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[Statements & Addresses]
(09/26/1983-09/30/1983)
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Reception and
Dinner for Howard Baker - (9/26 - 11:30 a.m.
Draft)

Richard Darman has asked that any comments on the above-referenced draft remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by 4:00 p.m. today. The remarks praise Howard Baker and review the progress of the economic recovery. I understand that the remarks are being revised to omit the paeans to Baker, as the event is not designed as a tribute to him.

On page 4, lines 3-5, there are coy remarks concerning the President's decision to seek reelection. I do not think they are particularly funny, and in light of the legal consequences surrounding an announcement, should be deleted. On page 6, line 3, the remarks state that we are ending "the Vietnam syndrome." The message conveyed is that we're no longer afraid to get involved in new Vietnams. I suggest deleting the entire sentence, or at least the specific reference to Vietnam. Finally, on page 6, line 18, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Reception and
Dinner for Howard Baker - (9/26 - 11:30 a.m.
Draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. We recommend deleting the joke on page 4, lines 3-5. It's not particularly funny, and the question of a reelection announcement is fraught with legal consequences that may be complicated by such "jokes." On page 6, lines 3-4, the sentence seems to suggest that we are no longer afraid to become involved in new Vietnams. I recommend deleting the sentence; it is entirely superfluous in any event. Finally, on page 6, line 18, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: Richard G. DARMAN

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Draft Presidential Remarks: Reception and Dinner for Howard Baker (9/26 - 11:30 am draft)

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>CWA011</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>83,09,26</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			
<u>CWATTB</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>83,09,26</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>83,09,26</u>
	Referral Note:		<u>4:00pm</u>	
		<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:			
		<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, 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: 9/26/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION AND DINNER FOR HOWARD BAKER
 (9/26 - 11:30 a.m. draft)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FISCHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits/comments directly to Ben Elliott, Room 100, by 4:00 p.m. today. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

26

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 Ext. 2702

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION AND DINNER FOR HOWARD BAKER
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1983

Senator and Mrs. Baker, Dr. and Mrs. Kissinger, ladies and gentlemen. We are here to honor a man tonight who has meant much to all of us, both professionally and personally. One of the first things I learned when I got to my current job was just how serious Howard really is . . . about photography that is. It's said that he is one of the few members of the Congress that would rather take your picture than twist your arm.

Well, there's a story -- and I understand it is a true story -- about a newspaper photographer out in Los Angeles who was called in by his editor and told about a fire raging in Palos Verdes, a hilly area in the Southern end of the county. The photographer's assignment was to rush down to a small local airport where a plane would be waiting, to get some pictures of the fire and be back in time for the afternoon edition.

The photographer sped down the freeway, breaking every traffic rule. He got to the airport and drove his car right to the end of the runway where, sure enough, a plane was revving up its engines ready to go. He jumped in the plane shouting, "Let's go" and they were off. As they got up to about 5,000 feet, he began getting his camera out of the bag and told the fella flying the plane to get him over the fire so he could get his pictures and get back to the paper. From the other side of the cockpit there was a deafening silence. Then he heard those words he will always remember, "Wait a minute. Aren't you the instructor?"

Since 1966, Howard has been making the picture as well as taking the picture. Howard, I'd say you'll be missed, but if you make yourself scarce we're going to come looking for you, and you can count on that.

It is more than fitting that a dinner like this, which is beefing up the Republican Majority Fund, honors Senator Baker. Under his leadership the Republicans in the United States Senate served faithfully as the loyal opposition, and for the last 3 years -- for the first time in half a century -- Republicans have maintained a majority in the upper House for 2 consecutive sessions.

Riding herd on 54 Republican Senators is no easy job. Sometimes we'd like to think that all the short-sightedness and stubbornness is in the other party. Well, those traits are human traits and not exclusive of any political organization. And, for goals to be reached, for progress to be made, it takes the leadership of a special individual. It takes a person who is sensitive yet firm, who has strong convictions and aims high, yet appreciates that one does not always get everything he or she wants.

My Chief of Staff Jim Baker calls Howard the "Quintessential mediator, negotiator, and moderator." Howard, your energy, your understanding, and your talent have served the Republican cause well . . . and we thank you for it.

Howard may not remember this, but he did me a tremendous service years back. It was right before the 1976 election year and I ran into Howard and Joy. He had a new camera. I was

inspecting it and asked him if that was really the camera he wanted. And I'll always remember his answer. He said, "We bought it, we paid for it, and we're going to keep it."

Seriously though, with Howard's guidance we've proven to the American people that there is a difference in the 2 political parties, and that if given the chance we can make a sometimes frustrating democratic process work for the betterment of our people.

During the election of 1980, we Republicans stated our case and outlined our program. And we did not, as some now suggest, just run against my predecessor. The opposition, with few exceptions, had control of both houses of the Congress almost continually for 50 years. For long stretches, including the years just before the 1980 election, they controlled both houses of the Congress as well as the White House and all the departments and agencies.

Now, as much as they would like to blame the near crisis we inherited on my immediate predecessor, we know that is not true. It was not one individual who caused all those enormous problems America faced in 1980; it was 20 years of liberal policies, policies with good intentions, but unworkable solutions.

In January of 1981, we set out to do what we promised to do. Together, we have fundamentally changed the direction of American Government. We can be proud of what we've accomplished. To those who criticize, I say let them clearly state their alternative. Then let them explain how this blueprint would

differ from the many years when their party dominated the Federal Government and they left us with a disaster.

You know, I've been asked over and over again if I will be a candidate for reelection. Tonight I've decided to answer that question. Maybe I will and maybe I won't. ✓

I'll be giving a more definitive answer by the end of the year. But what has been achieved in the last 3 years has been the result of a team effort. As one of the top leaders of the team, Howard deserves a lion's share of the credit. His leadership was instrumental in galvanizing the political support that resulted in the passage of the 1981 tax and spending cut packages, the most significant economic legislation in memory.

It takes time for any program to take hold. The opposition was declaring our program a failure the morning after it passed, and did everything to pull the rug out from under our reforms before they had a chance to work. Ladies and gentlemen, we've weathered the storm. It is clear now, even to our critics, that after years of stagnation and inflation, our economy -- thanks to the basic changes we've made -- is beginning to move again. We are witnessing the first phase of lasting economic growth.

We must work together to keep what Howard has called that inflation beast locked in its cage. And, the most important question we must ask in next year's election is: Do we continue the responsible policies that are giving our economy new vitality and giving our people hope, or do we go back to the failed ideas of tax, spend, and inflate that brought us stagnation and despair.

Each and every Senate race will be crucial. If we keep control of the Senate we can protect the gains we've made. But, the special interests -- groups that profited from big Government, from high taxes and high inflation -- will be out in force.

As for me, I'm confident. When we got here, inflation had been running at double digits for 2 years. The prime interest rate had soared to its highest level, 21½ percent, in more than a century. Taxes had doubled in just the 5 years between 1976 and 1981, siphoning off resources needed for savings, job-creating business investment, growth and economic development.

Our system is based on faith in the people and I have faith that they will not vote to return to failed policies of the past. Our biggest job is to remind them what things were like, how we turned that desperate situation around, and just as important, where our vision and efforts are taking us, toward real progress and new hope, not toward fear, envy, and failure. We will not be on the defensive as we move into the 1984 elections. On the contrary, Republicans will be on the offensive. We are the party that lowered tax rates, reduced inflation, and put the American economy back on the path to real growth.

And something else we're not going to let the people forget. Three years ago our allies and adversaries alike were counting America out. It was being said that our best days were behind us. Morale in our Armed Forces was at a low ebb and the weapons and equipment they had to use were wearing out. We had planes

that couldn't fly and ships that couldn't sail. Well, we've turned that situation around too.

We're ending the Vietnam syndrome that had broken the will of the American people. Today, we have reestablished ourselves as a reliable ally and we are rebuilding our defensive capabilities. The number of combat-ready units has gone up by a third since 1980. The deployable battle force in the Navy has risen from 480 ships when we took office to 510 today -- and it's on the way to 600. And, military officers tell me that morale in our services has never been higher. We have strengthened America's capabilities and we have strengthened America's resolve to meet our responsibilities in the world. ✓

The likelihood of peace is not enhanced by weakness or gestures of goodwill to tyrants. Peace and the preservation of our freedom is not more likely if we put our head in the sand and run away from our responsibilities. The peace of the world and the freedom of the United States, instead, depend on hard work, courage, and strength. This is not my philosophy, this is Republican philosophy and it's a philosophy that the voters of the United States will back up when they are given the choice. ✓

Senator Baker has told his friends that one of the reasons he's taking a sabbatical from Government is that he needs time to get reacquainted with the people of the United States. Well, I think he's going to find that they are the same people that they always were. They are the kind of people who took a vast wilderness and turned it into this blessed land of liberty and abundance.

They had courage, faith in God, and a willingness to roll up their sleeves and get on with the job at hand.

John Foster Dulles once said, "If we are faithful to our past, we shall not have to fear our future." That is our challenge and I am certain that like those before us, we will do the job that has to be done. Senator and Mrs. Baker, thank you for all you've done. And thank you for letting me play a part in honoring this great individual. God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT:

Draft Presidential Remarks: Republican
Majority Fund Dinner, Tuesday, 9/27/83
(9/26 - 6:30 p.m. Draft)

Richard Darman has asked that any comments on the above-referenced draft remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by 10:00 a.m. today. The remarks praise Howard Baker and review the progress of the economic recovery.

On page 3, paragraph 4, there are coy remarks concerning the President's decision to seek reelection. I do not think they are particularly funny, and in light of the legal consequences surrounding an announcement, should be deleted. On page 5, line 22, the remarks state that we are ending "the Vietnam syndrome." The message conveyed is that we're no longer afraid to get involved in new Vietnams. I suggest deleting the entire sentence, or at least the specific reference to Vietnam. Finally, on page 6, line 10, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Republican
Majority Fund Dinner, Tuesday, 9/27/83
(9/26 - 6:30 p.m. Draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. We recommend deleting the joke on page 3, paragraph 4. It's not particularly funny, and the question of a reelection announcement is fraught with legal consequences that may be complicated by such "jokes." On page 5, line 22, the sentence seems to suggest that we are no longer afraid to become involved in new Vietnams. I recommend deleting the sentence; it is entirely superfluous in any event. Finally, on page 6, line 10, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

bcc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD)

83,09,27

Name of Correspondent: _____

DARMAN, RICHARD G

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____

(B) _____

(C) _____

Subject: _____

REMARKS: REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND DINNER
TUES. 9/27/83

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
CU HOLL	ORIGINATOR	83,09,27			1 1
CUAT 18	D	83,09,27		S	83,09,27 10:00AM
		1 1			1 1
		1 1			1 1
		1 1			1 1

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

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- 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, OEOB).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

JGR

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/26/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND DINNER
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1983
(9/16/83; 6:30 p.m.)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			FISCHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has gone forward to the President. Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott in room 100 by 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW, Tuesday, September 27, 1983, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

SEP 27 1983

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher/BE)
September 26, 1983
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND DINNER
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1983

Senator and Mrs. Baker, Dr. and Mrs. Kissinger, ladies and gentlemen. We are here to recognize those Senators who have stood with us for 3 years and who are now running for re-election. We are also here to salute their leader and ours in the United States Senate, a man who means much to all of us, both professionally and personally.

One of the first things I learned when I got to my current job was just how serious Howard Baker really is . . . about photography that is. It's said that he is one of the few members of the Congress that would rather take your picture than twist your arm.

Well, there's a story -- and I understand it is a true story -- about a newspaper photographer out in Los Angeles who was called in by his editor and told about a fire raging in Palos Verdes, a hilly area in the Southern end of the county. The photographer's assignment was to rush down to a small local airport where a plane would be waiting, to get some pictures of the fire and be back in time for the afternoon edition.

The photographer sped down the freeway, breaking every traffic rule. He got to the airport and drove his car right to the end of the runway where, sure enough, a plane was revving up its engines ready to go. He jumped in the plane shouting, "Let's go" and they were off. As they got up to about 5,000 feet, he began getting his camera out of the bag and told the fella flying

the plane to get him over the fire so he could get his pictures and get back to the paper. From the other side of the cockpit there was a deafening silence. Then he heard those words he will always remember, "Wait a minute. Aren't you the instructor?"

Since 1966, Howard has been making the picture as well as taking the picture. Howard, I'd say you'll be missed, but if you make yourself scarce we're going to come looking for you, and you can count on that.

It is more than fitting that a dinner like this, which is beefing up the Republican Majority Fund, salutes Senator Baker. Under his leadership the Republicans in the United States Senate served faithfully as the loyal opposition, and for the last 3 years -- for the first time in half a century -- Republicans have maintained a majority in the upper house for two consecutive sessions.

Howard may not remember this, but he did me a tremendous service years back. It was right before the 1976 election year and I ran into Howard and Joy. He had a new camera. I was inspecting it and asked him if that was really the camera he wanted. And I'll always remember his answer. He said, "We bought it, we paid for it, and we're going to keep it."

Seriously though, with Howard's guidance we've proven to the American people that there is a difference in the 2 political parties, and that if given the chance we can make a sometimes frustrating democratic process work for the betterment of our people.

During the election of 1980, we Republicans stated our case and outlined our program. And we did not, as some now suggest, just run against my predecessor. The opposition, with few exceptions, had control of both houses of the Congress almost continually for 50 years. For long stretches, including the years just before the 1980 election, they controlled both houses of the Congress as well as the White House and all the departments and agencies.

Now, as much as they would like to blame the near crisis we inherited on my immediate predecessor, we know that is not true. It was not one individual who caused all those enormous problems America faced in 1980; it was 20 years of liberal policies, policies with good intentions, but unworkable solutions.

In January of 1981, we set out to do what we promised to do. Together, we have fundamentally changed the direction of American Government. We can be proud of what we've accomplished. To those who criticize, I say let them clearly state their alternative. Then let them explain how this blueprint would differ from the many years when their party dominated the Federal Government and they left us with a disaster.

You know, I've been asked over and over again if I will be a candidate for reelection. Tonight I've decided to answer that question. Maybe I will and maybe I won't.

I'll be giving a more definitive answer by the end of the year. But what has been achieved in the last 3 years has been the result of a team effort. We can be particularly proud of the 1981 tax and spending cut packages, the most significant economic

legislation in memory. Without Republican control of the Senate, and without the kind of leadership Howard has been providing, you can bet that recovery package would still be bottled up in Committee.

It takes time for any program to take hold. The opposition was declaring our program a failure the morning after it passed, and did everything to pull the rug out from under our reforms before they had a chance to work. Ladies and gentlemen, we've weathered the storm. It is clear now, even to our critics, that after years of stagnation and inflation, our economy -- thanks to the basic changes we've made -- is beginning to move again. We are witnessing the first phase of lasting economic growth.

We must work together to keep what Howard has called that inflation beast locked in its cage. And, the most important question we must ask in next year's election is: Do we continue the responsible policies that are giving our economy new vitality and giving our people hope, or do we go back to the failed ideas of tax, spend, and inflate that brought us stagnation and despair?

Each and every Senate race will be crucial. And the Republican Majority Fund we contribute to this evening will give us a fighting chance to protect the gains we've made. But, the special interests -- groups that profited from big Government, from high taxes and high inflation -- will be out in force.

As for me, I'm confident. When we got here, inflation had been running at double digits for 2 years. The prime interest rate had soared to its highest level, 21½ percent, in more than a

century. Taxes had doubled in just the 5 years between 1976 and 1981, siphoning off resources needed for savings, job-creating business investment, growth and economic development.

Our system is based on faith in the people and I have faith that they will not vote to return to failed policies of the past. Our biggest job is to remind them what things were like, how we turned that desperate situation around, and just as important, the crucial difference between our efforts and vision for the future and theirs -- we offer solid progress and real hope, not fear, envy, and failure. We will not be on the defensive as we move into the 1984 elections. On the contrary, Republicans will be on the offensive. We are the party that lowered tax rates, reduced inflation, and put the American economy back on the path to real growth.

And something else we're not going to let the people forget: Three years ago our allies and adversaries alike were counting America out. It was being said that our best days were behind us. Morale in our Armed Forces was at a low ebb and the weapons and equipment they had to use were wearing out. We had planes that couldn't fly and ships that couldn't sail. Well, we've turned that situation around too.

We're ending the Vietnam syndrome that had broken the will of the American people. Today, we have reestablished ourselves as a reliable ally and we are rebuilding our defensive capabilities. The number of combat-ready units has gone up by a third since 1980. The deployable battle force in the Navy has risen from 480 ships when we took office to 510 today -- and it's

on the way to 600. And, military officers tell me that morale in our services has never been higher. We have strengthened America's capabilities and we have strengthened America's resolve to meet our responsibilities in the world.

The likelihood of peace is not enhanced by weakness or gestures of goodwill to tyrants. Peace and the preservation of our freedom is not more likely if we put our head in the sand and run away from our responsibilities. The peace of the world and the freedom of the United States, instead, depend on hard work, courage, and strength. This is not my philosophy, this is Republican philosophy and it's a philosophy that the voters of the United States will back up when they are given the choice.

Senator Baker has told his friends that one of the reasons he's taking a sabbatical from Government is that he needs time to get reacquainted with the people of the United States. Well, I think he's going to find that they are the same people that they always were. They are the kind of people who took a vast wilderness and turned it into this blessed land of liberty and abundance. They had courage, faith in God, and a willingness to roll up their sleeves and get on with the job at hand.

John Foster Dulles once said, "If we are faithful to our past, we shall not have to fear our future." That is our challenge and I am certain that like those before us, we will do the job that has to be done. And thank you for having me with you this evening. God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Heritage Foundation Dinner Remarks

Richard Darman has asked that comments on the above-referenced remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by noon today. The remarks praise the growth and work of the Heritage Foundation, singling out several of its leaders for specific mention. The remarks portray the 1980 election victory as a victory of conservative ideals over special interests, and then focus on our relations with the Soviet Union. It is the burden of the main portion of the remarks that the rebuilding of our defenses and our willingness to speak frankly concerning Soviet actions help rather than hinder the achievement of arms control agreements. I have no objections.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING *Orig. signed by FFF*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Heritage Foundation Dinner Remarks

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 9/30/83

bcc: FFfielding
JGRoberts
Subj
Chron

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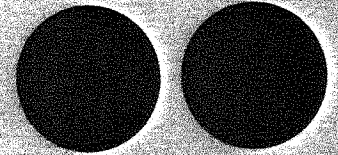
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Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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



Name of Correspondent: Richard G. Darman

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Presidential Remarks: Heritage Foundation
Dinner Monday, October 3, 1983
(9/29/83 - 6:30 pm)

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	Tracking Date	Type of Response	Completion Date
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	YY/MM/DD	Code	YY/MM/DD
<u>CUD011</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83109130</u>		<u>1 1</u>
<u>CWAT18</u>	<u>✓</u>	<u>83109130</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>83109130</u> <u>NOON</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
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ACTION CODES:

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

DISPOSITION CODES:

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

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

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

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: 9/29 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON TOMORROW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION DINNER
MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1983
(9/29/83; 6:30 p.m.)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			FISCHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide edits/comments directly to Ben Elliott in room 100 by NOON TOMORROW, Friday, September 30, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 Ext. 2702

(Dolan/BE)
September 29, 1983
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HERITAGE FOUNDATION DINNER
MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1983

Thank you very much -- it's wonderful to be here tonight and see old friends like Joe Coors. Actually I was a little surprised by the warmth of Joe's introduction. I'm not sure how many of you know this but there is a certain coolness between Joe and me tonight. I guess maybe that's my fault. When I arrived at the reception here I said, "Joe it's been a long hard day in the Oval Office . . . but now it's Miller time." And that's when Joe showed me his Mondale button.

Seriously though, where are those Democratic candidates with their grandiose solutions now that we need them? The America's Cup Race, for example . . . there was a problem that could have been solved with more money and a lot of wind.

But tonight I would like to clear up a few things about the publicity involving this tiny little device I'm wearing in my ear. Despite what you might have heard on your way in, I am not listening to Monday Night Football. Actually, putting it in my right ear has led to some unanticipated effects . . . the other day in the Oval Office I caught Senator Jesse Helms inching over to the left.

But I really am glad to be here at Heritage. I remember the days when a conservative intellectual was considered a contradiction in terms -- you know, like thrifty liberal, modest Government, and pennypinching Congressman.

It is a great privilege to be here tonight at an extraordinary moment not only in the history of the Heritage

Foundation but, I firmly believe, in the intellectual history of the West. Historians who seek the real meaning of events in the latter part of the 20th century must look back on gatherings such as this. They will find among your number the leaders of an intellectual revolution that recaptured and renewed the great lessons of Western culture -- a revolution that is rallying the democracies to the defense of that culture and to the cause of human freedom, a revolution that, I believe, is also writing the last sad pages of a bizarre chapter in human history known as communism.

We have been living in an age when the cult brute government power was the reigning ideology. It dominated our intellectual thought and claimed some of the best minds of our society and civilization. All of that has changed. The evidence is before us in this room and in the astonishing growth of a remarkable institution called the Heritage Foundation. ✓

You know during the years when I was out on the mashed potato circuit, I was sometimes asked to define conservatism and I must confess that while I have the cream of the conservative intellectual movement before me I am tempted to use Richard Weaver's definition: "Conservatism," he wrote, "is a paradigm of essences towards which the phenomenology of the world is in continuing approximation."

But then again this is such a robust and lively movement I'm not sure Justice Potter Stewart's definition -- one he gave for another subject by the way -- he was talking about pornography. He said he couldn't define it exactly "but I know it when I see it."

Well, I can see it here tonight. There is no better evidence that the time of the conservative idea has come than the growth of the Heritage Foundation. Back in the mid-70's this foundation was begun by Paul Weyrich and Ed Feulner with a only a few staff members, some modest offices and not very much in the way of funding. Today Heritage has more than 100 staff members, many more associates and consultants, a brand new office building and a budget that has gone from 1 million to 7 million in 5 years. But it is hardly the amount of money or number of people or size of the offices that measure Heritage's impact. Your frequent publications, your timely research and policy papers, your seminars and conferences account for your enormous influence on Capitol Hill and -- believe me I know -- at the White House.

Yes, the Heritage Foundation is an enormous undertaking, and an enormous achievement. Many people are responsible for this achievement and its growth. I must mention here Joe Coors and his family. Joe, you've been a great help to me personally but I am even more grateful for what you have done here with Heritage through your guidance and generosity. And I particularly want to single out the other family represented at the head table -- the Noble family, who have been the mainstays of this organization. And I think all of you will agree that the guiding light of Heritage, a man who has been committed to this cause since he fought many a lonely battle on Capital Hill, is Ed Feulner; and Ed, while I thank you for your work as chairman of the United States Information Agency Advisory Group, I especially

congratulate you tonight on all that you have achieved at Heritage.

In the same way, our master of ceremonies, Frank Shakespeare, the chairman of Heritage, has lived a life of extraordinary sacrifice and dedication to this country. Frank has served this Administration in many ways, but especially in his chairmanship of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, those clear channels to people who cannot hear the truth. Frank let me extend to you as well our gratitude and thanks for your work with Heritage.

When you think about the careers of Ed Feulner and Frank Shakespeare, and so many others in this room, you realize why our cause has prospered. All of you were willing to challenge conventional wisdom and for the sake of principle and cause, you risked political isolation and social ostracism.

Ed Feulner likes to say that not too many years ago a phone booth was just about big enough to hold a meeting of conservative intellectuals in Washington. I know what he means -- Washington has a way of being the last to catch on. Just as the growth of Heritage has stunned the pundits, the conservative cause itself -- the Goldwater nomination in 1964, the growth of the New Right in the 1970's, the conservative victory in 1980, and the tax cut victory of 1981 -- all of these come as a huge surprise to the Washington technocrats who pride themselves on knowing what's going on in politics.

The reason is easily understood. A lot of the so-called insiders think that politics is simply putting together coalitions of voter blocs or special interests. Many people in

the power structure of our capital think that appealing to someone's narrow self-interest -- is the best way to appeal to the American people as a whole. And that, of course, is their mistake.

As I said recently in discussing why many American citizens of Hispanic descent are instinctively conservative voters when they go to the polls, when they speak out on the issues of the day, the American people know how high the stakes are. They know the future of freedom depends not on "what's in it for me", but on the ethic of what's good for the country, what will serve and protect freedom. That's why success in politics isn't about special interests, but about issues, ideas, and the vision we have for our country and the world. That's the sum and substance of your work.

Don't take my word for it. Only recently in a book called The Real Campaign, a study of the 1980 campaign, Jeff Greenfield, a respected but non-conservative commentator, argued that gaffes or polls or "Who's Got Big Mo" or all those other issues Washington experts thought were important and dominated the media coverage in the election of 1980 were really peripheral to the outcome of the election. Mr. Greenfield argues the electorate voted the way they did in large part because they agreed with the conservative message they heard from our side.

This point about politics and elections is reflected in what some have been saying about our economic system. As George Gilder points out, it isn't just self-gain or personal profit that drives the free market and accounts for the entrepreneurial spirit. There are larger issues involved: faith, a clear vision

of the future, a hidden altruism, and the simple human desire to make things better.

One current best seller, In Search of Excellence, has caused a great flurry in the business management schools because it argues that intangibles like "shared values" and a sense of a mission are critical to the success of business institutions.

This is also true with nations. It is this vision of our country, this sense of reaffirming traditional values that the electorate seeks from its national leadership. They do not want a president who is a broker of special interest or private concerns; they do want a national purpose and a vision for the future. I believe that we as conservatives have provided that vision during the past few years. This Administration declined to go with the patchwork solutions, the quick fixes that would please the special interests and temporarily take off the political heat. What we did do is deliver on the promises we had made to the American people, promises that were part of a consistent and coherent view of this Nation's needs and problems. We had a policy, we put it into effect. We made our promises and we kept them.

We said we would stop the juggernaut -- built up over 40 years -- of increased Federal spending -- and we did. Despite the spending momentum accumulating from a host of new social welfare and entitlement programs, we still managed to cut the growth in Federal spending by 40 percent. For the first time in since 1964 all personal income tax rates have been cut -- and by a hefty 25 percent across the board. And we made the most important reform of them all: In 1985, your income taxes will be

indexed so never again will you be pushed into higher tax brackets by inflation.

The story is the same for our efforts to deregulate the American economy. It was only a few years ago that every time you turned around some Government bureau had slapped on more restrictions on our commerce, our trade, our lives. We were at the point where we couldn't adjust our thermostats or use our credit cards without checking first with Washington. Our regulatory task force has cut the growth of those regulations by a third and saved American industry more than 300 million hours filling out forms.

And now that inflation has been reduced to 2.6 percent, and the economy is on the move again I'm wondering something: where are all those folks who kept insisting Reaganomics would lead to crippling recession or inflation? In fact, how come no one talks about Reaganomics anymore? Maybe it's because our program is doing what we said it would -- getting America back on track.

I think the picture on the foreign front is very much the same. You can all remember the days of malaise and humiliation. Everywhere in the world freedom was in retreat and America's prestige and influence were at low ebb. In Afghanistan, the liberty of a proud people was crushed by brutal Soviet aggression; in Central America and Africa, Soviet-backed attempts to install Marxist dictatorships were successfully underway; in Iran, international law and common decency were mocked as 50 American citizens were held hostage; and in international forums, the United States was routinely held up to abuse and ridicule by outlaw regimes and police state dictatorships.

Arms control efforts were at a standstill and our own military might had sharply declined to a position of dangerous inferiority. Even friendly Governments were toning down their pro-American rhetoric, abandoning their anti-Soviet declarations, withdrawing support for our diplomatic initiatives and beginning to see merit in Soviet diplomatic and commercial programs they had previously dismissed outright.

First, our economic program is working and as our recovery sets the pace for the rest of the world, we strengthen the hand of democracies. Second, the willingness of the American people to back our program for rebuilding America's military strength has added to the respect, the prestige and the power we need to achieve our foreign policy goals. Third, we have slowed down from a torrent to a trickle the transfer of valuable free world technology to the Soviet Union. Fourth, as I said in my speech to the British Parliament, throughout the world today the aspiration for democratic government and self-rule is growing. In the Third World, in Afghanistan, in Central America, in Africa and Southeast Asia, opposition to totalitarian regimes is on the rise. Indeed, there are insurgencies now underway against at least five such regimes.

Finally, our new willingness to speak out forthrightly about communism has been a critically effective foreign policy step. We are making clear that the free world -- far from plunging into irreversible decline -- retains the moral energy and spiritual stamina to tell the truth about the Soviets, to state clearly the real issue now before the world. That issue is not, as our adversaries would have us believe, the choice between peace and

war, between being "dead" or "red", but rather the choice between freedom and servitude, human dignity and state oppression.

Now let me speak for a moment about a matter that needs urgently to be cleared up. There are a number of congressmen on the Hill who, though they are inclined to vote for our defense policies, are still seeking assurances on the seriousness of our desire for arms control agreements. I fervently hope that my recent speech at the United Nations has been helpful on this count. But let me just add a personal note and this is a matter of conscience: any American president, anyone charged with the safety of the American people, any person who sits in the Oval Office and contemplates the horrible dimensions of a nuclear war must in conscience do all in his power to seriously pursue and achieve arms control agreements. I do not consider arms controls initiatives are just policy options, I consider them are an absolute necessities -- moral imperatives.

In fact, let me take this a step further and explain why it is precisely our willingness to be candid about the Soviet Union -- to state clearly our understanding of the expansionist nature of totalitarian regimes as well as our willingness to resist that expansionism -- that improve the chances of success in the arms control area.

History has shown that the Soviet leadership moves toward negotiation and settlement when they realize those on the other side of the table have no illusions about them and are prepared to remain united and strong. If the Western democracies fail to speak forthrightly and bluntly about the failures, the decay and the wrong of the Soviet system, if they are afraid to state

publicly our hope that someday all the peoples of the world will enjoy the right to self-government and personal freedom, the Soviet leaders will view this failure as a clear sign of weakness, a weakness they will feel compelled to exploit before settling down to any serious negotiations.

I think you can remember an administration that tried to minimize the differences between the Soviets and the democracies, that tried to deceive itself about "an inordinate fear of communism." It was under that administration that arms control efforts not only failed but the hope of improved East-West relations ended in Soviet expansions on three continents, the invasion of Afghanistan and an actual discussion by an American president before a joint session of Congress about "acts of war."

So we must never be inhibited by the claims of some that telling the truth about the Soviet empire is somehow an act of belligerence on our part. To the contrary, we must continue to remind the world that whatever the imperfections of the democratic nations, the struggle now going on in the world is essentially the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, between what is right and what is wrong. This is not a simplistic or unsophisticated observation, rather it is the beginning of wisdom about the world we live in, the perils we face and the great opportunity we have in the years ahead to expand the frontiers of freedom.

Public reaffirmation, continuing testimony to these truths by the civilized world will improve the prospects of those who would change from within the militaristic course of the Soviet Union. If we in the West show our determination and commitment,

we can expect that those millions under Soviet rule will take heart and be encouraged to work through non-violent dissidence for peaceful change.

Let us never underestimate the power of simple testimony to the truth. It was not long ago that Alexander Solzhenitsyn reminded us that righteousness, not just revolutionary violence, has such power. Indeed, that is why I have always said that the ultimate test between the democracies and the totalitarian powers will not be a test of arms, decided by armies and rockets, but a test of wills, decided by faith and resolve.

And this brings me to a second point. The goal of the free world must no longer be stated in the negative, that is: resistance to Soviet expansionism. The goal of the free world must instead be stated in the affirmative. We must go on the offensive, we must have a forward strategy for freedom. Our ultimate goal must be to foster the hope of liberty, to work for the day when the peoples of every land can enjoy the blessing of liberty and the right to self-government. This is not a case, as some suggest, of America seeking to impose its values on the world. The blessings of freedom are gifts from God which no state has the right to deny any man, woman or child on earth.

This then is our task, we must present to the world -- not just an America that is militarily strong but an America that is morally powerful, an America that has a creed, a cause, a vision of a future time when all peoples have the right to self-government and personal freedom.

I think American conservatives are uniquely equipped to present to the world this vision of the future, a vision worthy

of the American past. I have always had a great affection for the words of John Winthrop delivered on the tiny ship Arabella in 1630: "We shall be a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world."

Well, America has not been a story or a byword -- that small community of pilgrims prospered and driven by the dreams and, yes, by the ideas of great men like Jefferson, Washington, Franklin, and so many others went on to become a beacon to all the oppressed and poor of the world.

One of our early founders was a man named Joseph Warren, an intellectual, a revolutionary who would have an enormous impact on our early history had his life not been cut short by a bullet at Bunker Hill. His words about the perils America faced then are worth hearing today. "Our country is in danger," he said, "but not to be despaired of . . . on you depend the fortunes of America -- you are to decide the important question, on which rests the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of ourselves."

That kind of idealism must guide us as we seek to turn conservative ideas into political realities. As I suggested in those closing days of the 1980 campaign, despite all the political talk about electoral votes or last minute polls we must never forget the purpose behind such activities, the real wellspring of the American way of life.

Even as we meet here tonight some young American coming up along the Virginia or Maryland shores of the Potomac is looking with awe -- for the first time -- at the lights that glow on the great halls of our Government and the monuments to the memory of our great men.

We are resolved that young Americans will always see those Potomac lights; that they will always find here a city of hope in a country that is free. So that when other generations look back at the conservative era in American politics and our time in power they will say of us that we did hold true to that dream of Joseph Winthrop and Joseph Warren, that we did keep faith with our God, that we did act "worthy of ourselves". That we did protect and pass on lovingly that shining city on a hill.

Thank you very much and God bless you all.