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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM:

ELIZABETH H. DOLE

SUBJECT:

Weekly Summary Report ending 12/25/82

Portfolio Membership Groups

Manager Morton C. Blackwell

SIGNIFICANT ACTIVITIES

None

RED FLAGS

Growing conservative interest in a Presidentially proposed spending freeze rather than a detailed new Budget which will be disregarded by Congress.

MISCELLANEOUS

None

OPL MEETING REPORT

GROUP: National Congress of American Indian

DATE: 12.21.82 TIME: 2:00 p.m. PLACE: Room 191

PROJECT OFFICER: Morton C. Blackwell

ATTENDEES: (Attach guest list)

Ron Andrade (NCAI)

STAFF PARTICIPANTS:

MCB

SUMMARY:

Discussion of the January meeting to be held in Room 450. We also discussed the Presidential action on Congressionally passed bills relating to the Statute of Limitations for Oklahoma tribal property and new Federal funding for tribal colleges.

FOLLOW-UP

PRESIDENTIAL:

STAFF:

EHD
File Speeches

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ELIZABETH H. DOLE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT
May 11, 1982
Salisbury, North Carolina

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Thank you Dr. Shipman for your warm welcome. I especially appreciate it from one whom I have such admiration and respect.

I am deeply honored that you asked me to speak on this very special occasion. I'm delighted to congratulate every student and to join with each of you as you celebrate this afternoon of endings and beginnings, here in the place that has been your educational and spiritual home for four eventful years. As you know, I grew up in Salisbury and have long admired and respected this Institution and its leaders. I know firsthand the tremendous academic and cultural contributions Livingstone makes to this community. I have vivid memories of friendships with former Livingstone students and faculty members, of past work done in harmony with the AME Zion Church, and of shared moments with your Chairman and my friend, Bishop Smith, who recently gave the invocation at the Black Clergy Luncheon held at the White House. And Thad Garrett, my good friend and able colleague at the White House, is a pastor of the AME Zion Church and a great supporter of Livingstone.

You know, it is a challenge to find some message that conveys more than the usual commencement pat on the back. I know from past experience that these ceremonies can seem pretty irrelevant to those they are designed to honor. They loom in memory as a blur of conflicting images: of beaming parents and flashing bulbs, of old friends and new opportunities, of well-earned pride and some painful partings. Most of all, there is anxiety mingled with youthful impatience. The class of 1982 is eager to make its way into that non-academic realm we call "the real world."

It's the custom at such occasions for someone to get up and tell you that the world is your oyster, that never has there been a greater need for your services, and that the prospect of self-support isn't half so terrifying as Chemistry 105 or playing linebacker in the big game. This has been going on now, for as long as seniors have been graduating -- a sort of oratorical medley of inspiration and perspiration.

The humorist and columnist Art Buchwald took a different tactic. At a recent Vassar College commencement, he said, "We who have graduated before you are now turning over to you an absolutely perfect world with all problems solved, and no dangers or uncertainties whatsoever remaining . . . so, for goodness sake, don't you characters louse it up!" Of course, we know this was all in jest!

In truth, education is many things. It is pursued in classrooms and laboratories, to be sure. But it is to be found in a church pulpit as well, or in a Saturday night bull session, or in a locker room or concert hall. At Livingstone you have learned from each other as well as your professors. You have polished your minds and deepened your faith. You have grasped the essence of a liberal education -- that as long as books are open, minds cannot be closed.

Every single one of you is equipped thru training and talents to leave Livingstone and make your own way in the world. But before you go, don't forget why you came. You came, not only to make a living, but to improve the standard of living for others. You came, not merely to gain skills, but to share those skills with those who've not had your experience in the classroom. You came because you care about society as well as success. You came to shoulder a harness in the old, and still unwon, struggle for economic as well as legal justice.

It was Martin Luther King who warned us that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." It was Dr. King and a generation who reached maturity in his shadow who taught us all that to be alive is to be attuned to the potential for justice. And along with a philosophical sympathy goes a personal commitment to join the fight. That fight is far from finished. But it goes on. And it garners new hope with every graduating class.

So you see, I did not come here today just to offer congratulations on what you have achieved to date. I came to invite you to take up the challenge of commencement day. I came to remind you of Langston Hughes' plaintive cry . . .

"Oh yes, I say it plain, America never was America to me,
and yet I swear this oath -- America will be!"

To each and all of you will come the opportunity to insure that America will be. What will she be? A continuation of what she has been? A society where there are too many have-nots, too many neighborhoods where jobs are scarce and hope extinct, too many promises unkept and dreams deferred?

Listen again to the eloquence of Langston Hughes . . .

"What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up - like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore -- and then run?
Maybe it just sags, like a heavy load,
Or does it explode?
What happens to a dream deferred?"

My friends, too many Americans have tragic firsthand knowledge of what happens to deferred dreams. As recently as 1979, 43% of this nation's Black families had incomes below \$10,000. For most of the last decade, the Black family has too often been subjected to enormous stress. Double-digit inflation made a trip to the grocery store or gas pump a painful lesson in economic mismanagement. The exodus of business from our center cities, especially the small businesses that provide 75% of all new jobs, struck hardest in those neighborhoods where the existing economic fabric was weakest. High taxes, persistent high interest rates and excessive federal regulation all combined to make a mockery of government's promise of better days ahead.

Today's leaders confront the challenge of reversing all that. I needn't tell you it isn't easy. It calls for discipline; it demands vision and something better than the status quo. We are grateful that some of our efforts for change have already produced good results, even though many of them have gone unnoticed. I can remember that less than two years ago, all across the country inflation was considered to be the number one problem. And for those on fixed incomes -- the elderly and the poor -- inflation is cruel indeed. At that time, inflation was over 12% -- now it is less than 4%. And interest rates, while still too high, have dropped from over 21% in 1981 to less than 16% today. Unfortunately, any change at all is sometimes subject to misinterpretation.

I shall long remember a recent meeting between the President and a group of Black clergymen at the White House. The subject of federal job training came up -- and the President pointed out how, contrary to public impression, his Administration was actually doubling the amount of funds going to training itself. To be sure, the overall program budget had been reduced -- but then, under the old program, barely 20% of funds earmarked for training the poor ever reached the poor. What is being cut now, he explained, is administrative overhead. What is being increased goes to the very heart of the program -- training for meaningful jobs in the private sector.

I can assure you, there was a good deal of head-nodding in the State Dining Room that afternoon. For those pastors appreciated from personal experience the heart-breaking failure of some government programs to help the very people they were designed to assist.

And they appreciated something else as well. For, like the President, they are anxious to tap the reservoir of talent, to fashion the tools, human and economic, that will finally lift minority Americans out of dependence and into the joys of independence.

This is why we have ordered a 14% increase in funding for Black colleges in the 1983 budget -- and issued an Executive Order increasing Black college participation in federally-sponsored programs.

This is why we continue to assist Black colleges in locating additional sources of support, financial and otherwise, in the private sector.

For we know how critical institutions such as Livingstone have been in the expansion of opportunity and the struggle for social advance. It is from classrooms like these that have come half of all our Black business executives, three-fourths of all Black military officers, four-fifths of all Black judges, and 85% of all Black physicians in America.

From these same classrooms, there now comes a new generation of entrepreneurs; men and women with talent and initiative, who want nothing more than a chance to employ both. I know many of you aspire to join the ranks of businesses, small and large. I know you are eager to follow in the footsteps of such successful Livingstone graduates as Dr. Elizabeth Duncan Koontz and Dr. Isaac Miller whose careers in public service are inspirations to all of us. Libby taught school right here in Salisbury where she was also a basketball coach. She later became Director of the Women's Bureau in Washington and as you know, is now Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State. Libby, as a successful woman in Washington, was one of my role models.

And Isaac Miller, who has had a strong love of education for many years, is now an advocate of education for the young. As you know, he serves as President of Bennett College in Greensboro, guiding students through the learning process and assisting them in the preparation for entrance into the mainstream of today's work force.

And like Dr. Koontz and Dr. Miller, you intend to plant the seeds of prosperity where they will do the most good -- and we intend to help you do exactly that. The President has ordered the Small Business Administration to nearly double the percentage of guaranteed loans to minority business owners because he believes that society holds the ultimate franchise on the free enterprise system. And he is determined to exercise that franchise -- most of all on behalf of those who have yet to experience for themselves the economic emancipation of a healthy minority-owned and operated private sector.

In urban and rural neighborhoods where free enterprise has all but ceased, we will create urban enterprise zones -- a maximum of 75 in the next three years, where federal, state and local officials will work with community organizations to reverse the flight of capital and jobs. By reducing taxes and regulation in these specially-designated zones -- we can encourage business to flourish, jobs to abound, and opportunity to take root. In the process, we will provide a laboratory for young and ambitious people like you to try your wings and test your theories.

America's deep and rich Black heritage has been rooted in religious faith and unshakeable hope. Without these two spiritual elements, a great people could not have made such an overwhelming contribution to our society. That faith, as typified in the AME Zion Church, and that hope as embodied in your dreams and aspirations, should be instilled in all of us.

And there is nothing partisan about hope. It is hope that motivates our program to renew America's economy and expand America's opportunities. For too long we have allowed despair to sit on our ambitions and frustrate our hopes. We watched as our economy grew static, and as avenues of advance were closed off. But this generation -- your generation -- is not content to watch from the sidelines. You have already joined the struggle. I know something about that struggle, though your burden may have been heavier. I know what it was like to be a member of the generation of women who broke through economic and political barriers at the same time that millions of Black Americans were sitting down for the first time at lunch counters and in the front seats of a bus in Birmingham. In many ways, our causes are the same.

As graduates of this distinguished institution, you must now assert yourselves to take your rightful share of the economic pie. In this process of restoring economic growth, we must never lose sight of the foundation of our strength as a nation: equal opportunity for all. Not as a slogan to be saluted like the flag on the Fourth of July. Not even as a legal right alone. But as a moral imperative -- and our economic necessity.

This Administration shares your belief in, and commitment to, the principle of equal rights and opportunity for all Americans regardless of race, creed, sex, or age. In the forefront of that commitment is the protection of the right to vote. The President has often stated:

"For this Nation to remain true to its principles, we cannot allow any American's vote to be denied, diluted or defiled. The right to vote is the crown jewel of American liberties, and we will not see its luster diminished."

The President has given his strong support to the bipartisan Voting Rights Amendment. And I am proud that it was my husband, Bob Dole, who crafted this amendment supported by civil rights leaders and co-sponsored by 65 Members of the U.S. Senate. This is the longest and strongest extension yet of the Voting Rights Act.

We share your deep abhorrence for the seeds of hatred sown by those misguided members of our society who would deny others their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We will not tolerate nor condone the action of those who practice racial and religious bigotry and discrimination. We intend not only to protect Americans from persecution; we intend to give them more opportunities than ever before for realization -- their own, and that of their communities.

There is an old hymn that says it all: "If I can help somebody as I pass along, if I can cheer somebody with a word of song, if I can show somebody where he's traveling wrong, then my living will not be in vain."

Stop and think for a moment about who we are and where we come from. Think of the roots of this school in the Black religious experience. Think of Joseph Charles Price, who conceived and nurtured Livingstone as a place where the whole man -- his head, his heart and his hands -- would take up God's work in this imperfect world.

"I do not care how dark the night," he wrote. "I believe in the coming of morning."

For 103 years since, Livingstone has dedicated itself to the coming of morning. As such, it has stood in the forefront of American efforts at self-help. That is a tradition as old as the nation itself. For this was a land founded upon faith in a righteous God, and sworn to become what the book of Matthew calls "a city upon a hill."

As was stated in Isaiah 40:31, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint."

Ours is neither the time, nor is Livingstone the place, for those of faint heart, feeble courage, weak commitment, confused and purposeless ambition, or selfish motives. Livingstone is in the business not only of educating but also of liberating -- not only of discovering, but also of reconstructing. So, wherever you see mediocrity, ask, why not excellence; wherever you see poverty, ask -- as we are asking -- why not opportunity?

The time has come to revitalize free enterprise, to extend its promise and its performance to every American with an idea or an ambition. The time has come to insist that the private sector share some of its ingenuity and some of its wealth in attacking problems of inequity that government alone has failed to solve. The time has come to move beyond purely legal rights -- to shoulder economic and social responsibilities. The time has come to realize all those dreams deferred because our economy refused to grow. The time has come to take a fresh look at the problems -- and the potential -- of Black Americans.

The time has come and Livingstone can make the most of it. It is a time to cut loose from the status quo -- to be bold in rejecting the failed dogmas of yesterday. It is your time, my friends. It is your opportunity. In league with your parents, who have invested a lifetime of love so that you might be here today -- and in the spirit of your professors, who have shared their own unique insights and scholarship -- I pray to God that you realize both.

"I do not care how dark the night," said Joseph Charles Price, "I believe in the coming of morning."

Today the morning has come.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

THE FUQUA SCHOOL OF BUSINESS
DUKE UNIVERSITY
SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1982

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

As a fellow graduate of Duke University for whom this campus holds not only happy memories but continuing inspiration, I'm delighted to congratulate every student in this room. And, I am honored that you asked me to speak on this occasion. The columnist Art Buchwald once characterized the standard commencement message when speaking several years ago at Vassar. "We who have graduated before you are now turning over to you an absolutely perfect world," he said, "with all problems solved, and no dangers or uncertainties whatsoever remaining . . . so, for goodness sake, don't you characters louse it up!"

I hardly have to tell you how special a place this day will assume in your own memories. For now, it may seem little more than a ceremonial bundle of contradictions: a time for endings and beginnings, old friends and new apprehensions. It falls to me to try and put all this into some perspective.

In truth, age alone is little qualification for giving advice. The passage of time does not automatically ensure the gaining of wisdom -- and one man or woman's wisdom may be another's bromide. But that is precisely what you have been taught to avoid. Here at the Fuqua School of Business, you have been trained to think incisively, and to pursue your thoughts beyond the conventional wisdom. Here, you have sampled a broad range of economic philosophy and human experience. Here, you have studied, not in a cloister of tradition but in a laboratory of intellectual and social change. In one way or another, most of you will be called upon to manage change, to make it productive instead of merely confusing, to give it a social conscience as well as a tinge of profit.

And it is in that spirit that I come back to this, my own alma mater and the place where I first nurtured a taste for public life. With all its frustrations -- for all the temptations to abandon public service for the security and sanity of an honest-to-goodness job in the "real" world: there is no satisfaction to match that of seeing an idea transformed into public policy -- and the policy pay off in lives made more livable.

Let me assure you, though, that I didn't come here this evening merely to make another pitch for all good men and true to come to the aid of their country. What I have in mind is more ambitious than that. I'm thinking of the mandate of capitalism -- how you can help to renew it -- and how it can help, in turn, to renew American society.

Curiously enough, for a nation of capitalists, we have always been a bit embarrassed by the fact. Words like profit and incentive have been all but banished from polite conversation. Politicians and the media alike have encouraged a popular image of the businessman or woman as a button-down babbler, with an adding machine where the heart ought to be, and a counting house mentality in opposition to social advance. The canon of American poetry includes little by way of tribute to the Dow Jones Average or the Fortune 500. On the contrary, it's almost as if, having subdued a continent and constructed the world's greatest economy, we Americans retreated into guilt or sometimes outright contempt for the subduers and the builders.

It's not hard to understand why, even if it's impossible to justify. Few pundits or television anchormen seem to have read G.K. Chesterton's admonition that men of business must be romantic at heart, because they so often deal with uncertainties. In truth, the man or woman of business converts uncertainty into progress, with the aid of capital and his or her own imagination. Capitalists brought light to a world previously imprisoned by darkness. Capitalists replaced cold with heat, sickness with health, scarcity with plenty, and human squalor with human comfort. Capitalists make the deserts bloom and the rich earth of this and other states sustain the appetites of a hungry world. Capitalism aligned with democracy, has produced more than any other system devised in the million year experiment called mankind.

And yet ... the promise of capitalism has been blunted. After nearly half a century of phenomenal growth, the American economy turned sluggish. Our per capita GNP fell behind that of socialist Sweden. Americans saved less per capita than the citizens of any other major western power. Our capital plant aged, and with it the economic prospects for many industries that have historically dominated the global market. We lost our cutting edge. Some would argue we lost our way as a nation.

The critics of capitalism were quick to assess blame. This was a prelude to assessing higher taxes! In the guise of social justice they were willing to commit capital punishment -- without understanding that the highest form of social justice in this nation is a job.

But now we are in a new decade, developing new antidotes for old sores. Now, it falls to the capitalist to come to the rescue. The newest crisis of American capitalism is a challenge to your ingenuity, and a test of the marketplace itself to distribute the widest possible range of rewards.

At a time when public policy is dominated by debates over budget cuts, deficits, interest rates and unemployment, we might all step back tonight and consider the fundamental factors that underlie those debates and provide background to the heated headlines of the moment. For history will record, I think, that we have been engaged these last 16 months in an effort far more profound than raising the growth rate of the Gross National Product or slowing the pace of the Consumer Price Index, worthy as these actions are.

Today's Federal Government has undertaken an unprecedented effort to shift the focus of decision-making away from government and restore it to the individual. But, along with the ability to make decisions for oneself must also go the economic resources to enjoy that freedom.

Thus we in the Reagan Administration have never questioned the desirability of cutting tax rates and reducing the growth of government spending. To us, both of these are integral to a larger task: that of reducing the power and obtrusiveness of government in all its many dimensions.

Few private citizens need government officials to make their decisions for them. Most workers, managers, investors, buyers and sellers know best what they want. They even know how to go about trying to achieve what they want. Therefore, the best government economic policy is one that provides a stable environment in which private citizens can confidently plan and then carry out their own decisions.

Look at the basics of a free economy. It's not easy to recognize, I know. It's a little bit like Henry Higgins' comment about the English language: "In America they haven't used it for years." But, I assure you, it's out there, lurking behind a wall of regulation, peering out from a dark forest of our own good intentions.

It is a world where people sometimes succeed -- and sometimes fail -- in their economic pursuits.

When it works -- or is allowed to work -- individual entrepreneurs and companies that successfully meet consumer needs are profitable. Those that fail to meet those needs, sustain losses.

Government institutions, on the other hand, generally are not subject to these tests. No federal agency ever has been forced to declare bankruptcy. Rather, the typical response for a government department overrunning its budget is merely to urge the Congress to increase its use of public resources.

Let there be no misunderstanding of the true meaning of a free enterprise policy. It means reliance on competition and the forces of the marketplace to protect the individual consumer. It does not mean being simplemindedly pro-business. It does not envision subsidies for failing industries or other interventionist techniques. No -- the concept of free enterprise requires equal access to the marketplace..

The interaction of free market and social conscience are most emphatically not incompatible. They are mutually compatible. Many consider inflation the cruelest tax of all, for it feeds disproportionately on the poor and the elderly on fixed incomes. Just one year ago, it was considered the country's number one problem.

The Federal Government tackled the problem head-on with monetary restraint and a shift of resources toward the private sector.

For the last six months, inflation has been running at an annualized rate of 3.2%, down from almost 13% in 1980. This successful battle against inflation translated into almost \$1,000 more in additional purchasing power for a family of four at the \$15,000 annual income level.

This new-found income, when coupled with the upcoming July 10% rate reduction in income tax, will create an opportunity for genuine gain in the marketplace.

A free market society is like any other in that it is judged on how it treats those who cannot care for themselves, and the best environment for free enterprise growth is one in which all people can enjoy progress.

Here then is the philosophical foundation of the President's economic program. It relies on what Mr. Reagan himself has called "the magic of the marketplace" to expand economic opportunity. It places people before profits -- and both before a tired status quo.

Neither the Reagan budget nor his economic philosophy can be viewed in a vacuum. In both, however, you can glimpse the potential we see for market forces and a public-private partnership.

Urban Enterprise Zones provide an example. In urban neighborhoods where tens of billions of tax dollars have been sowed -- only to reap a bitter harvest of dashed expectations and frustrated dreams -- a new and creative approach will lead to a rebirth of hope and a renaissance of individual self-fulfillment.

But Enterprise Zones are hardly the only example where a public-private partnership is being forged. I know -- for as head of the White House Office of Public Liaison, I've seen for myself literally hundreds of cases where concerned citizens and public-minded businesses have rolled up their sleeves in an all out assault on the resistant forces of poverty, both financial and spiritual. We at the White House have a name for this great national groundswell of grassroots activism. We call it Private Sector Initiatives -- that means Duke University providing training and, ultimately, employment, for local welfare mothers as data terminal operators. It means five towns in this state receiving support for preservation and revitalization plans from North Carolina National Bank. In Tarboro, North Carolina, it means two dozen storefront renovations already completed or in the planning stage. It means a San Antonio counseling and job training service for women, where local businesses provide the training, that has succeeded in placing 90% of its trainees, most of whom were previously AFDC welfare recipients. It means Project Partnership, the brainchild of a former member of my staff, himself blind from birth, to take disabled persons off the disability rolls, train them in local disabled organizations and give them meaningful jobs in the private sector as provided by many Chief Executive Officers throughout the United States.

While government's resources are limited, and likely to remain so for the foreseeable future, there are no limits in the private sector, on the creativity or talent of one man or woman fired with an ideal. You and I know social problems not as statistics on a government chart, but as an elderly woman struggling with empty hours or an empty house -- as a Black kid on the street corner who aspires to escape a lifetime of confinement there -- as merchants and customers alike struggling to cope with interest rates and a regulatory straitjacket.

Furthermore, our concern for the principles of individual and economic freedom cannot stop at the water's edge. Freer worldwide flows of trade and investment -- a free enterprise system at large -- offers greater economic welfare to the peoples of the world. The same specialization of labor and individual creativity that has always characterized our society can also be encouraged beyond our borders.

Following discussions with our hemispheric neighbors, the Administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative is being developed to assist small countries in their desire to become healthy economic partners.

For our part, we have proposed measures to improve investment and financial assistance. At its heart, the program contains an offer of one-way free trade. With incentives such as these, a troubled corner of the globe can reasonably hope for better times. The United States can hope for a more stable community of friends and allies. And the Apostles of capitalism can hope to demonstrate social progress through market forces.

Enterprise Zones, Private Sector Initiatives and the Caribbean Basin Initiative all share a common heritage. They are the products of a business community and private sector anxious to be given the chance to compete with government for efficiency in advancing public good. From firsthand experience, as liaison with the business community, I know that businessmen and women have helped government to thrash out -- forge these programs -- giving valuable input and advice -- and they are now working with us side by side to implement them.

In the years ahead, each of you will need to place your concern for the future of private economic institutions within that larger national debate over fundamental values. Each of you, as individual citizens and as managers of change, will need to strike a balance between the power of the government and the freedom of those governed. Each of you will be called upon to relate common economic concerns to the broader interests of the public. It will not be enough to argue that private enterprise is the basic source of productivity and material wealth. Frankly, that line of argument may be too narrow to command sufficient popular support in the public arena.

We need to go further -- we need to remind the public of something so obvious that we can, and all too easily do, overlook it. Just spin the globe. Identify the various nations of the world that provide their citizens with a substantial degree of personal freedom. Then spin the globe again. Identify those countries that have a large and strong private sector. You will find a striking overlap between the two groups. For free nations are also capitalistic nations.

The correspondence is not accidental. For societies that have a vigorous and independent business system have the institutions and the legacy of individualism to avoid the concentration of power that is a prologue to authoritarian rule.

We need to remind our fellow citizens how essential it is to maintain a society of diverse, independent, voluntary institutions. We need to move beyond theory -- to demonstrate the conscience of capitalism. We need to use imagination to breathe new life into old industries, to overcome the managerial crisis that J.B. Fuqua himself has defined as the greatest single test confronting corporate America. We need to demonstrate that political freedom and economic opportunity are synonymous. We foster one as we pursue the other. You don't need me to tell you that we have problems in this country. They are hardly limited to classroom theory. And no casebook alone will make them vanish. But as Benjamin Franklin once said, "The most important task we are undertaking as a nation is to solve the magnificent challenge of being a free people."

We are learning what it is that government can do best, and what the private sector can do better. We are learning that no government can respond to every special interest and still safeguard the common good. These are, in a way, revolutionary discoveries -- or rediscoveries, as they may be. And they will affect the way we think and act about government for years to come. They make this an exhilarating time to be young and bound for the private or public arenas. They all but demand that you align yourselves with public causes as well as private advancement. They insist that capitalists undertake to solve Franklin's "magnificent challenge" of remaining free without allowing the taint of individual greed or narrow selfishness to poison that freedom.

For in the end, government can merely create an environment for capital investment. But only you can put that capital to work. Government can create an environment hospitable to talent and innovation, but only you can bring them to bear in the economy.

Government can create an economic climate in which risk is rewarded. What it can't create is the willingness to take that risk. Only you, and others like you throughout America, can summon the entrepreneurial spirit that welcomes risk. Only you can make the marketplace generous as well as profitable. This may well be the single greatest challenge you confront in the years ahead. How you meet it will have enormous influence on the climate of opinion in which this Administration and its successors attempt to unleash marketplace forces.

In the dark days of 1940, when the world lay nearly within the grip of a hateful and oppressive tyranny, a man stood up amidst the storm and voiced the conscience of the civilized world. Winston Churchill pleaded with Franklin Roosevelt, saying "Give us the tools and we will finish the job."

Today, when capitalism and freedom alike are threatened, a new generation of leaders is fashioning tools for you to use. We trust you will use them well to move our nation's economy to new heights of prosperity and growth. Together we must preserve and enhance one of mankind's greatest inventions -- the free enterprise system, and safeguard individual freedom in the hour of its greatest need. Our children deserve it; our consciences demand it.

Thank you very much -- and may all your annual reports be good ones!

Carroll
2/27/82

Every morning at the White House the Senior Staff meets at 8:00 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room. Wonderful painting of Teddy Roosevelt. I'm reminded often of his famous:

"It is not the critic who counts, not the one who points out how the strong man stumbled . . . the credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred with sweat and dust and blood; who strives valiantly . . . who, if he wins, knows the triumph of high achievement; and who, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."

Sums up beautifully for me the challenges of public service:

-- Later on, when your grandchildren ask you, what did you do in your prime, what did you do during a time of important social, economic change, national need . . . What will you answer? I want to look them right in the eye and say . . .

I gave all my energy to tackle the tough issues, I didn't hide in the trench, I waded in and did my best, I participated, met the challenges, reached and stretched beyond my grasp . . .

-- It's okay to criticize, to sit back and take the pot shots, but how much better, more satisfying to align yourself with the great causes of the day, some of which may not be so popular - the causes which can make a real difference! Tremendous sense of achievement which no amount of money could ever buy!

This is the time to give serious thought to the kinds of things you would like to accomplish over the long haul - to make some choices now that will enable you to be of long-run service in whatever areas you choose. In other words, to the extent that

you can decide now that

/you want to make society better off in some specific way during the course of life, the likelihood of having that effect will be substantially increased.

-- As become more and more involved in public service, reach point where don't have to look for worthy causes. They find you. Must then set priorities. What's more important, more deserving.

You may be looking right now outside the arena. I urge you to consider moving inside the arena!

Thus far my career has been totally in public service. Seem to have gravitated to helping those not necessarily able to help themselves. Began in education of the handicapped - First National Conference on Education of the Deaf. (Little did I realize I would share this strong interest with my future husband!)

-- Then cases for indigents - armed robbery, drugs, even petting lion in national zoo!

-- FTC - Consumer interests, especially those most vulnerable in marketplace, like the elderly in nursing homes.

-- Now work with many groups - their problems, concerns.

-- PSI - Project Partnership policy.

-- Task Force on Legal Equity for Women.

Such efforts make me feel when I leave that 12-14 hour job for the day! Perhaps I've helped someone a little.

As I began my career in the mid-1960s, society was becoming more and more massive and less personal. One of the most important

reactions, I believe, was that millions upon millions of Americans began turning inward. Discouraged about the prospects of changing the outside world, they tried to become masters of their own inner worlds. A certain amount of introspection is healthy; one of the most familiar admonitions of my childhood was "to know thyself and to thyself be true." But to carry that view to an extreme so that you become entirely preoccupied with your own wants and needs -- and forget about the outside world -- is terribly unhealthy. In a broader sense it breeds apathy.

Some suggest that we have been suffering from too much self-absorption and too little interest in self-government. We seem to have been living, as writer Tom Wolfe has said, in the midst of the "Me Decade."

We have become a mass society with massive, overpowering institutions -- big business, big labor, big government, mass media -- and those institutions left the individual feeling less and less significant. The sense that one man or woman can make a large difference in the destiny of a nation or even of a neighborhood has gradually eroded.

The feeling that events are beyond one's control -- or as Emerson used to say, that "things are in the saddle and ride mankind" -- is particularly pronounced with regard to the forces of big government.

Part of my vision was to find ways to deal with the powers of government on a more human scale. To combat apathy, government must be made to be a partner with the people and not master of the

people. The individual must understand that his voice does make a difference and that there are those in government who are listening and who care about his individual problems.

I feel I have been able to help make some of this materialize. At FTC . . . one letter, one well-documented file could start the wheels of government turning. An investigation.

And I perceive that we are moving out of "The Generation." The process is not so brittle now - people are giving more of themselves - and that's the very highest form of public service. People are giving more of their time.

(PSI - Really example - individual)

Some may wonder if it is necessary to compromise either your vision itself or the ways in which you hoped to attain it. Entering government service does not mean sacrificing ideals and compromising ethics.

It does mean a healthy process of consensus building, of seeking middle ground. After all, compromise has been the great strength of our system.

Modern government is a tough business - Requires difficult decisions and constant compromises - Work toward consensus - Take into account concerns, views of many interested parties.

Sure, we have problems in this country. But as Benjamin Franklin once said, "The most important task we are understaking as a nation is to solve the magnificent challenge of being a free people."

OLDFIELDS SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS - JUNE 5, 1981

Members of the graduating class, parents, faculty and friends of Oldfields School.

It's a great honor for me to be here this afternoon to salute the class of 1981 and to bring you the greetings of the President of the United States. I'd like to take a moment to read to you his message...

"Today you have reached a goal that, just a few generations ago, was an impossible dream for most Americans -- you are graduates of an outstanding educational institution. Though your labors may have seemed long and tedious at times, there can be no doubt about the richness of your reward.

Many things lie before you -- responsibility, success, disappointment, happiness, and, above all, a continuing growth which Oldfields School has helped to initiate. You have been given the tools to overcome those obstacles life will lay in your path. You, and only you, can use them.

The spirit of America has been aroused as never before with the forces of change. It is a thrilling time to be alive; it is the greatest time to be an American.. I give you the words of a renowned American educator, scientist, and ambassador, James Bryant Conant, spoken at the height of World War II: "The primary concern of American education. . . is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and they are free." May it always be thus.

My heartfelt congratulations on your achievement and best wishes for success in the years to come."

For each one of you, today is a highly personal celebration. This is a day of triumph, and a day of dedication, a day of endings and beginnings, of flashbulbs and parental pride, of friends enshrined in memory forever.

None of that has changed much since I was handed my sheepskin at Boyden High School in 1954. Of course, the world has turned over many times since then. Yet the perspective of one generation is not easy to pass on to another. The larger classroom into which you enter today is a beguiling, sometimes bewildering battle of sight and sound, of conflict and creation. It is this vast tapestry of human experience that every generation must discover for itself. And you are especially fortunate to bring to the process of discovery an education nurtured at Oldfields School by teachers who themselves combine a respect for fact with a reverence for values beyond the textbook.

What I wish to speak with you about this afternoon is not the personal life for which this high school has so well prepared you, but the public obligations and opportunities that will belong to your generation. Yours is a great adventure at a stirring time in history when America is throwing off the timidity and self-doubt of recent years to chart a new course and savor a new optimism. That heartening sense of renewal can be sustained only if people like yourselves, members of the brightest, best educated, most committed generation of American students, make the most of your training and your gifts. If we cannot look to you for future guidance and leadership, to whom can we turn?

Many of our current problems in this nation are rooted in the very measures taken to address the crises of the 1930's, when America's survival as a free economy seemed imperiled. In the depths of the great depression, a time of bitter hardship for millions of your grandparent's generation, Americans turned to their government to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and house the homeless. Government responded to the cry, and a vast mission of mercy rescued a nation plunged into despair and shaken to its very foundations.

In the years since the depression, out of idealism or merely bureaucratic visions of grandeur, government has continued to enlarge its sphere of activities. In the last decade, many of our programs have grown ten-fold, at an explosive rate. In the process, mercy has been drained away, replaced by paternalism and an economic hardening of the arteries. We not only built a foundation under the poor -- we lowered the ceiling on their aspirations to escape poverty. We confused good intentions with bad administration. We often forgot to be competent at the same time we sought to be compassionate. We forgot that the greatest social justice is a job, and that America is a trust held by each successive generation for those to follow.

Economics is called the dreary science, and not without reason. But look behind the grey columns of grey numbers, and you will discern an alarming trend, one that, if uncorrected now, threatens the very existence of your hopes and dreams for a life and a world better than the one your parents have known. When I was completing my graduate studies, inflation ran at an annual

rate of one to one-and-a-half percent. In the last two years, inflation has devoured your parents' earnings at 13% rate. And when you are ready to enter the workforce, your own paycheck may be subject to 30% annual inflation if we don't get our economy under control. I am sure that all of you are feeling inflation's pinch.

When I graduated, America was by far the most productive nation in the world, her industrial might backed up by her technological genius. Today, 40 percent of all new patents taken out in Washington belong to foreign investors. And nations that a decade ago appeared to be a century behind us, are outproducing us, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, with more modern steel mills and better shipyards. Today, the average plant in this country is twice as old as its Japanese counterpart. We now have the lowest annual rate of growth in productivity of any major industrial nation - and with this decline have been sacrificed \$400 billion dollars that might have gone into fighting poverty, securing reliable energy sources, or promoting additional economic activity. When I graduated from Harvard Law School in 1965, taxes seemed high - but federal personal taxes on America's families have nearly quadrupled over the past 15 years - growing from \$1,500 for an average family in 1965, to \$5,500 in 1980. Unemployment when I finished law school in 1965, was relatively low. Last year there were more Americans out of work - 7.4 million - than in any year, save one, since World War II. If all jobless people stood in a line three feet apart, it would extend from Maine to Calif-

ornia. And I'm sure that you, when you join America's work force in a few years, don't want to be part of these grim statistics.

Ten years ago, when most of you were young children, a new house cost less than half what it does today. A week's groceries which cost your parents \$100 then, will cost you \$210 now. A college education, which could cost \$5,000 then, can cost up to \$20,000 today. And What does the future hold? If nothing is done, in five years you will be paying almost \$14,000 for a car that costs \$7,000 today. You will find your grocery bills almost doubled. Though we've just experienced the highest interest rates since the Civil War, you will find homes even harder to afford, interest rates even more restrictive. It is conceivable that the college education that many of you are looking forward to today, could be denied to your children because it will just become too expensive. You will also find nearly one fourth of all our economic output -- your daily labor and mine -- siphoned off to satisfy government's insatiable appetite.

Each year, it is estimated that Americans pay over a hundred billion dollars in regulatory costs and spend an estimated 800 million hours filling out forms for Washington. Somewhere along the way, government slipped away from us and became a self-generating engine, an assembly line of do's and dont's, a mockery of the established American tradition that government should be the people's servant, not their master. Government has behaved as if society could be made risk-free, all the while forgetting that this country was founded as a dare to the world's greatest

empire, and that it grew strong and prosperous because individuals by the millions were willing to take risks of their own.

This nation was built with seat as well as steel, and the unchallenged conviction that profit and incentive were the surest means to a productive and just society.

Not far from my home in Washington sits the National Cathedral, a monument in stone and stained glass to all the faiths of this vast melting pot of cultures. Inside, in a cool, Gothic bay beneath a crusader's cross, Woodrow Wilson lies surrounded by the words and symbols of his life. "The stage is set," he wrote in submitting to the Senate the peace treaty that ended World War I. "The destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our own conceiving. But by the hand of God. Who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward. With lifted eyes and freshened spirit. To follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light shines upon the path ahead. And nowhere else."

The time has come to try something different. The President has come forward with a massive economic package to change the thrust of the economy and reverse the decline in our economy. Our economy can't be fine-tuned! What is happening is nothing short of revolutionary. This comprehensive economic package will cut federal spending, reduce the tax burden, cut back on regulations that serve no legitimate purpose, hold out incentives for investment and savings, and generally redress the current imbalance between Washington, the states and the cities. We

would create 13 million new jobs by 1986, reduce inflation by more than 50 percent, and raise the standard of living for the average American by one third. We would recapture the mood of anticipation and confidence that each previous generation took to be its birthright.

It is that eager spirit, that conviction that Americans can still look forward to great tomorrows, that animates the current efforts underway to reduce the burdens of government and reinvent the system of free enterprise in this country and it is your generation which will find itself entrusted with carrying on the revolution. It will be up to you to re-establish that America is a land that respects no limits upon men and women of imagination and courage and also a land that is generous with compassion and empathy for those who have wrongly been excluded from the economic mainstream. America remains Woodrow Wilson's nation of destiny. It will reassert its special moral leadership when it once again places the individual and his rights at the center of our philosophical universe, and when Americans once again dream dreams as vast as vast as the continent our forefathers tamed. We greet the dawn of a new age. It is an age that will belong to those who dare to excel!

Whether you are continuing your education or entering the workforce, you will find yourselves in the vanguard of an effort that has already invigorated a tired economy and lent fresh meaning to the old ideals. As young Americans coming into your inheritance at a time when the country itself is feeling young with potential, you will be asked to turn away from failed

policies, and instead to embrace sweeping changes that youth itself can appreciate.

Here, at Oldfields School, you have devoted yourself to the pursuit of wisdom as well as knowledge. You have learned from books and from each other. You have sought out truth without abandoning faith. Here cluster the values and traditions that civilized people have prized for centuries. It is an awesome legacy that you take with you this afternoon, and it will serve you well for whatever tests, personal or public, may lie in wait. Your time is short here; but even as you say goodbye to Oldfields, you will find yourself caught up in a time and a country awash with change, with excitement and with self-discovery. Join it. Be a part of your times. Raise your voice and you may be called upon to lead. But before you go, think once more about the serenity and quiet of this place. Cherish the memories. Touch the depths of truth and reach for the hem of heaven. You will go away enriched with old friends and new ambitions, but as you leave, don't ever forget why you came.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

OLDFIELDS SCHOOL
CLASS OF 1981

Today you have reached a goal that, just a few generations ago, was an impossible dream for most Americans -- you are graduates of an outstanding educational institution. Though your labors may have seemed long and tedious at times, there can be no doubt about the richness of your reward.

Many things lie before you -- responsibility, success, disappointment, happiness, and, above all, a continuing growth which Oldfields School has helped to initiate. You have been given the tools to overcome those obstacles life will lay in your path. You, and only you, can use them.

The spirit of America has been aroused as never before with the forces of change. It is a thrilling time to be alive; it is the greatest time to be an American. I give you the words of a renowned American educator, scientist, and ambassador, James Bryant Conant, spoken at the height of World War II: "The primary concern of American education . . . is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and they are free." May it always be thus.

My heartfelt congratulations on your achievement and best wishes for success in the years to come.

Ronald Reagan

Remarks by

Elizabeth Hanford Dole
Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
Barry College
Miami, Florida
Sunday, May 10, 1981

It's a great honor for me to be here this afternoon to salute the class of 1981 and to bring you the greetings of the President of the United States. I'd like to take a moment to read to you his message...

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My heartfelt congratulations on your achievement and best wishes for success in the years to come."

I am acutely aware of the limitations imposed by distance and circumstance on any commencement speaker. For each one of you, today is a highly personal celebration. This is a day of triumph, and a day of dedication, a day of endings and beginnings, of flashbulbs and parental pride, of friends enshrined in memory and loan vouchers you would just as soon forget.

None of that has changed much since I was handed my sheepskin at Duke University in 1958. Of course the world has turned over many times since then. Yet the perspective of one generation is not easy to pass on to another. The larger classroom into which you enter today is a beguiling, sometimes bewildering cacophony of sight and sound, conflict and creation. It is this vast tapestry of human experience that every generation must discover for itself. And you are especially fortunate to bring to the process of discovery a faith nurtured at Barry by teachers who themselves combine a respect for fact with a reverence for things beyond the textbook.

What I wish to speak with you about this afternoon is not the personal lives for which your faith and this college have so well prepared you, but the public obligations and opportunities that will belong to your generation. Yours is a great adventure at a stirring time in history when America is throwing off the timidity and self-doubt of recent years to chart a new course and savor a new optimism. That heartening sense of renewal can be sustained only if people like yourselves,

members of the brightest, best educated, most committed generation of American students, make the most of your spiritual as well as professional gifts. If we cannot look to you for future guidance and leadership, to whom can we turn? Many of our current problems in this nation are rooted in the very measures taken to address the crises of the 1930's, when America's survival as a free economy seemed imperiled. In the depths of the Great Depression, a time of bitter hardship for millions of your grandparent's generation, Americans turned to their government to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and house the homeless. Government responded to the cry, and a vast Christian mission of mercy rescued a nation plunged into despair and shaken to its very foundations.

In the years since the Depression, out of idealism or merely bureaucratic visions of grandeur, government has continued to enlarge its sphere of activities. In the last decade, many of our programs have grown ten-fold, at an explosive rate. In the process, mercy has been drained away, replaced by paternalism and an economic hardening of the arteries. We not only built a foundation under the poor -- we lowered the ceiling on their aspirations to escape poverty. We confused good intentions with bad administration. We often forgot to be competent at the same time we sought to be compassionate. We forgot that the greatest social justice is a job, and that America is a trust held by each successive generation for those to follow.

Economics is called the dreary science, and not without reason. But look behind the grey columns of grey numbers, and you will discern an alarming trend, one that, if uncorrected now, threatens the very existence of your hopes and dreams for a life and a world better than the one your parents have known. When I was completing my graduate studies, inflation ran at an annual rate of one to one-and-a-half percent. In the last two years, inflation has devoured our earnings at a 13% rate. While the median income for a family of four rose from approximately \$9,750 in 1979 to \$11,950 in 1980, take home pay after taxes declined from \$8,500 to \$7,900.

All of you have felt inflation's pinch. When I graduated, America was by far the most productive nation in the world, her industrial might backed up by her technological genius. Today, 40 percent of all new patents taken out in Washington belong to foreign inventors. Today, the average plant in this country is twice as old as its Japanese counterpart. The rate of productivity has declined steadily over the last decade. We now have the lowest annual rate of growth - and with this decline have been sacrificed \$400 billion that might have gone into fighting poverty, securing reliable energy sources, or promoting additional economic activity. When I graduated from Harvard Law School in 1965, taxes seemed high - but Federal personal taxes on each family have nearly quadrupled over the past 15 years - growing from \$1500 for an average family in 1965, to \$3,500 in 1980. Unemployment when I finished law school in 1965, was relatively low and cyclical.

Last year there were more Americans out of work - 7.4 million - than in any year, save one, since World War II. If all jobless people stood in a line three feet apart, it would extend from Maine to California.

Ten years ago, when most of you were in grade school, a new house cost less than half what it does today. A week's groceries for which you paid \$100 then will cost you \$210 now. And what does the future hold? If nothing is done, in five years you will be paying almost \$14,000 for a car that costs \$7,000 today. You will find your grocery bills almost doubled. Though we've just experienced the highest interest rates since the Civil War, you will find homes even harder to afford, interest rates even more restrictive. You will also find nearly one fourth of all our economic output -- your daily labor and mine -- siphoned off to satisfy government's insatiable appetite.

Each year, it is estimated that Americans pay over a hundred billion dollars in regulatory costs and spend an estimated 800 million hours filling out forms for Washington. What research and development is being done by American industry is largely the non-productive kind required to meet the demands imposed by Federal rulemakers. Somewhere along the way, government slipped away from us and became a self-generating engine, an assembly line of do's and don'ts, a mockery of the established American tradition that government should be the people's servant, not their master. Government has behaved as if society could be made risk-free, all the while forgetting that this country was founded as a dare to the world's greatest empire, and that it grew strong and

prosperous because individuals by the millions were willing to take risks of their own.

This nation was built with sweat as well as steel, and the unchallenged conviction that profit and incentive were the surest means to a productive and just society.

We often forget that capital wealth is the bloodstream of the national economy. Lately, America has become anemic. We have the lowest rate of savings and investment among all the world's great industrial powers. Why is that? Because government has been suctioning up billions of dollars, in taxes and in regulation, that might otherwise fund the risks of entrepreneurs and create the jobs needed to attack poverty at its roots. The time has come to turn the off switch on the Federal vacuum cleaner, not to save us money, but to save our noblest ideals!

Not far from my home in Washington sits the National Cathedral, a monument in stone and stained glass to all the faiths of this vast melting pot of cultures. Inside, in a cool, gothic bay, beneath a crusader's cross, Woodrow Wilson lies surrounded by the words and symbols of his life. "The stage is set," he wrote in submitting to the Senate the Peace Treaty that ended World War I. "The destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our own conceiving, but by the hand of God, who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we

dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light shines upon the path ahead, and nowhere else."

It is that eager spirit, that conviction that Americans can still look forward to great tomorrows, that animates the current efforts underway to reduce the burdens of government and reinvent the system of free enterprise in this country. And it is your generation which will find itself entrusted with carrying on the revolution so eloquently declared at the polls last November. It will be up to you to re-establish that America is a land that respects no limits upon men and women of imagination and courage, and also a land that is generous with compassion and empathy for those who have wrongly been excluded from the economic mainstream.

America remains Woodrow Wilson's nation of destiny. It will reassert its special moral leadership when it once again places the individual and his rights at the center of our philosophical universe, and when Americans once again dream dreams as vast as the continent our forefathers tamed. We greet the dawn of a new age. It is an age that will belong to those who dare to excel! For those who are embarking on careers, you will find yourselves in the vanguard of an effort that has already invigorated a tired economy and lent fresh meaning to the old ideals. As young Americans coming into your inheritance at a time when the country itself is feeling young with potential, you will be asked to turn away from failed policies, and instead embrace sweeping changes that youth itself can appreciate.

The time has come to try something different, we are no longer trying to tinker with the economy. It can't be fine tuned! Must reverse the thrust. What is happening is nothing short of revolution. A comprehensive economic package that will reduce the tax burden, cut back on regulations that serve no legitimate purpose, hold out incentives for investment and savings, and generally redress the current imbalance between Washington, the states and localities.

We would create 13 million new jobs by 1986, reduce inflation by more than 50%, and raise the standard of living for the average American by one-third. We would recapture the mood of anticipation and confidence that each previous generation took to be its birthright. We would restore the individual to his rightful role in the middle ring of our great democratic pageant, by recognizing the spark of divinity that resides within each one of us.

What is at stake here is more than jobs or inflation or economic statistics, however important all those things are. What is on trial for its very life in the 1980s is the American dream, that old and cherished ideal that promises upward social mobility in exchange for persistence and application and personal growth. In many ways, you and others your age will serve as both judge and jury in the most crucial trial in recent history. Upon your shoulders will fall the task of carrying forward the revolution that the voters have declared. It is a responsibility for which you are well prepared.

Here, at Barry, you have devoted yourself to the pursuit of wisdom as well as knowledge. You have learned from books and from each other. You have sought out truth without abandoning faith. Here cluster the values and traditions that civilized people have prized for centuries. It is an awesome legacy that you take with you this afternoon, and it will serve you well for whatever tests, personal or public, may lie in wait. Your days are short here; but even as you say goodbye to Barry, you will find yourself caught up in a time and a country awash with change, with excitement and with self-discovery. Join it. Be a part of your times. Raise your voice and you may be called upon to lead. But before you go, think once more about the serenity and quiet of this place. Cherish the memories. Touch the depths of truth and reach for the hem of heaven. You will go away enriched with old friends and new ambitions but as you leave, don't ever forget why you came.

ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE -- Assistant to the President/Public Liaison
VFW Annual National Convention
Bonaventure Hotel
Los Angeles, California
August 17, 1982

*Speeches
Dole*

Thank you very much, Commander Fellwock for that kind introduction. You may recall the story about Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur, who were fishing together off the Philippines during the second World War, when a sudden squall capsized their boat and sent both men into the water. When they finally managed to climb back on, the Admiral turned to the General and said, 'Now, Mac, I hope you won't mention this to a soul. I'd be disgraced if the men of the navy ever found out I can't swim.'

And to this, the General replied; "Don't worry, Admiral. Your secret is safe. Besides, I'd hate to have my men discover I can't walk on water."

Two years ago, the people of this country signaled their desire to turn away from the path of diplomatic retreat and unilateral disarmament. They said they wanted America re-armed - not maybe, not just a little, but re-armed to a level that would deter future aggression and prevent any adversary from confusing our hunger for peace with a taste for appeasement.

At the same time, here at home, they demanded an end to the pick-pocket school of government, an end to double digit inflation, an end to the turbulent ocean of federal red ink threatening to capsize us all. The man and the moment met, and today, we are once again making good on the promise of America.

That, of course, is but one of many priorities you and this administration have in common. Together, we envisage an America where government is the people's servant, and not their master. We see an America whose people can afford to enjoy the fruits of their labor -- instead of surrendering that bounty to the voracious appetite of tax collectors and bureaucratic regulators.

In the last 19 months, President Reagan has done much to make that vision become reality. Thanks to his leadership - and thanks to the vocal support of millions of citizens like yourselves - we are giving this country back to the people who made it great, and who've defended it bravely. We have launched the greatest relief program ever -- for the American taxpayer.

We have finally begun to tighten the belt on Washington-- while continuing to care for those in genuine need. For any who doubt that commitment to the needy, I would call their attention to 95 million meals served in this country every day - that's one out of every 7 consumed - served by Uncle Sam - or the 5 million college students aided by federal dollars in pursuit of a degree -- or the one million aspiring jobholders being trained with federal funds -- or the 3½ million who live in federally-subsidized housing.

This administration will never walk away from its social responsibility, its obligation to the needy. It is only accepting the honest fact that government can no longer

Elizabeth Hanford Dole

spend with reckless abandon, and that when it does, it simply burdens every citizen with an unbearable load of taxes, inflation and unemployment. No, we have a different idea. As you know, we have cut tax rates. We're cutting the rate of growth in spending -- reducing excessive regulation -- and pursuing a stable economic climate to restore prosperity. We are doing all this because the old ways have failed. And because we want something better than paternalism for the poor - we want to offer them a hand up and not just a hand out. We want a hard pressed middle class to keep more of what it earns. As they grow to adulthood, we want our children to have the same opportunity to enjoy the independence that comes with self-support.

And let me say one word about the VA integrated health care system. Ladies and gentlemen, I want you to know that in the councils of government, the Administrator of the Veterans Administration, Bob Nimmo, stands four-square behind the rights of those who have put their lives on the line for our country and he is a particularly outspoken defender of the VA integrated health care system. He is committed to improving its efficiency and its ability to deliver services to our veterans. I hope you will work closely with him and give him your views as to how this can best be accomplished.

We want our children to inherit a world at peace, where no one rattles a sword and no one drags a chain. And that brings me to yet another priority which you and this administration share.

Perhaps no audience in America better understands the distinction between defensive and offensive weapons. Surely, none has been more generous in its support for an American whose defense is adequate to her needs. For you understand that great nations must shoulder responsibilities. They must be willing to spend dollars for defense, unless they want to spill blood on battlefields again. You understand the difference between outlaws and the law-abiding -- not only in our own neighborhoods, but in the global community. You understand strength as a deterrent to wrongdoers. And you have never hesitated to go public with that realistic assessment of the dangerous world in which we live.

And so it is, that this morning, in the midst of a world wide debate on arms and arms control, I would like to spend a few minutes on this country's position and this President's efforts to halt the rush to doomsday.

Last November 18, 1981, President Reagan called for the "ZERO" option as far as theater nuclear forces for Europe where concerned; that is, withdrawal of U.S. Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles to be matched by the dismantling of Soviet SS-20's, SS-4's and SS-5's already in place.

On May 9th of this year, our President unveiled his long-awaited strategic arms reduction proposal: ICBM warheads down by about 50% to 5,000 for each side and all ballistic missiles -- land or sea-based -- down to one-half of the existing U.S. inventory.

Finally, on June 10th President Reagan called for sharp mutual reductions over a seven-year period of the opposing forces on NATO's central front -- down to 700,000 for Warsaw Pact and NATO ground forces and 900,000 for total ground and air forces combined.

In each of these three dramatic presidential proposals -- strategic weapons, theater nuclear weapons, and conventional force levels -- certain bed-rock, non-negotiable principles are evident. We insist that any reductions be mutual, equitable, verifiable, and significant in scope.

President Reagan is a man of peace. But he seeks a true peace, one that will endure over time. We reject the peace of Poland, or Afganistan. We reject peace at any price -- because we know it can become the first payment on an installment plan for war.

Such a form of American strategic surrender, however muted or disguised, will never occur so long as Ronald Wilson Reagan leads this nation we love. Some who "freeze now and count later" ... well, I invite them to drop their placards, discard their slogans, and remember this: negotiation, like marriage, takes two. It has little hope of success without incentives for both sides to negotiate in good faith. No one more than Ronald Reagan hopes for an early end to the endless stockpiling of weaponry. But to freeze weapons at their existing imbalance would achieve nothing but a global stamp of approval on the Soviets' nuclear superiority. Or, to use a domestic comparison, it would be the ultimate example of taking guns away from those who have them only for self-defense -- while leaving them bristling in the trigger-happy hands of international law-breakers.

There is nothing new in the popular desire to spend less on national defense. During a debate on the subject in 1789, in our constitutional convention, one delegate got to his feet and moved that "the standing army be restricted to 5,000 men at any one time." This prompted George Washington, as presiding officer, to suggest an amendment of his own -- to provide that no foreign enemy shall invade the United States with more than 3,000 troops at any time.

Freezing an imbalance of arms would be just about as effective as that original freeze on the size of our standing army. It would put pressure on this country and little or none on the Soviets. It would not materially advance the cause of nuclear disarmament -- on the contrary, it would all but destroy the justification for any genuine arms reduction. No-- the nuclear status quo is too deadly to enshrine permanently. President Reagan understands that thoroughly, and that is why he is inviting the Soviets to invest more commitment and less propaganda in stemming the arms spiral.

The Soviets claim to harbor strictly defensive notions. Tell that to the people of Afghanistan. Tell it to the residents of Warsaw and Gdansk. In fact, this "strictly defensive" military machine has been expanding at an alarming rate for the past 15 years. As a land power, you wouldn't think that soviet defense requires maritime superiority -- yet that's what they've spent tens of billions of dollars to achieve. Equipped with a land

army already considerably larger than our own, you wouldn't think that soviet defense would require adding scores of fresh divisions and four times as many tanks -- and yet that's exactly what they've done. As a nation saddled with economic woes, whose people are deprived of consumer goods and basic necessities, you wouldn't think that soviet defense alone could justify spending so many billions more than the U.S. over the last ten years. and yet, that's exactly what they've done.

And what have they gotten for their money? An empire whose cracks are showing. A guerilla war in the rugged mountains of Afghanistan. An expansive solar system of economically impoverished satellites. And rising hostility wherever people value freedom and the opportunity to create a better life for themselves. The Soviets portray their military buildup as a necessary response -- a circling of the wagons, if you will, to protect the motherland from hostile forces ranged around her borders. In fact, their paranoia is directed less at outside forces than those within. The only thing greater than their fear is their ambition. And so it is that the Reagan Administration finds itself confronted with a drastically different balance of power than anything known in the last twenty-five years.

Those pacifists who march in European streets have an understandable interest in protecting their homelands from a nuclear holocaust. But they must not forget in their zeal for peace that it isn't strength but weakness which tempts the agressor. They of all people should understand the lessons of Munich and the locust years that followed. And they should likewise grasp the dangers of a world in which the United States lowers, not only her voice, but also her Flag. We, no less than they, must come to terms with a world in which American resolve is all that stands between a tense balance and a global reign of terror. Either we accept that burden, or we place every value we hold dear in peril.

The American people expressed their own concern about our future course 19 months ago. They elected president Reagan with a clear mandate to rebuild our defenses. And the President has responded with a series of decisions designed to ward off would-be aggressors.

Now I'd be remiss if I didn't point out the myth being perpetrated by our detractors-- the idea that we're somehow depriving social programs of dollars so that weapons can be built and defenses restored. But look at the record of the last few years. In the 1950's and 60's, defense spending accounted for nearly half the National budget, and between 8 and 9% of our GNP. Today, by contrast, for all the talk of a build-up, the defense department spends less than 29% of the total budget, and just over 6% of the GNP. Yet the Soviets have gone on spending 2½ times that level. Over \$400 billion more than this country allotted to its weapons spending during the 1970's alone. The end product of this imbalance is painfully obvious to all but those blinded by their own sloganeering.

The sad but inescapable truth is that virtually every part of our strategic forces is in need of both modernization and strengthening. The Minuteman system for missile basing was decided on more than 20 years ago. The mainstay of our present bomber force, the B-52, was chosen some 30 years ago, forcing our pilots to fly planes older than themselves.

Much has been said about the U.S. military build-up. What exactly, does it consist of? Basically, it contains five mutually reinforcing elements:

--First--We plan long-neglected improvements in our command and control systems. This will enable us to better operate all parts of the triad: land, sea and air.

--Second--We will modernize our strategic bomber fleet to replace our 30-year-old B-52's, so we can continue to have an ability to penetrate Soviet air defenses by manned bombers.

--Third--We will deploy new, heavier, and far more accurate submarine-launched ballistic missiles--in many ways, the most survivable of all defense systems.

--Fourth--We will undertake a step-by-step plan to improve the strength and accuracy of the new MX land-based missiles (which are far more accurate and which carry 10 warheads apiece). We will also seek out ways to reduce the vulnerability of the MX.

--Fifth--We will improve our strategic defenses as yet another means of discouraging and deterring attack.

We will not neglect our conventional capabilities--far from it. We intend to place special emphasis on those areas which have suffered the most during the long years when our defenses were allowed to decay. That means improving the overall readiness, sustainability, and modernization of our forces. It means bolstering our military's ability to respond to conventional challenges. It means getting on with the unglamorous yet critical task of providing more spare parts, more ammunition, more fuel and more training so that those who must be proficient in the use of weapons can have the time they need to develop their skills properly.

In rebuilding our land forces, we will not neglect those who fly our Flag on the vast oceans and the inland seas. For access to the seas is vital if we are to protect our interests abroad as well as the crucial lines of supply that now bring us scarce materials from all over the world. A strong navy is the only way to insure this ability--and we are rebuilding ours so that it will be very strong indeed. We are also upgrading the rapid deployment force.

And we are finally rewarding our men and women in uniform with more than pretty words and empty gestures. Last October, our military personnel received a pay raise of 14.3%. It was long overdue, and well-deserved. And it's no coincidence that the President, not long ago, was able to announce that all four services have met their manpower quotas for the first time since the all-volunteer force was introduced in 1973.

Because of the President's leadership in changing our national attitudes about those who serve, recognition of military service for what it is -- the protection of our freedom-- and appreciation for the men and women who perform those jobs is growing as rapidly as is their level of pay. Our enlistment and reenlistment rates are significantly improved. The importance of this cannot be exaggerated. Because history has proved again and again, that the tenacity and character of a nation is reflected in those who wear its uniform and carry its arms.

I could not leave this hall without paying special tribute to some of the bravest Americans I know -- those who represent some 535,000 Vietnam veterans in your proud organization.

And despite the tragic divisiveness of that way here in America, a careful survey of those who actually did the fighting shows that 91% take pride in having served our country. Ninety percent of those who saw "heavy combat" expressed the same sentiment. And sixty-six percent stated they would serve again. I sense these courageous young American veterans know something that some other Americans never knew -- or have forgotten.

What they know is summed up in a few lines scrawled in a bunker at Khe Sanh:

"For those who fought for it,
freedom has a flavor that
the protected will never know."

At the birth of our republic more than two centuries ago, Thomas Jefferson said the same thing in slightly different language ... "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must ... undergo the fatigues of supporting it."

You who fought in Vietnam, like all your colleagues who have given distinction to the uniform of American fighting men, have undergone the fatigues foreseen by Jefferson. Because of you, the rest of us know the blessings of freedom. We will not sacrifice what you have achieved. We will not embrace short-term popularity at the expense of long-range survival. We will not turn our backs on our friends -- and we dare not turn our backs in the presence of foes. We will keep the peace -- but a peace of equals. We will insure American power -- along with a sense of American purpose. We will not lower our voice; we will never lower our Flag. And the men of Khe Sanh, like their predecessors at Guadalcanal, Anzio, the Ardennes, and Gettysburg, will know that their sacrifice is honored, their nation secure, and their children safe to assume their own responsibilities in the 200 year struggle for freedom -- wherever it thrives; and especially, wherever it is threatened. You have never let us down; we will not let you down.

Thank you and God Bless You all.