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(ELLIOTT)

SEPTEMBER 28, 1983

*File Speaking
engagements*

SENATORIAL TRUST COMMITTEE

THANK YOU VERY MUCH DICK. I'M
DELIGHTED TO BE HERE WITH DICK LUGAR, WHOSE
TALENT AND DEDICATION WE VALUE SO MUCH DOWN
AT OUR END OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE. AND IT'S
GOOD TO SEE SO MANY OF YOUR FAMILIAR FACES.

I CONFESS THIS IS A BIT OF A NEW TWIST
FOR ME. NORMALLY, I'M THE FELLOW WHO
CREATES THE EVENT, NOT THE ONE WHO'S THE
FEATURED SPEAKER. BUT I WELCOME THIS
CHALLENGE BECAUSE YOUR GROUP IS SO CRUCIAL
TO OUR GOAL OF PROTECTING OUR SENATE
MAJORITY. AND THE MESSAGE WE HAVE TO TELL
IS ONE ALL OF US CAN BE DARN PROUD OF.

WHEN RONALD REAGAN ACCEPTED THE
REPUBLICAN NOMINATION IN 1980, HE MADE A
FUNDAMENTAL PLEDGE TO OUR PARTY AND THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE SAID IT WAS TIME FOR A
NEW BEGINNING -- TIME IF YOU WILL, FOR A
REAL HOUSECLEANING IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

HE WAS SPEAKING IN THE CONTEXT OF
TERRIBLE TIMES. BECAUSE I URGE YOU TO
REMEMBER -- AND NOT TO LET ANYONE ELSE
FORGET -- JUST HOW BAD THINGS REALLY WERE IN
1980: DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION, THE HIGHEST
INTEREST RATES IN A HUNDRED YEARS, TAXES OUT
OF CONTROL, AND ZERO GROWTH ALL CONTRIBUTED
TO DEEPER AND DEEPER PESSIMISM AT HOME.
AND, OVERSEAS THERE HAD BEEN A LOSS OF
CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP; IN FACT,
FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ANYONE'S MEMORY, WE
WITNESSED THE UNITED STATES BEING RIDICULED
AS WE STUMBLED FROM ONE CRISIS TO ANOTHER.

BUT RONALD REAGAN PROMISED STRONG LEADERSHIP. HE OFFERED A CLEAR VISION BASED ON SOUND PRINCIPLES. AND HE SAID THAT WITH SUPPORT FROM THE PEOPLE, AND THE HELP OF REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE, WE COULD TURN THAT SUPPOSEDLY HOPELESS SITUATION AROUND.

HE PROMISED THAT WE WOULD PUT AN END TO GOVERNMENT OUT OF CONTROL AND RESTORE TRUST IN THE PEOPLE AND IN THEIR VALUES OF FAMILY, WORK, NEIGHBORHOOD, PEACE AND FREEDOM; THAT WE WOULD RESURRECT A SPIRIT OF HOPE WITH ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY; AND THAT WE WOULD REBUILD THE STRENGTH AND CREDIBILITY OF OUR MILITARY AND FOREIGN POLICY, SO AMERICAN COULD BECOME A CONFIDENT AND EFFECTIVE LEADER AGAIN FOR SECURITY, FREEDOM AND PEACE.

NOW I THINK THE FACTS ARE CLEAR FOR ANYONE WITHOUT BLINDERS. RONALD REAGAN AND OUR GOOD PARTNERS LIKE DICK LUGAR ARE DELIVERING ON THEIR PROMISES. THEY'RE MAKING THINGS BETTER. AMERICA IS HEADED IN A BETTER DIRECTION THAN BEFORE.

UNLIKE THE LAST ADMINISTRATION, THERE HAS BEEN NO THIRD YEAR SLUMP. THIS PRESIDENT DID NOT GO UP TO CAMP DAVID TO SECLUDE HIMSELF, ONLY TO COME BACK DOWN TO ACCUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS OF A NATIONAL MALAISE. THE PRESIDENT AND HIS REPUBLICAN TROOPS HAVE PROVIDED THE LEADERSHIP AMERICA NEEDS, HIS POLICIES ARE BEING VINDICATED, AND HE'S RISING IN THE POLLS.

INFLATION HAS BEEN CUT FROM 12.4 TO 2.6 PERCENT, INTEREST RATES ARE DOWN FROM 21½ TO 11 PERCENT, PRODUCTIVITY, GROWTH INVESTMENT AND EMPLOYMENT ARE ALL UP SHARPLY AND AMERICA IS MOVING FORWARD AGAIN. OR AS THE PRESIDENT WOULD PUT IT -- THERE'S AN EASIER WAY YOU CAN TELL OUR RECOVERY PROGRAM IS WORKING: OUR CRITICS DON'T CALL IT REAGANOMICS ANYMORE.

PROGRESS IS ALSO CLEAR IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. FOR SEVERAL YEARS THERE, THE WORLD DIDN'T KNOW WHAT WE STOOD FOR ANYMORE. THEN ALONG CAME A MAN BY THE NAME OF RONALD REAGAN WHO GAVE VOICE TO THE VALUES WE REPRESENT. HE SPOKE OUT AGAINST TYRANNY, SPOKE UP FOR DEMOCRACY AND HE'S MADE AMERICA STRONGER, SAFER AND MORE SECURE THAN BEFORE. WE'RE WORKING FOR PEACE FROM A POSITION OF NEW STRENGTH. WE'RE REGAINING THE RESPECT WE'D LOST.

TO CITE JUST THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT'S HANDLING OF THE KAL CRISIS -- FROM HIS PERSONAL DEALINGS WITH THE CONGRESS AND OUR ALLIES, TO HIS ATTEMPTS TO RALLY THE SUPPORT OF CIVILIZED PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- HAVE WON PRAISE FOR AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

CONSIDER THAT QUESTION OF LEADERSHIP IN ANOTHER WAY -- WHAT WAS NEEDED TO MAKE THIS PROGRESS HAPPEN -- BECAUSE THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THESE FIRST 2½ YEARS HAVE BEEN REMARKABLE.

-- A TAX BILL THAT CUT RATES ACROSS THE BOARD FOR INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESS FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE 60'S;

-- SPENDING BILLS THAT MADE SOME OF THE BIGGEST CUTS IN HISTORY AND SLOWED, THOUGH THEY CERTAINLY DIDN'T STOP, THE EXPLOSION IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS;

-- A SOCIAL SECURITY BILL THAT WILL NOT ONLY HELP TO SAVE THE SYSTEM BUT ENDS ONE OF THE BITTEREST POLITICAL ARGUMENTS OF RECENT YEARS;

-- A NEW NATIONWIDE DRIVE TO REVERSE THE 20 YEAR SLIDE IN EDUCATION, THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION, AND HIS EFFORTS TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR ITS RECOMMENDATIONS TO RESTORE LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY, PREPARE OUR CHILDREN WITH THE BASICS AND REWARD OUR TEACHERS ON THE BASIS OF MERIT.

-- DEFENSE BILLS THAT COMMITTED THE CONGRESS TO OVER 90 PERCENT OF THE DEFENSE BUILDUP ASKED BY THE PRESIDENT;

-- MX BILLS THAT HAVE ALMOST CLEARED THE WAY FOR ONE OF THE MOST LONG-AWAITED WEAPONS SYSTEMS SINCE WORLD WAR II;

-- AND IN OUR SEARCH FOR PEACE, MORE MAJOR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY WITH THE SOVIETS THAN UNDER ANY OTHER ADMINISTRATION IN HISTORY. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THE SOVIET UNION HAS EXPRESSED A WILLINGNESS TO GO BEYOND NUCLEAR ARMS CEILINGS TO NEGOTIATE ACTUAL REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

A NEW MOOD OF OPTIMISM IS SPREADING ACROSS AMERICA. PEOPLE ARE MORE CONFIDENT THAT WE'LL CONTINUE TO GO FORWARD AND EXPAND. AMERICA WILL BE EXPLORING DEEPER IN SPACE, CROSSING NEW FRONTIERS OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY, MAKING NEW MEDICAL BREAKTHROUGHS -- AND WE'LL BE DOING IT FOR THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND.

WE HAVE MADE A NEW BEGINNING -- A
DRAMATIC AND FAR-REACHING STEP TOWARD A MUCH
BETTER FUTURE. THERE IS NEW HOPE AND WE CAN
HOLD OUR HEADS HIGH. BUT WHAT WE CAN AND
MUST ALSO DO, IS SUPPORT DICK LUGAR IN EVERY
WAY POSSIBLE, SO WE CAN RETAIN OUR
REPUBLICAN MAJORITY IN THE SENATE.

THANK YOU FOR ALLOWING ME TO BE WITH
YOU. THE PRESIDENT SENDS HIS VERY BEST
WISHES TO YOU ALL.

#

THANK DICK LOGAN

RR's leadership

- inflation
interest rates

educ

300 Sec

TAX CUT

- For Policy

Arms control

ceasefire

Central America

Alliance

KAL

UN

Summits

Trips abroad

- COOKE

Mike really did a great job at Williamsburg. -- a job with profound economic and cultural implications. I understand that the Japanese delegation alone bought so many souvenirs at Williamsburg that our balance of payments is back in the black. And I hear that they're already planning a new theme park outside Tokyo -- something called "Wirriamsburg".

John, of course, is a very important member of the White House staff. Some people even say the President thinks of him as a son. Correction -- considering John's age, the President would have to think of him as a grandson.

You all know John, or as he's known to the staff, the Little Caesar of the Perqs List. John is the real keeper of the keys for the Administration. Grown Special Assistants have been known to grovel before him for a parking space -- and there are all sorts of dark rumors about what some of the grils on the staff have had to do just to get mess privileges.

(Parvin)
April 20, 1983
10:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER
SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1983

Nancy, just think, we could have been at Camp David.

Well, from the looks of this crowd I can put away my
evangelical speech.

As you may know, for the Gridiron Dinner I sang. For this
crowd I think I'll just juggle.

I won't say this evening has been long, but why do we have
to wait 'til midnight to turn the clocks ahead?

Of course, we all know the Correspondents dinner is a very
special occassion. It's for all those who can't get tickets to
the Gridiron.

As we say in Hollywood, welcome to the Son of Gridiron, Part
II.

The Correspondent's dinner isn't as prestigious as the
Gridiron. The Soviets didn't even send an Ambassador.

They do have a representative her tonight disguised as a
chair.

Do you know how I can tell the Correspondent's dinner lacks the class of the Gridiron? I've been here over an hour and not one person has asked me to sing. . . . no applause please.

John Glenn sure surprised everyone at the Gridiron Dinner. He showed up.

A lot of us were shocked at how funny John was . . . considering he didn't even have to read any of his campaign promises.

Some people feel it isn't dignified for the President of the United States to be telling jokes. I figure I can tell them. For the past 50 years the Congress has been passing them.

Baker, Deaver, and Meese urged me not to sing at the Gridiron Dinner. They said the President should not make a fool of himself. That's why there's a Secretary of the Interior.

Great to see Mark Russell back in Washington. Mark is a permanent part of the Washington landscape. He fits in so nicely between EPA and Elizabeth Ray.

Two years ago I moved from Hollywood to Washington. Mark moved from Washington to Hollywood. Mark, are you trying to tell me something?

The move had one negative effect on both of us. Mark got the smog. I got Tip O'Neill.

Many people attack the Congress and the Administration. Just remember, if it wasn't for us, Mark wouldn't have an act.

I enjoy being in the company of Dick Strout. I appreciate his sharp wit, his inquiring intelligence, and the little habit he has of calling me "kid."

Richard Strout has been reporting for over 62 years. He is the only person here tonight who knows the true identity of Deep Throat from the Teapot Dome scandal.

For 40 years Dick Strout has written a column under the title TRB. Sometimes I wish I'd made a few of my movies under an alias.

I'll tell you what's so frightening about Dick Strout's longevity. Can you imagine putting up with Sam Donaldson for 62 years?

That's enough to even turn my hair gray.

I'm often asked how I remain calm under tough questioning from Donaldson. I just pretend he's Woodruff.

Is Al Hunt here tonight? Don't you think he looks like Tip O'Neill's grandson?

Former President Nixon no longer admits the press when he's making a speech. At least I have something to look forward to.

They say I have a slight hearing problem. No wonder. You would too with Sam Donaldson yelling at you.

In fact, sometimes we bring Sam out on the South Lawn just to scare away the starlings.

My doctor says there's one thing that can improve my hearing at press conferences -- easier questions.

With my job, I have to watch the intellectual shows on TV -- McNeil Lehrer, William F. Buckley, Different Strokes.

I asked Nancy if the ratings were very good when she appeared on Different Strokes. She said, "Dear, they were eight points higher than your innauguration."

Maybe I should have chosen Gary Coleman instead of George Bush.

John Herrington, the White House efficiency expert, has been evaluating the jobs people have been doing . . . Jim Baker says I can stay anyway.

Learned the secret of the Deaver Diet. You only eat on days the senior staff get along.

I'm prepared to tell the truth about the Libyan hit squad now. The reason I gave Baker, Deaver, and Meese security was to protect them from one another.

It scared poor Ed Meese to death. He thought a terrorist group called the pragmatists were after him.

When I go out I seem to draw more and more protestors. In fact, I can't even go on the Mall anymore. Jim Watt says I attract the wrong kind of people.

Diplomacy is basically a matter of one-upmanship. We offer asylum to Hu Nan. The Chinese offer it to the Beach Boys.

If Jim Watt ever leaves Interior, he still has his other job to fall back on -- President of the Wayne Newton Fan Club.

Secretary Watt is not sitting here at the head table, but he is out there in the audience -- once again, a voice in the wilderness.

Politics is funny business. One day you're on top, the next day, well, you know that fellow in Pittsburgh who handed me a resume . . . that was Bert Lance.

The right wing really is going to be mad at me when they find out I'm in such good health because of The Jane Fonda Workout Book.

Many of you have wondered why I've spent so much time at my ranch just clearing brush and chopping wood. Well, can you imagine the Soviets' faces next time they develop their satellite photos and see the message, "Lennin's a schmuck."

Critics claim I twisted arms to get the confirmation of Kenneth Adelman. That's not true. I just told the leadership if I didn't get Adelman, I would appear on the floor of the Senate and sing . . . and sing . . . and sing.

It worked better than any write-in campaign I ever had.

I haven't seen much in the papers lately about EPA. Did we abolish that?

I read that article in Time on Claude Pepper. He's actually from an old Italian family? His names used to be Pepperoni.

I'm sure we all got a chuckle from the picture of James Watt holding the plaster foot with a hole in it. Jim is the only person I know who can shoot himself in the foot while it is still in his mouth.

As a move toward ensuring a stronger peace my Administration is striving to improve the hotline with Moscow. Not only will we make technological advances, but soon a switchboard manned by James Watt.

Ghandi's impact even reaches to our own presidential race. Alan Cranston now wears a loin cloth when he jogs.

Over in India, sacred cows wander the streets. Here, they go into journalism.

At the last Cabinet meeting, we were discussing hardening the silos against enemy attack. Jack Block says, "Hell, why don't we just sell them the grain?"

I guess most political leaders are religious. Just a few weeks ago Walter Mondale was praying to get out of Chicago.

I've been to several of these humorous press events this year. I can't understand why I have to get up here and be funny when you laugh enough at my regular speeches.

*Looked all over the Country
and here it was in our
Back yard.*

(Parvin)
April 21, 1983
10:30 a.m.

MICHAEL DEEVER: TRUSTEES OF COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION
FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 1983

Before I do anything else I want to reassure you -- it's not true we want to tear down Lightfoot House to make room for more phone banks.

But I personally do want to thank you for your generous cooperation. I know it was a traumatic decision allowing this historical oasis to become the frenzied center of international attention it's about to be. So I thought you deserved a finer explanation of how integral Colonial Williamsburg is to the message we're trying to send from this summit.

I think you already know some of the reasons we wanted to hold the summit here. The area did have the functional necessities -- hotel and meeting facilities, accessibility, and security. The atmosphere was appropriate as well. Colonial Williamsburg lends itself to a private and relaxed exchange among the leaders. And certainly this is the essence of what the President hopes to accomplish.

But we also had aesthetic and reflective reasons which are more subtle. What a contrast Williamsburg is with Versailles, the site of last year's summit. There will be several thousand journalists here from around the globe, and Colonial Williamsburg will send an unspoken message to the world. It makes a visual, historic statement about this Nation and our beginnings which we want the world to understand.

Yet the contrast is not only architectural and historical, but philosophical. Williamsburg represents ideas that are closely associated with the birth of our democracy, ideas that two centuries ago excited the imagination of both the intellectuals and the common people of Europe. And we still stand for the ideas that Jefferson, Washington and Henry discussed so near where we meet today.

With a less structured summit agenda than in the past, with more time allowed for Heads of State to be alone among themselves, and with the relaxed, historical atmosphere of Colonial Williamsburg, we hope to set a tone of free discussion. I believe Colonial Williamsburg still reverberates with the ideas that were debated here over 200 years ago. What might it mean to these seven nations if their leaders could discuss the values and issues of democracy with the informality of our colonial forefathers? Perhaps we can spur among the delegations an appreciation for where we came from as a Nation and what we represent by meeting on these historic grounds. Admittedly, these are fine, even intuitive, points but they explain why the President feels so comfortable holding the summit here in Williamsburg.

Of course, we have also devoted ourselves to more mundane, logistical matters . . .

1. Equal Housing

(Specific operational matters of concern to trustees)

2. Care of Freedom of 6500 people

3. Techniques for Translations

4. State Dinner

5. Translations

6. Press Facilitator

7. Security

Colonial Williamsburg marked the pivotal years in the emergence of a new order. Because of the complexities of the modern world, the industrial democracies themselves must develop a new order, yet a new order based on old values and principles. We will not find that in these few days at the end of May, but with the heritage of Colonial Williamsburg influencing us, perhaps we can begin to lay a foundation of understanding. Again, thank you for your cooperation and thank you for inviting me today.

Theme / Western Economies are on
the mend. Realistic Optimism

Issues

- Recovery on the mend
- promote economic conditions for growth
- Mutual Defense & Strategic
conf convention arms reduction

(Parvin/AB)
September 17, 1982
4:30 p.m.

MR. DEAVER: SAN ANTONIO REMARKS
SEPTEMBER 19, 1982

- Jim Baker told me if I wanted to get a good reception from a Texas audience I should not start out saying, "Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, my name is Michael K. Deaver and I'm the Deputy Chief of Staff." Instead I should say, "Hoooooeeee . . . howdy, partners, I'm Deputy Deaver!" How was that, Jim?
- But I am glad to get away from the madness of Washington to the sanity of south Texas. Let me tell you the biggest news in Washington right now -- the panda at the National Zoo is not pregnant after all . . . and Jim and I know at least two Congressmen who'll be quite relieved to hear that.
- Jeff, are you sure you want to go up there?
- Jim told me that if I wanted to make a really good impression in Texas, I should get some boots, which I did. Then he wouldn't let me wear them off the plane. He said galoshes weren't what he had in mind.
- I know a little about Texas. Jim took me turkey shooting at his ranch down here a while back. We had to lie perfectly still for hours -- just like the bureaucrats.

-- And someone told me that San Antonio has something called the Buckhorn Hall of Horns, a collection of horns from almost every kind of horned animal. After the November elections, we're going to add a few Democrats to that collection. And we're starting right here in the Texas 23rd.

-- I came down here this evening to tell you how much the President believes in the rising stars of the Republican Party -- men and women of the character and caliber of Jeff Wentworth. I know you don't need someone like me to come down here and tell you the good things about Jeff. You've been electing Jeff to public office for years, and this year is going to be no exception.

-- Back at work, there's a fellow who's got the office next to mine, a real nice office, even has a Rose Garden attached. But this fellow gives a lot of speeches, and I once heard him quote the philosopher John Stuart Mill who said, "One person with a belief is equal to the force of ninety-nine who have only interests." That's why it's important to send Jeff Wentworth to Congress. His beliefs and principles will make him a very effective Congressman. And I guarantee you he will serve this district more than 99 times better than his opponent. So to the citizens of the 23rd District, let me say congratulations on your new Congressman.

(Parvin)
January 13, 1983
11:30 a.m.

MOORHEAD LUNCHEON

Jay, first let me say, in honor of you and private sector initiatives, especially the food bank event the other day, all the food we ate today came from a dumpster behind Safeway.

But Jay I really do want to thank you for all your efforts on behalf of private sector initiatives. This is a program very close to the President's heart, and I know he's pleased by how much progress has been made, and I'm sure he will tell you that personally. But with your help, America's consciousness has been raised. And I think you should feel very proud about that.

As you know our guest of honor is going on to new endeavors. I should've guessed Jay was seriously considering the Olympics job. When he came to work the other day, he pole vaulted over the fence.

But congratulations on your new job with the Olympics. You may be leaving but you will hear from us all again . . . when we need tickets. Now, you probably have a few words to say . . .

Jay, that was a nice little talk but let's see what the judges think

[Judges hold up cards]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5-13-83
Lawyer takes for
J. Simpson

E. Ballin

TO TELL THE TRUTH, IT'S TAKEN ME THESE PAST TWO YEARS JUST TO GET ADJUSTED TO WASHINGTON WAYS. IT'S NO SECRET WHY THIS CITY WENT WILD OVER A FOOTBALL TEAM KNOWN AS THE HOGS. CONGRESS HAS BEEN SLAPPING ON THE FEEDBAG FOR GENERATIONS. MEANWHILE, IT'S BEEN A BUSY TIME UP ON THE HILL...YOU CAN HARDLY FIND AN UNOCCUPIED BLOW DRYER. TIP O'NEILL PRIMED THE PUMP SO HARD LAST WEEK THE HANDLE CAME OFF IN DAN ROSTENKOWSKI'S HANDS. THROUGH IT ALL, THE MEDIA HAVE BEEN OUT IN FULL FORCE, PURSUING "HIGH WHITE HOUSE SOURCES" - THOSE ARE PEOPLE WHO HAVE TO BE PRETTY HIGH TO TALK TO THE PRESS IN THE FIRST PLACE - AND LOCATING DEEP BACKGROUND INFORMATION, THAT MEANS ONE REPORTER HAS A CONVERSATION WITH ANOTHER REPORTER IN TIME FOR THE EVENING NEWS OR MORNING EDITION. ANYWHERE ELSE, THIS WOULD BE CALLED BY ITS PROPER NAME - INCEST. HERE IN WASHINGTON IT'S KNOWN AS ANGLING FOR A PULITZER PRIZE.

MUCH OF THIS PROBING GOES ON AT GEORGETOWN COCKTAIL PARTIES. THIS IS A PHENOMENON UNIQUE TO WASHINGTON, A SOCIAL OCCASION AT WHICH EVERYONE STANDS AROUND WITH A DRINK IN ONE HAND, AND A STILETTO IN THE OTHER. BUT IT HAS ITS REWARDS. ONE OF THE GREAT PRODUCTS OF WASHINGTON IS THE PUBLIC-SPIRITED MAN...EQUALLY COMFORTABLE IN A GEORGETOWN SALON, A CONGRESSIONAL CLOAKROOM, A LEGAL BOARDROOM, OR THE HIGHEST COUNCILS OF STATE. HE MAY BE A LIBERAL OR A CONSERVATIVE, A REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT. HE IS WISE TO THE WAYS OF POWER, AND SKEPTICAL OF ITS USES.

HE KEEPS AN OWLISH WATCH OVER THE PROCESS WE LAUGHINGLY AND LOVINGLY CALL THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT - AND HE IS NOT ASHAMED TO ADMIT A LOVE OF COUNTRY THAT MIGHT SEEM IRRATIONAL TO LESS RARIFIED MORTALS.

DEAN ACHESON WAS SUCH A MAN. HE LIKED TO QUOTE MR. COVINGTON'S OWN MAXIM. NEVER DID HE SAY OF AN OBLIGATION "I HAVE TO DO IT," RATHER, HE SAID, "I HAVE IT TO DO," THEREIN LIES THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COERCION AND A SENSE OF HONOR. AND IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO GATHER IN THIS ROOM, WITH THIS COMPANY, WITHOUT AT LEAST A FLEETING IMAGE OF THE TALL, TWEEDY DIPLOMAT WHO COULD BE MOST UNDIPLOMATIC IN HIS PRIVATE LANGUAGE AND MOST UNYIELDING IN HIS PUBLIC CONVICTIONS. AS A NEWCOMER TO WASHINGTON, ACHESON LIKED TO LISTEN TO THE REVERIES OF OLD JUSTICE HOLMES. A FEW WEEKS AFTER HE JOINED A NEW FIRM CALLED COVINGTON AND BURLING AS A SPECIALIST IN LABOR LAW, HE RECOUNTED A RAINY DAY ON WHICH, AS HE PUT IT, "THE OLD MAN WAS IN WONDERFUL FORM AND HAD NOTHING TO DO BUT BLOW OFF STEAM. I FELT LIKE A HINDU GETTING HIS FIRST GLIMPSE OF THE SACRED RIVER WHEN IT WAS IN FULL FLOOD", HE CONTINUED, BEFORE NOTING HOLMES' EFFUSIVE PRAISE FOR A FELLOW JUDGE WHO HAD JUST THE RIGHT TOUCH OF MEPHISTOPHELES IN HIM AND WHO APPROACHED EVERY QUESTION, AS HE PUT IT, "WITH THE MAJOR PREMISE OF 'GOD DAMN IT'".

AND THEN DEAN ACHESON PRESERVED A THOUGHT THAT WE MIGHT ALL DO WELL TO PONDER FROM TIME TO TIME, ESPECIALLY IN THIS CITY WHERE TRIUMPHS CAN BE TRANSIENT, AND HISTORY SO EASILY YIELDS TO HEADLINES. THE JUSTICE SPOKE ABOUT MAN'S PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE.

"Yes", he said, "we are the leaders of the whole stream of life. We lead it in the same sense that small boys lead a circus parade when they march ahead of it. But if they turn down a sidestreet the parade goes on".

The world has turned over many times since Acheson first walked through the doors of Covington and Burling, early in 1919. The government that he knew has gone the way of clipper ships and highbuttoned shoes. In its place is a government vastly larger in its cost and influence. Society itself has become a complex field of battle between those who favor still greater authority and dimension for the federal government, and those who would redirect our resources back to the grassroots, from whence they come in the first place. This is one way of apologizing for putting all you regulatory lawyers out of work; it is also the embodiment of the philosophy of restraint stated with eloquent simplicity by Justice Robert H. Jackson.

"It is not the function of government to keep the citizen from falling into error," he wrote back in 1950. "It is the function of the citizen to keep the government from falling into error."

THIS EVENING, I'D LIKE TO APPLY THAT PHILISOPHICAL YARDSTICK TO THREE AREAS OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY. THEY INCLUDE THE REGULATORY FIELD ITSELF - THE WAR AGAINST CRIMINAL VIOLENCE AND FOR JUDICIAL REFORM - AND THE RECORD OF CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT COMPILED OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF YEARS. THROUGHOUT, I'LL TRY TO HEED THE WARNING OF ARTHUR VANDERBILT, WHO TOLD US THAT JUDICIAL REFORM IS NO SPORT FOR THE SHORT-WINDED.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO, CICERO UTTERED ONE OF THE GREAT TRUTHS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. "WE ARE IN BONDAGE TO THE LAW", HE SAID, "IN ORDER THAT WE MAY BE FREE". NOTICE, HE SAID THE LAW - HE SAID NOTHING ABOUT LAWYERS. YET, IN RECENT YEARS, WE AMERICANS HAVE WILLINGLY SUBMITTED TO A PROCESS WHEREBY GOVERNMENT HAS GROWN WELL BEYOND ITS CAPACITY TO GOVERN WISELY - AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM ITSELF HAS BEEN BLURRED INTO A MERE ADJUNCT OF THAT GOVERNMENT. IN THE FORMATIVE DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC, ALEXANDER HAMILTON WROTE IN THE FEDERALIST PAPERS THAT THERE WAS NOTHING TO FEAR FROM AN AGGRANDIZED JUDICIARY. AFTER ALL, AS HE PUT IT, THE LEGISLATURE HAD THE POWER OF THE PURSE, THE EXECUTIVE THE POWER OF THE SWORD. ALL THE JUDICIARY HAD WAS THE POWER OF THE LAWBOOK. HAMILTON'S GOVERNMENT WAS CONTENT TO SUPERVISE BUT LOOSELY THE COMMERCE OF AN INFANT NATION, OF BARELY FOUR MILLION PEOPLE. TODAY, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ALONE EMPLOYS NEARLY THAT MANY.

WHAT'S MORE, THE OLD DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIARY HAVE GROWN FUZZY WITH TIME.

WITH THE GROWTH OF FEDERAL AUTHORITY HAS COME A MYRIAD OF QUASI-JUDICIAL FUNCTIONS. NO LONGER IS JUSTICE SIMPLY A MATTER OF FINDING TWELVE GOOD MEN AND TRUE TO VOTE ON WHICH SIDE HAS THE BEST LAWYER. TODAY, THE TWELVE MEN ARE LIKELY TO BE LAWYERS THEMSELVES - ON A GOVERNMENT PAYROLL. BETWEEN 1970 AND 1980, OVER 20 NEW REGULATORY AGENCIES WERE CREATED. THE NUMBER OF PAGES NEEDED TO CONTAIN ALL THE NEW FEDERAL EDICTS QUADRUPLED DURING THE SAME PERIOD. AND THE RANKS OF LAWYERS AVAILABLE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. MORE THAN DOUBLED, UNTIL THERE WERE NEARLY 40,000.

MEANWHILE, A LITIGIOUS SOCIETY THAT FILED OVER 5 MILLION CIVIL SUITS IN 1980 THREATENS THE TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PROCESS. SOCIAL ENGINEERING IS PRACTICED - NOT THROUGH LEGISLATION BUT THROUGH LITIGATION, LITIGATION OFTEN FUNDED WITH TAX DOLLARS. SOCIAL POLICY IS CARVED OUT, NOT BY A CONGRESS BUT BY THE COURTS, AND A SMALL ARMY OF ADMINISTRATIVE JUDGES WHO WERE FORMERLY CONTENT TO BE KNOWN AS HEARING OFFICERS. NEW "RIGHTS" ARE ANNOUNCED WITH THE REGULARITY OF THE SEASONS: THE RIGHT TO HOUSING, TO WELFARE BENEFITS, TO ABORTIONS. OLD RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS, TO EDUCATE ONE'S CHILDREN AND TO PERMIT GOD'S PRESENCE IN A SECULAR SOCIETY - THESE ARE LESS BLESSED WITH SKILLED ADVOCATES OR FRIENDLY JUDGES.

JIMMY BYRNES USED TO TELL ABOUT A CLIENT OF HIS DOWN IN SOUTH CAROLINA, A FARMER WHO KEPT ON BUYING LAND UNTIL THE POINT WHERE BYRNES AS HIS LAWYER FELT COMPELLED TO WARN OF FINANCIAL DISASTER. SURPRISED BY THIS, THE FARMER ASSURED BYRNES THAT HE HAD NO MANIA FOR LAND-OWNING -- ALL HE WANTED TO DO WAS ACQUIRE THE PROPERTY THAT ADJOINED HIS OWN. THIS SAME PRINCIPLE HAS GUIDED THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR MUCH OF THIS CENTURY, NOWHERE MORE SO THAN IN THE TANGLED FIELD OF REGULATION. "EXPERIENCE SHOULD TEACH US TO BE MOST ON OUR GUARD TO PROTECT LIBERTY", JUSTICE BRANDEIS TOLD US, "WHEN THE GOVERNMENT'S PURPOSES ARE BENEFICENT... THE GREATEST DANGERS TO LIBERTY LURK IN INSIDIOUS ENCROACHMENT BY MEN OF ZEAL, WELL-MEANING BUT WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING". HALF A CENTURY LATER, THERE ARE STILL PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHO ATTEMPT TO SUBSTITUTE THEIR OWN CONVICTIONS FOR THE RULE OF LAW. AND THERE IS STILL A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT THAT FORGIVES ANY EXCESS ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT SO LONG AS IT IS DONE IN PURSUIT OF A GOOD INTENTION. UNFORTUNATELY, GOOD INTENTIONS OFTEN GET CONFUSED WITH BAD ADMINISTRATION. THAT TRANSLATES INTO A SPIDER'S WEB OF RED TAPE, AND A HIDDEN TAX THAT IN 1982 DRAINED OFF 135 BILLION DOLLARS FROM PRODUCTIVE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. OF COURSE, THERE'S NO WAY TO MEASURE THE FRUSTRATIONS ATTENDANT ON ONE AND A HALF BILLION HOURS OF PAPERWORK COMPLIANCE. BUT MONEY ALONE IS NOT THE ISSUE. NEITHER IS INEFFICIENCY.

A NATION OF SHEEP, WARNS THE OLD AXIOM, SOON PRODUCES A GOVERNMENT OF WOLVES. WE IN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION THINK IT'S POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE WOLVES AT BAY - AND STILL PROTECT THE NATION'S HEALTH, SAFETY, ENVIRONMENTAL AND OTHER STANDARDS. BELIEVING IN THE MARKETPLACE, WE PREFER MARKETPLACE INCENTIVES TO GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES. UNLIKE THE SOUTH CAROLINA FARMER ADVISED BY JIMMY BYRNES, WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO ACQUIRE ALL ADJOINING PROPERTY. ON THE CONTRARY, SINCE TAKING OFFICE, WE'VE REDUCED THE SIZE OF THE FEDERAL REGISTER BY 35%. WE'VE SAVED CONSUMERS AND BUSINESSES ALIKE AT LEAST 15 BILLION DOLLARS IN ONE-TIME OR RECURRING COSTS, AND WE'VE HELD THE LINE ON AGENCY BUDGETS THEMSELVES. THIS YEAR, PAPERWORK ASSOCIATED WITH THE FEDERAL GRANTS PROCESS WILL BE CUT BY 25% - FOR A SAVINGS OF SOME 95,000 WORKYEARS. THE ELIMINATION OF BILINGUAL RULES BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WILL SAVE TAXPAYERS MORE THAN 3 BILLION DOLLARS - WITHOUT FOR A MOMENT ABANDONING THE SEARCH FOR LESS COSTLY WAYS OF FULFILLING A GENUINE SOCIAL OBLIGATION.

I ASSURE YOU, WE IN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAVE NO WISH TO PUT WASHINGTON LAWYERS OUT OF WORK. NOR DO WE SEE A NEED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE LEGAL LIVELIHOOD AND THE TRADITION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY. IN FACT, ONE AREA WHERE FEDERAL LAWYERS ARE BUSIER THAN EVER GOES TO THE VERY HEART OF THAT TRADITION. CONTRARY TO POPULAR IMPRESSION - FOSTERED, NO DOUBT BY SOME OF THOSE UBIQUITOUS HIGH OR RELIABLE SOURCES - THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS MOVE VIGOROUSLY TO ENFORCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS.

AS OF THE END OF DECEMBER, THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAD FILED 95 NEW CRIMINAL CIVIL RIGHTS CASES, AND CONDUCTED TRIALS IN 67 CASES. APPROXIMATELY 1,300 INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED CRIMINAL VIOLATIONS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS ARE NOW PENDING. THE DEPARTMENT HAS PARTICIPATED IN OVER 30 COURT CASES RELATING TO VOTING RIGHTS, AND REVIEWED OVER 9,000 PROPOSED VOTING CHANGES IN AN EFFORT TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS CONTAINED IN LAW AND IN SIMPLE JUSTICE. IN AT LEAST NINE STATES, JUSTICE DEPARTMENT LAWYERS CONTESTED REDISTRICTING PLANS AS INSUFFICIENTLY PROTECTIVE OF MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS. STILL MORE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN FILED TO PROTECT EQUAL EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, AND HOUSING.

LEGITIMATE RIGHTS ARE NOT AT STAKE HERE; CERTAIN REMEDIES ARE. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS ARE PARAMOUNT. BUT GROUP REMEDIES CAN VIOLATE THOSE RIGHTS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, JUDICIAL GOVERNMENT BESPEAKS THE BANKRUPTCY OF POLITICAL GOVERNMENT. AND THAT IS SOMETHING WE TOLERATE ONLY AT GRAVE RISK TO THE RIGHTS OF EVERY CITIZENS.

PERHAPS THE BEST PLACE FOR POLITICAL GOVERNMENT TO WIN BACK THE REINS OF AUTHORITY IS IN THE LAWYER'S OWN BACK YARD. BY THAT, I MEAN THE LOCKED DOORS AND NERVOUS GLANCES THAT CHARACTERIZE SO MANY OF OUR URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS, AND THE CRIMINAL EPIDEMIC THAT STRIKES HARDEST AT THE VERY ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY FOR WHOM THE ACTIVISTS AND REGULATORS PROFESS THE GREATEST CONCERN.

GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS FAR FROM BLAMELESS. IT'S MADE PLENTY OF DECLARATIONS OF WAR ON CRIME THESE LAST TWENTY YEARS -- AND ENGAGED IN FAR TOO LITTLE ACTUAL COMBAT. IN THE 70'S, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DECIDED IT COULD ABOLISH LAWLESSNESS AS IT ONCE HOPED TO ABOLISH POVERTY, BY SPENDING IT OUT OF EXISTENCE. WE THREW EIGHT BILLION DOLLARS AT THE PROBLEM, ONLY TO SEE THE RATE OF VIOLENT CRIME ACTUALLY RISE AN AVERAGE OF 5% A YEAR THROUGHOUT THE LAST DECADE. NOW WE KNOW A PAINFUL TRUTH: THAT MONEY ALONE CAN NEVER BUY PEACE, OR PEACE OF MIND. THAT'S NOT ALL WE KNOW. WE KNOW, FOR INSTANCE, THAT OVER 20,000 AMERICANS LOSE THEIR LIVES TO CRIMINALS EACH YEAR. WE KNOW THAT OVER 25 MILLION AMERICAN HOMES WERE TOUCHED IN SOME WAY BY CRIME LAST YEAR, RESULTING IN A DIRECT FINANCIAL LOSS OF NEARLY 9 BILLION DOLLARS. WE ALSO KNOW THAT THE PUBLIC IS ALARMED BY ALL OF THIS, AND UNDERSTANDABLY EXPECTS US TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. ONE RECENT GALLUP POLL, FOR EXAMPLE, SHOWED NEARLY HALF OF THOSE SURVEYED WERE PERSONALLY WORRIED ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF BEING VICTIMIZED. THE FIGURE CLIMBS TO 65% FOR THOSE 65 AND OVER. AND OVERALL, NEARLY NINE IN TEN AMERICANS SAY THEY ARE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT CRIME NOW THAN THEY WERE FIVE YEARS AGO.

BAD AS THIS IS, THERE'S AN EVEN MORE SINISTER TIME BOMB TICKING AWAY IN THE NATIONAL PSYCHE. THAT IS THE PERVASIVE DISTRUST FELT BY MILLIONS OF AVERAGE AMERICANS FOR THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT IS SUPPOSED TO ENFORCE THEIR RIGHTS AS WELL AS IT PROTECTS THOSE OF THE CRIMINAL. IN 1967, ONE POLLSTER FOUND THAT 49% OF THOSE HE QUESTIONED SAID THE COURTS WERE "TOO LENIENT" ON THE LAWBREAKER. BY LAST YEAR, THAT NUMBER HAD RISEN TO 81%.

WHEN JUSTICE JACKSON SPOKE OF THE NEED FOR THE CITIZEN TO KEEP GOVERNMENT FROM FALLING INTO ERROR, HE WAS NOT INDULGING IN JEFFERSONIAN WISHFUL THINKING. AMERICANS ARE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM BECAUSE THEY SEE AND OFTEN FEEL DIRECT EVIDENCE OF ITS FAILURE. IN NEW YORK CITY, FOR INSTANCE, FEWER THAN 1% OF REPORTED FELONIES END IN A PRISON TERM FOR THE OFFENDER. TRANSIT POLICE IN THAT SAME CITY ESTIMATE THAT PERHAPS HALF OF ALL THE CRIME COMMITTED IN NEW YORK'S SUBWAYS LAST YEAR WAS THE WORK OF 500 HABITUAL OFFENDERS. THE DANGER IS OBVIOUS, YET THE COURTS AND THE CONGRESS SEEM PARALYZED TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT REMOVING IT. THE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THIS, AND RIGHTFULLY DEMAND SOMETHING BETTER. SO THE QUESTION ARISES: HOW DO WE BEST RESPOND TO THAT DEMAND?

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ITSELF NEEDS REFORM. THIS MEANS REVISING THE INSANITY DEFENSE TO ITS ORIGINAL FORM, WHICH SHIELDED MENTALLY DISTURBED INDIVIDUALS WHO DID NOT GRASP THE CRIMINALITY OF THEIR ACTIONS. IT REQUIRED EVIDENCE OF INSANITY, NOT MERELY IRRATIONAL BEHAVIOR. CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM SHOULD ALSO LIMIT THE EXCLUSIONARY RULE BY PERMITTING LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS TO APPLY A "GOOD-FAITH" TEST TO THEIR EVIDENCE GATHERING ACTIVITIES. AND WE SHOULD ALSO REFORM FEDERAL INTERVENTION IN STATE CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS THROUGH THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS - WHICH UNTIL NOW HAS SERVED TO DELAY RATHER THAN EXPEDITE JUSTICE, GIVING EMPLOYMENT TO JAILHOUSE LAWYERS AND CLOGGING DOCKETS AT A TIME WHEN THE ENTIRE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IS THREATENED WITH GRIDLOCK.

SECONDLY, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TO STOP WRINGING ITS HANDS OR BEMOANING LIMITATIONS, AND FIND WAYS OF AIDING LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THEIR CRIMEFIGHTING WORK. AND FINALLY, WASHINGTON HAS TO BE WILLING TO COMMIT BOTH THE FUNDS AND THE MANPOWER IT TAKES TO COMBAT TRULY NATIONAL OUTRAGES -- LIKE LAST YEAR'S TRAGIC KILLINGS IN ATLANTA, THE 79 BILLION DOLLAR A YEAR ONSLAUGHT OF ILLEGAL DRUGS INTO THIS COUNTRY, OR THE ENTRENCHED FORCES OF ORGANIZED CRIME.

THERE ARE CRIMES FOR WHICH ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS THE RESOURCES TO WAGE AN EFFECTIVE COUNTERATTACK. MANY OF YOU, NO DOUBT, ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE WORK OF THE SOUTH FLORIDA SPECIAL TASK FORCE, WHICH HAS BEEFED UP EXISTING ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL IN THE AREA WITH AN EXTRA 145 CUSTOMS AGENTS, 43 MORE FBI AGENTS, 20 ADDITIONAL DEA AGENTS, AND 11 FRESH DEPUTY U.S. MARSHALS. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER HAS ASSIGNED A TOP ASSISTANT TO HELP LOCATE MORE FEDERAL JUDGES FOR FLORIDA. THE NAVY AND COAST GUARD ARE OPERATING IN TANDEM TO INTERDICT SMUGGLERS OFF THE FLORIDA COAST, AND AIRCRAFT COMING INTO THE STATE. THE FAA IS MONITORING AIR MOVEMENTS. THE RESULT OF ALL THIS IS A VIRTUAL STANDSTILL OF MARIJUANA AND COCAINE SMUGGLING IN AND AROUND MIAMI -- AND A LOT OF GROUNDED AIRPLANES IN THE BAHAMAS.

WE'VE LEARNED A LOT FROM THE SOUTH FLORIDA TASK FORCE -- NOT LEAST OF ALL, THAT THE PESTILENCE OF ORGANIZED CRIME AND ILLICIT DRUGS IS HARDLY LIMITED TO THAT PART OF THE COUNTRY. IN FACT, SALES OF ILLEGAL DRUGS LAST YEAR EXCEEDED THOSE OF EVERY MAJOR U.S. CORPORATION BUT EXXON. AND NO FIGURES ON A LEDGER CAN ADEQUATELY CAPTURE THE COSTS IN HUMAN SUFFERING -- THE LIVES LOST, THE NEIGHBORHOODS TERRORIZED, THE JAIL CELLS FULL AND THE FRONT DOORS PADLOCKED. IT'S BEEN ESTIMATED THAT HALF OR MORE OF ALL PROPERTY CRIMES IN THIS COUNTRY ARE DRUG-RELATED. ONE STUDY OF 243 ADDICTS IN A SINGLE AMERICAN CITY DISCLOSED THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR HALF A MILLION OFFENSES OVER AN 11 YEAR PERIOD.

EQUALLY SQUALID AND EQUALLY PERVASIVE IS ORGANIZED CRIME, WHICH FEEDS OFF DRUG ABUSE LIKE BEETLES ON A LEAF. WITH ITS ILLEGAL PROFITS, IT TAKES OVER LEGITIMATE BUSINESS, HOLDS HONEST UNIONS HOSTAGE, ENGAGES IN RACKETEERING, PORNOGRAPHY, PROSTITUTION, AND GAMBLING. TO PROTECT ITS ILLEGAL EMPIRE, IT ENFORCES A MURDEROUS CODE OF SILENCE AND UNQUESTIONED LOYALTY THROUGH PHYSICAL INTIMIDATION, EXTORTION, LOANSHARKING AND MURDER-FOR-HIRE.

WHEN WE TOOK OFFICE, WE FOUND SOMETHING QUITE ASTONISHING. WE FOUND THAT IN FOUR YEARS ALONE, THE FBI AND DEA HAD LOST MORE THAN 900 AGENTS -- NEARLY 10% OF THEIR TOTAL FORCE. OUR DISCOVERY LED US TO APPOINT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S TASK FORCE ON VIOLENT CRIME -- TO GIVE THE FBI CONCURRENT JURISDICTION WITH THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION, THEREBY EXPANDING BY NEARLY 8,000 THE ANTI-DRUG ARMY -- AND TO ESTABLISH COORDINATING COMMITTEES IN EACH OF THE 94 FEDERAL JUDICIAL DISTRICTS WHICH WOULD, IN TURN, IDENTIFY LOCAL PRIORITIES AND HOW BEST TO ALLOCATE LOCAL AND FEDERAL RESOURCES.

WE ENLISTED THE MILITARY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUG TRAFFICKING. AND WE PROPOSED LEGISLATION TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT DANGEROUS DRUG OFFENDERS ARE NOT RELEASED PENDING TRIAL, OR SET FREE ALTOGETHER AS A RESULT OF MINOR TECHNICALITIES IN AN OTHERWISE SOLID CASE. NOW THE PRESIDENT HAS COME FORWARD WITH A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO BUILD ON THIS FOUNDATION.

AMBITIOUS IN SCOPE, IT CALLS FOR EXPENDITURES IN ITS FIRST YEAR OF BETWEEN 160 AND 200 MILLION DOLLARS-- MONEY WE INTEND, WITH CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, TO REDIRECT FROM EXISTING FEDERAL PROGRAMS.

LET ME DESCRIBE AS BRIEFLY AS POSSIBLE JUST EXACTLY WHAT IT IS WE PROPOSE TO DO. FIRST OF ALL, WE WILL ESTABLISH A DOZEN REGIONAL TASK FORCES, PATTERNED ON THE MODEL OF SOUTH FLORIDA'S. THESE WILL CONSOLIDATE FEDERAL RESOURCES, INCLUDING THE FBI, DEA, IRS, ATF, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, U.S. MARSHALS, THE CUSTOMS SERVICE AND THE COAST GUARD -- ALL THE WHILE COORDINATING THEIR EFFORTS WITH THOSE OF LOCAL AND STATE LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS.

SECOND, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION, IN THE MOLD OF THE OLD KEFAUVER AND McCLELLAN COMMITTEES, TO ASSESS ORGANIZED CRIME AND FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON WAYS TO COMBAT IT.

THIRD, WE WILL ENLIST THE FIFTY STATE GOVERNORS IN A MASSIVE OVERHAUL OF STATE STATUTES THAT RETARD THE FIGHT AGAINST RACKETEERING AND ILLEGAL GAMBLING, AMONG OTHER OFFENSES.

FOURTH, ALL RELEVANT FEDERAL AGENCIES AND LAW ENFORCEMENT BUREAUS WILL COME TOGETHER IN A CABINET-LEVEL COMMITTEE CHAIRED BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, TO BE COMPLEMENTED BY A WORKING GROUP HEADED BY THE ASSISTANT ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

FIFTH, THE TREASURY AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENTS WILL EXPAND THEIR TRAINING EFFORT AT GLYNCO, GEORGIA TO INCLUDE SYNDICATED CRIMES SUCH AS ARSON, BRIBERY, COMPUTER THEFT, CONTRACT FRAUD, AND BID RIGGING -- AS WELL AS DRUG SMUGGLING.

SIXTH, WE WILL LAUNCH A NEW OFFENSIVE ON THE LEGISLATIVE FRONT FOR THE KINDS OF STATUTORY REFORMS I HAVE ALREADY OUTLINED.

SEVENTH, THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO SUBMIT AN ANNUAL REPORT DESCRIBING PROGRESS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ORGANIZED CRIME AND DRUG DEALING.

EIGHTH AND LAST, WE WILL ALLOCATE MORE MONEY -- MILLIONS OF DOLLARS MORE -- TO EASE THE OVERCROWDING OF PRISONS THAT NOW RESULTS IN THE PREMATURE RELEASE OF DANGEROUS CRIMINALS. AT 11 EXISTING FEDERAL PRISONS, WE WILL BUILD FACILITIES CONTAINING SPACE FOR 1,260 ADDITIONAL INMATES. AND INSOFAR AS THE VARIOUS TASK FORCES ARE CONCERNED, WE WILL CREATE ABOUT 1,100 TO 1,200 NEW LAW ENFORCEMENT POSITIONS. THE COST OF ALL THIS WILL PROBABLY NOT EXCEED WHAT IS SPENT ON ILLEGAL DRUGS IN A SINGLE DAY. THE POTENTIAL REWARDS ARE ALMOST INCALCULABLE.

NOW UNDOUBTEDLY, THERE WILL BE CRITICISM OF THIS. CRITICISM IN WASHINGTON IS THE PRICE ONE PAYS FOR TRYING TO DO SOMETHING DIFFERENTLY. ALREADY, SELF-PROCLAIMED GUARDIANS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES HAVE ASSAILED OUR PROPOSALS TO REFORM BAIL PROCEDURES, THE EXCLUSIONARY RULE AND THE INSANITY DEFENSE. THEY IMAGINE THE WORST, WHILE MILLIONS OF OUR CITIZENS ARE ACTUALLY EXPERIENCING THE WORST -- IN THE FORM OF PHYSICAL ASSAULTS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPRISONMENT.

YET CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVE: MORE DELAY, MORE VIOLENCE, MORE DISILLUSIONMENT AND ULTIMATELY, MORE DOUBT ABOUT THE ABILITY OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY TO POLICE ITS OWN STREETS AND ENFORCE ITS OWN CODE OF CIVILITY. AGAIN, JUSTICE JACKSON SAID IT BEST. "THERE IS DANGER," HE WROTE IN 1949, "THAT IF THE SUPREME COURT DOES NOT TEMPER ITS DOCTRINAIRE LOGIC WITH A LITTLE PRACTICAL WISDOM, IT WILL CONVERT THE CONSTITUTIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS INTO A SUICIDE PACT."

WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT SUCH A CHOICE SHOULD CONFRONT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. NOR SHOULD JUDGES HAVE TO PAY THE PRICE FOR A GOVERNMENT TOO LAZY OR TOO TIMID TO DO ITS DUTY. REMEMBER WHAT H. L. MENCKEN ONCE SAID: "INJUSTICE IS RELATIVELY EASY TO BEAR; IT IS JUSTICE THAT HURTS."

AND LATELY, A DISTINGUISHED CHORUS OF JUDICIAL VOICES HAS ATTESTED TO THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE FLOOD OF JUSTICE-SEEKERS JAMMING STATE AND FEDERAL COURTROOMS. HALF A DOZEN MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT HAVE COMPLAINED OF AN EXCESSIVE CASELOAD. THE CHIEF JUSTICE HAS MADE HEADLINES WITH HIS CALL FOR A NATIONAL COURT OF APPEALS.

AS RECENTLY AS 1959, THE SUPREME COURT WAS ISSUING FEWER THAN 100 OPINIONS A YEAR -- AND FELIX FRANKFURTER WAS WORRYING OVER DOCKET VOLUME. TODAY, OF COURSE, THAT VOLUME IS SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER, AS IS THE LITERARY OUTPUT OF EACH JUSTICE. ALL THIS CALLS TO MIND MACAULEY'S ASSERTION THAT "THE GOVERNMENT THAT ATTEMPTS MORE THAN IT OUGHT, ENDS UP DOING LESS THAN IT SHOULD." WE HAVE MANY ACTIVIST JUDGES AT THE APPELLATE LEVEL. PERHAPS THEY ARE ATTEMPTING MORE THAN THEY OUGHT, AND DOING LESS FOR THE OVERALL JUDICIAL SYSTEM THAN THEY SHOULD. PERHAPS THEY SHOULD HEED THE WARNING OF JUSTICE STONE, WHO PRESCRIBED JUDICIAL SELF-RESTRAINT AS THE ONLY CHECK UPON THE BENCH.

AND BEFORE WE CREATE NEW COURTS, WE MIGHT WELL LOOK FOR WAYS TO EASE THE STRAIN ON EXISTING ONES. THE CHIEF JUSTICE HIMSELF HAS POINTED OUT A NUMBER OF THESE -- FROM IMPOSING FINANCIAL SANCTIONS ON ATTORNEYS GUILTY OF ABUSING THE DISCOVERY PROCESS TO REMOVING PERSONAL INJURY AND PROPERTY DAMAGE CASES FROM THE COURTS ALTOGETHER, HANDLING THEM ADMINISTRATIVELY AS WE NOW HANDLE CLAIMS FOR WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. THE RULE OF DIVERSITY JURISDICTION NEEDS TO BE AMENDED.

THE COURT ITSELF CAN RESTRICT ITS WORKLOAD TO WHAT JAMES J. KILPATRICK HAS CALLED CASES WITH CONSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION. IT MIGHT EVEN SPEND LESS TIME POLISHING DISSENTS AND CONCURRENCES. AND THE CONGRESS MIGHT PUT AN END TO ITS PRACTICE OF ENLARGING THE FEDERAL JURISDICTION, AS IT HAS DONE IN PASSING APPROXIMATELY 100 STATUTES OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS. AGAIN, WE IN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ARE EAGER TO HELP BOTH THE COURTS AND CONGRESS DO EVERYTHING WITHIN THEIR RIGHTFUL DOMAIN -- AND NOTHING MORE. ANYTHING ELSE PROMISES A MODERN DAY VERSION OF JARNDYCE VERSUS JARNDYCE, WITH TRAGIC IMPLICATIONS FOR JUSTICE AND POPULAR GOVERNMENT AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT.

JOHN MARSHALL LIKED TO DEFINE THE ACME OF JUDICIAL DISTINCTION AS THE ABILITY TO LOOK A LAWYER STRAIGHT IN THE EYES FOR TWO HOURS AND NOT HEAR A DAMNED WORD HE SAYS. COME TO THINK OF IT, THAT SOUNDS A LOT LIKE THE POLITICAL PROCESS. BUT THIS EVENING IS DIFFERENT. OCCASIONS SUCH AS THIS SERVE TO REMIND US ALL OF THE NEED TO LISTEN BEFORE ONE LEADS. THEY MAY EVEN UNCOVER SURPRISING GROUNDS OF AGREEMENT.

DEAN ACHESON LIKED TO QUOTE JUSTICE HOLMES ON THE SUPREME IMPORTANCE OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES AS THE BASIC OF ALL JUDGING. BUT HE ALSO RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULTIES THAT ARISE IN APPLYING PRINCIPLE. "IT COMES FROM THE RESISTANCE OF THE HUMAN MIND TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WHAT IT DISAPPROVES OF CAN BE REASONABLE." HE SAID NOT LONG BEFORE HIS DEATH, "ONLY A MIND RIGIDLY DISCIPLINED BY HUMILITY AND RESTRAINT AND GIFTED WITH IMAGINATION CAN SURMOUNT THESE OBSTACLES".

HUMILITY AND RESTRAINT AND IMAGINATION: NO ONE EVER PROVIDED A BETTER FORMULA FOR MODERN GOVERNMENT. NO ONE EVER GAVE A MORE PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE CHALLENGES CONFRONTING LAWMAKERS AND LAW INTERPRETERS ALIKE. IT IS EASY TO PLEDGE FIDELITY TO SUCH VIRTUES IN THE ABSTRACT. CAN WE MAKE REALITY A REFLECTION OF SUCH WORDS? IT IS A QUESTION THAT HANGS IN THE BALANCE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECT OUR ANSWER. THEY DEMAND NOTHING MORE; THEY DESERVE NOTHING LESS.