</sup> to the Holocaust  
Ceremony ~~held~~ in 1981. In it I tell  
~~relate~~ the story of the  
Nazi death camps from the  
way I always ~~to~~ have.

I guess you missed this  
~~step~~<sup>event</sup> - or is it just that we  
all make mistakes.

Best regards,

R.R.



# Dramatic Account About Film of Nazi Death Camps Questioned

When Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir visited the White House last Nov. 29, he was impressed by a previously undisclosed remembrance of President Reagan about the Nazi extermination of Jews during World War II.

Repeating it to his Israeli Cabinet five days later, Shamir said Reagan had told him that he had served as a photographer in a U.S. Army unit assigned to film Nazi death camps.

Shamir said Reagan also informed him that he had saved a copy of the film because he believed that, in time, people would question what had happened. Many years later, as Shamir recalled being told, Reagan was asked by a member of his family whether the Holocaust occurred.

"That moment I thought," Shamir quoted Reagan as saying, "this is the time for which I saved the film, and I showed it to a group of people who couldn't believe their eyes. From then on, I was concerned for the Jewish people."

Shamir's account appeared Dec. 6 in the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*. It was confirmed last week to Edward Walsh, The Washing-

ton Post correspondent in Jerusalem, by Israeli Cabinet secretary Dan Meridor.

On Feb. 15, famed Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal met with Reagan in the White House and heard a similar story. Wiesenthal told Washington Post reporter Joanne Omang that he and Reagan had held "a very nice meeting," during which the president related "some of his personal remarks from the end of the war."

Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, also was present. He told Omang that Reagan said he was "a member of the Signal Corps taking pictures of the camps" and that he had saved a copy of the film and shown it a year later to a person who thought the reports were exaggerated.

"He said he was shocked that there would be a need to do that only one year after the war," Hier said.

There is no reason to doubt Reagan's concern about the plight of the Jews in World War II. He has spoken out consistently about the horrors of the Holocaust and has supported Israel since the founding of the Jewish state.

But it is equally indisputable that Reagan never filmed a Nazi death camp. Re-

gan, who had a commission in the cavalry reserve, was called to active duty in April, 1942. After brief service at Fort Mason in San Francisco, he spent the war with the First Motion Picture Unit of the Army Air Corps, making training films in Hollywood and living at home.

Over the years, other dramatic accounts related by Reagan have been questioned. The best known is a story of a pilot who

---

## Lou Cannon

---

## REAGAN & CO.

---

rode down in his B17 bomber with a wounded gunner rather than bail out and save himself.

But a more curious story, which Reagan used to tell about himself, is of a high school football game between his Dixon, Ill., team and rival Mendota. Reagan's account is that Mendota accused Dixon of committing an infraction and that the referee asked Reagan if he had committed it.

"I told the truth, the penalty was ruled

and Dixon lost the game," Reagan used to say. There are no other known accounts of this incident. The only game that Dixon lost to Mendota when Reagan played was by a 24-0 score.

The White House, ever sensitive to suggestions that Reagan embellishes, did not react lightly to queries about the Shamir and Wiesenthal accounts. Robert Sims, a normally mild-mannered deputy press secretary, said, "There's no story here—the only story is that The Post is out to make Reagan look bad."

Subsequently, White House chief of staff James A. Baker III asked Reagan about the meetings with Shamir and Wiesenthal. Reagan told him that he "never left the country" during World War II and "never told anyone that he did."

The president's account was that he had seen a film of the death camps while working on a training movie, remembered that World War I atrocities had been questioned and "didn't want atrocities against the Jewish people to be forgotten." So he kept a copy of the film and, when "a Jewish friend" questioned him about it a year or two later, showed him the copy.

Sims said that the recollections of Sec-

retary of State George P. Shultz, who was present at the Shamir meeting, and Marshall Breger, an administration official who attended the Wiesenthal meeting, support the president.

How could Shamir and Wiesenthal, fluent in English and known for their grasp of detail, have misunderstood so completely what Reagan said to them in two different meetings more than two months apart? What Jew would doubt the existence of the Holocaust?

The story in any of its versions was new to this reporter, who, in the course of preparing two biographies and interviewing many persons who knew Reagan during his World War II days, had never heard it. There is no reference to it in any other Reagan biography nor in his autobiography. It is a story that no one seems to have heard.

\*\*\*

**Reaganism of the Week:** Speaking to the National Alliance of Senior Citizens last Wednesday, Reagan said: "You know, I've been around awhile myself . . . Just to show you how youthful I am, I intend to campaign in all 13 states."

For Immediate Release

*EXCERPT FROM*

April 30, 1981

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY

The East Room

10:22 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I feel a little unnecessary because I don't know that anyone could say anything that would add to those words that we just heard. It is a particular pleasure for me to be here with you today. This meeting, this ceremony has meaning not only for people of the Jewish faith, those who have been persecuted, but for all who want to prevent another Holocaust.

Jeremiah wrote of the days when the Jews were carried off to Babylon and Jerusalem was destroyed. He said, "Jerusalem weeps in the night and tears run down her cheeks." Today, yes, we remember the suffering and the death of Jews and of all those others who were persecuted in World War II. We try to recapture the horror of millions sent to gas chambers and crematoria. And we commemorate the days of April in 1945 when American and Allied troops liberated the Nazi death camps. The tragedy that ended 36 years ago was still raw in our memories because it took place, as we've been told, in our life time. We share the wounds of the survivors. We recall the pain only because we must never permit it to come again. And, yet, today, in spite of that experience, as an entire generation has grown to adulthood, who never knew the days of World War II, and we remember ourselves, when we were younger, how distant history seemed, anything that came before our time -- and so the signs do exist, the ugly graffiti, the act of violence, the act of terrorism here and there, scattered throughout the world and not quite large enough in dimension for us to rally as we once did in that war.

I'm horrified today when I know that in here, that there are actually people now trying to say that the Holocaust was invented, that it never happened, that there weren't six million people whose lives were taken cruelly and needlessly in that event, that all of this is propaganda. Well, the old cliché that a picture is worth a thousand words. In World War II, not only do we have the survivors today to tell us first-hand, but in World War II, I was in the military and assigned to a post where every week, we obtained from every branch of the service all over the world the combat film that was taken by every branch. And we edited this into a secret report for the general staff. We had access to and saw that secret report. And I

MORE



remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps and had entered those camps. And you saw, unretouched -- and no way that it could have ever been rehearsed -- what they saw -- the horror they saw. I felt the pride when, in one of those camps, there was a nearby town, and the people were ordered to come and look at what had been going on, and to see them. And the reaction of horror on their faces was the greatest proof that they had not been conscious of what was happening so near to them.]

And that film still, I know, must exist in the military, and there it is, living motion pictures, for anyone to see, and I won't go into the horrible scenes that we saw. But, it remains with me as confirmation of our right to rekindle these memories, because we need always guard against that kind of tyranny and inhumanity. Our spirit is strengthened by remembering and our hope is in our strength. There is an American poem that says humanity, with all its fears and all its hopes, depends on us.

As a matter of fact, it was the Pope at the end of World War II when the world was so devastated, and yet, we alone remained so strong, who said, "America has a genius for great and unselfish deeds, and into the hands of America, God has placed an afflicted mankind." I think that that was a trust given to us that we should never betray. It is this responsibility as free people that we face today. It's this commitment among free people that we celebrate.

The hope of a ceremony such as this is that even a tortured past holds promise if we learn its lessons. According to Isaiah, there will be a new heaven and a new earth and the voice of weeping will be heard no more. Together, with the help of God, we can bear the burden of our nightmare. It is up to us to ensure that we never live it again.

Theodore Roosevelt said that the presidency was a bully pulpit. Well, I, for one, intend that this bully pulpit shall be used on every occasion, where it is appropriate, to point a finger of shame at even the ugliness of graffiti, and certainly wherever it takes place in the world, the act of violence or terrorism, and that even at the negotiating table, never shall it be forgotten for a moment that wherever it is taking place in the world, the persecution of people, for whatever reason -- persecution of people for their religious belief -- that is a matter to be on that negotiating table or the United States does not belong at that table. (Applause.)

END

10:30 A.M. EST



copies sent to Anne Higgins 4-29-85

Dg



2122497D  
CS 1150  
SP  
NE 306-01  
FOO  
08 11

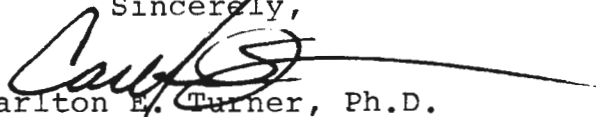
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
March 12, 1984

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Attached you will find a copy of presidential remarks regarding drug abuse.

We are pleased with the recent gains in controlling opium production in Pakistan. We hope conditions are such that you can follow up on President Zia's offer to Senators Hawkins, Adbnor and myself on December 4, 1983, to reduce production in the Dir Valley.

Best regards,

Sincerely,  
  
Carlton E. Turner, Ph.D.  
Special Assistant to the President  
for Drug Abuse Policy

The Honorable Dean Hinton  
United States Ambassador  
to Pakistan  
United States Embassy  
Islamabab  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20420



bcc: Mr. Jon Thomas  
INM-State Department

Mr. John Herrington  
Presidential Personnel

Mr. Charles Greenleaf  
ADI

**WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

*RR - done SP*

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

Name of Correspondent: Burt Neuborne

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

Subject: Written to Larry Speakes re: the current administration's guidelines as to when the President's "on the record" speeches and activities are closed to the press

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>84103119</u>	<u>C8410608</u> <i>JV</i>
<u>WAT 09</u>	<u>R</u> <u>84103120</u>	<u>C84106108</u> <i>JV</i>
<u>CAHIEZ</u>	<u>I</u> <u>84106108</u>	<u>C84106108</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

**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: Mar 19 84 Larry Speakes memo to JFF

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.

## RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

### CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: \_\_\_\_\_ Media: L Individual Codes: 4640 \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Subject Code: SP \_\_\_\_\_ Secondary Subject Codes: PR 016.  
B9 003 D4  
JR 007. \_\_\_\_\_

### PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

**SIGNATURE CODES:**

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence
  - n - 0 - Unknown
  - n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
  - n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
  - n - 3 - Ron
  - n - 4 - Dutch
  - n - 5 - Ron Reagan
  - n - 6 - Ronald
  - n - 7 - Ronnie
  
- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
  - n - 0 - Unknown
  - n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
  - n - 2 - Nancy
  - n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan
  
- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
  - n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
  - n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

**MEDIA CODES:**

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study




THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR DIANNA G. HOLLAND

FROM: PETER J. RUSTHOVEN 

SUBJECT: Letter from Burt Neuborne of the  
American Civil Liberties Union on  
White House Press Coverage Rules

Mr. Neuborne, who is Legal Director for the ACLU, wrote to Larry Speakes complaining that some of the President's "on the record" activities were not open to press coverage, and asking what "guidelines" the White House had about which Presidential activities would be open to the press. Speakes forwarded the letter to our office, and it was staffed to me for direct response.

The short answer to Neuborne's question is that there are no real "guidelines" about when particular events will be open for coverage (though there are some standard practices about what kind of coverage -- e.g., what sort of "pool" -- will be permitted in particular locations, such as the Cabinet Room or the Oval Office, if in fact a given event is to be open to the press). Instead, decisions about whether events will be open are made on a case-by-case basis, with a variety of factors taken into account. The White House has always treated such matters as being entirely within its discretion.

My inclination has been not to respond to this ACLU inquiry, since to do so would put us "on record" about this matter in a fashion that the ACLU might wish to use as part of an effort to claim there is some kind of "legal right" to cover the President's activities. (Similar kinds of noises were made, for example, in the CNN litigation.) I have discussed this with Dick Hauser, who tends to agree; also, Peter Roussel in the Press Office advises that there has been no follow-up from Neuborne on this matter.

Should Neuborne make any additional inquiry about this matter, Roussel will call it to my attention. Unless and until that occurs, however, this letter should simply be filed. Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1984

FOR FRED FIELDING

FROM: Larry Speakes

Could you take a look at this  
and let me know what action  
you take on it?

Thank you.

1984 MAR 19 PM 5:39



AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

National Headquarters  
132 West 43 Street  
New York, NY 10036  
(212) 944 9800

Norman Dorsen  
PRESIDENT

Ira Glasser  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Burt Neuborne  
LEGAL DIRECTOR

March 12, 1984

212845 *uu*

Mr. Larry Speakes  
Press Secretary  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Speakes:

I was somewhat puzzled by a V.P.I. wirestory in Saturday's New York Times which reported that President Reagan had declined to permit press coverage of his speech to Girl Scout leaders in honor of the organization's 72nd birthday. The report noted that it was the third consecutive day that the White House Press Corps had been barred from covering the President's "on the record" activities.

Whatever might have led the President to bar press coverage of the invasion of Grenada, I do not understand the rationale for barring press coverage of an "on the record" Presidential speech to Girl Scout leaders.

Does the current administration have guidelines as to when the President's "on the record" speeches and activities are to be closed to the press? Who decides whether press coverage is permitted? What was the basis for banning the press from the Girl Scout speech? I ask you these questions because a policy of closing certain "on the record" Presidential events to press coverage smacks of managed news and sets a terrible precedent. I hope that your heavy workload will permit you to respond.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Burt Neuborne", is written over the typed name.

Burt Neuborne  
Legal Director

BN:itm



MEMORANDUM

2024

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 20, 1984

213045  
SP

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: DONALD R. FORTIER *Don*

SUBJECT: NSC Comments on Revised Outline of Foreign Policy Speech

Attached is a joint reply dealing with the revised speech outline. I think these points are all consonant with Bud's thinking, particularly the need to say more on the theme of terrorism. Do you feel we should copy others on Dick's distribution list?

Attachments

- Tab I Kimmitt/Fortier to Darman
- Tab II Revised speech text, RGD/NSC -- 3/19/84

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bok*  
DONALD R. FORTIER *DF*

SUBJECT: Presidential Speech Outline

The revised speech outline is really good. The reorganization into four "challenges" gives the speech broader scope and a more "Presidential" quality. Economic issues are also thoughtfully incorporated, and in a way that should earn some foreign policy credit for the Administration's prime achievement at home -- restored economic growth. (The broader scope comes at a price, of course: increased length will mean extra pressure to discuss most issues superficially. We'll have to review this problem when we see a full draft.)

Our strongest reservation is that in the transition from "goals" and "principles" to the "challenges" ahead, the current outline gives less emphasis to the restoration of American strength -- one of our most fundamental achievements and a precondition for a successful foreign policy now and in the years ahead. Without seeming narrowly partisan, we need -- at the outset -- to describe the situation we faced at the end of the 70s, and the progress we have made since then, stressing that this is not just a matter of big military budgets but also steadiness of leadership, clarity of goals, and so forth. Focussing on the "restoration" theme also permits us to make a telling argument against our critics: namely, that they want to pull back from this rebuilding just as it is beginning to take effect. (There may be a useful comparison here to the domestic recovery, which has been much stronger than doubters expected, and which our critics have tried to cut short.)

I assume that section three is intended to make many of these same points, but we will want to take special care to ensure that the force of the overall argument is not lost in a list of examples.

A small suggestion: none of the drafts so far has given enough attention to southern Africa, which many of the media are calling

the Administration's greatest success. It fits the theme of the speech well -- for it is obviously work still in progress. As a case of mediation, it also demonstrates that we know how to attain our goals without militarizing all our means.

It would also be useful to retain the original outline's emphasis on positive trends in the expansion of democracies -- since the conditions that support these trends are those we have self-consciously sought to foster. The theme of promoting and defending democracies is a positive one to which many of our current initiatives can be related. Some calm but serious discussion of the problem of state-supported terrorism -- a problem that has acute implications for democratic societies -- is also worth adding.

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES FOR THE '80sI. SHARED GOALS -- AMERICAN IDEALISM

- (1) Americans of all kinds share two goals for foreign policy:
  - (a) a safer world;
  - (b) a world in which individual rights can be respected and precious values may flourish.
- (2) These are at the heart of America's idealism.
- (3) But stated abstractly, these goals are not exclusively American. They are shared by people all over the world.
- (4) Tragically, a world in which these fundamental goals are so widely shared is nonetheless a troubled world: Though we and our allies enjoy peace and prosperity,
  - o many of our citizens fear super-power conflict and the horrible threat of nuclear war;
  - o around the world, terrorists threaten innocent people and civilized values; and
  - o in developing countries, orderly progress is threatened by violent revolution and totalitarianism.
- (5) Obviously, the fact that abstract goals may be widely shared is hardly enough to assure their achievement. What matters are the practical means by which they are pursued.

II. PRACTICAL MEANS -- AMERICAN REALISM

- (6) In pursuing our idealistic objectives, we are guided by these practical principles:
  - (a) Realism. Idealistic ends can only be achieved through realistic means.
  - (b) Intelligence. Policies can only be effective if the information on which they are based is sound.
  - (c) Strength. Weakness is inescapably destabilizing. Strength is a prerequisite for security, effective negotiation, democracy, stability, and peace.
  - (d) Economic Growth. Neither strength nor stability can be achieved and sustained without it.
  - (e) Non-aggression. We have no territorial ambitions. Our strength is to assure deterrence and to secure our interests if deterrence fails.
  - (f) Shared Responsibility with Allies. The protection of freedom is a heavy responsibility -- that can be satisfactorily met only if the burden is shared.
  - (g) Dialogue with Adversaries. Though we may oppose the values and policies of our adversaries, we must always be willing to resolve our differences by peaceful means.
  - (h) Bipartisanship at Home. In our two-party democracy, no foreign policy can be effectively managed or sustained without bipartisan support at home.

III. RESTORED STRENGTH -- AMERICAN RENEWAL

- (7) For the past three years, we have been steadily rebuilding our capacity to advance our foreign policy goals. We have done so, first, by renewed attention to these practical principles.
- [Cite a statistic or example for each of (a) - (h) above -- i.e., intelligence build-up, defense build-up, economic renewal, strengthened alliance, etc.]

IV. REMAINING CHALLENGES -- AMERICAN AGENDA

- (8) But while much has been accomplished to strengthen the basis for U.S. foreign policy, much remains to be done -- building on our renewed and strengthened base. We might usefully frame our continuing agenda in relation to four great challenges:

(A) CHALLENGE #1:

- (9) We must reduce the risk of nuclear war -- and reduce the levels of nuclear armaments (in a way that also reduces the risk they will ever be used).
- [Cite elements of our policy -- and associated logic.]
- [Note progress to date -- highlighting bi-partisanship represented by Scowcroft Commission.]
- [Note proposals by critics -- who appear to share our goals, but whose chosen means don't meet the tests of practicality.]
- [Cite additional related elements: hotline-type risk reduction; R&D on strategic defense for long-term; MBFR; strengthening the non-proliferation regime -- e.g. China/IAEA.]

(B) CHALLENGE #2:

- (10) We must strengthen the basis for stability in troubled and strategically sensitive regions.
- Nuclear arms control alone cannot guarantee safety or security; nor can it alone provide a basis for constructive regional development.
- [Cite adverse pattern of rising regional strife and inflammatory terrorism in the '70s.]
- In general, effective regional stabilization requires a mix of security assistance, economic assistance, and diplomatic mediation -- an integrated approach.
- [Cite excellent example of policy logic: work of bi-partisan Kissinger Commission re Central America (Elaborate.)]
- [Integrated approach similarly required for Middle East. (Explain.)]
- Because effective approaches to regional problem-solving must involve an integrated mix on a sustained basis, it is essential that Congress give full -- not piecemeal -- support to such approaches. Indeed, where we have foundered in regional stabilization it has been exactly because the Congress has failed to provide such support. (Note: "I'll return to this point when I discuss the fourth challenge in a few moments.")

(C) CHALLENGE #3:

- (11) We must expand opportunities for economic development and personal freedom.
  - America's idealistic vision seeks not merely a safer world, but also a better world.
- (12) We are strengthening the basis for expansion of economic opportunity.
  - [Rebuilding the U.S. economy -- and, in doing so, helping lead the world toward recovery.]
  - [Resisting protectionist pressures -- building on Williamsburg summit. Cite and defend wine and domestic content examples. Look toward London summit, new round of trade and services negotiations; and international framework that opens markets for our exports of goods and services, allows freer flow of capital, and more growth/efficiency/jobs for all.]
  - [Expanding trade and investment relationships -- cite CBI; make more of "Pacific Basin" opportunities.]
  - [Assuring sufficient international liquidity -- cite, and note importance of, success with and through IMF funding.]
  - [Helping less developed countries grow -- discuss in general; note U.S. trade with LDCs.]
- (13) We are also strengthening the basis for an expansion of democratic values.
  - [Elaborate.]
  - [Return to Central American example. Remind that peace and security are preconditions to both economic development and development of democratic institutions -- and that policy requires an integrated mix (as discussed above). Use this as transition to challenge #4.]

(D) CHALLENGE #4:

- (14) We must restore bi-partisan consensus in support of U.S. foreign policy.
  - [Repeat points made above re obvious importance of this -- and regrettable cases of Congressional wavering in Central America and Middle East.]
- (15) [Argue the problem is deeper than just these two cases might suggest. The more basic problem is: In this "post-Vietnam era, Congress has not yet developed capacities for coherent, responsive, and responsible action to go with the new foreign policy powers it has taken unto itself.]
  - [Cite increased powers Congress has assumed since Vietnam.]
  - [Note that this means that bi-partisan consensus-building is more important than ever.
  - Indeed, it is now an essential responsibility of leadership -- not only Executive leadership, but also Congressional.

- (16) We have, in some areas, demonstrated the capacity for such joint leadership. But when it comes to integrated programs to stabilize troubled regions, many in the Congress seem to act as if they were still in the troubled Vietnam era -- as if their policy responsibility were simply to be vocal critics, not responsible partners in the development of positive programs to solve real problems.
- (17) Much was learned from Vietnam -- ranging from increased appreciation of the need for careful discrimination in the projection of U.S. force to increased appreciation of the need for domestic political support for any such military element of policy. But clearly force projection and/or military assistance must, in certain cases, be available tools in the foreign policy mix. And equally clearly, the Congress is, at best, uncomfortable with either the military element of foreign policy or with the new responsibility for this element that it has taken unto itself.
- (18) If the Congress intends to keep this new responsibility, there must be additional adaptation in this "post-Vietnam era."
- o Presidents must now recognize Congress as a more significant partner in foreign policy-making -- and must therefore, as we have, seek new means to reach bi-partisan Executive-Legislative consensus.
  - o But equally important: Congressmen must realize that they, too, are partners -- who must share responsibility for more than just their criticism and their words. They, too, must demonstrate a capacity for consensus-building that can lead to effective, positive action.

V. CONCLUSION

- (19) We have sufficient consensus on the abstract goals of foreign policy; and we've made substantial progress in the development of concrete and realistic means to achieve those goals.
- (20) But while there is consensus on goals and progress on means, there is still a Congressional reluctance to assume the full responsibility for positive (not negative) means that must go with newly claimed Congressional powers. It is this responsibility for the development of effective and affirmative means that must be the focus of bi-partisan consensus-building.
- (21) That is the challenge for responsible leadership in the post-Vietnam era -- for however sound our policy prescriptions, they will come to naught if they cannot be implemented and sustained.
- (22) We've set some excellent examples with the bi-partisan Scowcroft Commission, the bi-partisan support for IMF funding, and the bi-partisan work of the Kissinger Commission. But clearly the pattern of bi-partisan consensus-building must be extended -- to build on the foundations we've laid, and to sustain a set of policies that can, both realistically and idealistically, meet the challenges of the '80s.

National Security Council  
The White House

System # I

Package # 2024

8 MAR 20 P 2:04

SEQUENCE TO HAS SEEN DISPOSITION

Bill Martin	<u>✓</u>		
Bob Kimmitt	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>D/Hand</u>
Situation Room		<u>MAR 8 1984</u>	<u>carry to</u>
Tom Shull			<u>Donnan</u>
			<u>ASIA</u>

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

(Date/Time)



84 MAR 20 P 2: 23

National Security Council  
The White House

System # \_\_\_\_\_  
Package # 2024 Add-on

04 MAR 19 7:23

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	_____	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	_____	_____	_____
<u>NSC Secretariat</u>	<u>2</u>	_____	<u>A</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
Tom Shull	_____	_____	_____

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

Staff to Forthier for action  
return copy to [Signature]

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8402024

RECEIVED 12 MAR 84 18

TO DEEVER, M

FROM KIMMITT

DOCDATE 12 MAR 84

DARMAN, R

19 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: NUCLEAR DEFENSE

SPEECHES

**URGENT**

SUBJECT NATL SECURITY POLICY SPEECH 4 APR & MTG 16 MAR

ACTION. KIMMITT SGD MEMO

DUE. 20 MAR 84 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCFARLANE

KIMMITT

FORTIER

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8401600

NSCIFID

( J )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
-	3/19	Rec'd Darman Memo / Reopen		
Fortier	S 3/19	Memo Kimmitt to Darman	3/20	
Kimmit	X 3/20	for Signature		
	C MAR 20 1984	Kimmitt sgd		DF ✓

DISPATCH

*ed mtr* MAR 20 1984 1630

W/ATTCH FILE *WH* (C)MR