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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

SEP. 16 1982

DATE: 9/16/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. TOMORROW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS - VETERANS MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM - COLUMBUS, O.  
(9/16 - 3:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VON DAMM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BAKSHIAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Please provide any edits/comments directly to Aram Bakshian by 5:00 p.m. tomorrow, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
(x2702)

Response:

(Dolan/AB)  
September 16, 1982  
3:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: VETERANS MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1982

I can't tell you how refreshing it is to get out of Washington and back here to the heartland of America.

As some of you know, we've had our headaches lately. The Congress is spending money again -- inventing miracle cures for which there are no known diseases. And then there's the pipeline. The Soviet Union is launching a very aggressive marketing campaign. Their new slogan is "Use our gas . . . we'll cook your goose"; and if you fall behind on your bill, you're invited for a tour of the pumping stations in Siberia. Actually though, we're just trying to point out to our European friends the disadvantages of the deal. For one thing: use Soviet gas in your oven and the stroganoff immediately starts fighting with the chow mein -- you also get an uncontrollable urge to build a wall dividing the east side of your house from the west side.

But it is good to be back on the campaign trail even if it does mean the silly season is upon us again. I was just out in California where some of the Republican candidates are using helicopters to get around the state. Jerry Brown says he wants none of that though . . . he's sticking to his skateboard . . . he said he was afraid of catching Medflies in his rotorblades.

In solid, hardworking Ohio, this year you can make a real difference in government. There are two classic confrontations between the past and the the future -- between candidates who reject the policies of tax and tax, spend and spend and



candidates who endorse them and between candidates who stand for growth and opportunity and candidates who want more government and more spending. Congressman Bud Brown has been an invaluable ally in the fight against Big Government in Washington. Bud has won the respect of virtually everyone he has dealt with there. In this campaign he has one agenda: getting jobs and economic opportunity back to Ohio. Let him carry on the fight here against Big Government just as he's carried it on so well in Washington. He'll make a great governor -- I hope you'll support him.

And right now Paul Pfeifer is waging one of those campaigns that is making the opposition very, very nervous. The incumbent represents a political point of view that is out of step with the people of Ohio. Mistaking his voting record for the views of the people of Ohio is like mistaking Woody Hayes for Charles Nelson Reilly. It's time you had a Senator who represented conservative voters of Ohio and not the liberals in Washington. I need Paul Pfeifer in Washington, the country needs him -- and we hope Ohio can help us out.

Two years ago, I made a good many campaign stops in this state. The reasons for that aren't hard to figure out: Ohio isn't just one of the most important states in the Union -- it is also a barometer of our people, a measure of America.

You may remember that all the pundits were speculating then it would be a very close election race. But as I was travelling through states like Ohio one thing became very clear; something was stirring in America, a new political consensus was emerging -- a consensus that rejected government intrusion and

*Ohio  
is this?*

expansion into areas where it was neither competent nor needed; but a consensus that was also critical of government's failure to perform its legitimate and traditional duties like maintaining our national security and keeping our streets safe.

I think the results of the 1980 election marked the beginning of that historical tide, not its climax. Something has been going on in America, a change in our national way of doing things -- a change of mind and heart that goes beyond one election. And just as I think some of the pundits missed their predictions about 1980, I think it's possible they'll miss them this year too.

Too many of the seers and prophets in Washington spend their time talking to each other and not to the American people. If a career in politics teaches one truth it teaches this: over the long run it's the people who know, who understand, who decide.

Despite the hysterical cries of the opposition, the people of Ohio understand the economic mess this Administration inherited when we took office. I hate to dredge up unpleasant memories, but we'd had inflation in double digits for 2 years in a row; interest rates had shot as high as 21½ percent; productivity and the rate of growth in the G.N.P. had gone down for the third year in a row; and the money supply had increased at a 13 percent annual rate in the last half of 1980 -- the fastest in history. Unemployment was climbing; business failures were increasing. Then that recession hit us with hurricane force -- a recession that was a legacy from all the years of boom and bust, of wild spending and erratic monetary policy of "tax and tax and spend and spend".



And what a job we had before us 20 months ago -- to try and control the spending juggernaut. In the last 10 years, federal spending had tripled, in the last 5 years federal taxes had doubled. The budget for the Department of Health and Human Services was roughly \$250 billion -- the third largest budget in the world just after the entire national budget of the United States and the Soviet Union. The Federal debt reached 1 trillion dollars and the interest payments on that debt alone were in the range of \$100 billion -- about as much as the entire Federal budget 20 years ago.

Automatic spending programs had gone completely out of control, Medicare and Medicaid payments had gone up 400 percent in the last decade and the food stamp program had gone in 16 years from \$65 million to \$11.3 billion -- an increase of more than 16,000 percent.

Now maybe the people of Ohio don't have all these statistics at their fingertips, but just like most Americans I think they know what got us in this economic mess, what causes inflation and unemployment: government is too big and it spends too much money.

That's why the American people supported us when we moved to cut spending, when we reduced taxes for individual Americans and indexed them to the rate of inflation, when we cut through the thicket of Federal regulations, when we mobilized our Inspectors General in war on waste and fraud in the Government.

In less than 20 months we've managed to slow three decades of momentum towards bigger and bigger government. Our economic recovery program has been in effect for less than a year -- but

subject  
of Saturday  
speech

the economic indicators are up and inflation, which a little more than a year ago was the number one economic concern of most Americans is now down from 12.4 percent in 1980 to an annual rate of 6.5 percent. Oh yes, and we've brought individual Americans the first real tax cut they've had in nearly 20 years.

The American people know the truth about this Administration: that we've done something that hasn't been done in American politics for a very long time: we said we would cut spending -- and we cut spending. We said we would ease the tax burden -- and we eased the tax burden. We said we would rebuild our national defenses -- and we're rebuilding them. We said we would be firm with totalitarian powers -- and we have been firm. We said these things and we meant them. We made our promises and we kept them.

Let me speak for a minute about one of the things I just mentioned. I think all of you here today, and especially those of you who served in our armed forces, will agree: a President has no more important duty than protecting the peace, guarding us from foreign attack and insuring the future safety of our children.

In the last 20 years, as Government got into areas where it didn't belong, it failed to meet its proper responsibilities. During the past 20 years an almost complete reversal took place in Federal fiscal priorities -- in 1960, we were devoting \_\_\_\_\_ of the budget to defense while \_\_\_\_\_ went to social spending. By 1980, that proportion had completely reversed itself with \_\_\_\_\_ going to social spending and only \_\_\_\_\_ going to defense spending.



I think you all realize the consequences. Remember those stories in 1980 about our military? About the airplanes that couldn't fly, ships that couldn't leave port and a rapid deployment force that was neither rapid, deployable or much of a force.

Well, we've begun to change all that: we've improved our strategic forces, toughened our conventional forces; and -- one thing that has made me particularly happy -- more and more young Americans are proud again to wear their country's uniform

There's something else, too. As we've rebuilt America's military and strategic strength we've also adopted a foreign policy that speaks openly and candidly about the failure of totalitarianism, that advocates the moral superiority of Western ideals like personal freedom and representative government, a foreign policy that calls for a global crusade for personal freedom and representative government. It's this combination of strategic strength and rhetorical candor that -- for the first time in years has taken American foreign policy off the defensive. Most important, it has strengthened the chances for lasting peace by providing a credible basis for important new peace initiatives -- especially in the arms control area and in regions like the Middle East. These vital initiatives for peace now have a far better chance of success than they did in the climate of doubt about America's leadership that existed just a few years ago.

But none of this would have been possible without the new political consensus that I've talked about -- without the support of the American people. Our initiatives in other areas as



well -- our attempts to protect the unborn, to return prayer to our schools, to get tuition tax credits for the parents of independent school children, to help make our streets and homes safe again by tightening up on bail and parole -- these are not just separate initiatives. They are all part of the same consensus -- the demand for change, the historical tide that is sweeping America.

For the truth is that Americans this year just as in 1980 must choose between two differing points of view. One side believes the solutions to our national problems lie in the psychiatrist's notes, or the social worker's files or the bureaucrat's budgets. We believe the solutions lie in the honest toil of the workingman, the creative genius of the businessman, the gentle guidance of the clergyman. The other side speaks of national malaise, we offer hope. The other side speaks of limitations and redistribution; we want growth and opportunity. The other side wants us to lower our expectations; we have a vision for making America great again. The other side puts its faith in the pipe dreamers and margin scribblers in Washington; we believe in the people and the wisdom of their individual decisions.

That's what the political choices come down to this election year. A choice between basic values, between government as the master or the servant. Between a faith in Big Government or faith in the people. Between a vision of America as strong and secure and able to stand forthrightly for human freedom -- or an America that is weak, nervous and confused.

James Madison had a favorite quote he often repeated: "All great reforms, great movements, come from the bottom and not the top. Where there is a wrong, point it out to all the world and you can trust the people to fight it."

Alexis de Tocqueville put it another way: "There is an amazing strength in the expression of the will of people, and when it declares itself, even the imagination of those who wish to contest it is overawed."

This country, born of ancient dream was nourished by a new wisdom. The dream was that a place could be found on this earth for people of all classes and kinds who could live together in peace and freedom. The wisdom held that the final resting place of power was in the hands not of the government but of the people.

This is what the last 20 months in Washington have been all about. We have returned to honored ways and reasserted basic values and because we have, we can look again to a future filled with hope. The days of national malaise are over, Americans are on their feet again. There's optimism and energy again in this land. As your state motto puts it "With God's help, all is possible." Yes -- with his help -- and with yours -- for all of us, for children and for this country called America -- there are great days ahead.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1982

Returned 9/30  
10:43

MEMORANDUM FOR ELIZABETH H. DOLE

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MB*

SUBJECT: President's remarks to Ohio Veterans  
Organizations

I believe there is a problem in the draft remarks. On Page 2 there are clear cut endorsements and calls for the election of the Republican candidates for Governor and Senator.

When I approached the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars about this, my understanding was that this would be a speech generally about defense and other issues of importance to veterans. There was no indication that the President would be taking this opportunity for making political endorsements.

I suggest we substantially soften the references to the U. S. Senate and gubernatorial races or eliminate them entirely.

The alternative would be to proceed with this excellent speech and hope that neither the American Legion nor the V. F. W. would complain that they had been misled. I would rather the President not take that risk.

Aside from the election angle, this well-drafted speech is very appropriate and will be well received.



# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/29/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: OHIO VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS, COLUMBUS, OHIO, 1  
(9/29/82 - 1:00 p.m. draft)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VON DAMM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Please provide any edits/comments directly to Aram Bakshian by 2:00 p.m. tomorrow, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
(x2702)

Response:

(Dolan/AB)  
September 29, 1982  
1:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: OHIO VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS  
COLUMBUS, OHIO  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1982

I can't tell you how refreshing it is to get out of Washington and back here to the heartland of America.

As some of you know, we've had our headaches lately. The Congress is spending money again -- inventing miracle cures for which there are no known diseases. And then there's the pipeline. The Soviet Union is launching a very aggressive marketing campaign. Their new slogan is "Use our gas . . . we'll cook your goose;" and, if you fall behind on your bill, you're invited for a tour of the pumping stations in Siberia. Actually though, we're just trying to point out to our European friends the disadvantages of the deal. For one thing: use Soviet gas in your oven and the stroganoff immediately starts fighting with the chow mein -- you also get an uncontrollable urge to build a wall dividing the east side of your house from the west side.

But it is good to be back on the campaign trail even if it does mean the silly season is upon us again. Out in California, some of the Republican candidates are using helicopters to get around the State -- Jerry Brown says he wants none of that though . . . he's sticking to his skateboard . . . he said he was afraid of catching medflies in his rotorblades.

In solid, hardworking Ohio, this year you can make a real difference in government. There are two classic confrontations between the past and the future -- between candidates who reject the policies of tax and tax, spend and spend and candidates who endorse them; and between candidates who stand for growth and



opportunity and candidates who want more Government and more spending. Congressman Bud Brown has been an invaluable ally in the fight against big Government in Washington. Bud has won the respect of virtually everyone he has dealt with there. In this campaign he has one agenda: bringing jobs and economic opportunity back to Ohio. He'll make a great Governor -- I hope you'll support him.

And right now Paul Pfeifer is waging one of those campaigns that is making the opposition very, very nervous. The incumbent represents a political point of view that is out of step with the people of Ohio. Mistaking his voting record for the views of the people of Ohio is like mistaking Woody Hayes for Woody Allen. It's time you had a Senator who represents the voters of Ohio and not the liberals in Washington. I need Paul Pfeifer in Washington, the country needs him -- and we hope Ohio can help us out.

Two years ago, I made a good many campaign stops in this State. The reasons for that aren't hard to figure out: Ohio isn't just one of the most important States in the Union -- it is also a measure of America, a barometer of our people.

You may remember that all the pundits were speculating and the polls were predicting it would be a very close election race. But as I travelled through States like Ohio, one thing became very clear: something was stirring in America, a new political consensus was emerging -- a consensus that rejected Government intrusion and expansion into areas where it was neither competent nor needed; but a consensus that was also critical of Government's failure to perform its legitimate and traditional



duties -- like maintaining our national security and keeping our streets safe.

I think the results of the 1980 election marked not the high point but the beginning of a historical tide. Something has been going on in America -- a change of mind and heart that goes beyond one election or even one administration. And just as I think some of the pundits couldn't see this tide in 1980, I think it's possible they're not seeing it now.

The trouble is that too many of the seers and prophets in Washington spend their time talking to each other and not to the American people. If a career in politics teaches one truth it teaches this: over the long run it's the people who know, who understand, who decide.

Despite the hysterical cries of the opposition, the people of Ohio understand the economic mess this Administration inherited when we took office. I hate to dredge up unpleasant memories, but we'd had inflation in double digits for 2 years in a row; interest rates had shot as high as 21½ percent; productivity and the rate of growth in the G.N.P. had gone down for the third year in a row; and the money supply had increased at a 13 percent annual rate in the last half of 1980 -- the fastest in history. Unemployment was already a serious problem; business failures were increasing. Then that recession hit us with hurricane force -- a recession that was a legacy from all the years of boom and bust, of wild spending and erratic monetary policy of "tax and tax and spend and spend."

And what a job we had before us 20 months ago -- to try and control the spending juggernaut. In the last 10 years, Federal

duties -- like maintaining our national security and keeping our streets safe.

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And what a job we had before us 20 months ago -- to try and control the spending juggernaut. In the last 10 years, Federal



spending had tripled; in the last 5 years, Federal taxes had doubled. The budget for the Department of Health and Human Services -- roughly \$250 billion -- became the third largest budget in the world just after the entire national budgets of the United States and the Soviet Union. The Federal debt reached \$1 trillion and the interest payments on that debt alone were in the range of \$100 billion -- about as much as the entire Federal budget 20 years ago.

Automatic spending programs had gone completely out of control, medicare and medicaid payments had gone up 400 percent in the last decade, and the food stamp program had grown in 16 years from \$65 million to \$11.3 billion -- an increase of more than 16,000 percent.

Now maybe the people of Ohio don't have all these statistics at their fingertips, but like most Americans they know what got us in this economic mess, what caused inflation and unemployment: Government is too big and it spends too much money.

That's why the American people supported us when we moved to cut the growth in spending, when we reduced taxes for individual Americans and indexed them to the rate of inflation, when we cut through the thicket of Federal regulations, when we mobilized our Inspectors General in war on waste and fraud in the Government.

In 20 months we've managed to slow three decades of momentum towards bigger and bigger Government. Even in Washington, it's beginning to sink in: you can't drink yourself sober or spend yourself rich -- you can't prime the pump without pumping the prime. Our economic recovery program has been in effect for less than a year -- but the economic indicators are up and inflation,



which a little more than a year ago was the number one economic concern of most Americans, is now down from 12.4 percent in 1980 to an annual rate of 6.5 percent. Oh yes, and we've brought individual Americans the first real tax cut they've had in nearly 20 years.

The American people know the truth about this Administration: that we've done something that hasn't been done in American politics for a very long time. We said we would cut spending -- and we cut spending. We said we would ease the tax burden -- and we eased the tax burden. We said we would rebuild our national defenses -- and we're rebuilding them. We said we would be firm with totalitarian powers -- and we have been firm. We said these things and we meant them. We made our promises and we kept them.

Let me speak for a minute about one of the things I just mentioned. I think all of you here today, and especially those of you who served in our armed forces, will agree: a President's first duty is protecting the peace by guarding us from foreign attack and insuring the safety of our country and the future of our children.

In the last 20 years, as Government got into areas where it didn't belong, it failed to meet one of its most important and legitimate responsibilities. During the past 20 years an almost complete reversal took place in Federal fiscal priorities -- in 1960, we were devoting 49 percent of the budget to defense while 28 percent went to social spending. By 1980, that proportion had completely reversed itself with 52 percent going to social spending and only 23 percent going to defense spending.

I think you all realize the consequences. Remember those stories in 1980 about our military? About the airplanes that couldn't fly, about ships that couldn't leave port, about a rapid deployment force that was neither rapid, deployable nor much of a force.

Well, we've begun to change all that -- we've improved our strategic forces, toughened our conventional forces. And, one thing that has made me particularly happy, more and more young Americans are proud again to wear their country's uniform.

There's something else, too. As we've rebuilt America's military and strategic strength, we've also adopted a foreign policy that speaks openly and candidly about the failure of totalitarianism, that advocates the moral superiority of Western ideals like personal freedom and representative government, a foreign policy that calls for a global crusade for personal freedom and representative government. It's this combination of strategic strength and rhetorical candor that, for the first time in years, has taken American foreign policy off the defensive. Most important, it has strengthened the chances for lasting peace by providing a credible basis for important new peace initiatives -- especially in the arms control area and in regions like the Middle East. These vital initiatives for peace now have a far better chance of success than they did in that climate of doubt about American leadership that existed only a few years ago.

But none of this would have been possible without the new political consensus that I've talked about -- without the support of the American people. Our initiatives in other areas as well -- our attempts, to return prayer to our schools, to get



tuition tax credits for the parents of independent school children, to protect the unborn, to help make our streets and homes safe again by tightening up on bail and parole -- these are not just separate initiatives. They are all part of the same consensus -- that sea change in American politics, that historical tide that is sweeping America.

For the truth is that Americans this year, just as in 1980, must choose between two drastically different points of view. The other side puts its faith in the pipe dreamers and margin scribblers in Washington; we believe in the collective wisdom of the people and their commitment to the American dream. The other side says tax and tax, spend and spend, and we say power to the people.

The other side believes the solutions to our Nation's problems lie in the psychiatrist's notes or in the social worker's file or in the bureaucrat's budget -- we believe in the workingman's toil, the businessman's enterprise and the clergyman's counsel.

The other side speaks of limitations and redistribution; we want growth and opportunity. The other side wants us to lower our expectations, we have a vision for making America great again. The other side speaks of national malaise, we offer hope.

That's what the political choices boil down to this election year -- a choice between basic values, between two differing political and social philosophies; between government as master or government as servant; between a vision of America strong and secure and able to stand forthrightly for human freedom, or an

America that is weak and confused and reluctant to speak for the downtrodden.

James Madison had a favorite quote he often repeated: "All great reforms, great movements, come from the bottom and not the top . . . Wherever there is a wrong, point it out to all the world and you can trust the people to fight it."

Alexis de Tocqueville put it another way: "There is an amazing strength in the expression of the will of people, and when it declares itself, even the imagination of those who wish to contest it is overawed."

This country was born of an ancient dream, and then was nourished by a new wisdom. The dream envisioned a place on this Earth where people of all classes and kinds could live together in peace and freedom. The wisdom held that the final resting place of power was in the hands not of the government but of the people.

In the last 20 months in Washington, we have tried to return to these honored ways and reassert the basic values of the American people. Because of that sea change, because we are part of a tide, we can look again to a future filled with hope. America is on her feet again. The days of national malaise are over and an era of national renewal is upon us. There's optimism and energy again in this land. As your State motto puts it, "With God's help, all is possible." Yes, with His help, and with yours -- for all of us, for our children and for this much loved country of ours -- there are great days ahead.



## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/20/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: MEETING OF THE CABINET COUNCIL ON HUMAN RESOURCES  
April 21 - 5:15 p.m. - Roosevelt Room

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JAMES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE <span style="font-size: 2em;">→</span>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WEIDENBAUM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BAROODY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			SMALL		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Action assignees are invited. Agenda and briefing are attached. Please inform Patsy Faoro (x2800) in the Office of Cabinet Administration if you will attend.

The agenda and papers for items #1 and #2 are attached. The paper for the third agenda item is forthcoming.

Richard G. Darman  
 Assistant to the President  
 (x2702)

Response:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CABINET COUNCIL ON HUMAN RESOURCES

April 21, 1982

5:15 PM

Roosevelt Room

AGENDA

1. Puerto Rican Nutrition Assistance Block Grant/CM243
2. H.R. 5600: Benefits for Widows or Orphans of Veterans/CM246
3. Report on Aging Programs/CM232





DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

April 19, 1982

SUBJECT: Puerto Rico Nutrition Assistance Block Grant

TO: Cabinet Council on Human Resources

I. ISSUE

This memorandum is prepared for the Cabinet Council as an information document requiring no action. The political sensitivity of this issue, however, dictates that we bring it to the Council's attention.

The Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has submitted a State Plan of Operation for a Nutrition Assistance Program to begin July 1, 1982. The plan is required as a condition for receiving federal funds, and is mandated by the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981. The Secretary of Agriculture has 30 days from the date of the plan's submission to approve or disapprove (totally or in part). The decision must, therefore, be completed by Friday, April 23.

We have tentatively agreed to the State Plan, delaying at this time the decision to fund four special projects. The Puerto Rico plan would physically replace food coupons with general public assistance checks. The "cashing-out" of food stamps will be extremely controversial and politically sensitive on Capitol Hill.

II. BACKGROUND

The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 replaced the food stamp program in Puerto Rico with a general nutrition assistance grant beginning July 1, 1982. The grant developed out of a recognition that the food stamp program was growing extremely rapidly in Puerto Rico--nearly 60 percent of the population, or 1.8 million persons, receive food stamps at an annual cost of over \$1.1 billion-- and that alternative approaches to serve needy persons there might better be developed. Funding for the grant was fixed at \$825 million annually, and represented approximately a 25 percent decrease from what the existing food stamp program would have cost.

The legislation establishing the grant allows considerable latitude to the Commonwealth in formulating its plan. The Commonwealth has chosen to use the basic food stamp program structure, reducing eligibility to \$8,000 gross income for a family of four (about 85 percent of Mainland poverty standards). The Commonwealth would issue checks based on a formula that simply reduces the amount of benefits that would have been issued under the old food stamp program.

During the legislative debate last year, the block grant proposal was opposed by numerous Commonwealth officials. Currently, the plan as submitted by the Governor has not been formally reviewed by the State legislature. The President of the Commonwealth Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives (both members of the Governor's opposition party) have requested the Secretary of Agriculture not to approve the plan until it has been officially approved by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico.

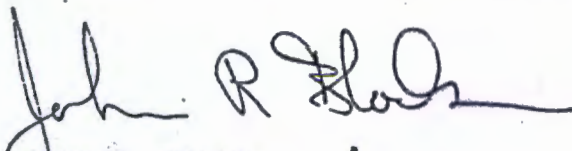
Congressman Thomas Coleman, a strong supporter of the Administration's food stamp legislation last year, recently introduced a House Resolution 423 calling for the Secretary to direct the Commonwealth to amend the plan, so as to provide assurances that only food will be purchased by recipients of the grant assistance.

The Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico, Baltasar Corrada, while not an original supporter of the block grant, has, nonetheless, requested his House colleagues to not approve House Resolution 423, and to allow Puerto Rico the flexibility in the use of the funds to meet the Commonwealth's particular needs.

### III. USDA POSITION

It is the Department's current position that the plan for benefit determination and issuance be approved as submitted. Phasing in the new program should begin immediately to avoid unnecessary confusion and potential hardships to current recipients. Funding for four special projects, also authorized by the legislation, will be deferred until further reviewed by the Department's internal Policy Coordinating Council.

The Department has concluded that because of the low per capita income in the Commonwealth, and because of the tight eligibility standards in the plan, cash assistance will result in no more nor less food consumption than would be achieved with a coupon based system. The plan also provides maximum administrative flexibility.

  
JOHN R. BLOCK  
Secretary



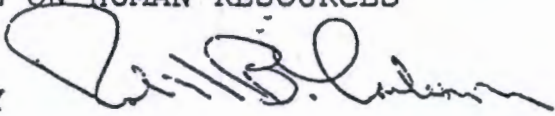
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Veterans  
Policy*

April 20, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CABINET COUNCIL ON HUMAN RESOURCES

FROM: ROBERT B. CARLESON  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



SUBJECT: HR 5600 -- Benefits for Widows or Orphans  
of Veterans

Background

Attached is a brief memorandum from Don Moran, Executive Associate Director of OMB, summarizing the issues involved in HR 5600.

A provision of the Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 eliminated Social Security survivors' benefits for widows when their oldest child reached 16 years of age instead of 18. In addition, children from 18 to 22 years of age lost their Social Security survivors' benefits. In the past these benefits were available while attending college.

Survivors of veterans who die from service-connected causes receive a separate veteran benefit. Widows receive a benefit until their youngest child reaches age 18, children receive benefits while attending college until age 22. Until the 1981 B.R.A. widows and orphans received benefits from both the VA and the Social Security Administration.

HR 5600 would recreate the Social Security benefits in the form of additional veterans' benefits for widows and orphans of deceased veterans. Edwin Meese III has requested that this issue receive prompt action by the Cabinet Council on Human Resources.

Points for and against HR 5600

For

- o Politically sensitive because of special status of veterans killed on duty or who died from service-connected causes.
- o These benefits could be considered part of the compensation package for members of the military service unlike Social Security survivors.

- o Congress may have taken into consideration available Social Security benefits when setting the current veterans' benefits.

Against

- o Cost would be \$50-60 million per year.
- o Possible precedent for the 1983 Veterans' Pension Program with a potential cost of \$11-13 million.
- o Would treat widows and orphans of veterans differently from other Social Security survivors.

Options

Option 1 -- Support HR 5600

Option 2 -- Oppose HR 5600

Option 3 -- Neutral Position

Recommended Option \_\_\_\_\_



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

April 7, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM JENKINS

FROM: Don Moran

SUBJECT: Further Clarification of HR 5600

Benefits Prior to the Reconciliation Act

Before the Reconciliation Act was signed into law, most widows of veterans with children received two benefit checks:

- o Veterans Compensation payments from the VA; and
- o Social Security survivor's benefits from the Social Security Administration.

The amount of veterans compensation payments varied depending on the individual case, determined by the rank of the deceased veteran and the number of children in the home. The widow of an E-3 (Pfc.) with one child would get about \$440 per month; each additional child would increase the benefit by \$43.

The amount of the Social Security benefit would depend upon the deceased's work history and earnings. In a typical case, the Social Security benefits would provide an additional \$265 per month for widows with one child.

Under both programs, benefits continued at this level until the child was 18 years of age, with the benefits based on amounts to support both the mother and the children. After age 18, each child's benefit would be cut off unless the child enrolled full-time in college, in which case the child's benefit only would continue until college was completed or age 22, whichever came first. The mother's benefit continued until the youngest child turned 18.

Changes in Reconciliation

The Reconciliation Act did not change the benefits provided under the Veterans' Compensation program. Child's and mother's benefits continue in that program until the youngest child turns 18, and student benefits continue to be paid until the student graduates or turns 22.

We are proposing no changes in this area for the Veterans' Compensation program.

What the Reconciliation Act did do was to make two changes in the Social Security Act which affect all Social Security recipients, not just veterans' widows.



Under the law now in effect, the mother's portion of the Social Security benefit will only be paid until the youngest child turns 16. The child's portion of the benefit, however, will continue through age 18.

Also under Reconciliation, the Congress adopted an Administration proposal to phase out Student Benefits under Social Security altogether. No new student benefits will be awarded after May 1 of this year, and those who are presently receiving them will have their benefits phased out by one-third reductions each year for the next three years.

#### Reaction to Reconciliation Changes

The pressure behind HR 5600 is that, while these Social Security changes are OK for the general population, it's not fair to cut Social Security benefits for veterans' widows. Hence, rather than pushing to restore the mother's benefit for mothers of 16 and 17 year-olds and student benefits under Social Security, HR 5600 creates a new veterans program that would have the VA provide an amount equal to the Social Security benefits the widow would have received had the Reconciliation Act never been adopted.

The effect of these changes would be to increase veterans benefits by about \$265 per month when the youngest child turns 16, and then increase Veterans' Compensation student benefits by \$286 per month if a child over aged 17 is enrolled in school full time.

Since most students now receiving Social Security student benefits have been grandfathered in by the Reconciliation Act phase-out, the real push is coming from those who haven't yet had their benefits cut, but are concerned that they will not be available in the future when their children become college-age.

In the case of the mother's benefits, the pressure to restore benefits is somewhat more immediate. For those whose youngest child was under sixteen before October 1, 1981, mother's benefits were reduced in the month that the child turned (or will turn) sixteen after that date. Those with 16-17 children on October 1, 1981 maintained their mother's benefits.

The press coverage and most of the push, however, is not coming from those who have lost benefits, but those who perceive they will lose them in the future.

#### Cost Estimates

We estimate that HR 5600 would cost \$50-60 million per year to cover the cost of new veterans' benefits. The widow of a staff sergeant with one child would have her benefits increased from \$5,800 per year to \$9,000. The widow of a colonel with one child would have her benefits increased from \$8,700 per year



OMB Views & Recommendations

While the whole notion of affecting veterans' benefits be politically difficult, we do not view the change in Reconciliation as having anything other than an adverse relationship to veterans.

The Veterans Affairs Committees of the Congress staff have reportedly told VA personnel that they view the problem as a Social Security problem, and not a veterans' problem.

We have proposed, in the Fiscal Year 1983 budget, to make identical changes in the Veterans Administration, to make identical changes in the Veterans' Pension program, which is a separate program for low-income disabled veterans whose disability is unrelated to their military duty. While the distinction between the two programs are clear in the minds of the veterans' constituencies, it would be difficult to create an add-on in one program while taking identical benefits in another program. Hence, support for HR-5600 means us to withdraw the pension proposal, at a budgetary cost of \$11-13 million.

In all, OMB believes that any gesture in this direction would undermine the rationale for having proposed, and having passed, these two Social Security changes in the first instance. If veterans' benefits alone may not be sufficient to maintain a very high standard of living, this is not an argument for paying higher veterans benefits to veterans' widows who received additional Social Security benefits than we pay to widows who never received Social Security benefits.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mazell,

6/3/81

4:25pm

Here are two pertinent

Addresses to your question; I

am continuing to look for the paper

you described to me

Dayl



DATE: June 3, 1981

TO : Daryl Borquist

FROM : Molly Tuthill

SUBJECT: Briefing paper by Howard E. Vander Clute, Past Commander-in-Chief, VFW

I've gone through approximately 50 boxes of material looking for this briefing paper and have not been able to locate it. I went through the Citizen's Groups - Veterans box sheet by sheet and either Mr, Kelly or Mr. De Meo must have taken the memo with them.

If you don't have any luck with Carol Fields at Potomac International, you might try Ed Gray. He was on the staff at the time the Issues Book was released and may have signed off on it. He sent only one box of material to Hoover and retained the rest. The index Loann gave me of the material he retained has several references to veterans.

I'll try again tomorrow if I can think of any other place to look.

REAGAN & BUSH COMMITTEE

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 655-3400

September 9, 1980

Charles Stephens, Past Commander  
Department of Alabama, VFW  
Route 5, Box 60 E  
Ft. Payne, AL....

Dear.....:

We can all take time now to consider, in retrospect, the accomplishments of our year in office together. The Veterans of Foreign Wars recorded another successful year of membership growth, our 25th consecutive, and in our ever continuing battle, we remained in the forefront as the veterans advocate, attempting to stem the shocking erosion of earned entitlements. The Carter Administration, undaunted, continues to attempt to dismantle veterans programs and maintain its established identity as the most anti-veteran administration in history.

I recently was appointed National Co-Chairman of the Veterans for Reagan & Bush Committee. I am convinced, beyond any doubt, that Governor Reagan has both the understanding and the compassion to support veterans programs and to maintain the integrity of the V.A. medical system. (Because of Carter Administration budget appropriation cuts, hospital bed closures and dangerous reductions in medical and surgical personnel, the present medical delivery system borders on malpractice.) Further, we desperately need Governor Reagan's leadership to re-establish our diminished military capabilities and to properly assess and address issues vital to our common defense and national security.

I call upon you to join me, regardless of your political identity, to "...send a message ringing across the land: when it comes to keeping America strong, when it comes to keeping America great, when it comes to keeping America at peace, then none of us can afford to be simply a Democrat or a Republican -- we must all stand united as Americans." (Excerpted from Governor Reagan's address at VFW National Convention, Chicago, August 18, 1980.)

Thank you for all of your assistance during 1979-80. Because of it, the VFW remains a strong, vocal and vibrant organization -- one that never hesitated to stand up for what was right in America!

Yours in comradeship,

Howard E. Vander Clute, Jr.  
Past Commander-in-Chief, VFW  
Co-Chairman, Veterans for  
REAGAN & BUSH



# Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

## NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Wednesday, October 15, 1980

CONTACT: Ken Towery or  
John Kelly  
703-685-3848

STATEMENT OF HOWARD VANDER CLUTE  
IMMEDIATE PAST COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF  
THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

I am here today to restate my personal endorsement of the Reagan-Bush ticket and to take this opportunity to clear up some misconceptions being put forward by the Carter Re-Election Committee.

The Carter committee claims that the President has demonstrated his commitment to veterans by increasing VA compensation payments some 40 percent over the 1977 level.

Those figures seem impressive when lumped together but when broken down into the separate years, they still fall below the annual inflation rates. Furthermore, they have very little to do with the Carter administration. Their recommendations for compensation increases have been far below those that were finally approved. The administration recommended a 5.8 percent compensation increase for 1978; 7.8 percent increase for 1979; and a 13 percent increase for 1980. That doesn't add up to 40 percent to me and it doesn't seem to demonstrate a commitment to veterans.

Carter's 1981 budget recommends a 10 percent increase in compensation. Ten percent, even though runaway inflation this year has climbed as high as 18 percent and will surely be higher than the 10 percent recommended increase. Again, not a very good demonstration of commitment.

- more -

The Carter committee also talks about the administration's record of expanding employment opportunities for veterans and urging stronger use of veterans readjustment authority to bring Vietnam-era veterans -- especially the disabled -- into government service.

If the truth be known, the record has been dismal from day one of this administration.

Candidate Carter strongly supported the veterans preference system in federal hiring with the promise: "The laws that mandate this special preference in hiring should be rigorously enforced."

President Carter appointed a civil service commissioner who declared on his first day in office that he would seek curtailment of veterans preference in civil service employment.

In 1978, with Vietnam-era veterans unemployment levels among the highest in the nation, the administration introduced legislation that would have cut the heart out of the veterans preference system. Even though Congress soundly defeated the President's efforts to break the faith with generations of veterans, it is indicative of his commitment to veterans. Incredibly enough, only a month before attempting to kill veterans preference, he sought to award a similar preference to those who had served in the Peace Corps. Is this just another example of the low standing veterans have on the President's list of priorities? In either case it places in doubt the Carter committee's claim of commitment to the veterans of this country.

Furthermore, the administration has made little effective use of the veterans readjustment authority (VRA) contrary to the claims



of the Carter committee. Most of the jobs offered and received under VRA have been low-paying, uncompetitive positions. And, according to recent congressional testimony, some federal agencies, such as the Postal Service, have been operating in direct opposition to the VRA.

The Postal Service has been accused by the DAV of using the 10-point preference granted to disabled veterans applying for federal jobs to screen out rather than screen in disabled veterans. The Post Office frequently denies employment to handicapped people on pure speculation that their disabilities may become more severe in the future.

The Postal Service denies these accusations but has yet to submit to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission an acceptable affirmative action plan for handicapped persons, including disabled veterans, for fiscal year 1980 as required by law.

Again, a poor indication of commitment to veterans in general, and handicapped veterans in particular.

Another highly touted plan to reduce veterans unemployment rates was initiated by the administration. It was called Hire. Hire was to provide 100,000 "reimburseable hires," whereby private industry would train a veteran for a career position and be reimbursed the cost of training. This program was so mismanaged and had such a low priority that it generated only 446 jobs in the first year of its existence. Of those jobs only 76 went to disabled or Vietnam-era veterans.

To add insult to inefficiency and lack of commitment, on October 1, 1980, \$30 million in appropriations for the Hire Program reverted back to the U.S. Treasury because the administrators of the program failed to spend these funds. This action reflects the administration's less than enthusiastic commitment and concern for veterans and its inability to establish and manage effective programs to meet those needs.

This administration has demonstrated from the very beginning an inability or unwillingness to address the legitimate needs of those who have served their country, especially the disabled and Vietnam-era veterans.

The claims made by the Carter committee belie the record of the Carter administration. I could not, in good conscience, support such a record of dismal failure. I therefore strongly support Governor Reagan and Ambassador Bush and look forward to an administration that will meet its obligations to those who have fulfilled their obligations to this nation.

# # #



## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

### NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Wednesday, October 15, 1980

CONTACT: Ken Towery or  
John Kelly  
703-685-3848

#### LEADERS OF NATION'S LARGEST VETERANS GROUPS CONDEMN CARTER ADMINISTRATION RECORD

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The immediate past national commanders of the nation's three largest veterans organizations today challenged President Carter's record on veterans' affairs and condemned his "uncaring approach" to veterans' needs.

Howard E. VanderClute, Jr., of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Frank R. Hamilton of the American Legion, and Joseph R. Koralewski of the American Veterans (AMVETS) appeared in a joint press conference at the National Press Club.

Charging the record of the Carter administration has been "dismal from day one," VanderClute led the trio in endorsing Governor Ronald Reagan for President.

"This administration has demonstrated from the very beginning an inability or unwillingness to address the legitimate needs of those who have served their country," the VFW official said. "I cannot in good conscience support such a record of dismal failure. I strongly support Governor Reagan and Ambassador Bush and look forward to an administration that will meet its obligations to those who have fulfilled their obligations to this nation."

- more -

Koralewski said the nation's veterans have borne "a heavy and totally unfair share" of the Carter administration's budgetary cutbacks. "(They) have suffered visibly under this administration's thoughtless and uncaring approach to veterans' needs."

The AMVET leader charged Carter had undermined veterans' disability compensation and pension programs, education benefits, and health care services.

"My support for Ronald Reagan and George Bush is motivated by a clear understanding that the election of these two men represents the only hope America's honored veterans have of redressing the unfavorable treatment they have received under Jimmy Carter's leadership," Koralewski said. "Governor Reagan is unswervingly committed to maintaining a strong, healthy, and truly independent VA system (and) is determined to see that all veterans are treated with the compassion, dignity, and decency they deserve."

Hamilton of the American Legion said Reagan and Bush will reverse the "outrageous and dehumanizing treatment" veterans have experienced under President Carter.

# # #



EMBARGOED UNTIL:

delivery on:  
August 18, 1980,  
11:00 a.m. CDT.

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger  
or  
Ken Towery  
(703) 685-3630

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN  
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS CONVENTION  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
AUGUST 18, 1980

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PEACE:

Restoring the Margin of Safety

Thank you Commander Vanderclute.

Four weeks ago, I was deeply honored to go before a national convention of my party and accept the greatest honor they can bestow: their nomination for the Presidency of the United States.

What a wonderful pleasure it is now to come before you and accept your endorsement for that same high office.

I know you have broken an 80-year precedent to make this endorsement, and I only hope that four years from now you will be as happy with me as I am with you today. Because, my friends, nothing would mean more to me as President than to live up to your trust.

I also know full well today that the last four commanders of the VFW have all been Democrats. But this endorsement sends a message ringing across the land: when it comes to keeping America strong, when it comes to keeping America great, when it comes to keeping America at peace, then none of us can afford to be simply a Democrat or a Republican -- we must all stand united as Americans.

And that is what I intend to do in this campaign and in the next four years: to unite people of every background and faith in a great crusade to restore the America of our dreams.

America has been sleepwalking far too long. We have to snap out of it, and with your help, that's exactly what we're going to do.

The high and noble purpose of your great organization, to "honor the dead by helping the living," is personified by your gratuitous representation of veterans, their widows and orphans in claims with the Veterans Administration through your nationwide network of skilled service officers and, also, before the various discharge review and correction boards within the Department of Defense.

With respect to your legislative efforts to assist veterans, my colleagues inform me that your representatives in your Washington office, under the dynamic leadership of Cooper Holt, are highly professional, highly effective and highly respected within the halls of Congress. True, and most unfortunately your impressive legislative accomplishments of Congresses past have not been duplicated this second session of the 96th Congress. Not because your representatives have been found wanting in this area, but solely because this present anti-veteran administration has stacked the deck against you through the vast power of the White House. It has not escaped me that the Carter Administration has cut the Veterans Administration budget each and every year of its incumbency with respect to the Federal budget while our veteran population of 30



million is the highest in the history of our great republic. Where has the money denied our deserving veterans gone? Surely not to our national defense which is in shambles.

-- to me it is unconscionable that veterans in need are denied hospital and medical care because of inadequate funding which has closed hospital beds and cut health-care personnel within the VA.

-- to me it is a breach of faith that compensation for those with service-connected disabilities has not kept abreast of inflation and that the administration rammed through Congress a pension program admittedly designed to deny such to World War II and subsequent veterans and their survivors.

-- to me it is the height of hypocrisy for the administration in high sounding words to repeatedly tell us how much we owe our Vietnam veterans and, then, only in this election year recommend a stingy 10 percent increase in the GI bill when these veterans have not had an increase since 1977 and the Congressional Budget Office has stated they now need a 30 percent increase to catch-up.

-- to me the cruelest betrayal of all was the administration's proposed national health plan which, if passed, would have made the VA hospital and medical care system the nucleus of national health insurance. This, following repeated statements by the President that he supported the continued presence of an independent, progressive system of VA hospitals.

-- to me it is regrettable and insensitive of the administration to drag its feet in providing open national cemeteries in which

veterans can be interred near their survivors. And finally today let me personally pledge to uphold veteran's preference in Federal employment and to see it is strictly enforced in all federally funded program.

These are matters of great concern to your great organization. Let us turn now to a matter which vitally concerns our nation - "PEACE".

It has always struck me as odd that you who have known at firsthand the ugliness and agony of war are so often blamed for war by those who parade for peace.

The truth is exactly the reverse. Having known war, you are in the forefront of those who know that peace is not obtained or preserved by wishing and weakness. You have consistently urged maintenance of a defense capability that provides a margin of safety for America. Today, that margin is disappearing.

But because of your support for military preparedness, there are those who equate that with being militant and desirous of war. The great American humorist, Will Rogers, had an answer for those who belived that strength invited war. He said, "I've never seen anyone insult Jack Dempsey."

About 10 days ago, our new Secretary of State addressed a gathering on the West Coast. He took me to task about American military strength. Indeed, he denounced the Republican Party for pledging to restore that margin of safety which the Carter Administration had allowed to evaporate. Actually, I've called for whatever it takes to be strong enough that no other nation will dare violate

the peace. This is what we mean by superiority -- nothing more, nothing less. The American people expect that the nation will remain secure; they have a right to security and we have an obligation to provide it. But Mr. Muskie was downright angry. He charged that such a policy would lead to an all-out arms race. Well, I have a message for him -- one which he ignored for years as a Senator when he consistently voted against a strong national defense -- we're already in an arms race, but only the Soviets are racing. They are outspending us in the military field by 50 percent and more than double, sometimes triple, on their strategic forces.

One wonders why the Carter Administration fails to see any threatening pattern in the Soviet presence, by way of Cuban proxies, in so much of Africa, which is the source of minerals absolutely essential to the industrialized democracies of Japan, Western Europe, and the U.S. We are self-sufficient in only 5 of the 27 minerals important to us industrially and strategically, and so the security of our resource life line is essential.

Then there is the Soviet Cuban and East German presence in Ethiopia, South Yemen, and now the invasion and subjugation of Afghanistan. This last step moves them within striking distance of the oil-rich Arabian Gulf. And is it just coincidence that Cuban and Soviet-trained terrorists are bringing civil war to Central American countries in close proximity to the rich oil fields of Venezuela and Mexico? All over the world, we can see that in the face of declining American power, the Soviets and their friends are advancing. Yet the Carter Administration seems totally oblivious.



Clearly, world peace must be our number one priority. It is the first task of statecraft to preserve peace so that brave men need not die in battle. But it must not be peace at any price; it must not be a peace of humiliation and gradual surrender. Nor can it be the kind of peace imposed on Czechoslovakia by Soviet tanks just 12 years ago this month. And certainly it isn't the peace that came to Southeast Asia after the Paris Peace accords were signed.

Peace must be such that freedom can flourish and justice prevail. Tens of thousands of boat people have shown us there is no freedom in the so-called peace in Vietnam. The hill people of Laos know poison gas, not justice, and in Cambodia there is only the peace of the grave for at least one-third of the population slaughtered by the Communists.

For too long, we have lived with the "Vietnam Syndrome". Much of that syndrome has been created by the North Vietnamese aggressors who now threaten the peaceful people of Thailand. Over and over they told us for nearly 10 years that we were the aggressors bent on imperialistic conquests. They had a plan. It was to win in the field of propaganda here in America what they could not win on the field of battle in Vietnam. As the years dragged on, we were told that peace would come if we would simply stop interfering and go home.

It is time we recognized that ours was, in truth, a noble cause. A small country newly free from colonial rule sought our

help in establishing self-rule and the means of self-defense against a totalitarian neighbor bent on conquest. We dishonor the memory of 50,000 young Americans who died in that cause when we give way to feelings of guilt as if we were doing something shameful, and we have been shabby in our treatment of those who returned. They fought as well and as bravely as any Americans have ever fought in any war. They deserve our gratitude, our respect and our continuing concern.

There is a lesson for all of us in Vietnam. If we are forced to fight, we must have the means and the determination to prevail or we will not have what it takes to secure the peace. And while we are at it, let us tell those who fought in that war that we will never again ask young men to fight and possibly die in a war our government is afraid to let them win.

Shouldn't it be obvious to even the staunchest believer in unilateral disarmament as the sure road to peace that peace was never more certain than in the years following W.W. II when we had a margin of safety in our military power which was so unmistakable that others would not dare to challenge us?

The Korean tragedy was really not an exception to what I am saying, but a clear example of it. North Korea's attack on South Korea followed an injudicious statement from Washington that our sphere of interest in the Pacific and that our defense perimeter did not include Korea. Unfortunately, Korea also became our first "no win war," a portent of much that has happened since. But reflect for a moment how in those days the U.S. led free nations in other



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parts of the world to join together in recovering from the ravages of war. Our will and our capacity to preserve the peace were unchallenged. There was no question about our credibility and our welcome throughout the world. Our erstwhile enemies became close friends and allies, and we protected the peace from Berlin to Cuba.

When John F. Kennedy demanded the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and the tension mounted in 1962, it was Nikita Krushchev who backed down, and there was no war. It was because our strategic superiority over the Soviets was so decisive, by about a margin of 8 to 1.

But, then, in the face of such evidence that the cause of peace is best served by strength not bluster, an odd thing happened. Those responsible for our defense policy ignored the fact that some evidence of aggressive intent on the part of the Soviets was surely indicated by the placement of missiles in Cuba. We failed to heed the Soviet declaration that they would make sure they never had to back down again. No one could possibly misinterpret that declaration. It was an announcement of the Soviet intention to begin a military buildup, one which continues to this day.

Our policymakers, however, decided the Soviet Union would not attempt to catch us and that, for some reason, they would permanently accept second place as their proper position. Sometime later, in 1965, Secretary of Defense McNamara stated unequivocally that the Soviets were not attempting to compete with the U.S. on strategic forces and were resigned to inferiority.

Fifteen years have passed since that exercise in self-delusion.



At that time we led the Soviet Union in about 40 strategic military categories. Today, they lead us in all but 6 or 8 and may well surpass us in those if present trends continue.

Soviet leaders talk arrogantly of a so-called "correlation of forces" that has moved in their favor, opening up opportunities for them to extend their influence. The response from the administration in Washington has been one of weakness, inconsistency, vacillation and bluff. A Soviet combat brigade is discovered in Cuba; the Carter Administration declares its presence 90 miles off our shore as "unacceptable". The brigade is still there. Soviet troops mass on the border of Afghanistan. The President issues a stern warning against any move by those troops to cross the border. They cross the border, execute the puppet President they themselves installed in 1978, and carry out a savage attack on the people of Afghanistan. Our credibility in the world slumps further. The President proclaims we'll protect the Middle East by force of arms and 2 weeks later admits we don't have the force.

Is it only Jimmy Carter's lack of coherent policy that is the source of our difficulty? Is it his vacillation and his indecision? Or is there another, more frightening possibility -- the possibility that this administration is being very consistent, that it is still guided by that same old doctrine that we have nothing to fear from the Soviets -- if we just don't provoke them.

Well, W.W. II came about without provocation. It came because nations were weak, not strong, in the face of aggression. Those same lessons of the past surely apply today. Firmness based on a strong defense capability is not provocative. But weakness can be provocative

simply because it is tempting to a nation whose imperialist ambitions are virtually unlimited.

We find ourselves increasingly in a position of dangerous isolation. Our allies are losing confidence in us, and our adversaries no longer respect us.

There is an alternative path for America which offers a more realistic hope for peace, one which takes us on the course of restoring that vital margin of safety. For thirty years since the end of World War II, our strategy has been to preserve peace through strength. It is steadiness and the vision of men like Dwight Eisenhower that we have to thank for policies that made America strong and credible.

The last Republican defense budget, proposed by President Ford, would have maintained the margin.

But the Carter Administration came to power on a promise of slashing America's defenses. It has made good on its promise.

Our program to restore the margin of safety must be prudent and measured. We must take a stand against terrorism in the world and combat it with firmness, for it is a most cowardly and savage violation of peace. We must regain that margin of safety I spoke of both in conventional arms and the deployment of troops. And we must allow no weakness in our strategic deterrent.

We do not stand alone in the world. We have Allies who are with us, who look to America to provide leadership and to remain strong. But they are confused by the lack of a coherent, principled,



policy from the Carter Administration. And they must be consulted, not excluded from, matters which directly affect their own interest and security.

When we ignore our friends, when we do not lead, we weaken the unity and strength that binds our alliances. We must now reverse this dangerous trend and restore the confidence and cohesion of the alliance system on which our security ultimately rests.

There is something else. We must remember our heritage, who we are and what we are, and how this nation, this island of freedom, came into being. And we must make it unmistakably plain to all the world that we have no intention of compromising our principles, our beliefs or our freedom. Our reward will be world peace; there is no other way to have it.

For more than a decade, we have sought a detente. The word means relaxation. We don't talk about a detente with our allies; there is no tension there that needs relaxing. We seek to relax tensions where there are tensions -- with potential enemies. And if those potential enemies are well armed and have shown a willingness to use armed force to gain their ends (for ends that are different from ours) then relaxing tensions is a delicate and dangerous but necessary business.

Detente has meaning only if both sides take positive actions to relax the tension. When one side relaxes while the other carries out the greatest military buildup in the history of mankind, the cause of peace has not been advanced.



Arms control negotiation can often help to improve stability but not when the negotiations are one-sided. And they obviously have been one-sided and will continue to be so if we lack steadiness and determination in keeping up our defenses.

I think continued negotiation with the Soviet Union is essential. We need never be afraid to negotiate as long as we remain true to our goals -- the preservation of peace and freedom -- and don't seek agreement just for the sake of having an agreement. It is important, also, that the Soviets know we are going about the business of restoring our margin of safety pending an agreement by both sides to limit various kinds of weapons.

I have repeatedly stated that I would be willing to negotiate an honest, verifiable reduction in nuclear weapons by both our countries to the point that neither of us represented a threat to the other. I cannot, however, agree to any treaty, including the SALT II treaty, which, in effect, legitimizes the continuation of a one-sided nuclear arms buildup.

We have an example in recent history of our ability to negotiate properly by keeping our objective clearly in mind until an agreement is reached. Back in the mid '50's, at the very height of the "cold war", Allied and Soviet military forces were still occupying Austria in a situation that was virtually a confrontation. We negotiated the Austrian State Treaty calling for the removal of all the occupying forces, Allied and Soviet. If we had negotiated in the manner we've seen these last few years, Austria would still be a divided country.

The American people must be given a better understanding of the challenge to our security and of the need for effort and, yes, sacrifice.

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to turn the situation around.

Our government must stop pretending that it has a choice between promoting the general welfare and providing for the common defense. Today they are one and the same.

Let our people be aware of the several objectives of Soviet strategy in this decade and the threat they represent to continued world peace. An attempt will be made to divide the NATO alliance and to separate, one at a time, our Allies and friends from the United States. Those efforts are clearly underway. Another objective I've already mentioned is an expansion of Soviet influence in the area of the Arabian Gulf and South Asia. Not much attention has been given to another move, and that is the attempt to encircle and neutralize the People's Republic of China. Much closer to home is Soviet-inspired trouble in the Caribbean. Subversion and Cuban-trained guerilla bands are targeted on Jamaica, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Leftist regimes have already taken over in Nicaragua and Grenada.

A central concern of the Kremlin will always be the Soviet ability to handle a direct confrontation with our military forces. In a recent address, Paul Nitze said; "The Kremlin leaders do not want war; they want the world." For that reason, they have put much of their military effort into strategic nuclear programs. Here the balance has been moving against us and will continue to do so if we follow the course set by this administration.

The Soviets want peace and victory. We must understand this and what it means to us. They seek a superiority in military strength that, in the event of a confrontation, would leave us with an



unacceptable choice between submission or conflict. Submission would give us peace alright -- the peace of a Czechoslovakia or an Afghanistan. But if we have the will and the determination to restore the margin of safety which this Administration seems bent on losing, we can have real peace because we will never be faced with an ultimatum from anyone.

Indeed, the men in the Kremlin could in the face of such determination decide that true arms limitation makes sense.

Our best hope of persuading them to live in peace is to convince them they cannot win at war.

For a nation such as ours, arms are important only to prevent others from conquering us or our allies. We are not a belligerent people. Our purpose is not to prepare for war or wish harm to others. When we had great strength in the years following W.W. II, we used that strength not for territorial gain but to defend others.

Our foreign policy should be to show by example the greatness of our system and the strength of American ideals. The truth is we would like nothing better than to see the Russian people living in freedom and dignity instead of being trapped in a backwash of history as they are. The greatest fallacy of the Lenin-Marxist philosophy is that it is the "wave of the future." Everything about it is primitive: compulsion in place of free initiative; coercion in place of law; militarism in place of trade; and empire-building in place of self-determination; and luxury for a chosen few at the expense of the many. We have seen nothing like it since the Age of Feudalism.



When people have had a free choice, where have they chosen Communism? What other sytem in the world has to build walls to keep its people in"?

Recently academician Andrei Sakharov, one of Russia's great scientists and presently under house arrest, smuggled a statement out of the Soviet Union. It turned up in the New York Times Magazine of June 8, where Sakharov wrote: "I consider the United States the historically determined leader of the movement toward a pluralist and free society, vital to mankind."

He is right. We have strayed off course many times and we have been careless with the machinery of freedom bequeathed to us by the Founding Fathers, but, somehow, it has managed to survive our frailties. One of those Founding Fathers spoke the truth when he said "God intended America to be free."

We have been a refuge for the persecuted and down-trodden from every corner of the world for 200 years. Today some of us are concerned by the latest influx of refugees, the boat people from Southeast Asia and from Cuba -- all fleeing from the inhumanity of Communism. We worry about our capacity to care for them. I believe we must make a concerted effort to help them, and that others in the world should share in the responsibility.

But let's do a better job of exporting Americanism. Let's meet our responsibility to keep the peace at the same time we maintain without compromise our pinciples and ideals. Let's help the world eliminate the conditions which cause citizens to become refugees.

I believe it is our pre-ordained destiny to show all mankind that they, too, can be free without having to leave their native shore.



ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN  
AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL CONVENTION  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS  
AUGUST 20, 1980

STRENGTH: Restoring the Margin of Safety

When I addressed the Veterans of Foreign Wars the day before yesterday in Chicago, I took as my theme PEACE -- How it is endangered through weakness, and how it is more confidently assured through strength. Today I would like to continue that theme by speaking about the deterioration of American military strength, which put peace and freedom at high risk, and what we must do to restore that strength, that margin of safety to promote peace while we safeguard American interests in the world.

Peace through Strength -- As embodied in the greatness of the Eisenhower Administration -- has long been an established principle of the Republican Party. I believe it is consistent with American world interests and responsibilities, and with the desires of the American people.

In this election year, the Carter Administration has begun giving lip-service to this theme, and his Secretary of Defense actually used the words "Peace through Strength" in a recent speech on American policy. Unfortunately for all of us, there remains a very wide gap between this administration's rhetoric and its action.

Before I address the military situation as it exists and what we must do about it, let us get something straight about the real defense policies and philosophies of the Carter Administration; and may I say how they would contrast with the convictions and policies of a Reagan Administration. Please note I make this contrast in terms of administration rather than parties because I do not believe this administration's defense policies are representative of the thinking of millions of rank and file democratic party members. The Carter Administration, dominated as it is by the McGovernite wing of the party, has broken sharply with the views and policies of Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and many contemporary leaders of the party.

After campaigning on a platform which promised to slash defense spending by seven billion dollars, this administration took office with the naive view that military strength is less important than it has been in the past; that Soviet advantages in military strength could be offset by American advantages in non-military areas, such as the health of our political and economic system. Consequently, it believed that the U.S. did not have to compete vigorously with a Soviet military effort that by 1977 was already widely recognized as directed toward military superiority over the United States.

Mr. Carter resurrected a discredited philosophy of the 1960's that military strength beyond a certain minimum is irrelevant.

He sees the maintenance of a robust military capability as not only burdensome and unnecessary, but also troublesome and provocative to the Soviet Union. Never mind that in the decade between 1965 and 1975 -- when we unilaterally limited our military strength the Soviet Union reciprocated by vastly increasing its own. The Carter Administration still believed that military self-denial would set an example that others would follow.

The lesson of history, that among the great nations only those with the strength to protect their interests survive, was ignored.

The direct and necessary connection between strength and

foreign policy has not been grasped by the Carter Administration. Having backed away from one challenge after another, Carter now pronounces doctrines to extend American commitments without the strength to support them.

It is easy to become confused about the Carter Administration's views, since they change frequently, are so often contradictory, and there is so much difference between what is said and what is done.

In some respects, the Carter Administration seems to be playing catch up with the Republican Party and the American People. Recently it has announced a so-called new strategic doctrine which in general was the doctrine of the Republican administration six years ago. Even the Secretary of Defense concedes that "the name is newer than the strategy." The difference is that six years ago the doctrine was in timely anticipation of changes, rather than as a belated reaction to them. We then had the programs to support the strategy in a timely and effective manner whereas the Carter Administration is not merely behind, it is totally out of step. It has twisted and turned on the issues of American strength to the point that even leading Democrats accuse it of inconsistency and hypocrisy. Last June, Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat, Georgia stated that Carter "has revised his own course of national defense at least four times since last November." And Senator Ernest Hollings, Democrat, South Carolina recently accused him of the "height of hypocrisy" on the budget.

Recently, forgetting that he had declared the U.S. is number one militarily, Carter charged the Republican Party with irresponsibility or simple-mindedness for supporting as an objective the very superiority he asserts we now enjoy.

Only three weeks ago Secretary of Defense Brown proclaimed that "the impulse and passion for military superiority must be seen for what they are: unrealistic, simplistic, dangerous." Since when has it been wrong for America to aim to be first in military strength? How is American military superiority "dangerous"? What ever happened to the words of John F. Kennedy:

"There can only be one defense policy for the United States," he said, "and that is summed up in the word 'first.' I do not mean first, but. I do not mean first, when. I do not mean first, if. I mean first, period. Only then can we stop the next war before it starts. Only then can we prevent war by preparing for it."

What is the Carter Administration's real view? He has promised "As long as I am in the White House we're going to stay number one in defense." In his State of the Union Message this year, he said: "We must pay whatever price to remain the strongest nation in the world." And, earlier, he asserted flatly in an address to us of the American Legion that we remain the world's most powerful force. How do you "remain" what you no longer are?

Our allies are totally mystified by this on-again, off-again approach to matters of such grave importance to western security. Even our adversaries cannot understand U.S. policy and, since they don't believe we understand it either, they invade Afghanistan and expand their empire.

Tremendous forces of national pride and concern over the growing weakness of American foreign and defense policies



are merging in the United States as the American people become aware of the Administration's weakness in foreign and defense policy. Now cynically and belatedly, in an attempt to play to these forces while seeking reelection, the President would have the American people believe that he is responsible for improving American defenses and increasing defense spending. He argues that defense spending dropped more than 34% between 1969 and 1976 under Republican administrations, and it has risen 10% under his administration.

As you know, there are two kinds of statistics: those that you look up, and those that you make up. But the picture is too clear for the people to be fooled by such inventiveness.

The truth is that defense spending did go down between 1969 and 1975 -- and may I point out for the record that it went down by six percent not 35 percent as Mr. Carter erroneously charges. But the fundamental problem I have with Mr. Carter's rewriting of history is its sheer, blatant hypocrisy. Who was it who was principally responsible for the decline in defense spending in those years? You and I know the answer very well: The Democrats who controlled the Congress -- men like Walter Mondale and Teddy Kennedy. Those Democrats in Congress cut more than \$40 billion from the Republican defense budget, and they block or delay almost every new weapons system but even more incredibly, let me ask: who was it in 1976 who campaigned up and down the land against Gerald Ford's attempts to restore those defense cuts? Who said the military budget had to be slashed even more? You know and I know that it was Jimmy Carter.

President Ford had begun the restoration of our margin of safety in 1975 with a five-year program for increasing our defensive capability. In these last three years, President Carter has cut that program by \$38 billion. His defense budget authorization requests reverted to the annual decline that had been halted by the Ford Administration.

He has since lobbied steadily against Congressional efforts to increase defense spending.

Now, by such untruthful devices as manipulating inflation factors, shifting the base from authority to outlays, changing base years, and even ordering planned defense spending this year reduced so it would look as if he had met his promised percentage increase for next year, the Carter Administration tries to manufacture increases that in fact are largely phony.

By giving you these troublesome, even alarming, facts about our military strength, I'm not unnecessarily inflating our opponents' strength. Nor is it poor-mouthing our armed forces, who are in this situation through no fault of their own. It is just that recognition of the true situation is the first step toward restoring the strength necessary to the security of America, our allies and our values. John F. Kennedy once observed, "If the day ever comes when the American people are not able to face the facts, or are not allowed to face the facts, then we will be all through as a nation." "The first test of leadership in this country," he said, "is the ability to tell the people the truth about our danger, and to summon the people to meet it." I agree. It is time to face our problems and to reverse this dangerous situation before it is too late.

Every single analysis of which I am aware directly contradicts this administration's smug assertion that the U.S. is and will remain militarily superior, or at least "second to none." We are already second to one.

In their annual report to Congress last year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff warned that we are "another year closer to a potentially unstable and acutely dangerous imbalance."

That was last year. This year, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff reported to Congress that, "There is no question that Soviet momentum has brought them from a position of clear inferiority to their present status of at least strategic equality, and the trends for the future are adverse." "We face an adversary," he said, "at least our equal in strategic nuclear

power and possessing substantial advantages in theater nuclear and conventional forces."

He went on to say that momentum would give the Soviets an advantage over the United States in most indicators of strategic strength by the early 1980's and that this shift will continue during the decade ahead.

Remember these harsh judgements come from the senior military leaders under this administration. They confirm that the Carter Administration is failing to maintain a secure military posture for this nation. In fact, there are Department of Defense studies and analyses that paint an even darker picture. The Commander of the strategic air command testified to the Senate Armed Services Committee in February that the United States is already strategically inferior.

In the early months of this Administration, the President cancelled the B-1 program; stopped production of the Minuteman III; delayed, in a fit of indecision, the planned MX program by four years; cut the Trident building program, limited deployment of the Trident I Missile, and now has apparently postponed or decided against the Trident II Missile. In short, the carefully balanced defense program which he inherited from the last Republican Administration, has been undercut and our security placed in jeopardy as we enter the dangerous decade of the 1980's. By fiscal year 1979 NATO procurement was 13 percent below that proposed by Ford, and the rug was pulled from under our allies by the President's decision not to deploy the enhanced radiation warhead essential to countering Soviet tanks.

In 1969, Admiral Thomas Moorer, then Chief of Naval Operations, told Congress that a Navy of 850 ships should be attained by 1980. By the end of this fiscal year, only 5 or 6 weeks away, our conventional Navy will consist of only 415 active ships. Carter has slashed the Navy shipbuilding program in half, and has provided for -- at the very best, a one-and-a-half ocean Navy for a three-ocean global requirement.

The situation is equally dismal in all the other areas of military strength.

And this has occurred in the face of rapid and overwhelming growth in Soviet military capabilities. The Soviet Union is spending up to one-fifth of its gross national product on its military establishment. We are spending one-twentieth of ours. Soviet spending continues to grow at a steady pace of from 8 to 10 percent per year.

The major part of our defense spending is for people costs. Soviet military spending goes into weapons. The Soviets outspent us in arms investment by over \$240 billion during the past ten years. Their theater and conventional forces have increased in quantity and in quality far beyond our own.

Because of this continued disparity in efforts, the situation we face is grave. But it is not irretrievable.

The Republican platform pledges judicious applications of defense spending, to critically needed requirements. This is what it means.

We must provide the defense spending and programs necessary to correct immediate and short-term vulnerabilities and deficiencies. Our nuclear deterrent forces must be made survivable as rapidly as possible to close the window of vulnerability before it opens any wider.

We must immediately reverse the deterioration of our naval strength, and provide all of the armed services with the equipment and spare parts they need.

We must restore true essential equivalence for our own security and for the political perceptions of our adversaries, our allies, and Third World countries.

We must formulate a coherent strategy and defense program for the long haul. The most important part of military strength is the people involved, their quality, their sacrifices and their welfare. In defense matters, we hear too much about hardware and not enough about hard work. We have tended to take our



armed forces for granted; assumed that our dedicated fighting men will be there when they are needed.

There is pride in participating in one of history's most honored, respected, and necessary professions. Military service entails many sacrifices, it can be satisfying and rewarding. Unfortunately, under this administration, there has been an unconscionable reduction of both satisfaction and reward.

Morale — the very fiber of the military has fallen to new lows as pay, support, equipment, training and readiness have been allowed to deteriorate under the policies of this administration.

Because our national security is so dependent upon the people in our armed forces, we must do all in our power to assure that they are of the highest caliber, that their economic sacrifice is not disproportionate to that which we ask of others, that they feel proud and secure in their profession, and, most important, that they are equipped to do their jobs, backed by a leadership that is both responsible and caring.

The key to building and retaining effective military forces is to encourage people to pursue a career in the service of their choice. At present, nearly 30 percent of males who enlist will not even complete their first enlistment term and, since 1976, the armed forces have been losing 75 percent of those who do complete their first term.

There are many reasons for our inability to attract and retain outstanding people in our armed forces -- long hours, separation from family, unpleasant duty assignments and the like -- but these have always been bearable in the past. Today, however, the most important reason is the lack of adequate pay and benefits, and the imposition of unnecessary family hardships.

- The typical enlisted family has a standard of living 17 percent below the minimum standard for Americans and 50 percent below a moderate standard;
- More than half a million military personnel, regardless of their skills, educational background or the length of the work week, are paid no more, and in many instances far less, than the minimum that would be paid for a 40-hour work week in the private sector;
- Faced with the challenge of finding suitable housing, the average enlisted person cannot qualify for a loan and as a result, many military men must leave their families behind and undergo the hardship of separation, not for reasons of duty but because they cannot afford to house their families;
- As a result of low pay, thousands of servicemen must find a second job in order to make ends meet.

An enlisted man on a nuclear powered carrier works 100 hours a week handling a \$25 million F-14 aircraft, and helping to operate a \$2 billion ship. But he lives below the poverty level and is eligible for food stamps. On top of that, he may have to remain separated from his family for six months at a time.

I believe there is a way to reverse this shameful and potentially disastrous situation. If I have the opportunity I will implement a program of compensation and benefits for our valued military personnel comparable to what is available in the private sector.

We must provide the resources to attract and retain superior people in each of the services. We should take steps immediately to restore the G.I. Bill, one of the most effective, equitable and socially important programs ever devised. In short, our country must provide these persons and their families with a quality of life that is equivalent to the sacrifices they must make on our behalf.

With your support, and working closely with Congress, a Republican Administration can and will do these things to restore and maintain America's strength. It will not be easy, nor will it be inexpensive. Neither, however, is the task insurmountable or beyond what we can readily afford. I am aware

of the complexities of military planning, of defining missions and standards by which the adequacy of our military strength can be evaluated, and of the ways our military programs may influence or interact with the military programs of others, particularly those of the Soviet Union. I am also aware of, and share, the desire of the American people for arms limitations consistent with American and allied security. But we must proceed from a basis of strength in which we have confidence, a strength that our enemies will not be tempted to challenge. Any other approach is one that risks peace, encourages accommodation, and courts submission.

Once we have the programs to reverse the trends now in favor of the Soviet Union, we must strive for arms limitation agreements that will further that security -- including significant arms reductions -- so long as they are equitable and based on strict reciprocity. The reason that a decade of SALT has failed to accomplish those objectives for which we originally entered SALT is that the Soviet Union has not shared those objectives.

I don't know whether the Soviets will ever sincerely share our aspirations for strategic stability, and our desire to reduce nuclear armaments. I don't know whether they will ever be willing to moderate arms competition in favor of cooperative arms limitations. But I believe we have given them little incentive to do so since our policy has provided them the opportunity to use arms negotiations to mask their global trouble-making!

We must convince them that their ambitious strategic goals must be lowered because the cost of pursuing them is too high and the chance of success too low.

When we demonstrate our determination not to allow the Soviets to achieve a strategic advantage over us, I believe they will become interested in legitimate arms control.

We must diagnose our situation calmly and methodically; we must be sure of our objectives in setting out to remedy the situation, and we must be prudent as we proceed to apply the necessary remedies.

History teaches us that hasty, unwarranted reactions can bring undesirable consequences. We must, therefore, guard against overreacting. We are strong and resourceful people, and we know that we can solve our problems if we proceed with determination and care.

The military policies of the Carter Administration are in disarray. The weakness of those policies can ultimately become provocative. We must hope that this administration will not be tempted to take reckless actions designed to reassure Americans that our power is undiminished. The facts are we lack the capability to project our power to many areas of the world. It will take a responsible, balanced long-term program to restore our respectability.

And it will take a strengthening of our will, our unity and our resolve to be free for another 200 years.

Let me close with this thought. As I travel across America, I find people yearning for a change. They are bone-tired of leaders who always tell us why we can't conquer inflation, why we can't build a bigger economy, why we can't compete with the Japanese and the Germans, why we can't become militarily secure, and why we can't contain the Russians.

Don't tell us anymore what we can't do, they say; tell us what we can do -- and I tell you today that what we can do is get this country moving again.

For the past four years this Administration has acted as if we can preserve the peace even though we have lost faith in ourselves. We are scolded for suffering a crisis of confidence -- a crisis they blame not on Washington but on the people themselves. I wholeheartedly disagree. I believe America's greatest moments have come when America dared to be great -- when we believed in ourselves and in our values and we reached out to do the impossible.



That is the spirit, ladies and gentlemen, that I would like to restore to our Presidency.

I am deeply troubled, as I know many of you are, about the perilous times in which we live. It seems to me that what's going on in Washington in foreign policy is much the same thing we have seen in domestic policy. Politicians keep on borrowing from tomorrow in order to live well today.

On the home front, the results are now too obvious to ignore, as prices and unemployment both skyrocket. But the decay setting in on the foreign front is less visible to the eye. But our security, just like our currency, is now being mortgaged. Unless we reverse course, we will soon have to pay a fearful price.

With your help and the help of millions of others, we can begin to reverse course this November. Begin to choose a new road for America -- a road to peace built upon a realistic understanding of our nation's strength and continuing faith in her values.

Thank you very much.

# Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

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