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February 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DON HODEL

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MB*
SUBJECT: Petroleum PAC Contribution Record

Here is a study which I supervised of all the major corporate and association PACs' activity in 1980. This study was published by Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation.

Please note that the checked PACs on pages 76 and 77 were the very best. They were the ones organized by the Independent Petroleum people. The opponents to deregulation such as Panhandle Eastern and Texas Gas Transmission, listed on pages 68 and 69, were much less useful to candidates of the Reagan winning coalition.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID GERGEN

THRU: RED CAVANEY

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: Interview with Japanese Journalist

Yochio Ichioka of the Japan Economic Journal has requested an interview with me concerning U. S. conservative groups. He tells me his magazine is the Japanese version of the Wall Street Journal.

I am willing to spend the time with him if this interview is appropriate.

Approved

Disapproved

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

Feb. 14, 1983

TO: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, Director
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: RED CAVANEY

REQUEST: President to meet with national commander
of the Jewish War Veterans for photographs.

PURPOSE: To take photos for publication in Jewish
War Veterans national publication.

BACKGROUND: Virtually every Jewish War Veteran national
commander has had their picture taken with
the President. The President has not posed
for such a photo with the current national
commander.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: The immediate past Jewish War Veterans
national commander had his picture taken
with the President in 1981.

DATE / TIME: OPEN DURATION: 5 min

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President; Stanley Zwaik, Jewish War
Veterans National Commander.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Zwaik will enter Oval Office, pose for photos
and then depart.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points.

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House Photographers.

RECOMMENDED BY: RED CAVANEY

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER: MORTON C. BLACKWELL



Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America

1712 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

Harris B. Stone, PNC
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1182040N

November 3, 1982

*Do we have
schedule
proposal?*

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It would be greatly appreciated if you could allocate a few minutes of your most valuable time to meet with our National Commander Stanley N. Zwaik for taking a photograph. It has been customary for our National Commanders to have a picture taken with the President to display in our National magazine. We consider this a great honor for our organization.

The National Commander could come to Washington in mid-December or any date convenient to you.

We look forward to your favorable consideration of this request.

Yours respectfully,

Harris B. Stone
Harris B. Stone, PNC
National Executive Director

bcc: Morton C. Blackwell



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

Feb. 14, 1983

TO: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR, Director
Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: RED CAVANEY

REQUEST: President to address the National Rifle
Association at their annual convention.

PURPOSE: The President's position on gun control
won him the support of the NRA in 1980.
His appearance at this event would strengthen
support for 1984.

BACKGROUND: This is the largest organization of its
type, with 2500 delegates. The President
is the only candidate to ever receive an
official endorsement from the NRA in
its 112 year history. Their membership
approaches the 3 million mark, and they
are a very potent political force.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: President Eisenhower addressed their convention.
Six former Presidents were, or are members of NRA.
President Reagan is a lifetime member.
Elizabeth Dole spoke to the last convention
on behalf of the President.

DATE /TIME May 6,7 or 8, 1983 DURATION 30 min

LOCATION: Phoenix Civic Plaza, Phoenix, Arizona

PARTICIPANTS: The President; 2500 NRA delegates.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: The President will enter, he will speak, pose
for photos, and then depart.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Major speech.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Full press coverage.

RECOMMENDED BY: RED CAVANEY

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER: MORTON C. BLACKWELL



NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
INSTITUTE FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION
1600 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

January 11, 1983

*Schedule
proposal?*
Yes. Please draft
MB

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Rm. 191
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear ~~Mr. Blackwell~~ ^{Morton}:

I have attached copies of letters sent to President Reagan inviting him to speak at the National Rifle Association's 112th Annual Members Banquet in Phoenix.

We were also advised by the staff to send back up letters inviting Mrs. Ronald Reagan and Vice President Bush.

I believe this would be an excellent political appearance for the President prior to the 1984 campaign. Through this appearance he would reach a grass root network of well over 3 million gun owners and hunters including many labor union families. Many of these families feel strongly enough about guns and hunting to base their vote on this issue alone.

Our coverage of the President's appearance would include the cover of the American Rifleman and the American Hunter which are received in 3 million households. The appearance would also be picked up by the gun and hunting press throughout the country.

As you are well aware, President Reagan was the first candidate for President ever endorsed by the National Rifle Association. Gun owners and hunters worked the polls, manned the phone banks and stuffed literature for the President during his campaign.

President Reagan's appearance and the publicity surrounding his appearance offers the best opportunity to solidify his base with a key grass root network prior to the '84 elections.

The importance of this base of support was most recently demonstrated in last year's elections. Gun owners helped tip key Senate races in Minnesota, Virginia, Missouri and California, as well as numerous House races.

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
January 11, 1983
Page 2

I believe it would be a mistake for the President to pass up this opportunity.

Naturally, we would be honored by his acceptance. Anything you can do would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Wayne LaPierre". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Wayne" and last name "LaPierre" clearly distinguishable.

Wayne LaPierre
Director
Governmental Affairs

WLP:ma
Encls.



NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
INCORPORATED 1871

1800 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

November 10, 1982

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Dear Mr. President:

It is my extreme pleasure to formally extend to you a most cordial invitation to be the guest of honor and keynote speaker at the National Rifle Association's 112th Annual Members Banquet.

As you know, the NRA is the nation's oldest and largest sportsman's organization, the voice of over two and one half million individual sportsmen and patriotic citizens. From twenty five to thirty thousand of these members from all over the country will attend the 1983 NRA Annual Meetings and Exhibits in Phoenix, Arizona.

The NRA Members Banquet is an outstanding social event and traditionally the highlight of these meetings. We expect 2,500 members to attend. We would like to schedule the Banquet at 8:00 p.m. in the Phoenix Civic Plaza, Sunday, May 8, 1983. The reception will begin at 7:00 p.m. However, knowing of your extremely busy schedule, our second choice would be Saturday, May 7 and our third choice, Friday, May 6.

Each year we take considerable pride in presenting to our speaker a silver mounted, traditional flintlock rifle and powder horn, both of which have received wide acclaim, not only for their beauty, but also for their fidelity to early American culture.

As the first presidential candidate ever endorsed by the NRA membership in its 112 year history, we would be highly honored to have you as our guest of honor. This would be an excellent opportunity for you to cover any area you feel will be of interest. More than anyone, you know the NRA, and you will certainly have no difficulty communicating in your usual splendid fashion.

It would be a great privilege to have you with us on this occasion. We will make all the necessary arrangements to assure you a comfortable and enjoyable stay in Phoenix.

Speaking on behalf of our two and one half million members, I assure you we would be deeply honored by your acceptance.

Sincerely,

Harlon B. Carter
Executive Vice President

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500



NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
INCORPORATED 1871

1600 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

November 10, 1982

Dear Mr. Vice President:

It is my extreme pleasure to formally extend to you a most cordial invitation to be the guest of honor and keynote speaker at the National Rifle Association's 112th Annual Members Banquet.

As you know, the NRA is the nation's oldest and largest sportsman's organization, the voice of over two and one half million individual sportsmen and patriotic citizens. From twenty five to thirty thousand of these members from all over the country will attend the 1983 NRA Annual Meetings and Exhibits in Phoenix, Arizona.

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Speaking on behalf of our two and one half million members, I assure you we would be deeply honored by your acceptance.

Sincerely,

Harlon B. Carter
Executive Vice President

The Vice President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500



NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
INCORPORATED 1871

1600 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

November 10, 1982

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Dear Mrs. Reagan:

I am very pleased to extend to you an invitation to be the keynote speaker at the National Rifle Association's 112th Annual Members Banquet.

As you know, the NRA is the nation's oldest and largest sportsman's organization, the voice of over two and one half million individual sportsmen and patriotic citizens. From twenty five to thirty thousand of these members, from all over the country, will attend the 1983 Annual Meetings and Exhibits in Phoenix, Arizona.

The 112th Members Banquet is an outstanding social event and traditionally the highlight of these meetings. We expect 2,500 members to attend. We would like to schedule the Banquet at 8:00 p.m. in the Phoenix Civic Plaza, Sunday, May 8, 1983. The reception will begin at 7:00 p.m. However, knowing of your extremely busy schedule, our second choice would be Saturday, May 7 and our third choice, Friday, May 6.

As you know, until your husband ran for the presidency, the NRA had never endorsed a candidate for such high office. In the NRA's 112 year history, Ronald Reagan became the first presidentially-endorsed candidate by our two and one half million membership.

As to your remarks, feel free to cover any area you feel will be of interest. You know the NRA, and you will certainly have no difficulty communicating in your usual pleasing fashion.

It would be a great privilege to have you with us on this occasion. We will, of course, make all necessary arrangements to assure you a comfortable and enjoyable stay in Phoenix.

Speaking on behalf of our two and one half million members, I assure you we would be deeply honored by your acceptance.

Sincerely,

Harlon B. Carter
Executive Vice President

Mrs. Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 14, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM: MORTON C. BLACKWELL *MB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with Anti-Pornography Coalition

I received a call from Patsy Faoro in the Cabinet office. She was working on a response for the President to a letter from Virgil Dechant, Supreme Commander of the Knights of Columbus.

Dechant urges the President promptly to hold the long-discussed meeting with the anti-pornography coalition.

I also had a disturbing call from Father Morton Hill of Morality in Media. His fund raisers, who keep current on the progress of his program, had proposed to him a new letter to go out to his contributors and potential contributors. The letter draft began with a call for recipients to urge the President to fire the Attorney General because of the inactivity in enforcing the current anti-pornography laws.

I advised Father Hill that such a letter would damage, if not eliminate, the likelihood that we would soon achieve the meeting with the President he has been working on for so long. He agreed and has shelved the letter, at least for now.

You will recall that for months I proposed a substantive meeting between the President and Indian leaders. Our schedule proposals were rejected. Eventually the situation got out of hand, and all the major Indian groups seized an opportunity to call for Secretary Watt's dismissal.

The situation with respect to the anti-pornography coalition is likewise approaching critical mass. We are dealing with very high powered individuals. The coalition includes a broad variety of the most friendly church leaders, conservative group leaders, labor leaders, industrial leaders, etc. They have the utmost confidence in Father Hill, whose patience has been most remarkable. His patience is now wearing very thin.

You will recall that last summer the President told the Knights of Columbus, in a speech to which I did not contribute, that he was taking up with the Attorney General the matter of vigorous enforcement of the anti-pornography laws. Precious little has happened since then.

Correct or not, the perception is growing that this administration is stubbornly resisting taking any action to implement the President's expressed preferences on anti-pornography enforcement.

There is going to be an explosion on this soon if we don't take appropriate action.

HUMAN EVENTS QUESTIONS

1. Accomplishments -- what are your greatest ones? How will conservatives find this administration distinctive from those in the past on domestic and foreign policy?
2. China & Taiwan -- In August 1980, RR issued a major campaign statement pledging a strong commitment to Taiwan, including "official relations." Has the administration lived up to standards of that statement? Hasn't this administration, like its predecessors, bent over backwards to curry favor with the PRC at the expense of Taiwan? What future do you foresee with these two countries?
3. SALT violations -- Has the Soviet Union violated any of the terms of past SALT agreements? Why don't you make their practices more public? When are we going to challenge the Soviets on this issue?
4. Israel -- You seem to be putting a good deal of pressure on Israel to withdraw from Lebanon. Do you think they should withdraw first, or should the Syrians and PLO fighters withdraw simultaneously? What future do you foresee in this area?
5. Weinberger and DOD budget -- Joe Kraft recently wrote that there are moves underfoot in Congress and the WH to seek Cap's removal. Your reaction? What do you plan to do about it? Do you think the consensus for a defense buildup has been shattered, and if so, why? Do you plan a public offensive such as a major TV address on defense?
6. Sovial Security -- Many conservatives believe you have capitulated here, throwing in the towel on more taxes without really solving the short or long-term problem. What is your view? Why should conservatives see this package as worthwhile when about half of it is in the form of higher taxes?
7. Federal spending -- You argue that you are getting the budget under control, but comparing RR to Carter spending plans, aren't you increasing the budget by amounts just as big as he did? Are you badly disappointed here? Why is your administration any different from those of the past?

760 } 1482 independent center
728 }

8. Taxes -- What will you do if the Congress tries to delay tamper with or repeal indexing? Will you veto?
9. Taxes -- How can you justify the series of tax increases you've proposed over the past year? Aren't these an abandonment of your original promises? Also, how can you win back the blue collar vote -- the populist movement -- when you are hiking Social Security and gas taxes?
10. Personnel -- Are you not really abandoning the conservatives when you appoint people like Margaret Heckler and Elizabeth Dole to top spots? Conservatives are worried that the true Reaganites -- e.g., Marty Anderson, Dick Allen, Lyn Nofziger -- have been leaving your side, while those who have come since then have been distinctly moderate or liberal.
11. Jim Baker -- You have spoken out many times against sniping within the administration; yet you said nothing about Jim Baker's interview in the Texas turkey blind. Why not? Hasn't he been one of the strong forces pushing this administration away from your original conservatism?
12. The Reagan Revolution -- Many of your best conservative friends worry that you are moving rapidly toward the middle and the revolution is flagging. Your view?

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION ON THE CONSERVATIVE AGENDA

General Themes

- o Legitimized the conservative issues. Turned the national debate around. Now the liberals are not proposing many new programs. They are debating how much we should increase defense, how much power should be returned to the states, and whether or not we should allow prayer in schools.
- o Credentialed conservatives for governments service. For the first time in our lifetime large numbers solid conservatives have had the opportunity to participate in management of the Federal departments and agencies. They will be able to serve in government under future conservative administrations for a generation.

Foreign Policy and Defense

- o A new direction, best symbolized by U.N. Ambassador Kirkpatrick, is showing communist and third world countries that the U.S. is no longer a wimpy whipping boy. We will no longer sit still for abuse and double standards international debate.
- o We took the right stand on the Law of the Sea Treaty. The major European countries followed our lead despite dire predictions that we would have to stand alone.
- o By sticking to the "Zero Option" in Europe, we are proving that the U.S. need not make any more unilateral disarmament concessions to the Soviets.
- o By moving to correct years of neglect to our defenses, we are closing the dangerous lead the Soviets have built in almost every area of defense preparedness.

Domestic

- o The greatest tax cuts in U.S. history which, combined with indexing, will end the automatic increases which have been taking ever larger bites from the income of all Americans.
- o Substantial progress in deregulation.

Domestic (continued)

- o Through block grants, begun the return of power to state and local governments.
- o Major cuts and reformatting of discretionary spending programs such as CETA.
- o Healthy changes in Federal policy toward disruptive issues such as forced school busing and reverse discrimination.
- o Major effort underway on tuition tax credit.
- o Support for any legitimate pro-life measure in the Congress.
- o Proposed Voluntary Prayer Amendment and committed to fight for it.
- o Proposed regulations to de-politicize Federal grants and contracts. No longer will it be legitimate for tax dollars to be used by grantees to lobby for bigger government.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: The President
FROM: Helene von Damm *Heene*
DATE: February 14, 1983
SUBJECT: Conservative Presidential Appointments

Here is a list of several recently announced recognizably conservative Presidential appointees:

DONALD DOTSON, Chairman, National Labor Relations Board

KENNETH ADELMAN, Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

JACK SVAHN, Under Secretary of HHS

PAUL THAYER, Deputy Secretary of Defense

FAITH WHITTLESAY, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

JOHN HERRINGTON, Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel

TOM ELLIS, Board for International Broadcasting (part-time)

RICHARD BROOKHISER, Corporation for Public Broadcasting (part-time)

Also, several conservatives have been selected for important positions, but have not yet been announced. They include:

ED GRAY, Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board

AL KINGON, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Economic Policy

AL REGNERY, Administrator of Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Department of Justice

FORMER CONG. CLAIR BURGNER, Board for International Broadcasting (part-time)

FORMER CONG. ALBERT LEE SMITH, Federal Council on the Aging (part-time)

FORMER CONG. BOB PRICE, Member Commodity Futures Trading Commission

HvD/lis

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: Feb. 15, 1983

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB WEDNESDAY
FEBRUARY 16, 1983

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	GERGEN	☒	☐
MEESE	☐	☒	HARPER	☒	☐
BAKER	☐	☒	JENKINS	☐	☐
DEAVER	☐	☒	MURPHY	☐	☐
STOCKMAN	☒	☐	ROLLINS	☒	☐
CLARK	☐	☒	WHITTLESSE	☒	☐
DARMAN	☐	☒	WILLIAMSON	☒	☐
DUBERSTEIN	☒	☐	VON DAMM	☐	☐
FELDSTEIN	☒	☐	BRADY/SPEAKES	☒	☐
FIELDING	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☐
FULLER	☒	☐	<u>Bakshian</u>	☐	☐

Remarks:

Please forward comments/edits directly to Aram Bakshian, with a copy to my office, by close of business tomorrow--Wednesday, February 16.

Thank you.

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
(x2702)

Response:

(Dolan/AB)
February 15, 1983
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION
CONFERENCE
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1983

First just let me say how grateful I am to the American Conservative Union, the Young Americans for Freedom, Human Events and National Review for inviting me to this third annual memorial service for the Democratic platform of 1980.

My staff asked why I wanted to make it three in a row. I just said: You know how the Irish love wakes.

Frankly, I feel a little sorry for all those liberals who are still trying to figure out what it is they stand for. You've got to admire their pluck though. They've promised New Hampshire voters everything from a major league baseball team to a Federal subsidy for pancake syrup.

I poke fun at them sometimes but, in the spirit of bipartisanship, I'm getting along with most of them very well. In fact, Walter Mondale sent me a valentine the other day -- I knew it was from Walter because the heart was bleeding.

People keep asking about my plans for '84 -- to tell you the truth, Nancy and I are as happy as two people can be with 100 MX's in the basement.

We need those MX's however -- the Soviets have deployed a lot of missiles and will probably go on doing so. After all, the Soviet Union is the only country in the world surrounded by hostile communist powers.

Finally, I just wanted to say -- I'm tired of all these rumors about difficulties between Jim Baker and Ed Meese --

actually there was some disagreement initially but we just got Ed to switch to green jelly beans.

I am delighted to be back here with you. In my last two addresses, I've talked about our common perceptions and goals and I thought that after 2 years in office I might report to you where we stand in achieving those goals -- a sort of state of the Reagan report, if you will.

Now I'm the first to acknowledge that there is a good deal left unfinished on the conservative agenda. You can't clean up the mess of half a century in 2 years. But I'm not disheartened. In fact, my attitude about that unfinished agenda isn't very different from that expressed in an anecdote about one of my favorite presidents, Calvin Coolidge. Some of you may know that after Cal Coolidge was introduced to the sport of fishing by the head of his Secret Service detail, it got to be quite a passion with him, if you can use that word about "Silent Cal". Anyway, he was once asked by reporters how many fish were in one of his favorite angling places, the River Brule. Coolidge said the waters were estimated to carry 50,000 trout. "I haven't caught them all yet," Cal added, "but I sure have intimidated them."

It's true we haven't brought about every change important to the conscience of a conservative . . . but we conservatives can take a great deal of honest pride in what we have achieved.

In a few minutes I want to talk about just how far we have come and what we need to do to win further victories. But right now I think a word or two on strategy is in order. When I spoke to you in the past you may remember I mentioned that it was now our task as conservatives not just to point out the mistakes made

over all those decades of liberal government -- not just to form an able opposition -- but to govern, to lead a nation. And I noted this would make new demands upon our movement, upon all of us.

Now undoubtedly one of the major criteria for judging the success of any conservative administration is going to be its ability to get its legislative program through the Congress. The American people like a good political fight. But they also prefer bipartisan cooperation to factional squabbling. They expect all administrations to work with the Congress and for the good of the Nation. On this score we've garnered pretty good marks. For the first time in half a century, we've shown that conservatives can do more than criticize -- we've shown that they can govern.

But I know that there is concern over attempts to roll back some of the gains we have made. And it seems to me that here we ought to give some thought to strategy, to making sure we conservatives stop and think before we act.

For example, some prominent liberals have been saying recently that they want to take back the people's third year tax cut and abolish tax indexing. And some conservatives and members of my staff wanted immediately to open up a verbal barrage against them.

Well, I hope you know that sometimes a President can't always say exactly what's on his mind. In fact, right at that moment, one of those old stories about the farmer and the lawyer came to mind.

It seems these two had a pretty bad traffic accident. They both got out of their cars, the farmer took one look at the lawyer, walked back to his car, and brought back a package with a bottle inside. "Here," the farmer said, "take a sip of this. You look pretty shook up -- it will steady your nerves." The lawyer took a sip. The farmer said, "You still look a bit pale, have another." This the lawyer did and at the farmer's urging took another and another. Finally, the lawyer said that he was feeling better but asked the farmer if he didn't want to take a little nip. "Me?" said the farmer, "I'm waiting for the state trooper."

And I wonder if we conservatives can't learn something from that farmer. After all, if the liberals really want to head into the next election under the banner of taking away from the American people their first real tax cut in 20 years -- if after peering into their heart of hearts, they conclude that they must tell the American people they want to over the next 6 years take \$1,500 from a family of four earning \$20,000, if they feel compelled to voice these kinds of deeply-held convictions in an election year, I say to you: Fellow conservatives, who are we to stifle the voices of conscience? Let them try it.

Now in talking about our legislative agenda I know some of you have been disturbed by the notion of stand-by tax increases in the so-called out years. Well, let me assure you that's a two-way street. I wasn't wild about the idea myself. But the economy is getting better. And I believe these improvements are only the beginning. With a little luck, and if the American people respond with the kind of energy and initiative they have

always shown in the past . . . well, maybe it's time we started thinking about some stand-by tax cuts too.

But, you know, with regard to the economy I wonder if our political adversaries haven't once again proven that they're our best allies. As you know, some of these folks have spent the last 16 months or so placing all the responsibility for the state of the economy on our shoulders. And with some help from the media it's been a pretty impressive campaign.

But the doom and gloom brigaders are beating a dead horse. After 2 years of back-to-back double-digit inflation, we've brought inflation down to 3.9 percent in 1982 -- and 1.1 percent for the last 3 months of that year. For the first time in 3 years, real wages have increased by 1.8 percent in 1982 and in the last 3 months of the year at a 3.5 percent annual rate. Interest rates have dropped dramatically with the prime rate shrinking by nearly 50 percent. And in December the index of leading indicators was a full 6.3 percent above last March's low point. Housing starts are up by 45 percent, building permits by 61 percent, new home sales by 75 percent since April and inventories of unsold homes are at the lowest levels in more than a decade. Auto production this quarter is scheduled to increase by 22 percent and General Motors alone is putting 21,400 workers back on the job. Last month's sharp decline in unemployment was the most heartening sign of all.

So, fellow conservatives, maybe our liberal friends have done us another favor. Maybe it's time we admitted that they were right just this once and maybe we should be encouraging them to go right on telling the American people what they've been

saying all along: that the state of the economy is precisely the fault of that wicked creature named the Kemp/Roth and its havoc-wreaking twin called Reaganomics.

Yes, I do think we've turned the corner on the economy. And I'm especially proud of one thing. When this Administration hit heavy weather we didn't panic; we didn't go for the fast bromides and quick fixes, the huge tax increases or wage and price controls recommended by so many. And I think our stubbornness if you want to call it that, will quite literally pay off for every American in the years ahead.

So let me pledge to you tonight: Carefully, we have set out on the road to recovery. We will not be deterred. We will not be turned back. There will be no mortgaging of our children's future for mere political gain. Once again I would say, I reject the policies of the past, the policies of tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect. The lesson of these failed policies is clear: You can't drink yourself sober or spend yourself rich; you can't prime the pump without pumping the prime. I say to you tonight we can and we must continue to hold the line on taxes and spending.

And a word is in order here on the most historic of all the legislative reforms we have achieved in the last 2 years, that of tax indexing. You can understand the terror such a provision strikes in the heart of those whose principal constituency is Big Government. Government's hidden incentive to inflate the currency, and those huge hidden subsidies for bigger and bigger Government, are now suddenly going to end. In the future, if the advocates of Big Government want to pay for their social

engineering schemes, they're going to have to face the political music, go to the people and tell them openly they want to take more money from the paychecks of working Americans.

So all the professional Washingtonians, the bureaucrats, the lobbyists, the special interest types are frightened -- plain scared -- and they're working overtime to take this one back. I think I speak for all conservatives when I say: Tax indexing is non-negotiable -- it's a fight we'll take to the people and it's a fight we'll win going away.

But I think you can see how even this debate shows things changing for the better. It highlights the essential differences between two political philosophies now contending for power in American political life. One is the philosophy of the past; a philosophy that has as its constituents an ill-assorted mix of elitists and special interest groups who see Government as the principle vehicle of social change, who believe that the only thing we have to fear is the people -- that they must be watched and regulated and superintended from Washington.

On the other hand there is our political philosophy -- a philosophy that sees in too much Government the danger of stifling the enterprise, initiative and excellence that are the trademarks of a free people.

This political philosophy is at the heart of a new political consensus that emerged in America at the start of this decade; and it is one that I believe will dominate American politics for many decades to come. The economic disasters brought about by too much Government ^{were} ~~was~~ the catalyst for this consensus. During the seventies the American people began to see misdirected,

overgrown government as the source of many of our social problems -- not the solution.

This new consensus has a view of Government that is essentially that of our Founding Fathers -- that Government is the servant, not the master, that it was meant to maintain order, to protect our Nation's safety -- but otherwise in the words of that noted political philosopher, Professor Jimmy Durante, "to leave the people the heck alone."

Our overriding goal during the past 2 years has been to give Government back to the American people, to make it responsive again to their wishes and desires.

That's why we've wanted to do more than just bring about a healthy economy or a growing GNP. We've also been affecting a quiet revolution in American government.

For too many years, bureaucratic self-interest and political maneuvering held sway over efficiency and honesty in government; Federal dollars were treated as the property of bureaucrats, not of the taxpayers; those in the Federal establishment who pointed to the misuse of those dollars were looked upon as malcontents or troublemakers.

This Administration has broken with that past: We've gone outside the Washington buddy system and brought to government from the private sector, from the States and localities, men and women who with vigor and energy will do something about waste and fraud in Government.

And that is why there have been dramatic turnabouts in some of the most scandal-ridden and wasteful Federal agencies and programs. A few years ago the General Services Administration

was racked by indictments and report after account of inefficiency and waste. Today at GSA, Jerry Carmen has not only put the whistleblowers back in charge -- he's promoted them and given them new responsibilities. Today GSA work-in-progress time is down from 30 days to 7 days even while the agency has sustained budget cuts of 20 percent, office space reductions of 20 percent and the attrition of 7,000 employees.

At the Government Printing Office under Dan Sawyer losses of millions of dollars have suddenly been ended as the workforce was cut through attrition, money losing bookstores were shut down, and overtime pay was cut by nearly \$6 million in 1 year alone. The Government publication program, which ran a cumulative loss of \$20 million over a 3 year period, will for the remainder of '82 register a \$4.6 million profit.

It has been said of this Administration by some that it has turned a blind eye to waste and fraud at the Pentagon while over zealously concentrating on the social programs. Well, at the Pentagon under Cap Weinberger's leadership and our superb service secretaries Jack Marsh, John Lehman and Verne Orr, we have already achieved \$2.5 billion in savings on waste and fraud and over the next 5 years multi-year procurement will save us almost 15 billion.

These are only three examples of what we are attempting to do to make Government more efficient. The list goes on: We've wielded our inspectors general into an effective strike force accounting for more than \$18 billion in savings during the last 18 months. With Peter Grace's help we've called on top management experts from the private sector to suggest modern

management techniques for every aspect of government operations. And with an exciting new project called Reform 88 we're going to streamline and reorganize the maze of 350 different personnel systems, 2,300 payment centers, hundreds of thousands of administrative personnel, and non-existent cash and debt management procedures that characterize the Federal bureaucracy.

There is more, much more, from cutting down wasteful travel practices to reducing paperwork, from aggressively pursuing the \$40 billion in bad debts owed the Federal Government to preventing publication of more than 70 million copies of wasteful or unnecessary government publications.

But, you know, making Government responsive again to the people involves much more than just eliminating waste, fraud and inefficiency. During the decades of liberal dominance, while Government was intruding into areas where it is neither competent nor needed, it was also ignoring its legitimate and constitutional duties such as preserving the domestic peace and providing for the common defense.

I'll talk about defense in a moment but on the matter of domestic order a few things need to be said. First of all, it is abundantly clear that much of our crime problem was provoked by a liberal social philosophy that saw man as primarily a creature of his material environment. The same liberal philosophy that held that by changing man's environment through massive Federal spending schemes we could usher in an era of prosperity and virtue also viewed criminals as the unfortunate products of poor socio-economic conditions or an underprivileged upbringing.

Society, not the individual, they said, was at fault for criminal wrongdoing. We were to blame.

Today this new political consensus I've been speaking about has utterly refuted this point of view; the American people demand that Government exercise its legitimate and constitutional duty to punish career criminals who consciously choose to make their living by preying on the innocent.

We conservatives have been warning about the crime problem for many years, about that permissive social philosophy that did so much to foster it, about a legal system that seemed to specialize in letting hardened criminals go free. And now we have the means, the power to do something. Let's get to work.

For example, drug pusher after drug pusher has escaped justice by taking advantage of our flawed bail and parole system. And criminals who have committed atrocious acts have cynically utilized the technicalities of the exclusionary rule, a miscarriage of justice unique to our legal system, to avoid punishment. Indeed, one National Institute of Justice study showed that of all the drug fel~~l~~ons arrested in 1981, nearly 30 percent were returned to the streets because of perceived problems with the exclusionary rule.

This Administration has proposed vital reforms of our bail and parole systems, the exclusionary and criminal forfeiture and sentencing statutes. Those reforms were passed by the Senate 95 to 1 last year. But they never got out of committee in the House of Representatives. We need these reforms and we need them now. The American people want these reforms and they want them now. I'm asking tonight then that you mobilize all the powerful

resources of this political movement to get these measures passed by the Congress.

There is another matter that I feel compelled to say a few words about, another legacy from the days of Government expansion and intrusion. Even as Government has increasingly involved itself in education, even as expenditures for education have grown by an amazing ____ percent in the last 2 decades, standards of achievement have sharply declined. Today excellence is a word all too rarely appropriate for American education. Too many of our children -- black and white -- are getting a second-rate education. We have seen a loss of parental control and responsibility, and millions of dedicated teachers and educators have found themselves unable to enforce discipline or minimum standards because they are burdened by administrative overlays and bureaucratic rules.

In order to revitalize our educational system, we must take the politics out of education in America. A recent Roper survey showed that by overwhelming margins the American people reject the notion of public education as a Federal function. By nearly as impressive margins the American people endorse this Administration's desire to eliminate the Federal Department of Education. Tonight I want to reissue this call. We intend take responsibility for the education of our children out of the hands of the bureaucrats and put it back in the hands of parents and teachers. And that means getting rid of that unnecessary and politically-engendered department.

We must also encourage an increased parental control and responsibility in other ways. The Congress must stop dithering; we need tuition tax credits, we need a voucher program for the parents of disadvantaged children so they, too, can have the freedom to choose the school which will most effectively meet the needs of their children. And finally we need Independent Education Accounts -- IRAs for college -- which will give a strong incentive to parents to save for their children's education.

There are other steps we are taking to restore Government to its rightful duties, to restore the political consensus upon which this Nation was founded.

For example, it is true that our Founding Fathers sought to erect a wall of separation between forms of religious belief and the state -- but not between the state and religious belief itself.

The evidence of this is all around us: in the Declaration of Independence alone, there are no fewer than four mentions of a Supreme Being. "In God We Trust" is engraved on our coinage, the Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a religious invocation and the Congress opens each day with prayer from its chaplains. The pledge of allegiance acknowledges our debt to the Almighty, ". . . one Nation, under God, . . ." I just think the schoolchildren of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as the Supreme Court and the Congress. And I ask you to join me in persuading the Congress to accede to the

Not well worded

overwhelming desire of the American people for a constitutional amendment permitting prayer in schools.

Finally on our domestic agenda, there is a subject that weighs heavily on all of us, the tragedy of abortion on demand. This is a grave moral evil and one that requires the fullest discussion on the floors of the House and Senate.

As we saw in the last century with the issue of slavery, any attempt by the Congress to stifle or compromise away discussion of important moral issues only further inflames emotions on both sides and leads ultimately to even more social disruption and disunity.

So tonight, I would ask that the Congress discuss openly and freely the issue of abortion on the floors of the House and Senate. Let those who believe the practice of abortion to be a moral evil join us in making this case to our fellow Americans. And let us do so rationally, calmly and with an honest regard for our fellow Americans. Speaking for myself, I believe that once the implications of abortion on demand are fully aired and understood by the American people they will seek its immediate abolition.

While we're on the subject of our domestic agenda, something very important needs to be said. Much of the credit for our success in getting conservative issues before the Congress goes to one very brave, very dynamic Senator. He is a man of honor and conscience and character. He's a favorite with me and with you and -- as I am quite sure next year's election will show -- with the people of North Carolina. Jesse Helms is a great Senator and a great American. Tonight we all salute him.

But whether it's cutting spending and taxing, shrinking the size of the deficit, ending overregulation, inefficiency, fraud and waste in government, cracking down on career criminals, revitalizing American education, pressing for prayer and abortion legislation -- I think you can see that the agenda we have put before America these past 2 years has been a conservative one.

And these important domestic issues have been complemented by the conservative ideas we have brought to the pursuit of foreign policy. All of you can remember how things were a short time ago. Everywhere in the world freedom was on the retreat.

AFG I think it is fair to say all of this has changed and changed dramatically. We have not been afraid to characterize our adversaries in the struggle now going on in the world for what they are. We have talked about forced labor on the Soviet pipeline, about toxic warfare in Asia, about repression in Poland. We have pointed out that the Soviets hold a radically different view of morality and human dignity than do we. We have said that we can seek no final accommodation with the evils of totalitarianism but must develop a forward strategy for freedom, one based on our hope that someday representative government will be enjoyed by all the peoples and nations of the earth.

And we have been striving to give the world the facts about the international arms race. Ever since our nearly total demobilization after World War II, we in the West have been playing catch-up. Yes, there has been an international arms race. But let's tell the truth: only one side has been doing the racing.

Those of you in the front line of the conservative movement can be of special assistance in furthering the fight against totalitarianism, this strategy for freedom.

First of all, there is no more important foreign policy initiative in this Administration -- and none that frightens our adversaries more -- than, our attempts to build through our international radios constituencies for peace in nations dominated by totalitarian, militaristic regimes. We've proposed to the Congress modest but vitally important expenditures for the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Radio Marti. Those proposals stalled last year -- but with your help we can get them through the Congress this year. Believe me, nothing could mean more to the Poles, Lithuanians, Cubans and all the millions of others living under communist tyranny.

Secondly, we must continue to revitalize and strengthen our armed forces. Cap Weinberger has been waging a heroic battle on this front. I'm asking the conservative leaders here tonight to make support for our defense build-up one of your top priorities.

But beside progress in furthering all of these items on the conservative agenda, something else is happening -- something that someday we conservatives may be very proud happened under our leadership.

Even with all our recent economic hardships, I believe a feeling of optimism is just now entering the American consciousness, a belief that the days of division and discord are behind us and that an era of national unity and renewal is upon us.

A vivid reminder of how our Nation has learned and grown and transcended the tragedies of the past was given to us here in Washington only a few months ago.

Last November, on the mall between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington monument, a new memorial was dedicated -- one of dark, low-lying walls inscribed with the names of those who lost their lives in the Vietnam conflict. Soon there will be added a sculpture of three soldiers together, two white, one black.

During the dedication ceremonies, the roles of the dead were read for 3 days in a candlelight ceremony at the National Cathedral. And those veterans of Vietnam who were never welcomed home with speeches and bands -- but who were undefeated in battle and were heroes as surely as any who have ever fought in a noble cause -- staged their own parade on Constitution Avenue.

As America watched them -- some in wheelchairs, all of them proud -- there was a feeling that as a Nation we were coming together again and that we had -- at long last -- brought the boys home.

"A whole lot of healing went on," said Jan Scruggs, the wounded combat veteran who helped organize support for the memorial.

And then there was this newspaper account that appeared the day after the ceremonies. I would like to read it to you:

"Yesterday, crowds returned to the memorial. Among them was Herbie Petit, a machinist and former marine from New Orleans. 'Last night,' he said, standing near the wall, 'I went out to dinner with some other ex-marines. There was also a group of college students in the restaurant. We started talking to each other and before we left they stood up and cheered.'

'The whole week,' Petit said, his eyes red, 'it was worth it just for that.'"

It has been worth it. We Americans have learned again to listen to each other and to trust each other. We have learned that Government owes the people an explanation and needs their support for its actions at home or abroad. And we have learned -- and I pray this time for good -- that we must never again send our young men to fight and die in conflicts that our leaders are not prepared to win.

Yet the most valuable lesson of all -- the preciousness of human freedom -- has been relearned not just by Americans but by all the people of the world. It is "the stark lesson" Truongs Nhu Tang, one of the founders of the National Liberation Front, a former Viet Cong minister and vice-minister of the post war government in Vietnam, spoke of recently when he explained why he fled Vietnam for freedom.

"No previous regime in my country," he wrote about the concentration camps and boat people of Vietnam, "brought such numbers of people to such desperation. Not the military dictators, not the colonialists, not even the the ancient Chinese overlords. It is a lesson that my compatriots and I learned through witnessing and through suffering in our own lives the fate of our countrymen. It is a lesson that must eventually move the conscience of the world."

This is the task that has fallen to us as Americans: to move the conscience of the world, to keep alive the hope and dream of freedom. For if we fail or falter, there will be no place for the world's oppressed to flee to. This is not a role we sought -- we preach no manifest destiny -- but like the Americans who brought a new Nation into the world 200 years ago, history has asked much of us in our time. Much we have already given. Much more we must we prepared to give.

This is not a task we shrink from. It is a task we welcome. For with the privilege of living in this kindly pleasant greening

land called America, this land of generous spirit and great ideals, there is also a destiny and a duty, a duty to preserve and hold in sacred trust mankind's age-old aspirations of peace and freedom and a better life for generations to come.