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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK DARMAN
KEN DUBERSTEIN
CRAIG FULLER
DAVE GERGEN
MIKE McMANUS
JACK SVAHN
BOB KIMMITT
ED ROLLINS

FROM: MIKE DEEVER *md*

We have only received two outlines as requested in connection with your thoughts for the State of the Union speech. Therefore, we would like to request any additional outlines to be submitted by 2:00 p.m., Friday, December 2nd to Mike McManus.

Also, this is to schedule a follow-up meeting on the State of the Union speech to be held on Monday, December 5th at 1:00 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
November 4, 1983

*Mike - This is just
a thought on the
if anyone thinks it's
worth the effort, well
flesh out it.*

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL McMANUS

FROM: JACK SVAHN *JS.*

SUBJECT: Unifying Themes for the SOTUS

This is to suggest some unifying themes for the speech along with a possible construct that would at once recap the President's feats to date and project his leadership forward to the unfinished agenda and items of new business before him --and the Congress. This construct would also repeatedly drive home the oft-overlooked notion that Congress shares responsibility for what happens -- or fails to happen -- in Washington.

I. A CENTRAL THEME

The message could be built around a new, media-attractive variation on the underlying theme of what his Presidency has done and hopes to do.

I suggest "BALANCED GOVERNMENT" for what it says per se, for its evocative twist on the old "BALANCED BUDGET" war cry, and for its flexibility and adaptability in virtually any occasion or context. Note how it works in various segments of the following suggested outline. Consider how it might play along the campaign trail and in the ongoing brouhahas on the Hill over the balance of legislative-executive powers in such arenas as the budget, the War Powers Act, Congressional vetoes, et al.

II. SPIN-OFF THEMES

Wherever appropriate, the speech and subsequent communiques should evince the "Yeah, right on ..." or "That makes sense ..." reaction in the middle class core of the President's constituency, the folks most used to balancing family checkbooks and seeing the logic of balancing government's overweening interests with their own.

Several obvious candidates: "COMMON SENSE"
"UNFINISHED AGENDA"
"NEW BUSINESS BEFORE US"
"HARD NEW LOOK AT OLD PROBLEMS"

III. A SUGGESTED CONSTRUCT FOR THE SOTUS

A. REBUILDING THE FOUNDATION FOR BALANCED GOVERNMENT

The State of our Union in this new year -- and in this momentous decade -- may well depend on what we make of it, you and I, over the course of this last session of the 98th Congress ...

Most of you have served with me over the past three years ... a time when we had no more urgent business before us than to repair the damages of excesses and oversights of the past ...

We have hit snags. We have hit roadblocks. But we have made great progress toward rebuilding the strong base for the balanced government that the people of this great Nation demand of their elected leaders ...

We share that record ... my Administration and Members of this Congress and we have earned the right to point with pride to what we have done ...

We have made history over the past three years on:

- ... taxes
- ... spending
- ... inflation and interest
- ... climate for economic growth and jobs
- ... common sense government (Cost Control)
- ... safety net reaching more than ever
- ... defense and foreign policy
- ... Etc. with details on each litany of accomplishments

Our accomplishments of the past three years have done much to strengthen our Nation's hand at home and abroad for coping with the challenges of events and the needs of our people that lie ahead ...

We are today on the threshold of a new, troubling time of uncertainty ... a time when the smallest misstep could trip up our economic recovery ... a time when the slightest misadventure could upset the fragile peace that is so seriously threatened in so many areas of our world ...

It is a time to take stock ... to test the winds ... to challenge ourselves. To look back at where we've been, so that we can learn from our mistakes. To look forward to where we want to go, so that we will make no mistake in the road we choose ...

I urge today that the road we choose ... you and I ... lead us into this new time of our Nation's life in a renewed spirit of balanced government ...

The people want nothing more from their elected leaders than balanced government ... government in balance with reality ... government in balance with their pocketbooks ... and, most importantly, government in balance with their expectations ...

People want a government that knows its place ... and stays in it. A government that does its job ... and no more. A government that delivers basic services well ... and doesn't go charging off down the road in bold new directions in search of bold new things to do at a time when there are no bold new dollars to pay for them ... and no bold new mandate from the people to do them ...

That's the kind of balance I believe we must strike in this year ... and in the years to come ...

To the extent that we succeed, we will be responding to the realities of our times and the priorities of the people we serve ...

To the extent that we fail, we will be turning our backs on both ...

B. BALANCED GOVERNMENT MEANS CONTROLS ON TAXES AND SPENDING

(Repeat litany on tax/spending growth cuts)

The people we serve demand that our laws and Constitution reflect their commitment to the ideal of balanced, controlled government ...

I call on you once again to act -- soon -- on a Constitutional mandate that the business of the American people be carried out under a balanced budget except in times of dire emergency when any President and any Congress would have no other choice ...

There isn't a State in the Union which does not have a mandate written into its Constitution or laws. In forty-three states, the Chief Executive has a line-item veto power to help make the balanced budget ideal work in reality when the legislative branch is unable or unwilling to live up to it ...

Should federal taxpayers be content to have any less protection? The people we serve demand more shelter from government spending run amok than the good intentions of the men and women in their Congress and the thin black line drawn by their President's veto pen ...

The budget I will submit to you a month from now will reflect their demands. It will propose no new programs or spending plans unless they meet new needs we cannot ignore, or will help create more private sector jobs, or will carry out the letter of existing law ...

That will be the bottom line of every page of my budget proposal. And those will be the standards by which I will sign or veto any bill that emerges from the legislative process ...

And let's not play games with the budget issue ... even if it is an election year ...

Let's not pretend that government can be the be-all, end-all, catch-all that too many politicians keep promising it can be ...

It cannot be. We cannot pretend that it can be ... for the price of too much government trying to be too many things to too many people is a price in taxpayer dollars and a failure of common sense that we simply cannot afford to pay ...

C. BALANCED GOVERNMENT MEANS COMPLETING THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE PAST THREE YEARS

- Jobs for American workers
- Family initiatives
- Women
- Medicare (cite Social Security, decry politicization in 82 elections; pledge bi-partisan approach to Medicare; express belief "we can and we will achieve a rescue plan Claude Pepper can vote for and I can sign ...")
- Federalism initiatives
- Education
- Energy
- Crime and drug abuse
- Social issues (abortion, prayer)

--Defense and foreign policy

--Peace

--Catch-all thought: Let us keep in mind ... anything and everything we do in any domestic area must never, in any way, threaten to undermine the course of the economic recovery, etc.

D. BALANCED GOVERNMENT MEANS RECOGNIZING REALITY

(Good juncture for discourse on intractable problems like education, drug abuse, budget deficits, acid rain in terms middle class couple can relate to tough problems in their own lives. An example:)

The message from the people we serve is loud and clear. We need to do more with less ... we need to make more sense out of the dollars we spend ...

But government at all levels ... starting right here ... has not responded to that message as quickly and effectively as it should. Blame politics. Blame tradition. Blame bureaucracy. Blame special interests. There is enough blame to go around. And, the sad fact is, there is much to be blamed for

Take education ...

For years we have provided exponential growth in funding for our schools from an increasingly finite resource system ... the taxpayer's pocket. There is no area of government where we have lavished more money and more attention over the years ...

Yet today, in the eyes of the taxpayers and from the evidence in hand, there is something wrong. The numbers of students are going down ... and yet costs keep zooming up, faster than ever before. Our society grows more technologically complex by the day ... but pupil achievement scores are falling -- and record numbers are simply dropping out ...

We are in a time when education is more important to the quality of life of today's children and tomorrow's adults than ever before. We are also in a time when people's faith in all institutions ... including education ... is fading fast ...

Simply throwing more money at our schools is not the answer. We can't keep moving dollars onward and upward without doing more to move the system onward and upward towards better quality in the classrooms ...

If government at any level is going to demand more support for our schools from the taxpayers ... they have got to be convinced that all of those dollars -- and the dollars being spent right now -- are getting through to the kids sitting in those classrooms ...

(Cite Commission findings ...)

(List education initiatives ...)

E. WE HAVE A FULL AGENDA OF NEW BUSINESS

(Good juncture for laundry list of forward-looking projects, all based, of course, on success of economic recovery that gave us the strength and vision to look ahead, e.g.):

--Traditional Values -- Re-enforcing the unique character of our civilization.

--Taxes -- Bipartisan commission to take hard, common sense look at fundamental tax reform.

--Space -- Blasting off in new directions.

--Trade -- Discuss new initiatives as way to weave economy/jobs points back into the speech.

--Private Sector Initiatives -- Bigger and better plans.

--National Goals Task Force -- Where are we, where are we going? Etc.

F. BALANCED GOVERNMENT MEANS ENHANCING THE QUALITY OF OUR LIFE

(Ending theme -- Chance to wrap up on lofty note; perhaps co-opt the "Are you better off today than four years ago ..." issue by making strong conceptual and down-to-earth case that the Nation as a whole is indeed better off ... and getting better by the day.)

--Families are better off -- taxes, economy, inflation, spending, progress on education, traditional values, economic stability, etc.

--Poor are better off -- work incentives, targetted resources, rising economy.

--World is better off -- end of foreign policy drifting,
peacekeeping role reasserted, trade initiatives.

--And things will get even better -- long, hard time of
tough choices now being endured to get our economy and
national character back on right track. Must overcome
long years of wretched excesses, mistakes, etc. now if
ours and future generations are to enjoy the full
potential of American civilization.

November 2, 1983

DRAFT OUTLINE
NATIONAL SECURITY SEGMENT
STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
January, 1984

INTRODUCTION (transition to establish vision of solid American leadership, embraced both at home and abroad)

- ° (FDR in 1945) "The only limits to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today." As true for national security affairs as for domestic affairs. As we look to the future, end any lingering doubts about America's role in the world.
- ° Our reach may exceed our grasp...but reach we will as a force for good.

THE FOCUS OF OUR VISION IN THE YEARS AHEAD

- ° DETERRENCE AND PEACE. Make certain of our ability to defend freedom and preserve the peace. More certain management of this challenge.
- ° LEADERSHIP. Complete the task of restoring America's capability (economic and military) and credibility (resolve and self-confidence) necessary to exercise strong international leadership.
- ° ARMS REDUCTIONS. Be on the road of real arms reductions, not arms control. With enough momentum to secure more and more reductions.
- ° STABILITY. Establish a more stable environment for peaceful change worldwide.

ILLUSTRATIVE COMPONENTS FOR DISCUSSION

- ° Mutual respect and confidence between U.S. and our Allies and friends (resulting in greater unity, more rational economic policies, allies and friends proud to stand with us, greater vitality in Alliances).
- ° Cooperative strategy for global growth (development programs that capture spirit of free enterprise).
- ° Finish the job of building a credible, responsive defense posture.
- ° Unwavering support for democracy, reform, and elimination of longstanding inequities. An active policy (Middle East, Latin America, Africa, etc.)
- ° Work hard to strengthen bipartisan approach to national security matters.

CONCLUSION

- ° Only one American foreign policy, only one American defense program. Harmony is the key to success.
- ° Harmony at home begets harmony abroad.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DONNA BLUME

FROM: MARGIE CRAWFORD ^{MB}

SUBJECT: SOU Mtg today at 5:30pm

The attendees will be:

Mr. Deaver
Darman
Oglesby
Fuller
Gergen
McManus
Svahn
Kimmitt
Rollins
Elliott

Mike
say the
union

This meeting is in the Ward Room.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK DARMAN
CRAIG FULLER
DAVE GERGEN
MIKE McMANUS
B. OGLESBY
JACK SVAHN
BOB KIMMITT
BEN ELLIOTT
ED ROLLINS

FROM: MIKE DEAVER *M*

This is a reminder of the State of the Union
Address meeting to be held on Tuesday,
December 6 at 5:30 p.m. in the Ward Room.


Attached is some material I thought you
would like to review before the meeting.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/6/83
5:30-1

October 14, 1983

NOTE FOR: STATE OF THE UNION GROUP
FROM: RICHARD G. DARMAN 
SUBJECT: FIVE THOUGHTS AND A FOOTNOTE

Five Thoughts:

(1) Bridging -- The Coalition Trick. The reelection trick is to put together a coalition that stretches from the President's natural base on the right to and across a wide band of ticket-splitters and swing voters -- without the benefit of an anti-Carter vote. Getting the natural base requires a rather obvious combination of performance, rhetoric, and commitment in relation to traditional conservative issues and values. Getting the swing voters is a good bit more complicated. And the trick is complicated further by the fact that some of what appeals to the base is not appealing to the swing voters.

(2) The Man for the Future. I believe that one big element in appealing to swing voters will be the President's ability to convince people not only that he is a man who was a valuable corrective for a weak, misguided, and ineffective Carter -- but also that he is, in fact, the best man to deal with the future.

NOTE: A recent Hart poll showed people agreeing with the following statement by 55-37: "Ronald Reagan may have been a logical choice for what we needed in 1980, but we need a different approach for the future." (NYT Sept. 29, 1983)

(3) The Bridge From Past To Future. Combining points (1) and (2): The coalition must be built, in part, by bridging from Ronald Reagan the traditional conservative to Ronald Reagan the man for the future. The bridge must show the connection of the one to the other. It must show a future-oriented capacity for growth and new ideas -- built on the restored base of conservative principles and accomplishments. To put the matter the other way round: Against a skillful opponent, I doubt it would suffice simply to point to Reagan accomplishments and promise more of the same. There will have to be more of the same -- but there will also have to be more than more of the same!

(4) The State of the Union Message as Bridge. It's almost a natural.

(5) The Great Goals Gimmick. I like the admittedly hackneyed idea of having a small number of goals that suggest, at once, a rooting, a focus, and a vision. The State of the Union message would be the obviously appropriate point to set out such goals -- in a manner that, consistent with (1)-(4), bridges from the Reagan of 1980 to the Reagan of 1984 and beyond. I have attached one possible set of goals for consideration and discussion.

A (less-than-wholly-serious) Footnote:

I still agree with the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Crises who said: "The State of the Union message should be oral -- and, if not, written." I bet most Americans also agree.

Attachment: Goals (for use in SoU)

INTRO

- Review how far we've come.
- Show thoughtfulness re changing future.
- Transition to goals -- next stage in Reaganomics plus ...

GOALS

I. BRING COMMON SENSE TO FEDERAL BUDGETING
(End Mickey Mouse Budgeting)

- freeze at '84 discretionary request level
- 2-year budget plan (joint resolution)
- line item veto
- balanced budget constitutional amendment

II. MAKE TAXES SIMPLE AND FAIR

- articulate principles
- announce study of simpler/fair tax system
(no specific recommendations 'til after election)

III. USE STATES AS LABORATORIES

- R&D initiative to give vitality to federalism

IV. DEVELOP OUR NEWEST FRONTIER

- Kennedy-style commitment to permanent
manned presence in space

V. PROTECT OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

- parks/outdoors initiatives
- balanced program for acid rain reduction and/or
toxic waste clean-up

VI. RESTORE TRADITIONAL VALUES
(discuss moral leadership and Presidency)

- Pluralism (tuition tax etc.)
- Sanctity of Life/Family
- Equity/opportunity
- PSI
- Excellence in Education

VII. SECURE A STABLE PEACE

. . . .

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 4, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL McMANUS

FROM: JACK SVAHN *JS*

SUBJECT: Unifying Themes for the SOTUS

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B. BALANCED GOVERNMENT MEANS CONTROLS ON TAXES AND SPENDING

(Repeat litany on tax/spending growth cuts)

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It cannot be. We cannot pretend that it can be ... for the price of too much government trying to be too many things to too many people is a price in taxpayer dollars and a failure of common sense that we simply cannot afford to pay ...

C. BALANCED GOVERNMENT MEANS COMPLETING THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE PAST THREE YEARS

--Jobs for American workers

--Family initiatives

--Women

--Medicare (cite Social Security, decry politicization in 82 elections; pledge bi-partisan approach to Medicare; express belief "we can and we will achieve a rescue plan Claude Pepper can vote for and I can sign ...")

--Federalism initiatives

--Education

--Energy

--Crime and drug abuse

--Social issues (abortion, prayer)

--Defense and foreign policy

--Peace

--Catch-all thought: Let us keep in mind ... anything and everything we do in any domestic area must never, in any way, threaten to undermine the course of the economic recovery, etc.

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(Good juncture for discourse on intractable problems like education, drug abuse, budget deficits, acid rain in terms middle class couple can relate to tough problems in their own lives. An example:)

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Take education ...

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We are in a time when education is more important to the quality of life of today's children and tomorrow's adults than ever before. We are also in a time when people's faith in all institutions ... including education ... is fading fast ...

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(Cite Commission findings ...)

(List education initiatives ...)

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(Good juncture for laundry list of forward-looking projects, all based, of course, on success of economic recovery that gave us the strength and vision to look ahead, e.g.:)

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--Taxes -- Bipartisan commission to take hard, common sense look at fundamental tax reform.

--Space -- Blasting off in new directions.

--Trade -- Discuss new initiatives as way to weave economy/jobs points back into the speech.

--Private Sector Initiatives -- Bigger and better plans.

--National Goals Task Force -- Where are we, where are we going? Etc.

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(Ending theme -- Chance to wrap up on lofty note; perhaps co-opt the "Are you better off today than four years ago ..." issue by making strong conceptual and down-to-earth case that the Nation as a whole is indeed better off ... and getting better by the day.)

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--World is better off -- end of foreign policy drifting, peacekeeping role reasserted, trade initiatives.

--And things will get even better -- long, hard time of tough choices now being endured to get our economy and national character back on right track. Must overcome long years of wretched excesses, mistakes, etc. now if ours and future generations are to enjoy the full potential of American civilization.

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ILLUSTRATIVE COMPONENTS FOR DISCUSSION

- ° Mutual respect and confidence between U.S. and our Allies and friends (resulting in greater unity, more rational economic policies, allies and friends proud to stand with us, greater vitality in Alliances).
- ° Cooperative strategy for global growth (development programs that capture spirit of free enterprise).
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- ° Work hard to strengthen bipartisan approach to national security matters.

CONCLUSION

- ° Only one American foreign policy, only one American defense program. Harmony is the key to success.
- ° Harmony at home begets harmony abroad.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN 

SUBJECT:

1984 State of the Union

The primary message, in my view, ought to be very simple: the state of the union is getting better and under RR's continued leadership, will get better still.

A good thematic vehicle for that message is to separate the decade of the 70s from that of the 80s. In the 70s, we accumulated an enormous burden of problems as the result of failed policies that dated way back into the past. The economy was a mess, as inflation soared to peacetime highs, interest rates went through the roof, and recession followed upon recession with deepening intensity. Families were sent reeling. At the same time, American authority overseas was steadily declining as the Soviets and their surrogates expanded their influence from Afghanistan to the Caribbean, and as the Western alliances were weakened. In short, the 70s left us a bitter legacy.

In the 1980s, by sharp contrast, we are no longer creating problems but solving them step-by-step. We are reversing the downward spiral. We set to work three years ago on the economy as our first and foremost priority. Today, as the result of bipartisan successes in cutting taxes and reigning in runaway spending, we see inflation cut by two thirds and interest rates cut in half. We are bouncing out of recession and men and women are finding jobs at near record rates. Families are sticking together more and there is a renewed belief in traditional family values. Just as importantly, America's adversaries now see renewed strength and determination in the West. The deterioration in our military preparedness has been halted, and we are better able to keep the peace today than only three years ago. From Central America to the Middle East, we have successfully demonstrated a new resolve. In the face of Soviet intimidation, we have moved forward as an alliance with deployment of new weapons that will strengthen European security. Today, America is not only closer to prosperity but we have greatly enhanced the prospects for long-term peace and freedom.

Sure, many daunting problems remain. Too many still need work, deficits loom large, arms talks are difficult, etc. But America can now face its future with renewed confidence that it can overcome the challenges before it. We have not just endured the difficulties of the past; we have prevailed. Our greatest need now is to stay on course, gradually, calmly, clearing away the rest of the debris of the 70s and building a much better world for our children the rest of this century.

As we have over the past three years, we must build not just for today but for the long-term. This Congress in 1984 has an opportunity -- and yes, a responsibility -- to act on measures that will carry us far into the future. (Succinct discussion follows, avoiding a long laundry list of measures but hitting the high spots).

-- To sustain the recovery: we need to curtail spending growth, enact the line item veto, pass a balanced budget amendment, move toward simplified taxation, etc.

-- To improve the quality of life: we need to pass legislation for strengthening the family, for enterprise zones, tuition tax credits, the environment (and education), etc., and we need to chart out new frontiers in space.

-- To strengthen prospects for peace: we need X, Y, and Z.

Our agenda is still long, our tasks still enormous. But (returning to a central theme) we have already shown in these past few years that we now have the capacity and the will to make the 80s one of the most creative and memorable decades of the century. The pessimists are still among us, but they are in retreat, their numbers dwindling.

In every difficult age, the times call forth new leadership, new vision, new action. In this age, we see those new leaders stepping forward in towns and cities across the nation -- the heroes that RR spoke of in his inaugural address who are transforming the American economy and restoring the American spirit. (RR might cite three - four examples). It is their spirit that we celebrate as the new year begins, and it is to them that we must dedicate our efforts in Washington in the weeks and months ahead.

Notes:

-- If RR were to cite a few stories of authentic heroes that he likes to talk about -- say, a volunteer leader, an outstanding black principal, an unusual blue collar worker (ethnic), a senior citizen, etc. -- that would not only make it a more interesting, Reaganesque speech but would also draw press attention to the people. They would be good offsets to the Democratic attacks that are sure to come.

-- We all agree that this speech should lift a piece of the curtain on the second term. I don't know what the 5-year project group is producing, but it might be helpful to see if they have any particular thoughts at this time.

-- Now that the announcement speech seems so closely tied in time to the State of the Union, we obviously need to resolve how the speeches would fit together.

-- Oh, yes, the State of the Union Address should be oral.

cc: Baker
Darman
Duberstein
Fuller
McManus
Svahn
Elliott
Kimmitt
Oglesby
Rollins

INTRODUCTION: THE STATE OF THE UNION IS BETTER AND WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE. Together, we have stopped our long, national decline. Tonight, there is a new spirit of optimism spreading across this land. America can look to the 80's with courage, confidence, and hope.

I. AMERICA MADE A NEW BEGINNING.

- A. Three years ago, America gripped by crisis from failed policies that placed their faith in Government, rather than the unlimited power and strength of a free people under God.
1. We inherited the worst economic crisis in postwar history: Years of taxing, spending, and regulation run wild had crippled the most productive economy in the world with record inflation and interest rates, sputtering growth, and one recession piled on another.
 2. These failed policies increased the strains on American families, led to a rise in divorce, crime, and saddled us with an education system that graduated students unable to read or write.
 3. Overseas, America was losing respect. The enemies of democracy and freedom were on the move from Afghanistan to the Caribbean and our allies questioned America's will to defend freedom and peace.
- B. We asked Americans from the grassroots to the Congress to unite in a great crusade of national renewal. We said: Let us put the bitter legacy of the 1970's behind us; let us look to the future with confidence; both at home and abroad, let us give freedom a chance. We had the audacity to say people have a right to keep more of the money they earn, and the power of government must be reined in. We said it was time to make a new beginning -- and we have.
1. Tonight, there is a new beginning for young families and senior citizens freed from the scourge of double-digit inflation and unfair tax increases. Cite example of family and statistics.
 2. Tonight, there is new hope for couples dreaming of owning a home and entrepreneurs with vision to create products and jobs for tomorrow. Cite growth and record employment statistics.
 3. Tonight, a freedom tide is rising around the world. Citizens from Grenada to Beirut, and from Warsaw to the streets of Seoul know that America will stand up for democracy, progress and peace. The United States is respected again. I am

pleased to report that pride and credibility are being restored to our military forces, and that patriotism is no longer a dirty word.

- C. By pulling together, we have rescued a Nation whose house was on fire, we have put out the flames, and brick by brick, we have laid a new, more secure foundation.
 - 1. I believe America is more prosperous, safe and secure tonight than three years ago.
 - 2. We have come far, yet so much remains to be done. Let us join together to take freedom's next step and build for the future. With the pillars of faith, responsibility and opportunity, we can build an America, free, strong and at peace in the eighties.

II. AMERICA, FREE, STRONG AND AT PEACE IN THE EIGHTIES. We are a brave, sturdy people. The future beckons us with vast opportunities to develop new technologies, make breakthroughs in medicine, food production, explore deeper in space -- and to do all these things for the benefit of our families and generations to come. To enable this economic recovery to provide the opportunities and abundance of a lasting economic expansion, to improve the quality of life for our citizens and to strengthen prospects for a genuine peace that enshrines freedom, democracy and justice, I ask the American people to unite tonight behind five great goals.

- A. First, let us bring common sense to Federal Budgeting and get the growth of spending under control. I am calling on the Congress to:
 - 1. Give the American people the spending cuts we asked for last year;
 - 2. Pass a joint resolution supporting our 2-year budget plan;
 - 3. Grant the power of line item vetoes; and
 - 4. Heed the people and pass a balanced budget Constitutional amendment.
- B. Second, let us say NO to tax increases, and instead, begin the work of making the tax code simple, fair and rewarding for every working American.
 - 1. Articulate principles;
 - 2. Announce study of simpler/fair tax system;

C. Third, to protect the Earth's resources, and to explore our newest frontier, let us move to:

1. Protect our parks -- [other outdoor initiatives];
2. Go forward with a toxic waste cleanup -- [other environmental initiatives];
3. Establish a permanent manned presence in space.

D. Fourth, America can only build a stronger future by remaining true to the values of faith, family and neighborhood that made us a good and loving people.

1. We are a Nation under God -- it's time to allow Him back in our schools;
2. The most sacred principal of a free people is the sanctity of innocent human life;
3. Family rights and opportunities will be enhanced by passage of tuition tax credits and expanded IRA's;
4. Families will be better protected by a new commitment to combat crime and drug addiction;
5. Many neighborhoods and communities will be strengthened by passage of enterprise zones; and
6. Every family has a stake in promoting excellence in education.

E. Fifth, let us continue to seek a meaningful peace that expands freedom, democracy and justice. This is not a selfish American interest, but the God-given right of every man, woman, and child on Earth.

1. We are restoring the conditions necessary to strengthen peace with freedom:

American leadership and creditability is being renewed, years of disinvestment in military strength reversed, bipartisanship restored, alliances strengthened, America's purpose and direction understood and commitments to values made clear. This is a fundamental success, because it is the essential condition for all other successes. Never again can we allow drift and indecision.

2. We are sharing responsibilities, promoting strategies for economic growth and working to have those outside the family of nations join the civilized world.

3. We are committed to reduce the levels of nuclear weapons as we preserve our capacity for deterrence. We will never leave the bargaining table and we are willing to compromise. But it is up to the Soviet Union to decide if it wants to negotiate in good faith. We will persevere.

III. AMERICA'S BEST DAYS ARE AHEAD; DEMOCRACY'S BEST DAYS ARE BEFORE US. The future often seems to come fast upon us. But Americans have always been ready. As a free people, we have chosen to shape our future. The best days of America lie ahead. The best days for people everywhere lie ahead. The spirit, determination and love of liberty of the people give us good reason for optimism. [A few examples] The tide of history is with Americans like these. The tide of history is with democracy.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR STATE OF THE UNION GROUP

FROM: M. B. OGLESBY, JR.

Building on our discussion of yesterday, here are some random thoughts:

--Our friends on the Hill recognize that the State of the Union sets the agenda for 1984 framing the issues for the legislative and election battles. They expect the speech to outline general principles (goals) for action--not detailed proposals.

--However, as we "consult" we will be told that certain legislation "must" be mentioned in the speech. Agencies will also push specific legislation. We should avoid laundry lists--but there are constituencies who want specific items mentioned. The following is a list of some anticipated "musts":

- Enterprise Zones
- Farm Programs
- Export Enhancement
- Trade Department
- Immigration/refugees/boat people
- Crime Package
- School Prayer
- Fair Housing
- Natural Gas
- Bankruptcy
- Women's Issues/Child Support/Tax Items
- Tuition Tax Credit
- Defense Programs
- Central America
- Arms Control (negotiations/build down/freeze)
- Lebanon (War Powers)
- Acid Rain
- Clean Air
- Telecommunications
- Senior Citizens
- Health Care Reform
- Math/Science Bill
- Industrial Policy
- Export Administration Act
- Port Development/Coal Exports
- Balanced Budget Amendment

Veterans/Agent Orange
Defense Procurement/Cost Control
Oil Export/Alaskan Oil
Toxic Waste
Taxes and Tax Reform
Fairness Issue
Regulatory Reform
High Technology Policy

--"New Federalism" may be a dead legislative package--but the philosophy is very much alive in our budget and rhetoric. Cities and states (urban and rural, growing and dying)--the proper balance between Federal and local government is important and those constituencies would expect us to address some of their concerns.

--By citing actual "people stories" that reflect the themes we are building, we would give our Congressional supporters the kind of ammunition that they would be willing to use with the press and in back home speeches. The more people echoing our themes the better it will sell.

--Formulating a positive path to the future--by citing progress already made and outlining long term goals--is politically consistent with a call for the retention of a Republican Senate and the need for more Republicans in the House.

--The speech should explain and respond to long term trends rather than be a response to recent crises or events. Just as our economic policy was geared to providing for long-term economic health--our agenda is for sustained peace and prosperity.

--Use a bipartisan note to state that we are willing to deal with the tough issues to protect our long term interests. Give the Congress some credit for our bipartisan handling of domestic issues, i.e., Social Security and foreign policy problems such as Lebanon.

--We should be proud of the progress we have made. American people should be proud that this government, under the leadership of this President is stronger and more respected at home and abroad.

--We should be confident about the future. There is an underlying uneasiness about the economy and our foreign policy. Confidence is contagious--so let's spread it around.

--Deficits. We have to take the high(?) ground (along with everyone else) and pound away--we can't finesse the rhetoric, just the details.

--As we get bogged down in the details of the budget, it is essential that we use the themes of the State of the Union to dominate the political rhetoric. Close coordination with the Congress and the campaign committee can pay great dividends.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 26, 1983

*DIC
MEMO*

MEMO FOR DICK WIRTHLIN

FROM: MIKE DEEVER

I would appreciate it if you could meet with Mike McManus and me on Friday, October 28 to prepare for the State of the Union Meeting I am calling on Monday at 10:30am. (memo attached).

*-11:30
DB*

My office will be calling to see if we can set up a mutually convenient time.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 26, 1983

MEMO FOR DONNA BLUME
FROM: MARGIE CRAWFORD

*MC
10/28*

Attached is a draft memo to be sent over Mr. Deaver's initials regarding the State of the Union meeting.

I have gotten the Roosevelt Room from 10:30 a.m. - 11:30am Monday morning the 31st.

I have not made any calls on the meeting as I wanted to wait to make sure the attendees were ok to Mr. Deaver.

I also wanted to bring to your attention the attached memo to Mr. Wirthlin. Mike McManus thought it would be better if Mr. Deaver, McManus and Wirthlin were to meet on Friday. Mike McManus' schedule is wide open after 11:30am on Friday so maybe we can work it out. Just let me know.

Thanks.

*↓
11:30
10/28*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 21, 1983

Donna,

Re: the meeting we have discussed on Monday, Oct. 3rd at 10am on the State of the Union the following individuals have been notified and can come: McManus, Darman, Gergen Svahn, and Mr. Baker (if he wants to). The only two who can't are Fuller and Rollins. Could you please ask Mr. Deaver if he wants to go ahead and have the meeting anyway. Thanks -- just let me know.

MOC

yes

no

who's
this?
maudie
Clawford
(memoranda)

Wentzler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DONNA BLUME

FROM: MARGIE CRAWFORD

SUBJECT: Attendees for SOU Mtg
Mon., Oct. 31st at
1:00pm in the Roosevelt Rm

Mr. Deaver
Mr. Baker
Mr. Darman
Mr. Fuller
Mr. Gergen
Mr. McManus
Mr. Svahn
Mr. Kimmitt
Mr. Rollins

Attached is agenda for the meeting.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1983

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS MEETING

1:00 p.m.

Roosevelt Room

Agenda

1. Meetings

- a. Regular meetings on State of the Union with the working group.
- b. Meetings with Congressional Leadership.
- c. Meetings with Special Interest Groups.

2. Outlines

- a. Request outlines from participants in State of the Union working group with issues to be discussed and suggestions for outline of speech format. (delivered to McManus' office by Friday, November 4th).
- b. Tone - tempered optimism?
- c. Thematic not programatic?
- d. Report card format?
- e. Consistent with budget.
- f. Reinforce strength and leadership with RR.

3. Wirthlin and Teeter Input

To be requested and submitted first by November 4th and then updated on a regular basis.

4. Campaign Input

Meetings with Laxalt, Rollins, Drew Lewis regarding their input as to content.


5. New Material (discussion of Space Program, North American Accord, Women's Task Force, National Goals Task Force).

6. Discussion of schedule for 1st, 2nd and 3rd distribution of draft to working group and agreed upon time of draft to go to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1983

NOTE FOR: STATE OF THE UNION GROUP
FROM: RICHARD G. DARMAN 
SUBJECT: FIVE THOUGHTS AND A FOOTNOTE

Five Thoughts:

(1) Bridging -- The Coalition Trick. The reelection trick is to put together a coalition that stretches from the President's natural base on the right to and across a wide band of ticket-splitters and swing voters -- without the benefit of an anti-Carter vote. Getting the natural base requires a rather obvious combination of performance, rhetoric, and commitment in relation to traditional conservative issues and values. Getting the swing voters is a good bit more complicated. And the trick is complicated further by the fact that some of what appeals to the base is not appealing to the swing voters.

(2) The Man for the Future. I believe that one big element in appealing to swing voters will be the President's ability to convince people not only that he is a man who was a valuable corrective for a weak, misguided, and ineffective Carter -- but also that he is, in fact, the best man to deal with the future.

NOTE: A recent Hart poll showed people agreeing with the following statement by 55-37: "Ronald Reagan may have been a logical choice for what we needed in 1980, but we need a different approach for the future." (NYT Sept. 29, 1983)

(3) The Bridge From Past To Future. Combining points (1) and (2): The coalition must be built, in part, by bridging from Ronald Reagan the traditional conservative to Ronald Reagan the man for the future. The bridge must show the connection of the one to the other. It must show a future-oriented capacity for growth and new ideas -- built on the restored base of conservative principles and accomplishments. To put the matter the other way round: Against a skillful opponent, I doubt it would suffice simply to point to Reagan accomplishments and promise more of the same. There will have to be more of the same -- but there will also have to be more than more of the same!

(4) The State of the Union Message as Bridge. It's almost a natural.

Page Two

(5) The Great Goals Gimmick. I like the admittedly hackneyed idea of having a small number of goals that suggest, at once, a rooting, a focus, and a vision. The State of the Union message would be the obviously appropriate point to set out such goals -- in a manner that, consistent with (1)-(4), bridges from the Reagan of 1980 to the Reagan of 1984 and beyond. I have attached one possible set of goals for consideration and discussion.

A (less-than-wholly-serious) Footnote:

I still agree with the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Crises who said: "The State of the Union message should be oral -- and, if not, written." I bet most Americans also agree.

Attachment: Goals (for use in SoU)

INTRO

- Review how far we've come.
- Show thoughtfulness re changing future.
- Transition to goals -- next stage in Reaganomics plus ...

GOALSI. BRING COMMON SENSE TO FEDERAL BUDGETING
(End Mickey Mouse Budgeting)

- freeze at '84 discretionary request level
- 2-year budget plan (joint resolution)
- line item veto
- balanced budget constitutional amendment

II. MAKE TAXES SIMPLE AND FAIR

- articulate principles
- announce study of simpler/fair tax system
(no specific recommendations 'til after election)

III. USE STATES AS LABORATORIES

- R&D initiative to give vitality to federalism

IV. DEVELOP OUR NEWEST FRONTIER

- Kennedy-style commitment to permanent
manned presence in space

V. PROTECT OUR NATURAL RESOURCES

- parks/outdoors initiatives
- balanced program for acid rain reduction and/or
toxic waste clean-up

VI. RESTORE TRADITIONAL VALUES
(discuss moral leadership and Presidency)

- Pluralism (tuition tax etc.)
- Sanctity of Life/Family
- Equity/opportunity
- PSI
- Excellence in Education

VII. SECURE A STABLE PEACE

. . . .

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
October 14, 1983

MEMO FOR DONNA BLUME

FROM: MARGIE CRAWFORD

SUBJECT: ATTENDEES IN TODAY'S
SOU MEETING

Mr. Deaver
Mr. Baker
Dick Darman
Craig Fuller
Dave Gergen
Mike McManus
Ed Rollins
Jack Svahn
Bob Kimmit
Dick Wirthlin

File

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1983

*Meeting
can be called*

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS MEETING

10:00 a.m.

Roosevelt Room

Agenda

1. Meetings
 - a. Regular meetings on State of the Union with the working group.
 - b. Meetings with Congressional Leadership.
 - c. Meetings with Special Interest Groups.
2. Outlines
 - a. Request outlines from participants in State of the Union working group with issues to be discussed and suggestions for outline of speech format. (delivered to McManus' office by October 28th)
3. Wirthlin and Teeter Input
 - a. To be requested and submitted first by October 28th and then updated on a regular basis.
4. Campaign Input
 - a. Meetings with Laxalt, Rollins, Drew Lewis regarding their input as to content.
5. New Material (discussion of Space Program, North American Accord, Women's Task Force, National Goals Task Force)
6. Discussion of schedule for 1st, 2nd and 3rd distribution of draft to working group and agreed upon time of draft to go to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Full

September 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM BAKER
DICK DARMAN
CRAIG FULLER
DAVE GERGEN
MIKE McMANUS
ED ROLLINS
JACK SVAHN
BOB KIMMITT

FROM: MIKE DEAVER *MKD*

I am requesting a meeting to discuss early preparations for the State of the Union Address. This meeting will be held on Monday, October 3, 1983, at 10:00 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room.

If you can't attend, a report will be sent to you to keep you abreast of the discussion.