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JV

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/15/84

1110
PR016
PR007
BE003-04

MEMORANDUM

TO: LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Time reserved for interview with reporters with Midwest Newspapers:

DATE: 3/20/84 - 4:00 pm - briefing for interview
3/20/84 - 4:30 pm - interview *g*

TIME:

DURATION:

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: No

MEDIA COVERAGE: Wire photographers

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- cc: R. Darman
- R. Deprospero
- B. Elliott
- D. Fischer
- C. Fuller
- W. Henkel
- E. Hickey
- G. Hodges
- C. McCain
- B. Oglesby
- J. Rosebush
- R. Scouten
- B. Shaddix
- W. Sittmann
- L. Speakes
- WHCA Audio/Visual
- WHCA Operations
- A. Wrobleski
- Nell Yates

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

APPROVED FOR

Date. 3/20/84
Time. 4:00
Length. 30 min / 4:30
Date 3/15/84

REC-1
MAR 14 1984
SCHEDULING OFFICE

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TO: FREDERICK R. RYAN, Director
Scheduling Office

FROM: Larry Speakes

REQUEST: Interview with reporters from Midwest newspapers

PURPOSE: To focus attention on Midwest primaries and caucuses

BACKGROUND: This is another in the series of interviews with regional newspapers in connection with the primaries and caucuses.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: An interview with Southeast regional newspapers on March 12 (similar-type interview); nothing individually with these newspapers

DATE AND TIME: Before March 20 Illinois primary (30 minutes)

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS:

Jerry Watson	Chicago Sun-Times
Findlay Lewis	Minneapolis Tribune
Andrew Miller	Kansas City Star
Frank Aukofer	Milwaukee Journal
Tom Ottenad	St. Louis Post Dispatch
Kathy Kiely	Pittsburgh Press
Gary Schuster	Detroit News

OUTLINE OF EVENT: After pleasantries and introductions, the interview proceeds

REMARKS REQUIRED: No, but pre-interview briefing

MEDIA COVERAGE: Wire photographers

RECOMMENDED BY: Larry Speakes

PROJECT OFFICER: Larry Speakes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/30/84

1110
PRO16
REC03-04
PRO17
Pd

MEMORANDUM

TO: LARRY SPEAKES
FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY



MEETING: Time reserved for New York Times Interview:
3/20/84 - 4:00 pm - 30 min - Briefing for Interview *J.*
3/20/84 - 4:30 pm - 30 min - Interview

DATE: March 20, 1984

TIME: As shown

DURATION: As shown

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: No

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|------------|
| cc: R. Darman | J. Rosebush | M. McManus |
| R. Deprospero | R. Scouten | |
| B. Elliott | B. Shaddix | |
| D. Fischer | W. Sittman | |
| C. Fuller | L. Speakes | |
| W. Henkel | WHCA Audio/Visual | |
| E. Hickey | WHCA Operations | |
| G. Hodges | A. Wrobleski | |
| C. McCain | Nell Yates | |
| B. Oglesby | | |

sg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 12, 1984

219210

4000

PRO16

COO1-07

170016

PX

Dear Mrs. Reed: *Helen*

Thank you for your letter of February 5, in which you requested clarification of the President's responses concerning Lebanon.

First, you asked when Syria agreed to withdraw from Lebanon. Throughout the latter part of 1982 and the first part of 1983, we believed we had firm assurances that Syria was prepared to withdraw its forces when Israel withdrew. As you know, Israeli agreement to withdraw was arrived at through a long and difficult negotiating process between the Government of Israel and the Government of Lebanon. The resulting agreement of May 17 provided both for Israeli withdrawal and for lasting security arrangements for Israel's northern border. Shortly thereafter Syria adopted the position that it would not even discuss the withdrawal of its military forces from Lebanon with the Lebanese Government unless the May 17 agreement was cancelled.

Secondly, you questioned the President's statement that Syrian forces are an occupying force, in violation of previous Syrian undertakings. As you have noted, Syria went into Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese Government in order to restore stability in that country. Syria was acting as part of an Arab Defense Force, under the mandate of the Arab League. We were not asked either to approve or disapprove the Syrian deployment. In its initial stages the deployment provided a stabilizing role in helping to bring the internal conflict under control. In 1982, the Government of Lebanon formally requested the Government of Syria to withdraw its forces and informed the Arab League that these forces are no longer required. Syrian refusal to comply has changed the nature of the deployment from that of a peacekeeping operation to that of an army of occupation -- from a stabilizing to a destabilizing role.

As to the President's remarks about Syrian designs on Lebanon, the Syrian-Lebanese relationship is indeed a long and close one, as you indicate. Under the Ottoman empire much of Lebanon and Syria were administered jointly. Both have been separate countries only since they attained their independence. By its own record, it is clear that Syria, by supplying a large part of the war material that has helped perpetuate the violence and by frustrating the efforts of President Gemayel to achieve national reconciliation, has attempted to dominate the outcome of events

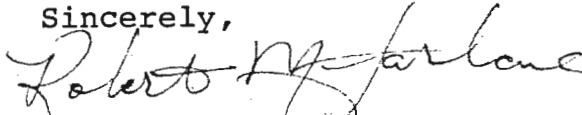
NBC ID 8401198

in that war-torn country. We can only conclude that Syria intends that no solution will be found in Lebanon unless it is agreeable with Syria. Syria clearly seeks to extend its influence over events in Lebanon for the future.

We have a deep interest in the eventual achievement of several long-term objectives in Lebanon. These include the achievement of an independent, unified country free from outside forces. However, America's preeminent goal in the Middle East is progress in the wider peace process. Lebanon remains an important part of the Middle East mosaic, and any progress toward peace in the region cannot ignore Lebanon's interests. Conversely, a full solution of Lebanon's problems can only be achieved in the context of the overall peace process.

I appreciate your thoughtful letter and hope my comments have been helpful.

Sincerely,



Robert C. McFarlane

Mrs. Helen A. Reed
35 West Irving Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

REFERRAL

DATE: 14 FEB 84

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEPT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

TO. MCFARLANE

SOURCE: REED, HELEN A

DATE. 08 FEB 84

KEYWORDS: MIDDLE EAST

MP

MEDIA

SUBJ. LTR TO MCFARLANE FM REED RE PRES INTERVIEW WALL STREET JOURNAL RE

REQUIRED ACTION. DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 21 FEB 84

COMMENTS

Robert M. Kimmitt
45860
FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Received in 515 I
2/14 at 2:40pm (AM)

RECEIVED 10 FEB 84 09

TO MCFARLANE

FROM REED, HELEN A

DOCDATE 08 FEB 84

KEYWORDS MIDDLE EAST

MP

MEDIA

SUBJECT ~~LPR~~ TO MCFARLANE FM REED RE PRES INTERVIEW WALL STREET JOURNAL RE MIDDLE EAST

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE'S DUE: 16 FEB 84 STATUS S FILES

Signature

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KEMP

BRAZIL

*Hall
Skull*

State is to prepare draft response for McFarlane's signature. HT

COMMENTS LOGGED PER WILMA

REF# LOG NSCIFID (LB)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>State</i>	<i>2/14</i>	<i>Draft Reply</i>	<i>2/21</i>	<i>HT</i>
<i>Kemp</i>	<i>2/28</i>	<i>Rec'd S/S Draft</i>	<i>8404626</i>	<i>SS</i>
<i>McFarlane</i>	<i>2/28</i>	<i>Prepare Memo for McFarlane</i>	<i>3/3</i>	<i>SS</i>
<i>McFarlane</i>	<i>X 2/02</i>	<i>In Signature</i>		
DISPATCH	<i>C 3/12</i>	<i>McFarlane sqd dr</i>	W/ATTCH	FILE <i>GK</i> (C)

ed MJR

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

II ID 8401198

RECEIVED 10 FEB 84 09

TO MCFARLANE FROM REED, HELEN A DOCDATE 08 FEB 84
 HILL, C 27 FEB 84
 KEMP 02 MAR 84

KEYWORDS: MIDDLE EAST MP
 MEDIA

SUBJECT. LTR TO MCFARLANE FM REED RE PRES INTERVIEW WALL STREET JOURNAL RE
 MIDDLE EAST

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 03 MAR 84 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KEMP

BRAZIL

COMMENTS LOGGED PER WILMA

REF# 8404626 LOG NSCIFID (LB)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	MAR 1 2 1984	Mcfarlane sgd		GK

DISPATCH *ed MJR 3/12* W/ATTCH FILE *COA (C) MR*

National Security Council
The White House

1026 JIF

System #

I

Package #

1198

8 MAR 2 P 6: 25

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin			
Bob Kimmitt	1	K	
John Poindexter	2		
Wilma Hall	3	✓	
Bud McFarlane	4	M	A
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	5		D
Situation Room			
Tom Shull			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

2/9

For staffing -- for RCM's sig

Wilma

84 MAR 22 11:50 AM '80

177-10-241

March 2, 1984

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

FROM: GEOFFREY KEMP SUBJECT: Response to Mrs. Reed re the President's Wall Street Journal Interview on the Middle East

Mrs. Reed sent you a letter February 5th asking for clarification of the President's answers to questions, concerning Lebanon, during the Wall Street Journal interview on the Middle East. A State drafted response to her letter is at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Mrs. Reed at Tab I.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

Attachments:

Tab I - Letter to Mrs. Reed

Tab A - Incoming correspondence

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8404626

Date FEB 27 1984

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: Robert C. McFarlane From: Mrs. Helen A. Reed

Date: February 8, 1984 Subject: President Interview with
Wall Street Journal

WH Referral Dated: February 14, 1984 NSC ID# 8401198
(if any)

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

Action Taken:

- x A draft reply is attached.
 A draft reply will be forwarded.
 A translation is attached.
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other.

Remarks:

J. L. Berry
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

Mrs. Helen A. Reed
35 West Irving Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

Dear Mrs. Reed:

Thank you for your letter of February 5 in which you requested clarification of the President's responses concerning Lebanon.

First, you asked when Syria agreed to withdraw from Lebanon. Throughout the latter part of 1982 and the first part of 1983 we believed we had firm assurances that Syria was prepared to withdraw its forces when Israel withdrew. As you know, Israeli agreement to withdraw was arrived at through a long and difficult negotiating process between the Government of Israel and the Government of Lebanon. The resulting agreement of May 17 provided both for Israeli withdrawal and for lasting security arrangements for Israel's northern border. Shortly thereafter Syria adopted the position that it would not even discuss the withdrawal of its military forces from Lebanon with the Lebanese Government unless the May 17 agreement was cancelled.

Secondly, you questioned the President's statement that Syrian forces are an occupying force, in violation of the Syrians' previous undertakings. As you have noted, Syria went into Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese Government in order

to restore stability in that country. Syria was acting as part of an Arab Defense Force, under the mandate of the Arab League. We were not asked either to approve or disapprove the Syrian deployment. In its initial stages the deployment provided a stabilizing role in helping to bring the internal conflict under control. In 1982 the Government of Lebanon formally requested the Government of Syria to withdraw its forces and informed the Arab League that these forces are no longer required. Syrian refusal to comply has changed the nature of the deployment from that of a peacekeeping operation to that of an army of occupation -- from a stabilizing to a destabilizing role.

As to the President's remarks about Syrian designs on Lebanon, the Syrian-Lebanese relationship is indeed a long and close one, as you indicate. Under the Ottoman empire much of Lebanon and Syria were administered jointly. Both have been separate countries only since they attained their independence. By its own record, it is clear that Syria, by supplying a large part of the war material that has helped perpetuate the violence and by frustrating the efforts of President Gemayel to achieve national reconciliation, has attempted to dominate the outcome of events in that war-torn country. We can only conclude that Syria intends that no solution will be found in Lebanon unless it is agreeable with

Syria. Syria clearly seeks to extend its influence over events in Lebanon for the future.

We have a deep interest in the eventual achievement of several long-term objectives in Lebanon. These include the achievement of an independent, unified country free from outside forces. However, America's preeminent goal in the Middle East is progress in the wider peace process. Lebanon remains an important part of the Middle East mosaic, and any progress toward peace in the region cannot ignore Lebanon's interests. Conversely, a full solution of Lebanon's problems can only be achieved in the context of the overall peace process.

I appreciate your thoughtful letter and hope my comments have been helpful.

Sincerely

Robert C. McFarlane

FEB 8 1984

35 West Irving Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

February 5, 1984

The Hon. Robert McFarlane, Director
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McFarlane:

Having read The Wall Street Journal's interview with the President, I find myself shocked by several of the President's answers to questions which were asked of him. I would very much appreciate receiving clarification from your office.

The President "When we went in, the understanding was that both Israel and Lebanon, or Israel and Syria, had agreed that they would withdraw. Both saying...we will withdraw together...Syria, for whatever reason of their own, reneged and has now said they won't withdraw. This is a stumbling block. "

When did Syria agree to withdraw? I recall that the United States presided over bilateral negotiations between Lebanon and Israel concerning the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. I have absolutely no recollection that Syria ever agreed to withdraw. If, indeed, Syria "reneged" on an agreement to withdraw I would be most appreciative if you would tell me when such an agreement was made.

The President ""It wants Lebanon, or a large part thereof, to be Syria. They are an occupying force, in violation of what they had previously agreed to."

I do not understand this response. In 1976, at the request of the Lebanese government and with the approval of the United States, Syria went into Lebanon with which it has had a very long and special relationship going back at least to the days of the French in that part of the world. I would appreciate clarification on this point.

What disturbs me deeply about the presence of our marines in Lebanon is that I believe the reasons for our being there are no longer valid and have not been valid for some time. It is really not very convincing to be told that we must remain there because otherwise it will look as if we are retreating in the face of terrorist activities. Nor is it very convincing to paint the

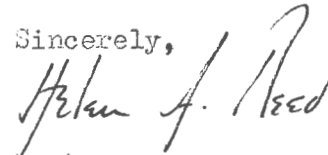
Syrians and Soviets as the "black hats" responsible for all the troubles which are presently occurring. The situation, it seems to me, is far more complicated than that . Perhaps by trying to paint the picture in simplistic terms it is hoped that our citizens will support the present policy. I believe this does a great disservice both to our country and to our intelligence.

What is happening in Lebanon is religious warfare. The blood feuds have been going on for years and years. The cast of characters may change from time to time but the action on the stage remains the same. These feuds are like a vast bog of quicksand waiting to engulf us.

I would, as I said, be most grateful to have the President's answers--as given on page 1 of this letter-- clarified for me.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Helen A. Reed". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

(Mrs.) Helen A. Reed

RO

219390 PD
PRO 16
PU

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 19, 1984

TR

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES BAKER
MIKE DEEVER
ROBERT McFARLANE
RICHARD DARMAN
CRAIG FULLER
JACK SVAHN ✓
MIKE McMANUS
MIKE BAROODY

FROM: Larry Speakes ✓

Attached are the clips from the President's interview with reporters from Southeast newspapers. In every newspaper, stories and pictures were on the front page and ran an average length of 20 inches on "Super Tuesday".

The News and Courier

The South's Oldest Daily Newspaper

Charleston, S.C., Tuesday, March 13, 1984

50 Pages 3 Sections

★★★

25¢ Daily

Telephone 577-7111

Classified 722-

Reagan Won't Adjust Strategy For Hart

By MARY A. GLASS
Post-Courier Reporter

WASHINGTON — President Reagan told a group of Southern reporters Monday he sees no need to adjust his political strategy in the face of Sen. Gary Hart's Democratic primary victories over Walter Mondale.

"I think I can understand," Reagan told the Post-Courier when asked if he has been surprised by Hart's emergence as a strong contender with Mondale. But Reagan added, "I still think it's too early to name any front runners ... There's a long way to go."

Reagan said he sees no need to gear up for a "generational struggle" between himself and Hart in an election campaign. "If there is (a need) maybe we could settle for an arm wrestling" contest, Reagan quipped.

Reagan made the comments during an Oval Office interview with seven reporters from the Southeast — including three states that hold Democratic primary elections today: Georgia, Alabama and Florida. Three other reporters in the session work for newspapers in states that hold caucuses on March 17: South Carolina, Mississippi and Arkansas. A reporter from West Virginia, which



On the Democratic primaries...

"I still think it's too early to name any front runners ... There's a long way to go."



On the deficit problem...

"Frankly, I've lost a little faith in the bipartisan approach."



On the economy...

"I have to say all the recovery has taken place" after his program went into place.

See Reagan, Page 2-A



AP Laserphoto

Post-Courier Reporter Mary Glass is among group at Oval Office session.

...Reagan

Continued From Page 1-A

holds primary caucuses on June 5, also participated.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said the interview format was new, giving reporters who ordinarily don't have access to the president a chance to ask questions. The timing of the first such session obviously related to the Southern primaries and caucuses, he said.

Much of the questioning centered on economics. Reagan said he's counting on his talks with Republican leadership to produce a proposal for a deficit-reduction "downpayment" plan before the election. "Frankly, I've lost a little faith in the bipartisan approach," Reagan said. In his State of the Union address he called for the a bipartisan commission to address the issue.

Reagan said Democrats who were included in the initial rounds of those talks seemed more interested in partisan politics than realistic suggestions for cutting the deficit. The ongoing talks with Republican leaders deal with "a number of figures on spending reductions," as well as "corrections" in the tax program, rather than in tax rates, Reagan said.

He also said the "downpayment" approach is all he expects to achieve before the election, to be followed by long-term structural changes in the share of the Gross National Product the government now commands. That could be gained in part, he said, by implementing some of the recommendations made by the Grace Commission in its study of waste and efficiency in government.

He also suggested proposals to close tax "loopholes," which he said offer "not quite fair" advantages to some businesses. He called for simplification of the tax code, and said there are "things that need to be done" in programs such as Social Security that affect the elderly. But, he quickly added, "we must never pull the rug out" from Social Security recipients now dependent on their current level of payments.

Reagan rebutted Democrats' charges that his administration helps the rich at the expense of the poor and middle class, terming those charges a "falsehood." He said Democrats unfairly have sought to portray him as a man capable of "eating my young." So-called "cuts" in social spending under his administration, he said, have merely slowed the growth of those programs rather than reduced outlays.

And he said the economic recovery the nation has seen under his administration, including dramatic drops in inflation and interest rates, have benefited all Americans.

Anticipating questions on unemployment, Reagan had a list of unemployment rates in the states represented during the interview, and each showed declines. In South Carolina, he said, the peak unemployment rate of 11.6 had dropped to 7.9 percent as of December 1983.

Reagan also cautioned that Southern states' unemployment would be slower to drop than some other regions, due to migration of citizens to the Sunbelt.

On another matter, Reagan said the promise he made as a candidate to balance the budget by 1984 had been made with "the help of some of the finest economists in the country." But by the 1980 election, he said, the projection of a balanced budget under his economic program "wasn't valid" because the economy deteriorated even further before he took office.

Reagan also said the balanced budget promise was affected by the fact his budget cuts and tax reductions didn't go into effect until July 1981. Meanwhile, he said, "the bottom fell

On another matter, Reagan said the promise he made as a candidate to balance the budget by 1984 had been made with "the help of some of the finest economists in the country." But by the 1980 election, he said, the projection of a balanced budget under his economic program "wasn't valid" because the economy deteriorated even further before he took office.

Reagan also said the balanced budget promise was affected by the fact his budget cuts and tax reductions didn't go into effect until July 1981. Meanwhile, he said, "the bottom fell out" of the economy, particularly in the automobile and housing industries.

"Nothing of what happened" in the recession, he said, "could be attributed to our program because our program hadn't started."

Reagan added that he hadn't gotten half of the social spending cuts he'd proposed, and not all of the tax reductions he wanted, to make his balanced budget proposal work.

But, he added, "I have to say all the recovery has taken place" after his program went into place.

Reagan defends economic policies, blasts critical Democrats

Democrats campaign in South, Page 3A
 By TOM OPPEL
 Clarion-Ledger Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Poor Americans, particularly blacks, who've been told by Democrats that they've been unfairly penalized by Reagan administration budget-cutting efforts are "victims of demagoguery," President Reagan said Monday.

In an interview with The Clarion-Ledger and representatives of six other Southern newspapers on the eve of today's 11 "Super Tuesday" Democratic primaries and caucuses, Reagan defended his economic policies as "benefiting to everyone," saying federal spending on "help for

the needy" was higher than ever before.

"I know that there are charges being made... that somehow our attempts at economies have been penalizing people who are dependent on government aid. This is a falsehood," said Reagan, arguing that his administration only "reduced the increase planned in spending" for social assistance programs.

Despite the political overtones of the interview with reporters representing a region selecting nearly half of the more than 500 delegates at stake today, Reagan declined predictions and would not say whether he preferred any particular Democratic opponent.

The meeting with reporters representing

newspapers in Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and West Virginia was the first in a series with reporters from various regions "selected in connection with the (presidential) primaries," White House Press Secretary Larry Speakes said later.

Alabama, Georgia and Florida will be among the nine states voting today, while Mississippi, Arkansas and South Carolina hold caucuses Saturday.

Reagan said it was still too early to be naming any front-runners for the Democratic nomination. But he said he could "understand" the appeal of the surprise new leader, U.S. Sen. Gary Hart of Colorado, as "kind of a new face."

Reagan gave no indication of how he might respond strategically should Hart win the nomination, although he and Vice President George Bush recently have included in political speeches numerous indirect criticisms of former Vice President Walter Mondale through veiled references to President Jimmy Carter's policies.

Asked if he expected age to be a campaign issue if Hart won the nomination — Reagan is 73, while Hart is 47 — the president replied, "I don't see any need for any generational struggle in here, but if there is, maybe we can settle it with an arm wrestle."

On other matters, Reagan cited his continuing efforts to achieve a "downpayment" on a feder-

al budget deficit estimated to grow by nearly \$200 billion, despite what he described as reluctance by Democratic congressional leaders to cooperate.

"Frankly, I've lost a little faith in the bipartisan approach (that he called for in his State of the Union message to reduce the deficit) because the other side seemed more interested in politics," Reagan said.

Reagan charged Democratic leaders were willing only to look at tax hikes and cuts in defense spending. But he said he was working with Republican leaders on a plan he hoped to produce soon that would draw bipartisan support.

See Reagan, back page this section

The president said the plan probably would include some efforts to close tax loopholes and simplify the tax structure rather than an actual tax increase.

"When you increase taxes, they (Democrats) increase spending," he said.

"For the future, we have to bring down the percentage of the gross national product that the government is taking," Reagan said, without specifying where additional federal spending cuts might come.

Reagan also continued to lay the blame for those deficits on Congress. He said his 1980 promise to balance the budget while cutting taxes and increasing defense spending was based on an economic forecast that had to be revised by a recession that began before his election. He also said that Congress had agreed to only half of the spending cuts his administration had requested.

But the president said his focus on the need for a pre-election "downpayment" of up to \$100 billion on the deficit was not inconsistent with his consistently optimistic forecast of the nation's economic future. He said warnings by numerous economists and Wall Street about the risks presented by the deficit represented attempts "to scare the Congress" into action, adding that economics "isn't an exact science."

In a defense of his economic policies, Reagan cited the drop in Mississippi's unemployment rate from the high of 13.8 percent early in his administration to about 10 percent last December.

Asked whether he intended to make his push for a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in public schools a part of the campaign, Reagan said he hoped Congress would pass such an amendment "before I get out there" on the campaign trail.

Charleston Daily Mail

Without, or With, Offence to Friends or Foes, I Sketch Your World Exactly as It Goes

CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA, TUESDAY EVENING, MARCH 13, 1984

President Suggests Tax Relief To Aid W.Va.'s Economy

By DAVID GREENFIELD
Of The Daily Mail Staff

WASHINGTON — Tax incentives to encourage business development could help states like West Virginia join the rest of the nation in "a surge in reducing unemployment which is greater than anything we've seen in the last 30 years," President Reagan said in a White House interview yesterday.

Reagan said that "more will have to be done" to boost areas that have yet to see the full effect of a national recovery, although he did not specify what steps his administration would take.

But he suggested that West Virginia and other states create so-called enterprise zones that offer tax and regulatory relief to businesses to hike employment in blighted urban areas and rural towns.

The enterprise zone program has been pushed by his administration but has failed to gain passage in Congress, Reagan noted. Some states have developed their own enterprise zone programs and they have been highly successful, he said.

During the meeting with reporters, Reagan reasserted his support for prayer in public schools, accused congressional Democrats of balking at budget

negotiations to reduce the federal deficit and said his administration should not be held responsible for the recent national recession.

The president responded to a question about West Virginia's economy during an Oval Office interview with reporters from seven newspapers, including the Daily Mail.

He was asked how he would convince a West Virginia voter to support him this year while the state faces high unemployment, ailing coal and steel industries and cutbacks in social programs.

"First of all, we know that unemployment is never consistent with a national average," the president replied. "There are those pockets in certain areas that are going to be hit harder than others. But in the surge in reducing unemployment, which is greater than anything we've seen in the last 30 years, even those hard-hit areas are being benefited. More will have to be done."

Reagan then pulled from his vest pocket a small sheet of notepaper on which he had scribbled unemployment figures. "In the state that you've just mentioned, your own, at the peak, unemployment in West Virginia was 21

(Turn to Pg. 10A, Col. 5)

PRESIDENT SUGGESTS

(Continued from Page 1)

(percent). By December it was down to 15.7 (percent)." Most other states had seen a rapid dive in unemployment during that period, he said.

The 73-year-old Reagan, dressed in a brown plaid suit, looked relaxed and fit as he fielded a variety of questions from reporters sitting in a circle around him. He wore a much-publicized hearing aid in his right ear but still leaned forward to hear the questions and asked several times that they be repeated.

After inquiries about the economy, and one in particular about whether his economic policies had been less successful than he had hoped, Reagan outlined several factors that he said should be considered when weighing his administration's performance on that issue.

The 1980 economy plunged dramatically, and faster than all earlier projections, while he was assuming office, he said.

"You've got to remember that the president comes in not with his own budget. You are still bound until the following October by the budget of the previous administration. Nor was my program in effect. We were still trying to get it.

"So, nothing of what happened, in the great surge to 10.8 percent (national) unemployment, none of that could be attributed to our program because our program hadn't started."

Reagan said he never received all the federal spending cuts from Congress that he requested, but was granted about half. He added: "All of the recovery has taken place after our program was in effect, and none of our program was in effect when the bottom fell out."

The Republican president, who has announced his plans to seek a second term, told reporters that he was discouraged with attempts to hammer out a bipartisan agreement with Congress to reduce the soaring federal deficit. Reagan called for those talks early this year, but he accused Democratic congressmen of refusing to negotiate in good faith.

"They were very unwilling," he said. "We had great difficulty in getting them to even meet and finally, one meeting they simply walked away over one issue."

Democrats have charged that Reagan would not agree to seriously discuss reductions in defense spending as a method of cutting the deficit. The president said yesterday that he was now conducting deficit-reduction talks with

GOP congressional leaders and that he hoped those talks would lead to a budget agreement with Congress.

Closing tax loopholes, cracking down on tax cheats and simplifying the tax code have been mentioned in those negotiations, he said. The White House is also "really seriously looking" at some 2,500 cost-cutting recommendations by the Grace Commission, Reagan said. Reagan appointed that panel of business leaders to look at ways to eliminate government waste.

Asked if the deficit-reduction meetings could produce an agreement before the November elections, Reagan said: "Oh Lord, I'm hoping very soon. We've got to get moving on this deficit matter and moving fast. ... I'm not one to underestimate the deficit. I've been talking about it for 30 years."

He said that some of his opponents in Congress insist that raising taxes and cutting defense spending are the only ways to reduce the deficit. "But defense spending right now is down to a little more than a fourth of the budget. ... Under Jack Kennedy it was 47.8 percent. They (Democrats) doubled taxes in the five years before we got here, and the deficits increased."

Reagan, who in recent weeks has turned to an emphasis on social issues that have strong backing from his conservative supporters, said he hoped that legislation calling for a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in schools is cleared before he hits the campaign trail later this year.

He said his own proposal does not call for compulsory prayer in the nation's schools. "All we're asking is that they have the right to if they want to. There may be some schools that decide not to. There may be some that decide they will.

"But I think it's a right that we had for the bulk of our entire history in this country, and it didn't destroy the country at all. As a matter of fact, crime rates were lower and we didn't have drug epidemics and all sorts of things."

The president carefully avoided making any predictions on the outcome of today's nine Democratic primaries and caucuses, but did say he felt the battle between front-runners Walter Mondale and Gary Hart was far from over. "There's still a long way to go."

Asked if a race against the 47-year-old Hart would bring up generational questions about old and new politics, Reagan quipped: "I don't see a need for any generational struggle, but maybe if there is we can settle it with an arm wrestle."

The Birmingham News

38 Pages — 4 Sections

Birmingham, Ala., Tuesday, March 13, 1984

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Reagan stresses his differences with Democrats

By Olivia Barton
News Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON — President Reagan met in the Oval Office Monday with reporters from seven southern newspapers in an interview session designed to coincide with today's "Super Tuesday" primaries and caucuses, but Reagan had little to say about the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

"I'll let them have that all to themselves," Reagan said.

Asked if he was surprised at the surge in Gary Hart's campaign, Reagan said, "I can understand ... a kind of a new face," but he said he thinks it's too early to be naming any frontrunners.

Press Secretary Larry Speakes said the president plans to hold similar press conferences prior to primaries and caucuses in the Midwest and Far West to point out differences between himself and Democratic candidates, as he did in Monday's 45-minute conference.

■ See Reagan, Page 8A

Reagan

■ From Page 1A

Reagan, speaking in a raspy voice that he said was the result of hay fever and allergies, strongly defended his economic policies and described them as "beneficial" for everyone.

He said he listened to the Democratic candidates debate Sunday and knew of the charges that his policies have penalized people dependent on government aid.

"That is a falsehood," said Reagan, adding that the federal government is spending more for the needy than ever. His administration has been cutting spending increases, not spending less, he said.

"I've been held up as eating my young ... that we have been hostile to the poor and our tax program benefits the rich," he said. "How can a program that cuts taxes evenly, percentage-wise, across the board ... be beneficial to the rich and detrimental to the others? How can it be unfair to the people of lower income or the poor to reduce inflation from double digits?"

Asked how he would counter a perception by some blacks in Alabama that his administration doesn't have their interests at heart, Reagan said, "I'm going to hope in the campaign we can reveal to them that they have not been given the truth ... that they are victims of a lot of demagoguery that's portrayed us as guilty of things we haven't done."

Reagan said he has "lost a little faith" in the bipartisan approach to solving budget problems. "The other side seemed more interested in politics," he said. "We had great difficulty getting them to even meet."

He said he is meeting with "the family" — House and Senate Republicans — on spending reductions and changes in the tax system without raising taxes. He said he hopes to announce his plan before the election.

"We've got to move on this deficit matter, and move fast," Reagan said. The Democrats' plan is to increase taxes, cut defense spending and increase spending for new social programs, he said.

"Well, defense spending right now is down to a little more than a fourth of the budget," he said. "So this was where we philosophically just were in complete disagreement. They don't even pay attention to the fact that this could subvert the recovery that we're now having and put us back where we were."

Reagan came armed with December unemployment figures for each state

represented at the press conference to show that unemployment had dropped from its peak. Alabama's unemployment dropped from a peak of 16.7 percent to 12.3 percent in December, he said.

The Alabama State Employment Office, however, said Monday that Alabama's unemployment was even lower in December, at 11.4 percent. But the January figure jumped to 13.5 percent, the office reported.

When told of that, Reagan replied that "there will always be these fluctuations" and he is eager to see February's figures.

The president said some areas of the country are hit harder than others and that he has been trying to get Congress to pass "enterprise zone legislation" to generate employment through tax incentives for businesses. "It's been blocked," Reagan said.

"I think most states are doing all they can, just as we are. You're going to have to recognize also that your reduction in unemployment may be a little slower because of the migration to the Sun Belt. And that means that newcomers coming in, without jobs and looking for jobs, are temporarily going to distort the figures," he said.

Asked how much of an issue he will make of school prayer, Reagan said, "I'm hoping that before I get out there we'll have the school prayer amendment passed in the Congress." He added that he's not talking about compulsory prayer.

"All we're asking is that they have the right to if they want to. I think it's a right we had for the bulk of our entire history, and it didn't destroy the country at all. As a matter of fact, crime rates were lower and we didn't have drug epidemics."

Toward the end of the press conference, Speakes told Reagan "you've got a whole batch of congressmen this afternoon, so we'd better break off."

"It serves them right," said Reagan, who said he had enjoyed meeting with reporters under the new type of conference.

Reagan did answer one last question. He was asked if he planned to act on a note that Lisa Wallace, Gov. George Wallace's wife, gave to him recently. Reagan threw his head back and laughed. "No, I don't think it would be my place," he said.

Mrs. Wallace said the note contained a request from her father, James Taylor of Jasper, a coal-mine owner. She declined to reveal the contents of the note.

Democrats Soured Talks On Deficit, Reagan Says

By CAROL MATLACK
Gazette Washington Bureau
© Arkansas Gazette Company

WASHINGTON — President Reagan said Monday that Democratic leaders had effectively derailed bipartisan talks on controlling the federal deficit, forcing Republicans to come up with their own deficit-reduction proposal.

"Frankly, I've lost a little faith in the bipartisan approach to this, because the other side seemed more interested, I think, in politics than

*Nerve Gas Production Lever
For Ban, Reagan Says, Page 5A*

they did in meetings," Mr. Reagan told reporters for the *Gazette* and six other Southern newspapers.

Repeatedly during the 40-minute interview, the president laid the country's economic problems at the feet of Democrats, saying they offered no solutions while his administration deserved all the credit for the current economic recovery.

"All of the recovery has taken place after our program was put into effect," he said. " * * * None of our program was in effect when the bottom fell out."

Seated in an armchair before a crackling fire in the Oval Office, the president was relaxed and cheerful as he fielded questions that focused mostly on the economy and other domestic problems. He deflected inquiries about the Democratic presidential race, although he joked that if anyone wanted to compare his vigor with that of Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, "We'll settle it with an arm-wrestle."

The interview — the first session Mr. Reagan has held with reporters from a particular region — was

(See BIPARTISAN on Page 5A.)

Bipartisan Deficit Talks Were Derailed By Democrats, Reagan Tells Reporters

Continued from Page 1A.

scheduled to coincide with this week's Democratic primaries and caucuses in the South, especially today's contests, Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes said afterward.

The Arkansas caucuses are Saturday, and five of the other states represented — Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Florida and South Carolina — have Democratic contests today or Saturday.

During the interview Mr. Reagan declined to say whom among the Democrats he'd prefer to face in the November election. "No, I'll let them have that all to themselves," he said with a chuckle.

Has Harsh Words

The president's comments were peppered with criticism of Democrats. Some of the harshest words came when he was asked to describe his recent closed-door meetings with congressional leaders to negotiate a bipartisan "down payment" on the federal deficit, a proposal he outlined during the State of the Union address in January.

He said of the Democratic leaders, "To sit down with them and start from scratch to negotiate, they were very unco-operative. We had great difficulty getting them to even meet, and finally one meeting they just simply walked away on one issue, and refused to talk. * * * It wasn't very encouraging."

The president declined to specify what concessions he offered during the meetings. He said he still was willing to talk with Democrats but for the time being was working with Republican congressional leaders on a deficit-reduction plan, and would "go forward with our proposal and hope that we can with support of the people, get bipartisan support."

He said there was "pretty much agreement" that there would be no new taxes in the proposal, and only "corrections" in the tax code to close existing loopholes. He didn't say whether he would consider cutting defense spending — something that many Republican leaders have said is essential to bring deficits under control — but noted that defense spending accounted for a much smaller share of the federal budget than it did during the 1960s.

Mr. Reagan said that once Congress approved a "down payment" on the deficit he would turn toward long-term, "structural" changes to balance the budget. Again, he declined to specify the changes he would favor, but said he was "really seriously looking" at some of the recommendations made by the Grace Commission on government cost-saving.

Asked why he had not fulfilled his

campaign promise to balance the federal budget by 1984, Mr. Reagan said that promise was based on projections that were no longer valid by the 1980 election, "because the economy in 1980 was deteriorating so fast, and had not been projected to do so."

Recession 'Continuation'

Although he took office in January 1981, the president said he was "still bound until the following October by the budget of the previous administration." He said the recession "was a continuation" of problems that started under the previous administration.

Mr. Reagan said the recession might have been shortened if Congress had not insisted on phasing in tax cuts over three years, starting in the fall of 1981. Also, he noted that Congress had approved only "a little less than half" of the spending cuts he requested. (He didn't elaborate on the statement, which contradicts his assertion during the State of the Union message that Congress had approved more than half the spending cuts he proposed.)

"I'm not one to underestimate the deficits," the president said. However, he said that ultimately, "Congress is the only one who can deal" with the problem.

'Spending More' for Needy

Mr. Reagan labeled "a falsehood" the suggestion that his policies had hurt blacks and the poor. "Everything we've done in our economic approach has benefited everyone," he said. " * * * We're spending more on help for the people, for the needy, than has ever been spent before in history. * * * I hope that in the campaign we can reveal to [blacks] that they have not been told the truth" by administration critics.

"How can a program that cuts taxes evenly percentage-wise across the board, thus leaving the same rate of progression * * * How can that be beneficial to the rich and detrimental to the others?" he said. He said reductions in inflation had helped "the people with the least," who "had to spend most of their earnings on subsistence."

Asked whether he would favor reductions in Social Security and Medicare to help balance the budget, Mr. Reagan replied that he had "said repeatedly that programs like that, there are things that must be done, but we must never pull the rug out" from under recipients. He noted that his administration had engineered a bipartisan effort last year "to save Social Security because [otherwise] it would be broke by July of 1983." Also, he noted that Social Security benefits had continued to rise during his administration.

The president answered most

questions in generalities, with one notable exception: When a West Virginia reporter questioned him about unemployment (West Virginia's rate is over 15 per cent, one of the highest in the country), Mr. Reagan reached into his jacket and pulled out a slip of paper with unemployment figures for the seven states represented at the meeting. He said the figures, which compared unemployment rates at the depth of the 1981 to 1983 recession with the rates in December, showed improvement in all the states.

At the end of the session, Mr. Reagan asked reporters to listen while he proudly read off the unemployment figures for each state. Arkansas's had dropped from a high of 11.3 to 9.4 per cent in December.

He also used the unemployment question to put in a plug for his proposed legislation to create "enterprise zones" for economic development, and criticized Democrats for blocking the proposal in Congress.

Asked by a Florida reporter to comment on recent figures showing drug smuggling in that state continues to rise, the president said he was unaware of any such figures but thought his administration was doing a good job of cracking down on drugs. He related an anecdote about how he once saw \$21 million in cash that had been confiscated from drug traffickers; the pile of currency was as big as his massive Oval Office desk, the president recalled.

In response to another question the president reaffirmed his support for a constitutional amendment allowing organized prayer in public school classrooms. He stressed the amendment would not establish "compulsory prayer. * * * All we're asking is they [students] have the right to if they want to," he said.

Reagan says his opponents creating false perceptions

Washington Bureau Chief William Gibson was one of seven newspaper journalists who interviewed President Reagan Monday.

By William E. Gibson

Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — On the eve of "Super Tuesday's" primaries and caucuses, President Reagan accused his political opponents of "demagoguery" and of generally creating false perceptions of his policies.

"Even before a campaign started, this has been pretty much the theme of the other side — I have been held up as eating my young," Reagan said Monday.

Sitting in the Oval Office, Reagan defended his record to seven reporters, including six from Southern states with nomination contests this week.

The president said he could understand the emergence of one potential rival, Sen. Gary Hart, D-Colo., "a kind of a new face," who has called for a new generation of leadership. Yet Reagan, who once called for a return to the values and stature of America's past, said he saw no need for a change in his own campaign strategy.

"I don't see any need for any generational struggle in here," Reagan said. "But if there is, maybe we can settle it with an arm wrestle."

During the interview, Reagan:

- Said he has "lost a little faith" in finding a bipartisan plan to cut budget deficits, forcing him to come up with his own plan.

- Indicated he would not cut Social Security benefits for present retirees but that the system may need to be changed for younger workers "who would have plenty of time and warning with regard to such changes."

- Defended his plans to seek money to build chemical weapons to force negotiations with the Soviet Union.

- Claimed the drug-enforcement strategy in Florida is a success, despite reports of increasing supplies of illegal drugs.

Reagan said black voters in particular have been "the victims of a lot of demagoguery that has portrayed us as guilty of things we haven't done."

He said that by lowering inflation and cutting taxes across the board, his administration has helped everyone, especially the elderly and the poor. He also pulled out figures on unemployment that indicated a decline since the peak of the recession about midway through his term. Florida's rate, he said, had dropped from a peak of 10.4 percent to about 6 percent now.

Some of the president's advisers have said the record-high federal deficit may undermine this kind of economic progress. Reagan had called in his State-of-the-Union message in January for a bipartisan arrangement with Democratic leaders to find ways to cut it. Democrats however, said Reagan needed to commit himself first to cutting the military budget.

Reagan said Monday he had lost faith in the bipartisan approach, "because the other side seemed more interested in politics, I think." He met Monday with Republican congressional leaders to "go forward with our own proposal."

Some economists have said cuts in programs such as Social Security and Medicare may be necessary to significantly reduce the deficit. Reagan said Monday, "There are things that need to be done, but we must never pull the rug out from those people presently receiving their payments from the program

and [are] dependent on it. You can't suddenly undermine them or break your contract with them.

"Reforms, if there are such to be made, must be made looking toward the future, to people not yet dependent and who would have plenty of time and warning with regard to such changes," he said.

Reagan said that since the start of his administration an average married couple on Social Security has had a \$180-a-month increase. "So, I don't think that we were double-crossing anyone," he said.

Reagan also repeated his support for his military budget and for money for chemical weapons. The

idea is to ban chemical weapons, Reagan said, but the nation must build them to force the Soviet Union into a verifiable treaty. "How much better able we'll be if they know that if they don't do that, they will have to face the fact that we have chemical weapons that we can use against them," Reagan said.

When asked about evidence of a growing supply of illegal drugs, Reagan said the enforcement strategy modeled in South Florida has been a success.

He said the drug traffic had been so reduced in Florida that smugglers began seeking new entry points around the country.

Reagan defends his economic record

By Greg McDonald
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — On the eve of Democratic primaries in three Southern states, President Reagan steadfastly defended his economic programs Monday, claiming that they have benefited "everyone" and that the nation's poor blacks "have been the victims of a lot of demagoguery that has portrayed us as being guilty of things that we haven't done."

The president, in an interview with reporters representing seven Southern newspapers, expressed outrage at charges leveled by Democratic presidential candidates and party leaders that his policies have cheated or hurt people dependent on welfare.

"That is a falsehood," Reagan declared. "Even before the campaign started, this has been pretty much the theme of the other side. I've been held up as eating my young, that we have been hostile to the poor, that our tax program benefits the rich. How can a tax program that cuts taxes evenly ... how can that be beneficial to the rich and detrimental to the poor?"

"I just hope that in the campaign we can reveal to them that they have not been given the truth," the president added.

The interview with reporters from seven states, six of which are holding primaries or caucuses on Tuesday or Saturday, was scheduled to offset criticism directed at the presi-

dent's policies and to steal "some of the spotlight that's being focused on the Democrats right now during their nomination fight," said one Reagan campaign official.

The president lost no time during the interview, which took place in the Oval Office, in launching an attack on the Democrats. He again blamed the problem of the deficit on the Democratic leadership in Congress.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1984



MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI

FROM: MARY JO JACOBI

LD

SUBJECT: PRESS COVERAGE ON THE STATE OF SMALL BUSINESS REPORT

I have watched with interest how the networks have handled the signing ceremony for the Report to the Congress on the State of Small Business. Of particular interest was the coverage on NBC.

Chris Wallace interviewed a small businessman, Bill Norris, who was represented as a disenchanted Reagan supporter. NBC showed a photograph of a meeting in the Cabinet Room with Mr. Norris seated next to the President. NBC neglected to point out that Mr. Norris is active in the Democratic National Committee's small business program and has been for a number of months.

The small business community, too, is concerned. I received a call from the Small Business Legislative Council which has initiated contacts with NBC and ABC to respond to the unfavorable light in which the President's relationship with small business was cast. Members of the SBLC are planning to seek press opportunities to "get the true story out."

As a follow-up to the President's signing ceremony, yesterday SBA Administrator Jim Sanders, Chief Counsel for Advocacy Frank Swain and I appeared on a 10-city remote teleconference carried by BizNet to answer business press questions on the Report. The session went very well.

Return 1 copy
Copies to Fuller,
Donatelli

2/10/84

MR. JAN C. SCRUGGS
7070 WINTER ROSE PATH
COLUMBIA, MARYLAND 21045

no action
necessary

sg

Jim Ciconi
The White House
Wash D.C.

Dear Jim,

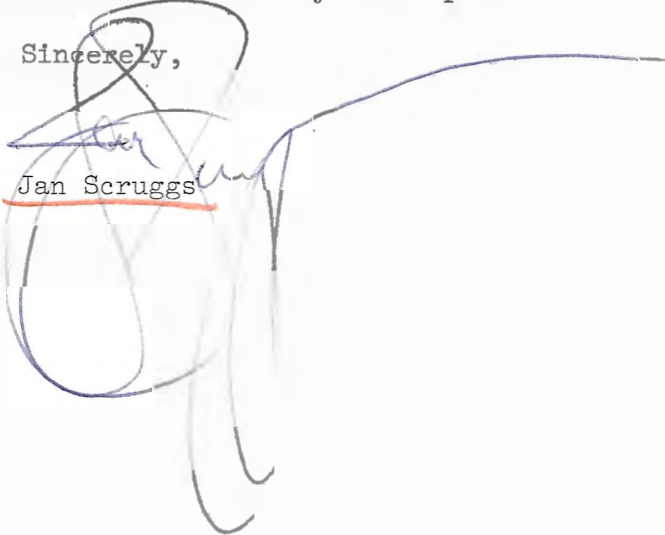
Attached here is our response to the most unfortunate
series by former WDM reporter Carlton Sherwood. I hope
that you have an opportunity to read it. The press can
be unfair some times.

I hope that we can get together soon. I would like to
tell you about my book.

Thanks for all of your help.

Sincerely,

Jan Scruggs





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MEMORANDUM

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*Served in Vietnam

Affiliations noted for
purposes of identification only.

TO: Veterans Organizations
FROM: Jan C. Scruggs
President
SUBJECT: Update on Vietnam Veterans Memorial
DATE: February 3, 1984

Progress on the Statue

Sculptor Frederick Hart is continuing work on the statue of the three servicemen. Unfortunately, sculpting the clay figures is taking him longer than he originally expected.

There is no longer any possibility of the statue being completed in time for Memorial Day, 1984. Please take appropriate action to notify your members that the statue will not be completed and in place for Memorial Day.

It is still not quite possible to pinpoint the completion date, since it depends upon the sculptor, a series of Federal approvals, and the speed of the foundry in bronze casting the statue. However, we feel confident that the statue will be in place for Veteran's Day, 1984.

Lighting at the Memorial

Due to the heavy night visitation at the memorial, VVMF requested approval for a system of recessed lights to illuminate the walls. Approval was granted this past fall by the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capitol Planning Commission.

Electrical conduits, wiring and seventy concrete pads were installed recently. The specially designed fixtures are being fabricated now in Garland, Texas. Installation is planned for April, 1984. The lighting will be a beautiful addition.

Lighting for the flagpole has been installed and we are now proceeding with lighting for the sculpture area.

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Widening the Walkways

Due to a constant stream of heavy visitor traffic, VVMF applied for and received approval to widen the walkways in front of the walls. We also received approval to install connecting pathways leading from Constitution Avenue and from the "entrance plaza."

About two thirds of the "granite sets" material for these projects have been delivered and are on site. Construction has been at a near standstill due to the winter weather. We are hopeful that we can start again in February to install the granite sets and the granite pavers around the statue area.

Name Locators and Flag Pole Base

We are currently working with our architects to develop the final design for the bronze casted name locators. The locators will also be lighted for night time use.

We are also working to complete the final design for the flag pole base. Installation of the elements is planned for April 1984.

General Accounting Office Audit

Due to an unfair and biased series of reports aired in November by WDVM-TV, the VVMF requested an audit by the GAO. I am pleased to report that the audit is now underway and we have given the GAO auditors access to all of our records, as we did in 1982 when we were audited by the Internal Revenue Service.

We have given WDVM a detailed rebuttal outlining the many inaccuracies in the series, such as Mr. Sherwood's statement that the memorial has been completed and "paid for" and the mistaken assertion that VVMF is not in compliance with Better Business Standards.

Due to the series we offered WDVM an opportunity to do a full audit of the VVMF. They agreed to do so, but later reneged on the agreement. On December 7, 1983 WDVM accepted the resignation of reporter Carlton Sherwood due to a "disagreement with management" concerning his series on VVMF.

The series harmed VVMF, the Memorial and did little to help the common concerns of veterans as a whole. Featured prominently in the series were VVMF's continuing opponents of the design making vague allegations of financial improprieties. Ironically, meeting the demands of these opponents have been costly, both in time and money. Why they desire to continue their efforts is indeed both puzzling and a tragedy for all veterans.

Long Term Issues

If all goes as scheduled, VVMF will complete the on-site construction by late spring or early summer 1984. After installation of the statue this November, the Park Service will officially accept the Memorial and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc. will go out of business. After this long and trying project, it is a day that I greatly look forward to seeing.

VVMF is now working to resolve the long term concerns for the memorial. A major issue is how a broken panel would be replaced on the wall if one or more were damaged in the future. If the wall needed panels replaced twenty years from now, this could only be accomplished if the stencils, granite, trained personnel and equipment were available. VVMF is working with our architects and construction management firm on a long term plan to assure effective and prompt repairs to the memorial wall or to the statue.

Conclusion

The Memorial has been a far greater success than ever imagined. It is visited often by more than ten thousand people per day who reverently pay tribute to the veterans of the Vietnam war and its casualties. Its existence has helped both the nation and the war's veterans to recover from the wounds of the Vietnam Conflict.

It exists because of the joint effort of veterans groups who helped provide the funding and generate the needed support for the memorial. By working together we have accomplished something truly significant and positive that will forever be in the Nation's Capitol to remind our fellow citizens of the sacrifices made in Vietnam.

Thank you for your support.

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1984 MAR 27 PM 12:19
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



TO: Richard

FROM: MIKE BAROODY
Director of Public Affairs

Attached is the material for the
New York interview tomorrow.

Comments

I've already sent it to OMB for
clearance.

Mike

subj Interview with the New York
Times Mar 28 84

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES

DATE: Wednesday, March 28, 1984

PLACE: Oval Office

TIME: 11:30 am (30 minutes)

FROM: Larry Speakes

I. PURPOSE

To give the President an opportunity to contribute to the public's understanding of both the Administration's record and the issues, at the beginning of the election year.

II. BACKGROUND

The New York primary is Tuesday, April 3, and this will provide the chance for the President to make his views known on issues of concern prior to the primary. The Times has also had interviews with Democratic Presidential candidates.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Steven Weisman

Frank Clines

New York Times White House correspondent

New York Times White House correspondent

IV. PRESS PLAN

The interview will be for publication in the Times on Thursday, March 29. The New York Times will bring their own photographer for pictures at the beginning of the interview.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

After introductions and pleasantries, the interview will proceed.

Attachments:

Talking points

Transcripts of New York Times interviews with Mondale and Hart

March 27, 1984

FOREIGN POLICY TALKING POINTS FOR
NEW YORK TIMES INTERVIEW MARCH 28

General points:

- o America is stronger, safer than four years ago.
- o Where we were:
 - Defense spending in real terms was permitted to erode over 20% in the 1970's.
 - Weapons like the B-1 bomber were unilaterally cancelled.
 - Military morale and readiness were way down.
 - Our intelligence capability was gutted.
 - Allies had lost confidence in us, and we had lost confidence in ourselves.
 - The Soviet Union was engaging in adventures with no concern about a Western response.
- o That's all changed:
 - First, our economy -- the basis for our international standing -- was turned around.
 - Military strength is steadily being rebuilt.
 - Strategic programs -- B-1; MX; TRIDENT -- are all on track.
 - Morale, readiness, and intelligence capability have been restored.
 - Allies are firmly with us, particularly in responding to the Soviet SS-20 deployments.
- o We are now able to deal from strength, rather than weakness, and the world is a more stable place because of that -- democracies don't get into wars by being too strong.

What are our national security policies for the future?

- o Much has been accomplished to strengthen the basis for our foreign policy, but much remains to be done.
- o We must keep America's economy strong, leading in a world economic recovery -- look forward to China trip and to economic summit to further our international economic progress.
- o We must keep America's defense rebuilding effort underway -- have cut our own defense budget as part of deficit package, but must not cut further -- efforts to reduce our MX program are particularly disturbing and send the wrong signal.
- o We must reduce the risk of nuclear war and the levels of nuclear armaments.
- o We must strengthen our efforts to maintain stability in key regions of the world -- Central America has pressing needs right now, but we need long-term, dependable programs for that region and for others -- Middle East and Africa, for example.
- o We must strengthen the basis for the expansion of democracy and democratic values in the world.
- o Key to our foreign policy objectives for the next four years is a restoration of the bipartisan consensus in support of U. S. foreign policy.
- o We've done well in some cases -- Scowcroft Commission and other arms control efforts -- Kissinger Commission. Must examine the whole issue of bipartisanship in foreign policy and find ways to keep national security above partisan politics in a way that works. Hope to have more thoughts to put forward on that in the future.

What steps will you take to reduce tensions with the Soviet Union, and what concrete proposals will you have for reacting on arms control agreement with them?

- o Potential for meaningful arms control has to be based on confidence and trust, and where that confidence and trust is called into question, it must be restored, or we risk undermining the process of arms control itself.

- o RR committed to preserving and building upon the arms control process. To make better agreements in the future, we have to learn from the past.
- o U. S. is ready to engage in talks with flexibility and openness. If the Soviets are interested in any respect, they will find us willing to meet them half way.
- o We have said that an agreement based on equality at any level, preferably zero, but anywhere between zero and our ultimate deployment, is fine.
- o In both START and INF, RR already exhibited considerable flexibility. Made a serious effort to meet and incorporate particular areas of Soviet concern into the negotiations, in the hope of reaching a fair and balanced agreement.
- o The need to preserve and strengthen the peace is the heart of U. S. deterrent policy. The U. S. will defend its interests, but it does not seek to threaten the Soviet Union.
- o Although profound and obvious differences exist in values and political systems, we do have common interests such as the avoidance of war and the reduction of existing levels of arms and of tensions generally. Next steps are up to them, and there is promise that they will ultimately respond.

March 27, 1984

NOTES FOR WEDNESDAY INTERVIEW WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES

General points

- o As this year 1984 began:
 - The recovery, already a year old, was continuing on a strong, solid path;
 - Unemployment was falling fast with people finding jobs at fastest rate in 30 years;
 - Inflation had been under 4% for two years running;
 - Gasoline prices were lower than on inauguration day and gas lines an unhappy memory, not reality;
 - Tax rates were 25% lower than in 1980 -- for everyone.
- o Many -- even those who wished RR well in 1980 -- were sceptics back then. Didn't think progress like this could be made that fast; said it couldn't be done.
- o Couldn't turn around the mess we inherited overnight. The country's been through a lot because that mess was so bad -- but we have turned things around.
- o Really have made a new beginning. Choice for the country to make this year is whether to build on the progress we've made in restoring opportunities for people, or trade it in for a re-run of old policies that failed us in the past.

DEFICITS

- o RR determined to get them down and hopeful we can get support from Dems in Congress for plan to cut the deficit by \$150 billion in next three years.
- o If not cooperation, then confrontation. RR prepared to use veto if necessary, to keep spending under control.
- o But -- \$150 billion plan is prudent, realistic and balanced. Approximately one-third from higher revenues, one-third from lower defense spending, and a third from lower non-defense spending.
- o Cuts red-ink without higher tax rates, and without cuts in any one program that are unacceptably large.
- o RR was always very serious about deficit cuts and about the SOTU request for bipartisan cooperation.
- o Democrats were sceptical then; some still are and are proposing politically inspired plans they say would cut as much or more from deficit.
- o RR not playing a game of "can-you-top-this?" Confident that when Democrats realize this, we can find basis for agreement in \$150 billion compromise worked out two weeks ago.

MEESE CONFIRMATION

- o RR made views known in statement of last week.
- o Ed Meese a trusted adviser for 17 years; is fully qualified to be excellent Attorney General.
- o RR wants and expects him to be confirmed and, while we all await outcome of pending inquiries, not appropriate to go beyond this.

Dems trying to make issue of widespread wrongdoing by Administration officials. Comment?

- o RR's proud of the overall quality of people who staff this Administration. Many who serve in government (now and in past Administrations) do so at considerable personal sacrifice.
- o Unfortunate but true that every Administration has a few who overstep the bounds of propriety, or abuse public trust.
- o A few cases involved serious, proven abuses. Those people are no longer with us.
- o Dems say "questions have been raised" about appointees but they don't point out that in many cases the questions have been answered -- and the people involved given clean bill -- after thorough investigation.
- o Basic point is obvious: It's an election year. Dems are having trouble finding issues to run on.
- o They thought they could run on the economy, but recovery got in their way. They're toying with the deficit as an issue, but their own lack of credibility on fiscal restraint keeps getting in the way.
- o So this month, this is the issue.

CAMPAIGN '84

- o RR to campaign on two basic points:
 - record of what's been accomplished -- of which we Republicans are proud;
 - what's left to be done and our plans for doing it.

- o Makes little difference, in that kind of campaign, whom Democrats choose as their nominee.

- o Any of the present possibilities is quick to criticize RR's record; suppose that's politics.

- o OK with RR if Dems keep making speeches on what they're against.

- o RR's campaign will tell people what he's for.

- o Voter will decide whether to go with Democratic "aginnners" or go forward with RR's more positive agenda.

Surprised by Hart rise, Jackson strength?

- o Don't want to comment on "horse-race" aspect of their contest for the nomination.

- o Seems to RR, though, that each of remaining Dems is offering narrow appeal and getting support from only certain narrow segments of the population.

Doesn't Jackson's success getting blacks to polls hurt RR?

- o For too long, declining voter participation put cloud over U.S. political process.

- o Strong evidence that younger voters getting ready to register and vote -- whether black or white.

- o That's good for the country and the political process.

- o We are going to point out how growing economy, increasing job opportunities, lower inflation helps all and especially helps minorities.

- o One goal of campaign is to add to base of black voters that's -- frankly -- been too small in recent years.

FAIRNESS

- o Expect we'll hear the unfairness charge from now to November.
- o But it doesn't stand up.
- o Take one example: A working class family making \$8000 at start of 1979 and still making \$8000 at end of 1980.
- o That family started out about \$500 above the official poverty line and -- because of an unfair economic mess that included 25% inflation -- in just two years it ended up almost \$500 below the poverty line.
- o Inflation forced the family into poverty -- nothing fair about that.

ECONOMY -- OUTLOOK FOR FUTURE

- o Recovery is strong, sustainable.
- o Biggest threat to continued expansion would come from return to tax and spend failed fiscal policy of past. Would refuel inflation, confirm fears still out there that Congress not serious about inflation.

Does rise in prime signal slowdown?

- o Not at all. Prime went up because of this uncertainty about inflation and because other rates had been edging up in recent weeks.
- o Rates will fall in future provided:
 - Fed continues to provide sufficient money growth for recovery without inflation (Fed agrees with us on GNP growth expected for this year -- just want them to supply enough money to meet expectation;
 - also need Dems top agree work seriously with us on deficit reduction.
- o No one expects GNP growth to remain at 1st quarter "flash" level of 7.2%. But indicators for first two months of 1984 give reason to believe recovery will stay strong -- in expected 4.5% range -- for the rest of the year.
 - Housing starts are way up. Averaged a healthy 1.7 million last year; a booming 2.2 million last month.
 - Auto sales also up; domestic production running over 8 million annual rate;
 - Unemployment drop very encouraging. Growth putting people back to work as we said it would;
 - Factories now running over 80% of capacity;
 - Business investment expected to rise 12% this year, in real terms.

An Interview With Former Vice-President Walter F. Mondale

Following are excerpts from the transcript of an interview with Walter F. Mondale by Bernard Weinraub:

Q. What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States over the next decade? What new ideas do you have for dealing with it?

A. The overarching problem is one of the survival of humanity in the face of the growing nuclear menace. If those bombs go off, nothing else would matter. I was the first to propose, to support a negotiated mutual verifiable freeze, and I have proposed institutionalized summit conferences to try to get some agreement with the Soviet Union that will reduce the risk of many things — major power confrontations, but also proliferation — and in other ways try to reduce tensions.

Now that can be tough. They're a police state — I understand all of that. But there hasn't been a serious discussion with the Soviet Union, with heads of state, between the Soviet Union and the United States, really since '74. And that's very, very dangerous.

Obviously the domestic need is to shape an economic policy that assures long-term healthy economic growth and a reassertion of American competitiveness in international competition.

The Federal Deficit

Q. How serious is the Federal deficit, and specifically what would you do to reduce it?

A. I see Reaganomics, the deliberate creation of that deficit — it is the worst deliberate economic policy mistake in modern history. It has given us deficits at \$200 billion a year and growing as far as the eye can see, even if there's reasonable economic growth.

It has saddled our children with a trillion-dollar debt, which will continue to grow. And it has driven America in full retreat from international competition, and stunted both savings and investment in new plant and equipment. In short, a disaster.

The deficit must come down. I would do it by several steps. One, scaling the defense budget to reality. Two, managing the farm program sensibly to bring down farm program costs. And I can do that and improve farm income. Three, a national health care cost containment measure to prevent the hemorrhaging of health costs. Four, deletion of turkeys like the Clinch River breeder reactor. And fifth would be the reduction of interest charges by raising revenue and getting some growth. There's a dirty little secret in this Administration, and that is they're big spenders. People aren't aware of that, but the actual spending is soaring. It's going for military, the costs of unemployment and rising interest rates. They brag about all the domestic cuts, but already the increase in the cost of amortizing their debt exceeds all the domestic cuts they've made. So you've got to cut the deficit down in order to cut the amortization costs down.

Given a more responsible fiscal policy, I've called for an accord with the Federal Reserve Board that would in effect produce a monetary dividend. And that would help sustain growth, restore exports and would bring down the cyclical side of the budget.

Q. What changes would you make in the growing Federal entitlements like Medicare, Social Security, Federal pensions?

A. Social Security's in good shape and I wouldn't touch it. I want that anxiety lifted off the backs of the senior citizens. The predictions now are that the Social Security trust fund's going to be in surplus during the next decade. There are some questions about demographics in, say, about 2015. Those can be handled when the figures are clearer. But I wouldn't touch Social Security at all.

On health care, which is a coming crisis, I'm for national health care cost containment. And for the introduction of more competition in health care delivery like H.M.O.'s. These programs are being ripped off. Last year Medicare went up by 19 percent, at least three times inflation. And we need a major program to restrain those costs. That's the most important thing right now. But I'm not going to take it out of the quality care for the old folks.

Q. In terms of the deficit, would you raise taxes, cut domestic spending, or what? And in each case, by how much? What specifically would you cut?

A. I have said several things in the general outline. First, scaling the defense budget to reality. I want a strong defense, but it has to be a sensible defense. And you have to make choices. For example, I would cancel the B-1, but I would move ahead more rapidly with Stealth. I would cancel the MX, but I'd move ahead more rapidly with Midgetman. We need a stronger Navy, but it can't be one that tries to do the impossible. And to seek to project surface naval forces against the land mass of the Soviet Union is a nonstarter. And I would scale the Navy in a way that we didn't seek to achieve that. There's a substantial saving.

Next, I would demand a much higher proportion of procurement be out on bids. There, the Secretary of Defense estimates between 10 and 30 percent of the procurement is waste. And I would put a very strong program in there to reintroduce competition, strengthen the Joint Chiefs and so on. And so the out-year savings there are very substantial.

Let's take the agriculture budget. That has never exceeded \$5 billion a year. And properly administered, keeping supply in relationship to demand, you can both improve farm incomes and keep program costs reasonable. This year, because they let the program go haywire through colossal mismanagement in '81 and '82, they've managed to spend \$31 billion and the farmers are worse off. I can bring those costs down dramatically and improve farm income.

I believe we need to restore revenues, but I want to do it on a progressive basis, and I want to do it with an attack on not only personal preferences but corporate preferences, and in some cases permit people and corporations to have negative taxes. And I will be, during the campaign, spelling out some of my proposals there. That will save us money in terms of interest charges.

Defense Budget Growth

Q. On the defense budget, how much growth after inflation should there be in the budget generally?

A. Well, I'd say that the House figure's about right, but I also point out that that is an illusory pursuit. In other words, if you buy every weapons system that anybody thinks of, I don't care what your budgetary cell-

ings are, you'll breach them. And you have to pay for it. I think far more important right now is weapon choices. And that's why I emphasize my choices.

Q. You don't know overall how much it would cut the budget?

A. Well, roughly the House figure.

Q. That figure being?

A. Well, people argue between 4 and 5 percent now. And I would move, incidentally, very rapidly to try to negotiate with the Soviet Union to slow down that rate substantially.

Relations With Soviet Union

Q. What steps would you take to reduce tensions with the Soviet Union, and what concrete proposals do you have for reaching an arms control agreement with them?

A. First of all, on arms control, I would try to negotiate a mutual, verifiable freeze. I would resubmit SALT II. I would resume negotiations on a comprehensive test ban. I would reassert controls over the distribution of weapons-grade material. I would leave the ABM treaty intact. I would start negotiating an antisatellite-space-war treaty. And I'm not confident myself I know yet how to do it, but I would try to negotiate some kind of chemical and biological warfare agreement, which is verifiable, which is a very tough area. I'm not claiming to know how to do it yet, but I would do that.

The most important thing I would do is to try to institutionalize U.S.-Soviet summits.

Q. Year by year?

A. Annual, annual summits. Just like we do with the industrial nations: once a year sit down and grind away. I know how difficult it is: I know the differences. I'm tough enough; I've had relations with the Soviets before. The Soviet is a system that's a police state, power flows from on top, and the tragedy is there hasn't been, as you know — Carter met with Brezhnev in '79, but Brezhnev wasn't capable of conducting business at that time.

Q. You mean he was ill?

A. I believe, I wouldn't say it publicly. I think he was senescent. He wasn't able to handle details, anything. If it ever got in details, he had to read it.

Q. On the Middle East, what would you do differently than President Reagan to seek an overall settlement there?

A. Several things. I've said this now

for two and a half years, based on their policy with at least three illusions. The first illusion was that if you just beat up on Israel and make concessions for her, you will lure Hussein into negotiations. I never thought that was true and it proved not to be true. I don't think that's the way it's done and it shakes confidence in Israel. Secondly, that the Saudis will become a strong, assertive force, even risking Palestinian extremism in the Middle East, and I don't believe that has ever been true.

Q. Do you mean the Saudis will never become an assertive force?

A. An assertive, strong force for moderation in the Middle East even if it exposes them to extremism, Shites, Palestinians, so on? I don't believe it's true. And the third is that Lebanon would moderate if you just beat up on Israel. The fact of it is that — has Syria told anybody they're getting out of Lebanon? And you can add another one, that so-called strategic consensus that they've tried for a year, that I think anybody who'd been around there believes it was a non-starter. So for nearly two years, they pursued policies based on illusions that have now disappeared on them.

In Lebanon for a year after the collapse of the Syrians, the P.L.O. and the Soviets, there was a chance that we could have used that period to try to build a central Lebanese Government. I wouldn't say country-wide, but at least there was a period there. And instead of using that year to press Gemayel and to work with him — and incidentally, the Israelis were at that time occupying the Shuf — we used that again to crowd Israel out of Lebanon and the heat was entirely off Syria and now we've got Syrians back in town and we're pleading with the Israelis not to leave. I think, in all respects, for at least three years this Administration was afraid to be seen in public with the Israelis, and I think that's a mistake. I think we need a public, strategic, cooperative relationship with Israel. They may be moving that way, finally. And I think steadfastness will be respected from the Middle East.

Marines in Beirut

Q. Specifically, what's your position on the deployment of the Marines in Beirut?

A. I initially supported it. I now think that several steps have to be taken. First of all, we must move as quickly as possible to redeploy American troops and replace them with United Nations forces, other Third World forces and certainly with Lebanese Army forces. After all, it's their country. And I've said for months that those Lebanese forces should be providing perimeter defenses and the rest for us. Our kids are in an impossible position. I would not pull them out of Lebanon right now. I might move them over near Tyre or some place where it's far more protectable, and maybe move a substantial percentage off on aircraft carriers and so on. But I would use this interval to press Gemayel and help him expand that Government to see if there is a possible political resolution that would bring in pro-Lebanese elements not now in that Government. Gemayel, in my opinion, has not done a good job on that and up

until recently has not been pressed at all. He should be useful.

I would serve notice on Gemayel that there is not an open end on American presence. And as a matter of fact, it's clear that whatever we think of ourselves, we draw fire because we're considered partisan. And so the quicker we can be substituted with Third World, other neutral-type forces, the better. I'd start raising more public hell with Syria. It's clear the Syrians are behind a lot of this terrorism.

Q. What would you do about Syria?

A. Well, I'd do two or three things. First of all, I would publicly keep making the points about what they've been doing. I would table a U.N. Security Council resolution and ask them to get out of there, it's not their country. I would go to the members of the Arab League and say, Why don't you respond to Gemayel's requests that you withdraw the Arab League invitation? And I'd be looking around for other ways to put the heat on them.

Central America Policy

Q. What do you think of the Reagan policy in Central America, and what would you do differently?

A. They Americanized, widened and militarized our policy in Central America. And I would reverse the emphasis in every respect. First of all, it has to be regional and I would work with our friends, the Mexicans, the Costa Ricans, the Panamanians, the Colombians, the Venezuelans, the Contadora group. We need friends in that region for many reasons, including historical reasons. Secondly, I would restore a much stronger sense of human rights. When they went in there they dumped our whole human rights emphasis. They started putting the money through the military side that was responsible for these terrorist squads in El Salvador and everything's gotten worse. They were supporting the Government that was doing this with no strings attached, and now the President has vetoed the human rights amendment, which I think is an outrage. This is another day, but what in the hell was in their mind when they granted that military approval to the outgoing military junta in Argentina, I'll never know. That's another point I'd like to get into. There's some big fish frying in Peru and Chile and Argentina that we should be working on. We're totally concentrated on Central America, but there's a lot more work down there.

Secondly, I would terminate the covert action in Nicaragua. It's counterproductive. I would interdict any efforts on their part to intervene in El Salvador, but above all, I'd push diplomatically for a non-intervention agreement throughout the isthmus. Now the Sandinistas have been making noises. We don't know what they mean, but it ought to be tested. Instead of that, we're rejecting all this stuff out of hand. Let's get some talks going. I'd like to support the Contadora group to see what they could determine by way of diplomatic resolution. And obviously in El Salvador, we simply must press for law, reform, for the end of these assassination squads — we should have done that from the start — land reform.

What an obscenity, it was nearly five years ago that our nuns and labor leaders were killed down there and they still insult our intelligence by saying that some day they'll be brought to justice. This is humiliating and counterproductive and we've got to get much tougher on human rights down there.

Q. Are you saying the Administration has not been tough on human rights down there?

A. Absolutely they have not been. As a matter of fact, for two years the implication was that we were wrong in pressing human rights. When they took over, we had a policy in El Salvador of working with the moderates, the church, Social Christian Democrats and the aid that we provided was principally economic; there was some military, but all of it went through civilians, because we were using our money to strengthen moderation. When they took over, they dumped all that and put the money through the military again, and many of those same people make up these death squads that are running around killing people, and the signal was out that the heat was off. And now the President vetoes this amendment requiring human rights reports, and everybody that I've read, experts, says this is now a signal to d'Aubuisson and the crew to get going again. And mind you, apparently this Kissinger commission went down there and met with d'Aubuisson and were horrified by what d'Aubuisson told them. Because he in effect apparently said that yes, he was doing it and it was important for the civilized world to continue it.

Nicaragua and the Sandinistas

Q. In terms of Nicaragua, would you accept the presence of the Sandinistas?

A. Here's a case where the Reagan definition almost self-fulfills itself. Three years ago there was a hope, albeit a minor hope, that moderation could occur in Nicaragua. There were some business elements, the editor of La Prensa, and others. By trying to emphasize moderation and de-emphasizing outside threats there was a chance — I won't overargue it — but there was a chance that moderating influences would gain strength in Nicaragua. Instead of that, by making an all-out covert action that threatened the survival of the Sandinistas, they provided the perfect excuse for the extremists to get rid of the moderates, to silence dissent, to excuse all of the substantial failings of that Government by the best of all defenses, and that is, we're under threat by outside forces. Now we've got a lot of wreckage to undo. I would not tolerate Nicaraguan infiltration, intervention in any country. But I think that if we can just get an agreement for nonintervention, we ought to leave that Government alone and then press it for moderation. There's no question that right now it's an extremist government. But we ought to press it to moderate it. As I understand the Rio treaty, it is not for us to pick and choose and judge governments in another country. And if we take that position that we have the right to go in and sweep governments aside, that fundamentally violates

that rule, and I'm convinced that it will be very counterproductive.

Q. In '74 you took yourself out of the race. Your biographer said you didn't have the lust for power. And Hubert Humphrey wondered whether you had at that point "fire in the belly." Why the change?

A. First of all, in 1974, as I said then, I didn't think I was ready. I had done a lot of work seeking the Presidency and I came to the conclusion I wasn't ready. Not either in terms of what I wanted to do with the country, or ready in terms of what I had to do to seek the Presidency. I just wasn't ready. And I did the right thing in getting out, and I feel good about it.

Now, I am ready. I'm ready because I've had a lot more experience, both in the Senate and the White House, and I know it. And I've conducted two and a half years of very intensive campaigning, and I think it's working very well.

'Cautious Attitude' on Grenada

Q. You have been criticized within the party and even among some of your supporters for generally taking a very good, cautious attitude toward the Administration's Lebanese policies and Grenada.

A. The fact of it is, on Lebanon I have been very critical from the start of the policies. They have made a hash of Lebanon and I've said so from the start. So there's nothing to that at all. The Grenada situation was first complicated by the censorship that surrounded it. It is now clear that many of the claims that the Administration made for justifying their intervention were speculative and in many cases not bound in truth.

Q. Speculative?

A. Well sure, they said that the Cubans and the Soviets were about to set up a base. Or that they were asked in by the neighbors. All of those things and other facts, alleged facts, at the time — you know, we got there just in time, I think was the argument. I think it's very dubious. The thing that, however, bothers me is that if I as President of the United States came to the conclusion that Americans were in trouble and that force were necessary to protect them, which just might have been the case in Grenada, I may have had to move in on a rescue effort and so I have restrained myself from drawing a conclusion that's different from that realization. Now the evidence there is problematical. It goes both directions. But when people like Mike Barnes, whom I greatly respect and I talked with him when he got back, have reached the conclusion that Americans were in fact in danger, that concerns me.

Emulating Earlier Presidents

Q. Was there or is there a President that you would most like to emulate, that has been most effective?

A. There are bits and pieces of Presidencies that I'd like to stitch together. Johnson's feel for the poor and for civil rights was deep and superb. Kennedy's sense of history and capacity to inspire Americans was thrilling. Truman's grip and spunk and feel for working Americans. Carter had a sincerity of faith and values that I found very impressive. Roosevelt had a boldness that we need again. They all had weaknesses as all human beings, but those are elements of those Presidencies that I found.

Q. How do you deal with the criticism that some of the policies and even some of the personnel that are working actively for you are a re-tread of the policies that were repudiated in 1980?

A. First of all, I've fought my whole life for a nation where discrimination is gone, an American life where people can aspire to the same goals regardless of who they are. And I find the fact that a black is now seeking the Presidency to be a sign of a more mature nation. Reverend Jackson could in fact prove to be a contributor to the Democratic victory. If, as may well be the case, more people are encouraged and in fact do join the public process, registering to vote, that could very well help me in my election. I strongly believe that, I'm almost certain I'm going to be nominated. I've got to win it on my own but I feel very good about that now. And I'm certain that we're going to have a unified convention. Just how it's going to be done right now isn't clear, but here's where a lot of people lack historical insight. This is one of the sweetest primaries there's ever been. It's inevitable that candidates seeking the same office are going to be negative from time to time, but as I talk to Democrats and even to the other candidates, there's a common realization that there's nothing like the war in the 60's or the bitterness between Kennedy and Carter at all.

Where They Stand/*Walter F. Mondale*

Mondale Leads in Party, But Needs to Win Voters

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 25 — Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale leads the Democratic Presidential race in national polls, money raised and straw votes won. But as the election year nears and the campaign accelerates, Mr. Mondale and his staff remain nervous about the question that has dominated the campaign.

Can the Minnesota Democrat stir the voting population as skillfully as he has won the endorsement of the party establishment?

"It's going very well, it's scary it's going so well," said one of Mr. Mondale's aides.

Other Democrats acknowledge that Mr. Mondale's successful efforts to gain the support of a wide array of special interest groups such as organized labor and feminists may lead to his triumph at the Democratic convention in July. But in "making promises to everyone," said one Democrat, Mr. Mondale leaves himself vulnerable to the Republicans in the general election.

Beyond this, even some Democrats supporting Mr. Mondale voice concerns that, despite his elaborate organization, the candidate's stolid, low-key personality and his cautious, pragmatic approach have left many Democrats uninspired.

In the meantime, Mr. Mondale's rivals concede that his ambitious campaign and almost flawless performance have been impressive.

Mr. Mondale is descended from Scandinavian farmers. His father, Theodore, was a relatively poor Methodist minister and farmer in Minnesota; Walter Mondale, in his stump speeches now, repeatedly calls himself "a minister's kid."

"He believed Christ taught a sense of social mission and this was heavily given to me throughout my childhood," Mr. Mondale said several months ago.

Mr. Mondale's ideological roots can be traced directly to the Middle Western New Deal liberalism of the 1930's and 1940's and the popular currents that helped shape the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. Mr. Mondale helped Hubert H. Humphrey's 1947 campaign for Mayor of Minneapolis, and the following year, while at Macalaster College in St. Paul, he was an organizer for Mr. Humphrey, who became his mentor.

After serving in the Korean War as an Army corporal, Mr. Mondale graduated from the University of Minnesota Law School and then practiced law for four years before Gov. Orville L. Freeman appointed him state Attorney General in 1960. Four years later, Mr. Mondale was appointed to the United States Senate to replace Mr. Humphrey, who was elected Vice President.

Mr. Mondale's Senate career was marked by a careful and pragmatic liberalism. His friends said he was a "political realist," but he has been criticized for the fact that no major legislation bore his name.

'Fire in the Belly'

In 1973, Mr. Humphrey said in a newspaper interview that he wondered whether Mr. Mondale had "the fire in the belly" it takes to become President, and when he dropped out of the Presidential race in 1978, Mr. Mondale himself said he did not "have the overwhelming desire to be President which is essential for the kind of campaign that is required."

At this point Mr. Mondale and his advisers are buoyed by their campaign over the last year.

Their strategy, according to one aide, was to "set a fast and vicious pace, declaring our financial goals and meeting them, declaring our endorsement goals and meeting them, creating the image of Mondale as a winner and exhausting the resources of most of the others."

Mr. Mondale has raised \$9 million in 1983, compared with John Glenn's \$6 million, is consistently first in national opinion polls among Democrats and has gained the endorsements of many political leaders and groups. He has 175 staff workers in 21 states. He has won straw votes in Massachusetts, Maine and Iowa.

"We have, essentially, conquered the 'fire in the belly' issue," said one of Mr. Mondale's closest advisers. "No one doubts at all that Mondale wants to be President."

An Interview With Senator Gary Hart, Democrat of Colorado

Following are key questions and answers from an interview with Senator Gary Hart by Frank Lynn:

Q. What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States over the next decade and what new ideas do you have for dealing with it?

HART. Three most important, I would say. I'd like to restructure this country's economy to accommodate the twin revolutions — the internationalization of our economy and the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy; second, to achieve genuine equality by removing the remaining barriers to minorities and for women. And third is to reverse the nuclear arms race. I'll touch on other issues that I think are important, like serious environmental problems and education problems. But I would list those three.

In restructuring the economy, I believe we have to direct private investment into modernization of our basic manufacturing industries and training of our workers so that by the end of the 1990's we are as efficient, productive and competitive as any industrial nation on earth.

Second, I think we need a long-term jobs program both to re-employ structurally unemployed people and to accommodate a serious national problem, and that is in rebuilding and repairing our infrastructure — the basic public facility for the nation. The transportation system, the urban facilities, transportation, water and its treatment facilities that have been permitted to decay because of underinvestment.

The bad news is that it will cost us a lot of money, the good news is it will re-employ millions of people. It's a long-term, 15-to-20-year program.

The third thing is to have a separate set of policies to stimulate the growth sector of the economy, which is services and technology, where we presently have leadership but will not retain that leadership unless we invest in education. Here I disagree fundamentally with President Reagan. It will require dollar investments at all levels of Government. But also make education our No. 1 domestic priority in more than dollar terms. The President emphasizes to Americans how important this is going to be for our economic security in the future. I'd open an aggressive trade policy. I resist the protectionist trends in our party. And tax reform with an emphasis on capital formation. I've put forward my own specific tax reform proposal. It's a progressive tax on income with a bias toward savings and investment.

The second major role is equality. That can only be achieved by returning to the bipartisan commitment of the 60's and 70's toward racial equality and making it a fundamental premise of the next Administration. The gender inequality will be eliminated not only through the E.R.A. but the passage of economic equity legislation and pay equity legislation to remove the economic and political discrimination against women.

The third major goal would require not only freezing the production and deployment of new nuclear weapon systems but dramatic reductions in those systems which are the most destabilizing, such as MIRV, [multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles] and a real assault on an international basis against the proliferation of nuclear technology and materials.

Three Tax Reform Goals

Q. You mention the tax reform program. Is the idea getting more revenue or is it being more just?

A. It would seek to achieve two goals — really three. Simplicity and equities, making the tax system simpler and fairer, but it would also seek to achieve the other goal, capital formation. My tax reform idea is real supply side economics. Kemp-Roth said we're going to cut your taxes and hope you save the money. I reverse that. I say if you save and invest your money, then you don't pay taxes on it during a period of a bad investment.

Q. When you were talking about nuclear arms reduction and a freeze, could we defend ourselves?

A. Yes. Now that does not mean that there does not need to be modernization to achieve or maintain stability. Stability is not just a phrase. What it means is preservation of a deterrent. To preserve the deterrent you have to make it survivable to a first-strike attack, which means, in some cases, such as the land-based missiles, you have to make them mobile.

Now you can achieve two results by shifting to a mobile land-based system. You can make it more survivable, less vulnerable to a first-strike attack, and you can reduce its own first-strike capability by making it a single warhead missile, rather than a multiple warhead missile.

If you're going to start World War III you don't do it with a single warhead mobile system.

'Monumentally Serious' Deficit

Q. How serious is the growing Federal deficit and specifically what would you do to reduce it — would you raise taxes, cut domestic spending, cut defense spending or what? In each case where and by how much?

A. It's monumentally serious. The reason is that if you are \$200 billion in debt every year, that sooner or later will prevent the kind of private borrowing and investment necessary just to restimulate this economy and get beyond just getting it back on its feet, but making it really expand as it did in the 1960's.

I as a Democrat think that's serious because I don't think our country will achieve our social goals that the Democratic Party has laid out for itself until we increase revenues. And the only way to increase revenues is to have a growing, expanding economy and not redistribution. The way to achieve a more balanced budget — and the goal here is not zero deficits. It's relative balance. It's a manageable deficit, and I would arbitrarily define that as in the range of \$25 to \$30 billion.

It requires four things. One is a substantial scaleback on the Reagan military buildup. I have outlined in detail an alternative defense budget that sharply decreases the monumental buildup in procurement of new weapons systems featuring unilateral rejection of the MX and the B-1 and two new nuclear aircraft carriers and a whole list of other items. But, ironically enough, I would spend more than Ronald Reagan on two defense categories that are almost always neglected. One is manpower and the other is readiness of our conventional force.

My argument is unique. It is that Ronald Reagan, by procuring all these new nuclear weapons systems, is not only unHINGING the Federal budget with these deficits but also making us weaker by plundering these two accounts of personnel readiness. So the Hart budget re-invests funds in those two accounts of personnel readiness and sharply reduces the procurement of unnecessary weapons systems and saves us about 100 billions of dollars over the next two to three years.

Second, is to reform the entitlements programs, particularly Medicare and Medicaid, to provide for cost effective alternatives for delivery of medical care and services to the indigent and the elderly.

The third is to reduce interest rates along the lines proposed by Senator Moynihan and myself a year and a half ago to require the Federal Reserve Board to target its interest rates sufficient to permit private investment to accommodate the growth that I'm talking about. We use a formula that was — we had helped him devise it, which essentially would be a monetary system providing sufficient supplies of money to achieve the rate of growth of the growth periods since World War II. We get all the growth periods since World War II, average them out and then would require the Federal Reserve Board to target its money supply to achieve that rate of growth.

The way you were able to do that is to have an alternative anti-inflationary policy. Mine is a tax-based incomes policy which essentially rewards business and labor for holding wage and price demands below an inflationary guideline through the tax laws. If you have that kind of system, which is stronger than jawbones but not as restrictive as wage and price supports, then you can have an expanding monetary supply which does permit the kind of private investment necessary to achieve that rate of growth.

The third or fourth thing that I would do is that public works job program focused on the infrastructure that would expand the revenue base by expanding, not just increasing, taxes on people who are working today but increasing the number of people who are working.

So the four points are:

¶ Scale in military.
¶ Reform the entitlements programs.

¶ Bring interest rates down to achieve more private investment.

¶ And put people back to work repairing the infrastructure.

Q. You mention a scaleback. Do you put any kind of a figure on that?

A. A hundred billions of dollars in the next two to three years.

Reforms in Entitlements

Q. When you mentioned reforming and changing the Medicare program, what specifically are you talking about?

A. I'm primarily talking about preventive medicine particularly to the elderly and the poor, in-home treatment for minor illnesses, use of paramedics. And I'm talking about most of the key features — the in-home and delivery of services.

Q. Federally financed?

A. You keep the same financing methods and just change the nature of the delivery system.

Q. Could you actually save money?

A. You save. That's the whole point. All of these are designed to prevent people from going into hospitals and doctors' offices for every minor ailment. What's driving up the cost of the system, Medicare and Medicaid, is that people have nowhere to go but hospitals and doctors' offices to take care of minor illnesses.

Q. What about other areas of entitlement, Social Security and Federal pensions?

A. Social Security has been reformed in the session of Congress. The reforms we adopted on a bipartisan basis that accelerate revenues and also reduce some benefits for those in the upper income brackets put the system on its feet, make it fiscally sound for the next 10 to 15 years at least.

It is estimated now there will not have to be any major reforms in Social Security until we approach the latter part of the century.

Q. How much growth after inflation should there be in the military budget? Which weapons programs proposed by the President would you alter or delete and why?

A. In reverse order I've mentioned the MX, which I am a principal opponent of, the B-1 bomber, which other Democratic candidates support.

More Conventional Weapons

Q. You'd take these out?

A. I'd take those out. I would replace the two new nuclear aircraft carriers and their task groups with smaller conventional aircraft carriers. I'd build more conventionally powered submarines instead of the \$1 billion nuclear powered submarines. I would replace F-18 with F-16's and A-6's and A-7's, and I would shift investment defense over toward readiness and manpower on to procurement. So I'd reorder the priorities within the defense pie.

Q. Is there any growth factor in that?

A. The Hart budget averages out, I think, at about 4½ to 5 percent growth.

Q. What steps would you take to reduce the tension with the Soviet Union, and what concrete proposals do you have for reaching an arms control agreement with the Soviets?

A. One relates to the other. Tensions will not be reduced until we're achieving progress in reducing nuclear weapons. To believe we can have better relations while we're having an arms race is a fool's paradise.

I put forward my arms control agenda two years ago that called for an across-the-board negotiated halt to production of new systems. It called for a 50 percent reduction in the most destabilizing weapons, mostly the multiple warhead land-based systems. It called for a joint crisis monitoring system between ourselves and the Soviet Union so that we could on a high level, military basis share information about movements the other side is making to prevent the accidental or miscalculated use of nuclear weapons. And it called for strengthening substantially the international rules against proliferation of nuclear weapons to third-world terrorist groups.

Q. Is it Mondale who proposes an annual summit?

A. Mondale, Cranston both got their summit ideas from me when I put it forward in Des Moines, Iowa, in the summer of 1982 and I said one of the first things I would do is seek an early summit with the Soviet leader to begin the process of negotiating that arms control agenda I just mentioned, and since that time both Cranston and Mondale picked up on that.

Q. Do you think that's realistic given what the state of the world is today?

A. It's necessary. Given the pace and drive behind this military buildup — the nuclear buildup — unless it's attacked first at the summit level I don't think you're going to get real arms reduction.

Relying on Self-Interest

Q. What degree of trust do you have in the Soviet leadership?

A. On a scale of 10, about 2. But arms control, in my judgment, shouldn't be based on trust. It should be based on self-interest, mutual self-interest and independent verifiability. I would not negotiate an arms control agreement the compliance with which this nation itself could not verify.

Q. So then following that, would they ever agree for independent verifiability? They haven't so far.

A. They did in SALT 1 and they did in SALT 2. Both those treaties provide for what is called national technical means verification. Essentially what that was — surprisingly very little is understood on this side — was an agreement between both nations that we would not cover up what we were doing enabling each side in effect to watch the other side. And we do that primarily through overhead satellites.

Q. On the Middle East. What would you do differently than Reagan in seeking an overall Middle East settlement and specifically what is your position on the deployment of Marines in Beirut?

A. Well, I would first of all try to get the nation back to the mainstream of our relationship with Israel, which is a solid, dependable, reliable relationship. It is totally dependent upon trust and good will, common values and common understanding. And I would base that on United States national self-interest. Our relationship with Israel is not just the right thing to do, it's in our interest to do it and perpetuate it.

What criticisms I have of individual Israeli governments I would primarily discuss behind the scenes, whether it has to do with settlements or the reduction of the refugees in the camps in Beirut or whatever.

Lebanon is a stumbling block to that now. We will not pacify Lebanon nor do we have the strategic capability of reconstructing Lebanon. We don't have the military capability. We don't have the diplomatic capability. It will have to be resolved by Lebanese. Our role ought to be diplomatic. If the furtherance of that role requires a military presence, that presence ought to be on ships and our planes at sea and not our marines on shore. The U.N. can replace the marines. The marines ought to be gotten out. They should have been gotten out a year ago.

Q. How about Syria's role in this? Do you think we should try to negotiate with Syria and take into consideration their interests?

A. They see Lebanon as a client-state of theirs and they wish to reserve a dominant influence in Lebanon. We may or may not be able to accept that. But they do have legitimate concerns about their security and their own borders and those concerns ought to be heard and ought to be satisfied. We ought to be dealing much more openly with them and urging the Gemayel Government to do same.

Reagan and Central America

Q. What do you think of the Reagan policy in Central America, and what would you do differently?

A. It's 180 degrees wrong, which means I'd do almost everything in a different way. I would end military support for the Government of El Salvador until the death squads are terminated and the guilty parties are prosecuted. I would use every possible influence, particularly through the Contadora group to seek a negoti-

ated settlement of the conflict there. I would remove American military forces from Honduras, which the Reagan Administration promised the Congress it would in December of 1983, and there are 5,000 American military forces in Honduras and no plans to get them out. And I would terminate the military financial support to the counterrevolutionaries operating against the Government of Nicaragua.

Decay in U.S. Cities

Q. On American housing, the decay continues in the big cities. Do you think there's a need and a capability of the Federal Government to do a massive program?

A. There is certainly the need and urban problems, and urban housing particularly, would be high priorities. Having said that, that doesn't mean that there are going to be massive resources available. It's going to take four to five years — the end of this decade to achieve reductions in the Reagan deficits that we the public have to afford.

Q. This whole area of social welfare. Do you think we're entering an era now where the best we can hope for is maintenance of present programs?

A. No. My Administration will try to do two things. One is reconstruct after the decimating cuts by the Reagan Administration the absolutely necessary programs for the well-being of those who cannot help themselves. That is disabled people, children, dependent children and the elderly. We can do all of that just by cutting out the MX missile, transferring a fraction of those dollars.

You get a separate category. Here's where I differ from traditional Democrats. Those are the physically and mentally capable people who are denied access to the economy — mostly the minority — women and young people. There what we have to have is the full ladder of opportunity, not just the safety net but a ladder of opportunity: job training, educating the poor, new entrepreneurs, access to capital at a quarter of the cost, and some training and education on how to operate a business.

What able-bodied people want is not only the chance to have a job but by owning and operating their own businesses. What I propose for minority people for women and others is a set of policies designed to help him get into the business marketplace.

State of Hart Campaign

Q. The general perception is that your campaign is lagging, that it hasn't taken off as some people expected it would. Do you agree with the assumption?

A. I think there was a peculiar anticipation about this campaign that was unrealistic. I do not know of any dark-horse campaign that took off in any measurable way, financially, at the polls or public attention in the press until the primaries began. It's only when you begin to do better in the primaries than expected and to get to win the primaries that the polls then go up and the campaign takes off. You know George McGovern who was even a darker horse than I am did not have the national political base that I do. He did not have the national financial base that I do. George McGovern won two more primaries before he even got into double digits in the polls. Jimmy Carter was not anywhere near where I am. I think in the minds of most observers I'm at least third — third or at least fourth in this race.

Q. Another thing said about you is that you are neither ideological fish nor fowl. The conservatives think you're a liberal, and the liberals don't think you're liberal enough. Is it fair and is it an advantage or disadvantage?

A. I think it's an advantage. My roots in this party are very deeply into the principles of equality and justice, which makes me a liberal. My voting record on civil rights and civil liberties, rights of women, environment, education, the traditional Democratic agenda are as good as anyone else's in this race and better than most. Issues change. Principles don't change. The economy is different today. What I'm trying to do is just figure out how to make a new economy grow. That requires new programs. That's different from John Kennedy, that's different from Franklin Roosevelt. What makes my candidacy is that I am going beyond the traditional agenda. We have to have new programs, new programs to make this economy grow, to offer that opportunity to achieve that equality and to achieve that justice.

So it's not a question of ideologically being fish or fowl, it's a question of a traditional Democrat, a person committed to the traditional values of the Democratic Party seeking new ways in a changing time to achieve those values.

GOALS FOR SECOND TERM

- o Outlined four goals in State of the Union Address:
 - continued economic progress;
 - peace through strength;
 - restore traditional values;
 - develop space, the next frontier.

- o The U.S. can start the next century -- not in decline as some recently thought inevitable -- but out in front of the rest of the world, as we have lived much of this century:
 - leading the world with our economic strength;
 - inspiring the world with our message and example that freedom works;
 - securing peace;
 - expanding the frontiers of human knowledge and harnessing what we learn to the benefit of mankind.

Some specifics:

- o Jobs: growing economy that can keep creating millions of new jobs in the private sector -- build on the 5 million of last 14 months.

- o Budget: structural reforms in process (balanced budget amendment, line-item veto etc.) to help us get budget balanced -- and keep it balanced once we do.

- o Peace: begin reducing the numbers -- and the threat -- of nuclear weapons.

Some general observations:

- o In RR's view, what people want is a new balance in American society; balance between the public sector and the private sector.
- o They aren't arrogant; they don't reject the past. They aren't timid; they don't fear the future.
- o No longer buy the notion government can do it all but demand government keep doing some essentials -- Social Security, defense. safety-net.
- o There's renewed appreciation of fact that private sector -- people themselves in their own communities can do more to help folks who need help; and can often do it better than government.
- o We went through some unsettled times in last 20 years. It seemed many were rejecting the past. Many did fear the future.
- o Our doubts made the old saw that most people "lead lives of quiet desperation" a self-fulfilling prophecy.
- o We're over that now. RR thinks most folks lead lives of quiet honor -- and it looks like most Americans believe it too.

JV

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/12/84

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MEMORANDUM

TO: LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Time reserved for New York Times Interview:
3/28/84 - 11:00 am - 30 minutes - briefing for interview ♀
3/28/84 - 11:30 am - 30 minutes - interview

DATE:

TIME:

DURATION:

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: No

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| cc: R. Darman | J. Rosebush |
| R. Deprospero | R. Scouten |
| B. Elliott | B. Shaddix |
| D. Fischer | W. Sittmann |
| C. Fuller | L. Speakes |
| W. Henkel | WHCA Audio/Visual |
| E. Hickey | WHCA Operations |
| G. Hodges | A. Wrobleski |
| C. McCain | Nell Yates |
| B. Oglesby | |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 1984

HCD
Both of these changes have been made.
FR

RECEIVED

MAR 2 1984

SCHEDULING OFFICE

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: Larry Speakes *[Signature]*

As a result of our meeting today, and looking ahead for the spring months, I would like to recommend the following changes in previously-scheduled interviews and press conferences:

<u>Event</u>	<u>Now Scheduled</u>	<u>Moved to</u>
[New York Times interview]	March 20	Week of March 26]
Press Conference	March 28	Week of April 2 ✓

Thank you.

cc: Fred Ryan ✓

220305

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 30, 1984

DDI

MEMORANDUM TO WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: LARRY SPEAKES *LS*

SUBJECT: Television appearances, Sunday, April 1

The following individuals are scheduled to appear on the three network television interview programs Sunday, April 1:

ABC "This Week With David Brinkley" 11:30 am EST Ch 7

Subject: New York primary; guests include New York Governor Cuomo.

CBS "Face The Nation" 11:30 am EST Ch 9

Subject: New York primary and the Jewish vote.

NBC "Meet The Press" 12:30 pm EST Ch 4

Not announced at this time

Don 3/28/84
at 11:15

JV

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/28/84 **ED**

MEMORANDUM

TO: LARRY SPEAKES

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FR*

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Interview by Ann Devroy of Gannett News Service for USA Today,

DATE: March 29, 1984

TIME: 2:00 pm

DURATION: 10 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points to be covered in briefing paper

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House Photographer

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| cc: R. Darman | J. Rosebush |
| R. Deprospero | R. Scouten |
| B. Elliott | B. Shaddix |
| D. Fischer | W. Sittmann |
| C. Fuller | L. Speakes |
| W. Henkel | WHCA Audio/Visual |
| E. Hickey | WHCA Operations |
| G. Hodges | A. Wrobleski |
| C. McCain | Nell Yates |
| B. Oglesby | |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1984

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

March 23, 1984

TO: FRED RYAN, Director
Presidential Scheduling Office

FROM: Larry Speakes

REQUEST: Interview with the President by Ann Devroy of Gannett New Service, for USA Today cover story.

PURPOSE: For the President to be interviewed on the issue of his health, to coincide approximately with the anniversary of the assassination attempt, and the President's recovery.

BACKGROUND: USA Today plans a cover piece on the President's health as he seeks a second term. Also in this issue will be an interview with the President's doctor for the same piece.

The story would also go to the entire Gannett chain which has a combined circulation of about 5.5 million readers.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: Interview August 24, 1983 in Los Angeles.

DATE AND TIME: Before the China trip.

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Ann Devroy - Gannett News Service

OUTLINE OF EVENT: After pleasantries, the interview takes place.

REMARKS REQUIRED: No, but pre-brief session for the President.

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House photographer only.

RECOMMENDED BY: Larry Speakes

PROJECT OFFICER: Larry Speakes

APPROVED FOR
Date. 3/29/84
Time. 2:00
Length. 10 min
Date. 3/28/84 FJR

JV

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/22/84

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MEMORANDUM

TO: MICHAEL MCMANUS

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FJR*

SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY -

MEETING: Interview with KTSP-TV, Phoenix, for Special on Senator Barry Goldwater

DATE: March 28, 1984

TIME: 1:15 pm

DURATION: 15 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

REMARKS REQUIRED: Suggested topics to be covered in briefing paper

MEDIA COVERAGE:

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|----------|
| cc: R. Darman | J. Rosebush | K. Small |
| R. Deprospero | R. Scouten | |
| B. Elliott | B. Shaddix | |
| D. Fischer | W. Sittmann | |
| C. Fuller | L. Speakes | |
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| B. Oglesby | | |

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
MAR 16 1984
SCHEDULING
OFFICE

March 13, 1984

Approved 3/16
RL

TO: KARNA SMALL
THRU: M.B. OGLESBY
PAM TURNER
FROM: NANCY KENNEDY
SUBJECT: T.V. Interview with the President

Judy Eisenhower, Administrative to Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Arizona), called to request a tv interview with the President for Bill Close -- news director of KTSP-TV in Phoenix, Arizona.

Close is doing a documentary on Senator Goldwater, and would like to include footage of the President talking about the Senator. He is following Goldwater around on March 27 and would like 10 minutes sometime on March 30. If it had to be earlier -- on the 28th or 29th -- he would re-arrange his filming schedule.

Close interviewed the President when he was running for Governor of California. To my knowledge, that was their only meeting.

We think this would be a nice gesture to Senator Goldwater.

APPROVED FOR

Date. 3/28/84
Time. 6:50
Length. 10 min
Date. 2/27/84 JR

Red Tag
To
Fred Rogers

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JV

April 2, 1984

Dear Ms. Handewith:

Thank you so much for your recent letter requesting an interview with Frank Ruta for the Allegheny View.

Unfortunately, we are not able to schedule the interview in advance of your April 10 deadline. If you should be interested in pursuing an interview with Mr. Ruta closer to the end of the year, please contact me then and we will make the necessary arrangements.

We appreciate your interest and thank you again for writing.

Sincerely,

Sheila Tate
Press Secretary
to Mrs. Reagan



Ms. Beth A. Handewith
CCAC, Allegheny Campus
Continuing Education Division
808 Ridge Avenue, J-214
Pittsburgh, PA 15212



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CCAC, Allegheny Campus
Continuing Education Division
808 Ridge Avenue, J-214
Pittsburgh, PA 15212

Ms. Sheila Tate
Press Secretary
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Tate,

Thank you for taking the time to talk with Dr. Dan C. Przybylek who was kind enough to call you yesterday, March 26, on my behalf. By way of introduction, I am a journalism student at the Community College of Allegheny County in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

My partner, Jim Victor, and I are preparing an article for our school paper, the Allegheny View. We would like to arrange an interview with one of the Reagan's resident chefs, Mr. Frank Ruta, who is a graduate of our Culinary Arts Program.

I am sure that you are aware that the job market in Pittsburgh has undergone major changes in recent years because of the shift from heavy industry to advanced technology. CCAC is currently participating in the Workers in Transition (WIT) Program. In an effort to inspire the large number of WIT participants, we are preparing an article on our distinguished alumni.

In order to publish the article this semester, we must have it completed by April 10th. Your efforts on this project will be greatly appreciated. Of course, the article would have much greater impact with a few comments from the President or the First Lady, if that were at all possible. Mr. Victor and I will be happy to provide you with any additional information you require.

Thank you for your efforts. I feel certain that, with your assistance, this article will help all our students to strive for success.

Sincerley,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Beth A. Handewith'. The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Beth A. Handewith

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[Handwritten mark]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1984

DDI

MEMORANDUM TO WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: LARRY SPEAKES *S*

SUBJECT: Television appearances, Sunday, April 15

The following individuals are scheduled to appear on the three network television interview programs Sunday, April 15:

ABC "This Week With David Brinkley" 11:30 am EST Ch 7

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger

CBS "Face The Nation" 11:30 am EST Ch 9

Senator Gary Hart (D-Colorado)

NBC "Meet The Press" 12:30 pm EST Ch 4

Not announced at this time

PRO16

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD) 84,04,13

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: Charles Z. Wick

DC Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: Forwards mar 30 84 letter from David Suskind requesting an interview with the President

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response Code Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>DO S, H</u>	<u>C</u> <u>8410413</u>	<u>C</u> <u>8410413</u>
<u>PS ROUS</u>	<u>A/R</u> <u>8410413</u>	<u>PR</u> <u>8410415</u>
	Referral Note: <u>pls handle. Thanks. 1 1</u>	
	Referral Note: _____	
	Referral Note: _____	

ACTION CODES: A - Appropriate Action I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary C - Comment/Recommendation R - Direct Reply w/Copy D - Draft Response S - For Signature F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be X - Interim Reply	DISPOSITION CODES: A - Answered B - Non-Special Referral C - Completed S - Suspended	FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE: Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code = "A" Completion Date = Date of Outgoing
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COMMENTS: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1984

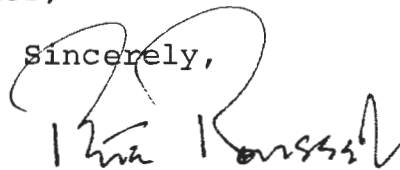
Dear Mr. Susskind:

This is to let you know that we are very much aware of your interest in interviewing President Reagan and to assure you that your request has not been forgotten.

As we regularly review such interview proposals, yours will certainly be kept in mind and should something develop, I will be in touch.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,



Peter Roussel
Deputy Press Secretary
to the President

Mr. David Susskind
The Susskind Company, Inc.
650 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10019

cc: Mike Deaver
Bill Sittmann
Charles Wick

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: *Pete Rousell*

FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Information

Action

*Would you
please handle.
Please cc any
response to Wick.*

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Director



April 9, 1984

221836

Dear Mike:

Attached for your information is a letter of March 30 which I received from David Susskind (Tab A).

As you can see, the letter is kind of way out. Would you like me to respond to Mr. Susskind in any particular way? It would certainly seem that he has received several attractive remembrances.

Your thoughts on this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick

The Honorable
Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House

The
Susskind
Company

CS
11
12
13
14

A.

March 30, 1984

Mr. Charles Wick
USIA
301 4th Street SW
Washington, D.C. 20547

Dear Charles:

To say that I am in a state of high dudgeon would be putting it mildly. I have tried to ask President Ronald Reagan if I might interview him at his convenience (whatever date, whatever hour, whatever place) for my television program. In this connection I have contacted the following men's secretaries: Ed Meese, Mike Deaver, James Baker, a Mr. Litman, Deputy Press Secretary Peter Roselle, all to no avail. Except for the aforesaid Peter Roselle no one has had the courtesy to call me back, make a polite declination or acknowledge my existence in any way. I write this letter to you because we have been friends for 35 years and we have always had a warm candid and affectionate friendship.

I hate to add the following recollections of "Reagan effort" on my part but this situation allows me no choice. I was among the very first Democrats (or perhaps a more accurate classification would be "Independents") to declare for Reagan in 1980. Ed Meese thought my declaration was of sufficient importance for him to be present. This event took place at the St. Regis Hotel on E. 55th Street, New York City, and was covered by the press and media. At the same time that I declared, so did John Loeb, and I believe he was subsequently appointed Ambassador to some country. Incidentally, many reluctant Democrats, who could not suffer President Carter, quickly joined my league and quickly declared themselves for Reagan for President.

Mr. Charles Wick

-2-

March 30, 1984

I subsequently did radio and television appearances (including debates and listener phone-in shows) and press conferences in New York State, Florida, California, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Jersey and others that escape my memory.

Can presidential politics be so short of memory and insensitive as to render null and void all previous relationships (I was Sonny Werblin's executive assistant at the time of the General Electric Theatre and the sale of Ronald Reagan as host of said program -- in fact, I made the sale at Sonny Werblin's behest). The sale was made to Wick Cryder, Vice-President of BBD&O in charge of television and radio.

I have been at the White House once at the invitation of President Reagan at a dinner honoring Prime Minister Begin. President Reagan sat at my table or I suppose I should say I was invited to sit at President Reagan's table. Senator Paula Hawkins of Florida was to my left and Dinah Shore was across the table. That is the only time I have been at the White House. But I must not forget an invitation to hear Frank Sinatra as a guest of President Reagan's at Kennedy Center. I declined this invitation because of obligatory work in California on the evening of the concert.

Now, I find myself utterly frustrated and keenly disappointed that the White House staff and President Reagan choose to ignore my existence and reject my phone calls.

Come to think of it, Charlie, I don't want to interview President Reagan at this time because obviously I would be interfering with national, international and political affairs.

I cannot conclude without saying that politics makes strained bedfellows. Please let me have your reaction to all of the foregoing.

Your abiding friend,



DAVID SUSSKIND

DS:azg

SPECIAL DELIVERY

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PR 116

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD)

84, 04, 13

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: Charles Z. Wick

DC Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: Forwards Mar 30 84 letter from David Suskind requesting an interview with the President

ROUTE TO:	ACTION		DISPOSITION		
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>DO: S/H</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>84/04/13</u>	<u>py</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>84/04/13</u>
<u>PS: ROUS</u>					
	Referral Note:	<u>A/R 84/04/13</u>			<u>584/04/15</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>pls handle, thank</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				

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COMMENTS: _____

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Director



USIA

April 9, 1984

221836

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Your thoughts on this matter would be greatly appreciated.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "C. Wick".

Charles Z. Wick

The Honorable
Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President
The White House

The
Susskind
Company

LC 70
DL
OS
1716

A

March 30, 1984

Mr. Charles Wick
USIA
301 4th Street SW
Washington, D.C. 20547

Dear Charles:

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Your abiding friend,



DAVID SUSSKIND

DS:azg

SPECIAL DELIVERY

222520

1110

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PR 016

April 14, 1984

PR 007

Stewart, Christopher

NOTE FOR CAROL McCAIN

FROM: KAREN HART

RE: Tour for 66 Eighth Graders

Craig asked that I send this to you to see if something can be worked out.

Penelope

I have called Ms. Bilheimer and told her the President will be in China when they are here so it won't be possible to see him.

I also told her that since they don't arrive until 10:00 a.m. on Friday 4/27 and leave on Sun. 4/29, the only day a tour MIGHT be possible is Sat. 4/28.

I was not overly encouraging but told her someone would be in touch with her one way or the other. She gives her phone numbers in her letter.

Chris Stewart is a friend of Craig's from California and he made the original request and referred Ms. Bilheimer to Craig.

Thanks for your help.

Savannah Country Day School

THE SAVANNAH COUNTRY DAY SCHOOL

P.O. BOX 14256
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA 31406

April 10, 1984

Mr. Craig Fuller
Assistant to the President for Cabinet
Affairs
West Wing-Ground Floor
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Fuller:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to you from Mr. Christopher Stewart that my father-in-law forwarded to me. Our 66 eighth graders are looking forward to their visit to the Capitol. We will be arriving at 10:00 A.M. on April 27, 1984, and staying at the Marriott Key Bridge Hotel in Arlington, Virginia, phone number 703-524-6400, until April 29th. Our schedule is very flexible and I realize time is short, so anything you might be able to do to help the children have a few minutes any time to see President Reagan would be greatly appreciated.

Please call me collect at school, 912-925-8800, or at home, 912-897-3113, any time if you need any further information.

Sincerely,



Penelope Bilheimer



CENTRAL CITY ASSOCIATION
OF LOS ANGELES

CHRISTOPHER L. STEWART
President

March 28, 1984

Mr. Craig Fuller
Assistant to the President for Cabinet
Affairs
West Wing - Ground Floor
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Craig,

Stephen Bilheimer, Chairman of the Board of Silverwoods and CCA board member, asked if I could help him out. Steve's grandson's 8th grade class from Savannah, Georgia will be visiting Washington, D.C. on April 27 through April 29. The class of 75 students will be visiting the Capitol and would really enjoy a short visit with the President. If a visit with the President is not possible, I thought perhaps a VIP tour of the White House could be arranged.

I appreciate any help you could give me on this matter.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

CLS:plb

CC: Stephen Bilheimer
Karen Hart

MAR 27 1984

Chris
Will appreciate
any help you can
give
Thank
Steve
Bilheimer

10/3

772-5421

Dear Steve -

Chris' 8th grade class (75 students) will be going to Washington, D.C. on April 27th and returning to Savannah late on April 29th. They will be touring the Capitol in connection with their U.S. History class. It would be really fantastic for them if they could have a short visit with President Reagan.

Do you have any contacts that could help us get these children a personal "hello" from President Reagan any time during those days?

Anything you can do to help will be greatly appreciated by all the kids.

Thanks and much love,

Penny

P.S. The Staghorn has 15 new leaves!!

March 28, 1984

223507 CW

JV

Foreign Policy WBS

DOMESTIC QUESTIONS FOR NEW YORK TIMES

PR016

PU

BE003-04

1. Interest rates are starting to rise. The Fed may be tightening money supply. And the deficit remains high. Are you confident that the economy will hold strong through the election?

2. Even with your deficit reduction plan, deficits will stay in the \$150 billion range. What would you do in a second Administration to cut the budget, or would you raise taxes? Also, what is your reaction to the Democratic leadership's plan that would cut deficits \$30 billion more through 1987 than your plan?

*insights
implied no fault
made plan
AG hasn't
decided*

3. Aren't you concerned about the duration and political impact of the Meese confirmation? About the impact this could have on your reelection campaign? Have you personally discussed with William French Smith how long he will stay on? Do you want him to stay on until a successor is confirmed? Will you name an interim Attorney General? Do you consider Ed Meese to be the best qualified person to be Attorney General?

4. Some of your conservative rhetoric, especially on religion, was pretty harsh a month ago. Now you seem to have toned it down. Are you concerned about appearing to be too far to the right?

5. When you first came into office, you unveiled a new economic program that has guided the Administration ever since. What new programs or new initiatives will you have in the second term, or will it just be more of the same.

6. Mondale has referred to "the sleaze factor" in terms of your appointments that had ethical conflicts. Is it difficult for business executives, the traditional Republican appointees, to adapt to government standards? Can this become a campaign issue?

7. The Democratic economic policy seems to revolve around an industrial policy that provides capital for U.S. business, F.D.R. style jobs program, and domestic content legislation. Do you feel there's any need for an industrial policy? Do your comments on steel mergers and textile imports indicate some need for protection from foreign competition?

March 27, 1984

DOMESTIC QUESTIONS FOR NEW YORK TIMES

1. Interest rates are starting to rise. The Fed may be tightening money supply. And the deficit remains high. Are you confident that the economy will hold strong through the election?
2. Even with your deficit reduction plan, deficits will stay in the \$150 billion range. What would you do in a second Administration to cut the budget, or would you raise taxes?
3. Aren't you concerned about the duration and political impact of the Meese confirmation? How long will Attorney General Smith stay? Will you name an interim Attorney General?
4. Some of your conservative rhetoric, especially on religion, was pretty harsh a month ago. Now you seem to have toned it down. Are you concerned about appearing to be too far to the right?
6. When you first came into office, you unveiled a new economic program that has guided the Administration ever since. Will you have a new economic plan in the second Administration?

7. What would your line of attack be if Gary Hart gets the nomination? How do you counter the "New Idea" theme?

8. Mondale has referred to "the sleaze factor" in terms of your appointments that had ethical conflicts. Is it difficult for business executives, the traditional Republican appointees, to adapt to government standards? Can this become a campaign issue?

9. The Democratic economic policy seems to revolve around an industrial policy that provides capital for U.S. business, F.D.R. style jobs program, and domestic content legislation. Do you feel there's any need for an industrial policy? Do your comments on steel mergers and textile imports indicate some need for protection from foreign competition?

March 27, 1984

FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS FOR NEW YORK TIMES

1. What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States over the next decade? What new ideas do you have for dealing with it?
2. How can you continue your basic program of not raising taxes or cutting defense spending significantly and still reduce the Federal deficit?
3. What specific defense programs do you think can be cut without harming national security?
4. What steps will you take to reduce tensions with the Soviet Union and what concrete proposals will you put forward for reaching an arms control agreement with them?
5. On the Middle East, what policy will you follow now to seek an overall settlement there?
6. What is the objective of your policy in Central America and what would you plan to do this year and in a second term to achieve that policy?
7. Do you think the Administration has been tough enough on human rights in Central America?

8. Under what circumstances would you accept the presence of the Sandinistas there?

9. What foreign policy achievement can you cite in your first term and what would you seek to achieve in your second term?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1984

223958PD
1130
PR016
HE001-01
WE009
FG024

Dear Jim:

James A. Burnley, IV

I have reviewed the TV spots and do not agree with the concept of the "safe rides" by parents, no questions asked. The Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD) contract brings a clear "responsible use" message and should be limited to only those above the legal drinking age. This is a somewhat shortsighted approach to prevention and is not consistent with our overall policy. Any use of alcoholic beverages by underage youth is clearly undesirable and illegal.

In speaking about "responsible" and "recreational" use of alcohol and other drugs, the President has said, "...I've never in my life heard a more self-serving euphemism by those who support drug use." For your information, attached is a letter from Ann Wrobleski of Mrs. Reagan's office to Fred Meister, President of the Distilled Spirits Council, which addresses this very issue.

I realize that it is probably too late to repair the image which will result from the "responsible use" public service announcements. However, instead of reinforcing illegal acts by young people (e.g. using drugs or under age drinking), the following are two alternatives. These ideas for contracts would reinforce positive behavior and focus on the young people who are upholding the law, acting responsibly for their own well being and considering the well being of others.

- o A contract among neighborhood parents declaring they would not serve alcoholic beverages or allow ingestion of alcohol or other drugs at functions they hosted for adolescents.
- o A contract between adolescents and parents that declared if the person they were riding with started drinking and/or drugging they would call and ask their parents for a ride home.

Mr. James H. Burnley, IV
Department of Transportation

Page 2

I hope these suggestions will prove to be helpful and that we can retract DOT's apparent support of the "responsible use" of alcohol by adolescents. I will do whatever necessary to help prevent the Secretary from getting harsh criticism, but history has proven that in circumstances in which "responsible" or "recreational" use is advocated, harsh criticism does follow.

Thanks for your concern and best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Carlton E. Turner', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Carlton E. Turner, Ph.D.
Special Assistant to the President
for Drug Abuse Policy

Mr. James H. Burnley, IV
Deputy Secretary
Department of Transportation
400 7th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20590

cc: Ms. Ann Wrobleski

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 18, 1984

Dear Mr. Meister:

Thank you for sending Mrs. Reagan the material of the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States addressing the problem of alcohol abuse. We have reviewed it carefully.

Mrs. Reagan's visits over the past several years with elementary and high school students, teenagers in drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs and parent groups have strengthened her belief that school-age children should avoid alcohol use entirely. She does not subscribe to the idea of responsible or recreational use of liquor by individuals under the legal age.

Mrs. Reagan's conviction has been reinforced again and again by teens struggling desperately to overcome drinking problems and by powerful statistics on the subject. Drunk driving is the leading cause of death among Americans age 16 to 21. Mrs. Reagan believes youthful drinking is not only a question of illegality. It is a question of survival.

Mrs. Reagan has focused on prevention and education measures for school-age children. Since your efforts are aimed at adults, for we are sure you do not advocate the use of alcohol for youth under the legal age, it would be inappropriate for the First Lady to comment.

Again, thank you for letting us hear from you and giving us this opportunity to respond. If we may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

Ann Wrobleski
Director of Projects
Office of the First Lady

Mr. Fred A. Meister
President
Distilled Spirits Council
of the United States, Inc.
425 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

224700 PD

1140

PRO16

FG 319

PW

FD001-02

B 9003-04

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1984

WTS

JV

Dear Arlene:

This is a brief note to let you know how much I enjoyed the interview with you on making the Federal Government more efficient in yesterday's issue of The Washington Times. Your answers were both informative and balanced. I hope that we can generate a good deal more interest in and attention on management reform efforts, since they are one of the key achievements of this administration.

It is great to have you over in the Executive Office of the President. I look forward to working with you on these issues during the coming months.

Warmest regards,

Roger B. Porter
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Policy Development

X

Arlene Triplett
Associate Director for Management
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, D.C. 20500.



224931
4610
PRO14
FE
WE
PRO15

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS
79 JOHN F. KENNEDY STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
617-495-1360

A FACULTY STUDY GROUP ON
HOW THE PRESS AFFECTS
FEDERAL POLICYMAKING

March 1, 1984

The Honorable Lee Verstandig
Assistant to the President for
Intergovernmental Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500



- JONATHAN MOORE, CHAIRMAN
- RICHARD NEUSTADT, VICE-CHAIRMAN
- MARTIN LINSKY, PROJECT DIRECTOR
- F. CHRISTOPHER ARTERTON
- HALE CHAMPION
- JOHN CHANCELLOR
- STEPHEN HESS
- ALBERT HUNT
- MARK MOORE
- GARY ORREN
- EILEEN SHANAHAN
- JAMES C. THOMSON, JR.
- JOHN WILLIAM WARD
- LEWIS W. WOLFSON

SENIOR STAFF:

- WENDY O'DONNELL
- DAVID WHITMAN

Dear Lee:

In the past year, you have received several mailings concerning a study being conducted at Harvard on how the press affects federal policymaking and a survey being distributed as part of that study. I am a member of the faculty study group overseeing this work, contributing my time because I believe this project to be both unique and terribly important. I am sending you this last letter to ask once again that you complete the enclosed questionnaire.

Our study differs from others conducted in this area in that it is looking at the impacts of the media on policymaking from the viewpoint of the government official, not the journalist. I know that this request is an imposition on your time, but as you can understand, your response is important if we are to be able to say anything significant about the role of the press in the processes of federal decisionmaking.

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

Stephen Hess

Please!
It's not "just another study."
SH

px016

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD) 84, 05, 04

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: Carl Levin

DC Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: request from Stern magazine to interview the President before 5-day trip to Europe

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD Type of Response Code Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>DS S, H</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>84105104</u> <i>PF</i> <u>84105104</u> <i>PF</i>
<u>PS SPEAK</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>84105104</u> <i>PF</i> <u>84105104</u> <i>PF</i>
<u>PS SIMS</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>84105104</u> <i>PF</i> <u>84105104</u> <i>PF</i>
	Referral Note:	<u>ATTN: Rob Sims (RM 174)</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>ps give your guidance ASAP - thanks</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>Close please -</u>

ACTION CODES: A - Appropriate Action C - Comment/Recommendation D - Draft Response F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be	I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary R - Direct Reply w/Copy S - For Signature X - Interim Reply	DISPOSITION CODES: A - Answered B - Non-Special Referral C - Completed S - Suspended
FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE: Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code = "A" Completion Date = Date of Outgoing		

COMMENTS: _____

DAILY PHONE LOG FOR MICHAEL. K. DEEVER

Date: 9 May

<p>NAME <u>Carl Levin</u> <u>Senior V.P. Burson-Marsteller</u> Time <u>3:00 p.m.</u> Phone <u>833-8500</u></p>	<p>REMARKS <i>refer to ^Speakers</i> Calling regarding the attached letter. Rolf Winter will be in town next Monday and would like to discuss with you. Set-Up _____ Phone call _____ No _____</p>
<p>NAME _____ Time _____ Phone _____</p>	<p>REMARKS <i>dictate memo to file.</i></p>
<p>NAME _____ Time _____ Phone _____</p>	<p>REMARKS</p>
<p>NAME _____ Time _____ Phone _____</p>	<p>REMARKS</p>
<p>NAME _____ Time _____ Phone _____</p>	<p>REMARKS</p>
<p>NAME _____ Time _____ Phone _____</p>	<p>REMARKS</p>

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1984

Mike:

I would recommend the President not accept the invitation to interview with Stern Magazine.

There are other interviews that would be more productive.


Larry

Burson-Marsteller

International Square
1825 Eye Street, N.W.
Suite 950
Washington, D.C. 20006
202.833.8550

May 3, 1984

Bill ✓ wait
Larry = / Bob Seins
I don't favor.

225256

Hon. Michael K. Deaver
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Deaver:

Our client, Stern Magazine, of Germany, has submitted through channels a request for an interview with the President, hopefully before his D-Day trip to Europe. They have asked us to reinforce the request and provide additional information which may be helpful in considering the request.

Stern is published in Hamburg by Gruner & Jahr, a major German publishing house which also owns Parents Magazine and other properties in the United States. It is the largest circulation weekly in Europe.

They feel that an interview before the President's trip to Europe would give him a popular platform to set out his views on issues troubling some Germans in East-West relations. And, of course, the President could do that in this instance without any censorship of the view he may be most interested in conveying to the German public.

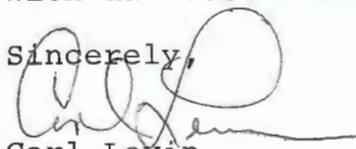
The interview would be conducted by Rolf Winter, editor-in-chief, and Uwe Zimmer, foreign editor of the magazine. Both have had previous assignments in this country, Zimmer as Washington correspondent for the publication. They would like to submit a number of questions in advance in writing and accept written replies. Thereafter they would appreciate about 20 minutes to meet and talk with the President. If it were deemed helpful Mr. Winter would come to Washington before the interview to further discuss format and White House procedures for the interview.

Stern has interviewed Vice President Bush and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, among other prominent Americans, without any post-interview problems.

We, of course, would be most grateful if you can assist us in arranging an interview or advising how we might reinforce the formal request.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,


Carl Levin
Senior Vice President

3

ID # 225601

PR 016

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1984
SCHEDULING
OFFICE

- O - OUTGOING
 - H - INTERNAL
 - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD) 84/105/107

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: Charles Z. Wick

DC Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: wants President and Mrs. Reagan to participate in commercial television special

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD
ASITH	ORIGINATOR	84/105/07 PY
PS SPEA	Referral Note:	C 84/105/07
honey spoken	Referral Note:	B 84/105/09
DC DEAV	Referral Note:	A 84/05/10 PY
SC RYAN	Referral Note:	A 84,05/10 PY
	Referral Note:	7M, C 84/05/29

ACTION CODES: A - Appropriate Action C - Comment/Recommendation D - Draft Response F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be	DISPOSITION CODES: I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary R - Direct Reply w/Copy S - For Signature X - Interim Reply	FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE: Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code = "A" Completion Date = Date of Outgoing
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COMMENTS: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter. Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOP). Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files. Refer questions about the Correspondence Tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590

AM 5/22/84

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: Fred Ryan

FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Information

Action

Mr. Deaver would like you to
get more details and also
check this out with Pam Bailey.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1984

*13rd
ask FR to get
more details
✓ Wick
Pam Bailey*

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: Larry Speakes *S*

The proposal that the President and Mrs. Reagan participate in the television special to raise funds for public television has merit. It would not involve a lot of their time and would identify them with the private sector funding of a program that has faced budget reductions.

It would be a good idea to see this proposal fleshed out more before the President commits to participate.

AW


*- Send to file
- No answer necessary
- Wick's office contacted 3 times; no additional information ever received.
JGJ*

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director

Send to
Harry and
for his thought



April 23, 1984

225001

Dear Bill:

Attached for your information is a letter of January 30 which I received from Leonard Garment (Tab A) and a letter of January 19 to Mr. Garment from then-President of PBS, Larry Grossman (Tab B). Because of a bureaucratic foul-up, I am sending this correspondence to you only now.

As you can see, Mr. Grossman's letter outlines a proposed commercial television special for public television. The special program, to run in prime time on commercial television stations throughout the country, will serve as a curtain raiser for public television's December 1984 fund raising week. It is the hope of the steering committee overseeing the project that President and Mrs. Reagan would participate in the event.

The request appears to be highly meritorious. I would appreciate your reaction. Thank so much for taking the time to consider this request.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Charles Z. Wick

(Dictated but not signed during the Director's absence from the office.)

Mr. William F. Sittman
Special Assistant to the President
and to the Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House

LEONARD GARMENT
2101 L STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037

January 30, 1984

Dear Charlie:

I think this should be presented to the White House with a strong endorsement.

To declare my interest, I have been counsel to the National Association of Public Television Stations for the past couple of years. That, however, explains why I'm forwarding this document, not why I support it.

On the merits, and for a number of reasons, I think participation by the President and Mrs. Reagan in this event would be an excellent idea.

Best,



Leonard Garment

Honorable Charles Z. Wick
Director, U.S. Information Agency
301 Fourth Street, S.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20547

Charlie, call me when you're back and I'll tell you a little bit more about this Larry Grossman, by the way, has just been appointed President of NBC News.

L.

January 19, 1984

Leonard Garment, Esquire
Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin
2101 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Len:

As promised, here is an outline of the proposed commercial television special for public television that we discussed on the phone:

Next December there will be a nationwide two-hour commercial television spectacular saluting public television. It will feature the nation's biggest stars and most important personalities. The special program, to run in prime time on commercial television stations throughout the country, will serve as a glittery curtain raiser for public television's December fund raising week. Co-chairmen of the event for the broadcasting industry are Bill Baker, President of Group W Westinghouse, and Ralph Baruch, Chairman of Viacom. Income from sale of commercial time on the special will be used to pay for the costs of production and to provide funds for public television. In addition there will be tie-ins between the commercial television stations in each market and the local public television stations, to help raise funds for the individual public television channels. This entire project is an outgrowth of the National Association of Broadcasters' initiative to seek additional sources of private support for public television.

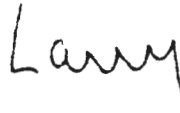
There is a distinguished steering committee overseeing this effort representing the television, advertising agency, production and talent agent communities.

The steering committee feels that it would be of vital importance to receive the endorsement and patronage of the President (and Mrs. Reagan, if possible) in order to succeed in turning out the very top names for the program. The plan would be to ask President (and Mrs.) Reagan to serve as chairman or chief patron, and to invite Presidents Ford and Carter, as well--in order to achieve nonpartisan status. As you know, President and Mrs. Reagan have been among public television's greatest supporters, offering their enthusiastic encouragement of private sector support. In fact, thanks to NAPTS' effort, President Reagan last year cut a video tape especially for PBS, encouraging corporations to become underwriters of public television programs.

Leonard Garment, Esquire
January 19, 1984
Page Two

My understanding is that Bill Baker of Group W will be talking to Ed Meese sometime next week. We undertook to make inquiries, as well, on behalf of public television. Anything that you can do to ~~open the door to~~ the White House for this most promising project would be deeply appreciated.

All best,



Lawrence K. Grossman

LKG:ef

cc: Bruce L. Christensen
Rhett Dawson

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

PRO 16

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD)

8/105107

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT:

Charles Z. Wick

DC Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____

(B) _____

(C) _____

SUBJECT:

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ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<i>PS SPEA</i>	ORIGINATOR	<i>8/105107 PY</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>8/105107</i>
<i>honey speaker</i>	Referral Note:	<i>8/105107</i>		<i>S</i>	<i>8/105109</i>
	Referral Note:	<i>honey - Mrs Wick</i>			
	Referral Note:	<i>Direct reply to Wick</i>			
		<i>1 1</i>			<i>1 1</i>
	Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
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DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

COMMENTS:

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director

Send to

Larry Sp...
for his thought



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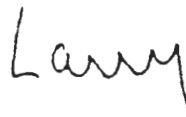
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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Larry".

Lawrence K. Grossman

LKG:ef

cc: Bruce L. Christensen
Rhett Dawson