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WASHINGTON

December 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Proposed Talking Points on the President's First Three Years

Richard Darman has asked that comments on the abovereferenced talking points be sent directly to Mike Baroody
by 2:00 p.m. today. The proposed talking points review the
Reagan record after three years, with the predominant focus
on the economic recovery. Foreign affairs and defense
issues appear only briefly at the very end, almost as an
afterthought. I recommend raising this imbalance in a
general way in our memorandum to Baroody. The attached
draft of that memorandum also contains several stylistic
comments.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL E. BAROODY

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

FROM: FRED F. F

FRED F. FIELDING Orig. signed by FFF

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

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Proposed Talking Points on the President's First Three Years

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced talking points, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective. We do, however, note that the foreign affairs and defense accomplishments of the past three years receive relatively short shrift in the talking points, and question whether discussion of those issues should not be expanded in a document that purports to be a comprehensive review of the Administration record. More specific stylistic comments follow:

- o Page 1, first bullet item: To preserve parallelism,
 "solvency" should be "insolvency" and "growth"
 should be "stagnation."
- o Page 1, last bullet item: Quotation mark needed at end of quotation.
- o Page 2, third bullet item: Delete first "of."
- o Page 5, first two sentences: As written the second sentence contradicts the entire first sentence and not simply the "many thought insoluble" clause. The second sentence can be deleted.
- o Page 6, first bullet item: Should "New" be added before "[o]pportunities"?
- o Page 7: This bullet item is very poorly written. Suggested revision:

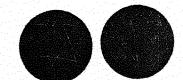
Our alliances have been strengthened. U.S. leadership has been demonstrated to the world - and welcomed - in forums such as the Williamsburg economic summit and the UN after the Korean airline

massacre. Our welcomed leadership was clearly evident in the rescue mission we undertook in Grenada to protect innocent lives and to help restore democratic institutions.

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 12/15/83
bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

\TE:	12/15/83	ACTION/	CONCURRE	NCE/CO	MMENT DUE BY: 2:00	p.m. TODAY	.m. TODAY				
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Please forward any edits/comments directly to Mike Baroody, with a copy to my office, by 2:00 p.m. TODAY. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

A NEW BEGINNING: THREE YEARS OF PROGRESS

As President Reagan's third year in office comes to an end, it's apparent that the new beginning he promised for America has been made.

Seldom has a new President come into office faced with problems any larger, or on any wider front, than Ronald Reagan faced at the start of 1981.

But at the end of 1983, many of those same problems had been solved and in stark contrast to conditions when he took office, America is on the mend. In many ways, it's coming back stronger than ever.

The record of accomplishment is a lengthy one. Put in just a few words, it's this:

In 3 short years, America has been restored. The economy is growing again; inflation's been tamed and people are going back to work. Our military strength is being renewed and our national will has been demonstrated. Confidence is growing that Government can do its job when it understands what that job should be.

The mess we were in

- o By the end of the 1970s, serious problems like inflation, energy dependence, Social Security's solvency, economic growth, looked as if they were years away from solution, at best.
- o There was growing doubt that government could act.
 President Carter's counsel called for constitutional
 revisions to change the system. Without it, he argued,
 no President could be able to pass a program.
- Many thought inflation would take a decade to tame; that economic growth was something we'd have to learn to live without; that America's military strength and moral leadership role in world affairs was in inevitable decline; that her will was permanently weakened.
- o The fear was widespread that almost every problem was out of control and beyond the ability of government to solve, or even to affect.
- o But in his inaugural, President Reagan said that many of America's ills "have come upon us over several decades." With characteristic optimism, he added, "they will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away.

Cleaning up the economic mess

- o 1983 has been a very good year for the economy. It was a year that many thought couldn't happen at all; others said it could -- but not until the 1990s.
- o President Reagan's program for economic recovery didn't solve our economic problems in days. But after only three years in office, with his program in effect for only 26 months, the President is able to look back on a full year of:
 - -- real GNP growth expected to be 6%+ for the year;
 - -- the lowest inflation rates since the late 1960s;
 -- falling unemployment rates, with record numbers at work by year's end -- when 102.7 million had jobs, an increase during the year of 3.6 million jobs.
- o In fact, 1983 was the first full year since 1972 when we had this favorable of a combination of consistent growth, low inflation and falling unemployment.
- o By the Fall of 1983, many economists who had been sceptical were becoming believers. The "Blue Chip" survey of leading economists reported the recovery was expected to last over 3 years.
- o Some went further saying the elements were in place for turning recovery into a prolonged economic expansion, that would last through the balance of the decade.
- o Almost all the economic indicators were bad, and getting worse at the start of 1981. By the end of 1983, most were good and getting even better:
 - -- Inflation was under 3% for the year as the CPI was cut to 1/4 the 1980 rate;
 - The Prime interest rate is about half the 1980 peak. It was still too high but 1983 ended with growing optimism that continued monetary stability would permit interest rates to fall during 1983;
 - -- Civilian unemployment in 1983 dropped'2 1/2 percentage points to 8.4%. This is the largest drop in over two decades;
 - -- GNP growth averaged about an 8.5% annual rate for the middle 2 quarters of the year and promised to end the year growing at a 6% rate or faster;
 - -- Industrial production rose almost 15% from the trough at the end of 1982 and America's factories were running near 80% of capacity;

- -- The composite index of 12 leading indicators, which predicts future changes in the economy, is on a strong upward trend;
- -- Business investment in new plant and equipment also started to rise -- accelerating to a 16.3% annual rate by 3rd quarter of 1983;
- -- Cars and houses, too, were selling much more briskly in 1983. Lower interest rates led to a full-fledged housing recovery -- with starts near 1.75 million for the year -- and U.S. auto makers sold 6.7 million cars;
- -- Consumer spending is also up with retail sales 11% higher than a year ago; and
- -- Wall Street too, set records in 1983. At year's end the Dow-Jones hovered close to the unprecedented 1300 mark and the President's program to create incentives paid-off as the number of individual stock investors grew by 10 million since 1981.

Four point program brought recovery

- O Less than a month after he took office, President Reagan announced his program for economic recovery. Congressional resistance prevented its full implementation, but he got more than most observers expected. In just three years:
 - -- Tax rates were reduced 25% for all Americans. In contrast, tax collections had doubled in the previous five years;
 - -- Federal spending growth was slowed from over 17% in 1980 to about half that rate now;
 - -- The burden of regulation was cut -- consumers and businesses have been saved billions of dollars and over 300 million hours of government paperwork each year; and
 - -- True to the President's promise, the Administration has encouraged the Federal Reserve to maintain stable growth in the money supply.

The effect on individuals and their families

- o Double-digit inflation in 1979 and 1980 robbed everyone. Poor people were hardest hit. A family with a \$5,000 fixed income at the start of 1979 lost more than \$1000 in purchasing power by the end of 1980.
- o A typical median income family of four whose income rose from \$22,600 at the start of 1979 to \$24,400 by the end of 1980 ended up \$3,250 poorer in purchasing power as inflation raged.
- o Lower inflation has made a typical family with a fixed income of \$29,300 have about \$2500 more in purchasing power than if inflation were still at the 1980 rate. (\$29,300 is 1983 median income for family of four).
- o Lower tax rates mean that family will pay \$700 less in federal income taxes for 1983 than if 1980 tax rates were still in effect. (Despite a typical family increase of \$3000 for such a family, it actually will pay \$44 less for 1983 than for 1981.)
- o Together, lower taxes and inflation mean the family on fixed income has about \$3200 more in purchasing power than it would have had if inflation had continued at its 1980 rate.
- o The same holds true at other income levels -- much higher purchasing power due to much lower inflation and lower tax rates.

Home-ownership more affordable for more families.

- o The monthly payment on a \$50,000 mortgage has dropped \$160 since early 1982 as interest rates have fallen.
- o An \$80,000 30-year mortgage now costs \$260 a month less.
- o Statisticians say the lower rates -- down about 6 points the last year and a half -- have put home-ownership in reach for about 10 million who couldn't afford it 2 years ago.

A Proud Domestic Record

Besides recovery, the Reagan record includes a number of successful efforts to solve problems many thought insoluble.

But the record -- on a wide range of issues -- shows otherwise:

- The Social Security retirement fund has been made solvent. The President's leadership in seeking a bipartisan solution from the Congress achieved a breakthrough that led to enactment of a reform bill in April of 1983.
 - -- Despite warnings from President Reagan and others, some denied the trust fund was in trouble, delaying serious consideration of reform. In November of 1982, when the retirement fund had to borrow to cover checks, all doubts that the President was right were erased.
 - -- Not only has the system been saved, but since the President took office, monthly benefits have risen -- by about \$170 for the average retired couple.
- o Energy dependence is way down. The U.S. imports less than half the oil it did in 1977 -- much of it now from neighbors Mexico and Canada, a far smaller share from OPEC sources.
 - -- Critics said oil decontrol would lead to \$2 a gallon gasoline. The price is far from that and actually less than pre-decontrol.
 - -- Experts say decontrol weakened OPECs ability to hike prices arbitrarily -- by freeing the market instead of limiting U.S. production with artificially low prices.
 - -- Of 375 million barrels now in the strategic petroleum reserve, 265 have been stored since President Reagan took office.
- o Education is now discussed more in terms of how much students should learn than how much the federal government should spend, thanks to the President's leadership.
 - -- The Excellence Commission, created soon after the President took office, has stimulated national debate focused not on budgets, but on standards and requirements for students and teachers.

- -- While the Education Department remains, it has been streamlined (staff has been reduced nearly 30%) and so have its programs (29 separate ones have been combined into a block grant giving state and local government more flexibility).
- o Job Training has been turned around by implementation of the Administration's Job Training Partnership Act in October of 1983. Opportunities for permanent, lasting jobs in the private sector are now available for more than 1 million workers of all ages each year.
 - -- In contrast to the old CETA program, under which 18 cents of every dollar was spent on training, the Job Training Partnership Act will devote 70 cents of every dollar to training.
 - -- The new \$3.5 billion program will be targeted at those who face the toughest employment barriers -- disadvantaged young people, AFDC recipients and dislocated workers.
 - -- JTPA is a training program not a welfare program. Results will be judged on how well people are trained not how many.
- o Health care benefits for the elderly and disabled have been strengthened by the most significant reforms in Medicare's 18 year history. To deal with rising health care costs while retaining full benefits, Medicare has changed the way it pays hospitals by rewarding hospitals for efficient practices and penalizing inefficiency.

U.S. defenses, and the Nation's world leadership role are also being restored.

- o The declining U.S. commitment to adequate defense spending has been reversed under President Reagan and funding for needed defense systems such as B-1 and MX is being secured.
- o The U.S. has adopted a firm, realistic posture toward the Soviet Union at the same time we have put forward a comprehensive set of proposals for mutual and verifiable arms reductions.

Our alliances have been strengthened and, in numerous forums such as at Williamsburg for the economic summit, at the UN after the Korean airline massacre, and in the rescue action in Grenade to protect innocent lives and to assist in the restoration of democratic institutions, U.S. leadership has been demonstrated to the world -- and it has been welcomed.

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December 16, 1983

A NEW BEGINNING: THREE YEARS OF PROGRESS

As President Reagan's third year in office comes to an end, it's apparent that the new beginning he promised for America has been made.

Seldom has a new President come into office faced with problems any larger, or on any wider front, than Ronald Reagan faced at the start of 1981.

But at the end of 1983, many of those same problems had been solved and in stark contrast to conditions when he took office, America is on the mend. In many ways, it's coming back stronger than ever.

The record of accomplishment is a lengthy one. Put in just a few words, it's this:

> In 3 short years, America has been restored. economy is growing again; inflation's been tamed and people are going back to work. Our military strength is being renewed and our national will has been demonstrated. Confidence is growing that Government can act in ways that respond to people's wishes.

The mess we were in

- By the end of the 1970s, serious problems like infla-0 tion, energy dependence, Social Security's insolvency, and economic stagnation looked as if they were years away from solution, at best.
- Many thought inflation would take a decade to tame; 0 that economic growth was something we'd have to learn to live without; that America's military strength and moral leadership role in world affairs was in inevitable decline; that her will was permanently weakened.
- The fear was widespread that almost every problem was out of control and beyond the ability of government to solve, or even to affect.
- But in his inaugural, President Reagan said that many of America's ills "have come upon us over several decades." With characteristic optimism, he added, "they will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away."

Cleaning up the economic mess

- o 1983 has been a very good year for the economy. It was a year that many thought couldn't happen at all; others said it could -- but not until the 1990s.
- o President Reagan's program for economic recovery didn't solve our economic problems in days. But after only three years in office, with his program in effect for only 26 months, the President is able to look back on a full year of:
 - -- real GNP growth expected to be 6%+ for the year;
 - -- the lowest inflation rates since the late 1960s;
 - -- <u>falling unemployment rates</u>, with record numbers at work by year's end -- when by November of 1983, 102.7 million (seasonally adjusted) had jobs, an increase during the year of 3.6 million jobs.
- o In fact, 1983 was the first full year since 1972 with so favorable a combination of consistent growth, low inflation and falling unemployment.
- o By the Fall of 1983, many economists who had been skeptical were becoming believers. The "Blue Chip" survey of leading economists reported the recovery was expected to last over 3 years.
- o Some went further saying the elements were in place for turning recovery into a prolonged economic expansion, that would last through the balance of the decade.
- o Almost all the economic indicators were bad, and getting worse at the start of 1981. By the end of 1983, most were good and getting even better:
 - -- <u>Inflation</u> was under 3% for the past 12 month period (ending in November) as the rate of increase in the CPI was cut to 1/4 the 1980 rate.
 - -- The prime interest rate at 11% ended the year at about half the 1980 peak.
 - -- Civilian unemployment in 1983 dropped 2 1/2 percentage points to 8.4%. This is the largest drop in the first 12 months of any previous postwar recovery in the last 3 decades.
 - -- GNP growth averaged about an 8.7% annual rate for the middle 2 quarters of the year and growth for the full year was expected to be in the 6% range.

- -- Industrial production rose almost 16% from the trough at the end of 1982 and America's factories were running near 80% of capacity.
- -- The composite index of 12 leading indicators, which predicts future changes in the economy, is on a strong upward trend.
- -- Business investment in new plant and equipment also started to rise -- accelerating to about a 16% annual rate by 3rd quarter of 1983.
- -- Cars and houses, too, were selling much more briskly in 1983. Lower interest rates led to a full-fledged housing recovery -- with starts near 1.75 million for the year -- and U.S. auto makers sold 6.7 million cars.
- -- Consumer spending is also up with retail sales 11% higher than a year ago.
- -- Wall Street too, set records in 1983. At year's end the Dow-Jones was in the 1250 range and the President's program to create incentives paid-off as the number of individual stock investors grew by 10 million since 1981.

Four point program brought recovery

- O Less than a month after he took office, President
 Reagan announced his program for economic recovery.
 Congressional resistance prevented its full implementation, but he got more than most observers expected. In just three years:
 - -- Tax rates were reduced 25% for all Americans. In contrast, tax collections had doubled in the previous five years;
 - -- Federal spending growth was slowed from over 17% in 1980 to about half that rate now;
 - -- The burden of regulation was cut -- consumers and businesses have been saved billions of dollars and over 300 million hours of government paperwork has been cut each year; and
 - -- True to the President's promise, the Administration has encouraged the Federal Reserve to maintain stable growth in the money supply.

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- o A typical median income family of four whose income rose from \$22,600 at the start of 1979 to \$24,400 by the end of 1980 ended up with \$3,250 less in purchasing power as inflation raged.
- o Lower inflation has resulted in about \$2500 more in purchasing power for that family in 1983 than if inflation were still at the 1980 rate (assuming the family of four is still at the median income -- \$29,300 in 1983).
- o Lower tax rates mean that a family will pay \$700 less in federal income taxes for 1983 than if 1980 tax rates were still in effect. (Despite a typical income increase of \$3000 for such a family, it actually will pay \$44 less for 1983 than for 1981.)
- o Together, lower taxes and inflation mean that the typical family has about \$3200 more in purchasing power than it would have had if inflation had continued at its 1980 rate.
- o The same holds true at other income levels -- much higher purchasing power due to much lower inflation and lower tax rates.

Home-ownership more affordable for more families.

- o The monthly payment on a \$50,000 mortgage has dropped \$160 since early 1982 as interest rates have fallen.
- o An \$80,000 30-year mortgage now costs \$260 a month less.
- o Lower mortgage interest rates -- down about 4 percentage points since early 1982 -- and stable noninflationary prices have put homeownership in reach for about 5 million families who couldn't afford it 2 years ago.

A Proud Domestic Record

Besides recovery, the Reagan record includes a number of successful efforts to solve problems many thought insoluble.

- o The Social Security retirement fund has been made solvent. The President's leadership in seeking a bipartisan solution from the Congress achieved a breakthrough that led to enactment of a reform bill in April of 1983.
 - -- Despite warnings from President Reagan and others, some denied the trust fund was in trouble, delaying serious consideration of reform. In November of 1982, when the retirement fund had to borrow to cover checks, all doubts that the President was right were erased.
 - -- Not only has the system been saved, but since the President took office, monthly benefits have risen -- by about \$170 for the average retired couple.
- o Energy dependence is way down. The U.S. imports only half the oil it did in 1977 -- much of it now from neighbors Mexico and Canada, a far smaller share from OPEC sources.
 - -- Critics said oil decontrol would lead to \$2 a gallon gasoline. The price is far from that and actually less than pre-decontrol.
 - -- Experts say decontrol weakened OPECs ability to hike prices arbitrarily -- by freeing the market instead of limiting U.S. production with artificially low prices.
 - -- The Administration has tripled the amount of oil in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve from about 100 million barrels at the end of 1980 to 375 million barrels, or a little more than half of the total planned level of 750 million barrels. This is equal to approximately 73 days of U.S. imports at current levels.
- o Education is now discussed more in terms of how much students should learn than how much the federal government should spend, thanks to the President's leadership.
 - -- The Excellence in Education Commission, created soon after the President took office, has stimulated national debate focused not on budgets, but on standards and requirements for students and teachers.

- o Job Training has been turned around by implementation of the Administration's Job Training Partnership Act in October of 1983. Opportunities for training that will lead to permanent, lasting jobs in the private sector are now available for more than 1 million workers of all ages each year.
 - -- In contrast to the old CETA program, under which 18 cents of every dollar was spent on training, the Job Training Partnership Act will devote 70 cents of every dollar to training.
 - -- The new \$3.5 billion program will be targeted at those who face the toughest employment barriers -- disadvantaged young people, AFDC recipients and dislocated workers.
 - -- JTPA is a training program not a welfare program. Results will be judged on how well people are trained not how many.
- o Health care benefits for the elderly and disabled have been strengthened by the most significant reforms in Medicare's 18 year history. To deal with rising health care costs while retaining full benefits, Medicare has fundamentally changed the way it pays hospitals -- by paying hospitals a fixed price for a procedure rather than reimbursing for "costs," almost regardless of a hospital's efficiency or inefficiency.
- O Housing assistance for low income elderly, disabled and families has been increased from 3.2 million to 3.7 million but per unit costs have been reduced by utilizing direct subsidies to people renting existing housing.

U.S. defenses, and the Nation's world leadership role are also being restored.

- o The declining U.S. commitment to adequate defense spending has been reversed under President Reagan and funding for needed strategic and conventional military systems is being secured.
- o The U.S. has adopted a firm, realistic posture toward the Soviet Union at the same time we have put forward a comprehensive set of proposals for mutual and verifiable arms reductions.

Our commitment to restoring our defenses, our decisive response to protect innocent lives in Grenada and our successful efforts to strengthen our alliances have demostrated to friend and foe alike that America is once again willing and able to accept the responsibilities of a leader of the free world.

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Draft Presidential Remarks: News

Conference Opening Statement

Richard Darman has asked for comments on the attached draft remarks by 10:00 a.m. today. The remarks review the progress of the economic recovery and cite statistics to support the proposition that the country is enjoying the strongest economic recovery with the lowest rate of inflation since the 60's. I have reviewed the remarks and have no objections.

Attachment

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING Orig. signed by FFF

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Draft Presidential Remarks: News

Conference Opening Statement

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 12/20/83

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Draft Presidential Remarks: News

Conference Opening Statement

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks, and finds no objection to them from a legal perspective.

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FFF:JGR:aea 12/20/83

bcc: FFFielding/JGRoberts/Subj/Chron

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H - INTERNAL 1 - INCOMING Date Correspondence Received (YYMMIDD) Ame of Correspondent: Richard G. DARMAN MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) (B) (C) Diplect: Draft Projectural Removes: News Conference Opening Statement DUTE TO: ACTION DISPOSITION Tracking Date of Projection Date of Outgoing Date of Ou				
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 12/19/83	ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:	12/20/83 - 10:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NEWS CONFERENCE OPENING STATEMENT

(12/19- 7:00 p.m. draft)

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REMARKS:

PLEASE PROVIDE COMMENTS DIRECTLY TO BEN ELLIOTT, WITH A COPY TO MY OFFICE, BY 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW, 12/20. THANK YOU.

RESPONSE:

(Elliott)
December 19, 1983
7:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NEWS CONFERENCE OPENING STATEMENT TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1983

Good evening. I have a few words before taking your questions. With the holiday season upon us, I'm delighted to see Americans giving each other the best Christmas present possible -- a strong economy that will ensure more jobs and opportunities in the months ahead.

Confidence is in the air -- and with good reason. Recent reports on prices, retail sales, employment and factory use confirm a very welcome piece of news: The United States is enjoying the strongest economic recovery and the lowest rate of inflation since the sixties.

Wholesale prices last month actually fell. Consumers are flocking into stores during the holiday season. Our factories are operating at nearly 80 percent capacity -- up 10 percent from a year ago. While unemployment is still too high, there are more people working in this country today than ever before and every month we're creating 300,000 new jobs. All in all, 1983 has been a banner year for the American economy.

In the last few weeks, I have been involved in a number of meetings about next year's budget. It is clear that here in Washington, all of us -- both in the Congress and in the executive branch -- still have our work cut out for us.

[I should emphasize that we try to be cautious in our forecasts, and no one can predict the future. This year, the economy performed much better than experts in or out of

Government had predicted.] If the Congress will work with me to restrain Government spending, and not pile new taxes on the people, we can justify the people's confidence and keep America moving forward.

If we work together 1984 will see strong and steady progress for America -- continuing economic growth, unemployment coming down and inflation staying under control.