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Collection Name ROBERTS, JOHN: FILES

Withdrawer

IGP 8/4/2005

File Folder CHRON FILE (09/26/1983 - 09/28/1983)

FOIA

F05-139/01

Box Number

COOK

32IGP

DOC NO	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions	
1	MEMO	ROBERTS TO FIELDING THRU HAUSER RE DIEGO ASENIO	1	9/26/1983	B6	590

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

E.O. 13233

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: New Constitutional Amendment Proposed by
the "Los Angeles Professional Republican
Women, Federated"

Donna Little, founder and President of the fledgling Los Angeles Professional Republican Women, Federated, has written Mr. Deaver to suggest that the President offer a new version of a Constitutional amendment to guarantee equal rights for women. Little thinks this strategy would help bridge the purported "gender gap." She does not suggest any specific wording for the new version, but would be happy to work on it. Deaver sent Little a brief nonsubstantive reply, and has asked for our views.

Little's idea is neither theoretically nor practically sound. Many of the President's objections to the ERA are based not on the particular language of the proposal but rather the vehicle of a Constitutional amendment. Any amendment would ipso facto override the prerogatives of the States and vest the federal judiciary with broader powers in this area, two of the central objections to the ERA. The President's position that a Constitutional amendment is not necessary to secure equal rights is also not based on objection to the particular language of the ERA.

As a practical matter, any shift in position on this issue - and support of a modified ERA would be a dramatic shift - would likely cause more harm than good. The President would be perceived as crassly opportunistic, and would risk losing the devotion of some of his most loyal supporters. I have listed these concerns in the attached draft memorandum to Deaver. I do not know if we should reply directly to Little, rejecting her suggestion, so I have also raised that question in the Deaver memorandum.

Attachments

*add to MKD memo -
JP "I recommend no further response"
at this time.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: New Constitutional Amendment Proposed by
the "Los Angeles Professional Republican
Women, Federated"

You have asked for our views on a proposal submitted by Donna A. Little, founder and President of the fledgling Los Angeles Professional Republican Women, Federated. In her letter to you of September 14, Little suggested that the President could capture significant female support by proposing a new version of a Constitutional amendment to guarantee equal rights for women.

In our view such a strategy would be ill-advised, both on theoretical and practical grounds. The President's and the Administration's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment is based in large measure not on the particular language of the proposal but on the vehicle of a Constitutional amendment. Any Constitutional amendment would override the prerogatives of the states and inject the federal judiciary into social disputes in this area. Our oft-stated position that an amendment is not necessary to secure equal rights for women is also not dependent on the particular language of the Equal Rights Amendment.

As a practical matter, any shift in the President's position of the sort suggested by Ms. Little would likely be perceived as crassly opportunistic and hurt the President more than help him. We would be happy to explain these concerns to Ms. Little if you think that would be appropriate.

I recommend no further response at this time.

FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: George Gregory Korkala

You will recall that I raised matters concerning Mr. Korkala at last Thursday's staff meeting. Korkala is awaiting trial in United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York for his alleged arms smuggling activities with E. Wilson. While a Congressman, Jim Coyne tried to assist Korkala's mother and wife in obtaining information about Korkala's safety in the wake of a story - presumably apochryphal - that Korkala had been kidnapped. Korkala wrote Coyne in April, trying to find out why he had not been given a desired opportunity to testify before Congressional committees. Coyne did not reply, and Korkala wrote again in June. On July 29, Coyne referred the matter to us. We have been holding the matter because of advice from Coyne's staff of imminent developments in the form of a request from Mrs. Korkala.

Mrs. Korkala has now asked Coyne for her Congressional file and, as we discussed at Thursday's meeting, that has been provided to her. To tie up the loose ends, I recommend sending the two Korkala letters to Justice, and have prepared a transmittal memorandum.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWARD C. SCHMULTS
DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: George Gregory Korkala

The attached letters from George Gregory Korkala, who is awaiting trial in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York, were sent to James Coyne. Mr. Coyne and his staff had performed constituent services for Mr. Korkala's mother and wife during Coyne's service as a Member of Congress. We have not responded to the letters, and transmit them to you for whatever action, if any, is appropriate.

Attachment

FFF:JGR:aea 9/27/83

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED F. FIELDING
Counsel to the President

FROM: JAMES K. COYNE *JKC*
Special Assistant to the President
for Private Sector Initiatives

SUBJECT: Request for Assistance

Attached is correspondence I received from Gary Korkala concerning his desire to testify before Congressional Intelligence Committees. Due to the sensitive nature of this case, I feel that it would be more appropriate for your office to respond to his concerns.

By way of background, Mr. Korkala's mother contacted my Congressional office last year to request our assistance in determining Mr. Korkala's fate in Beirut. We enlisted the help of the State Department and basically just tried to comfort Mr. Korkala's wife and mother during the time he was missing.

Thank you for your assistance.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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ROBERTS, JOHN: FILES

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NO Document Description

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1 MEMO

1 9/26/1983 B6

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Continuing Correspondence From
Alfred J. Schweppe

Schweppe recently wrote you noting his constitutional objections to revenue sharing and his support for the President's views on federalism. You responded by sending Schweppe a copy of the President's recent address to the National Association of Towns and Townships on these subjects. Schweppe has now written again, objecting to the President's commitment to revenue sharing in the speech. Schweppe's theory - that federal tax dollars can only be used for national, not local purposes - is one of those, like strict interpretations of the interstate commerce clause and the non-delegation doctrine, that are sound in logic and history but have been, as it it were, overtaken by events.

I do not think we need to get into a debate with Schweppe, nor is it likely that he expects further correspondence from us on this point. I recommend no response.

Attachment

ID # 167222CU

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

*John has
outstanding
correspondence*

Name of Correspondent: Alfred J. Schweppe☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Unconstitutionality of general revenue
sharing

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>CULT011</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83109125</u>			<u>1 1</u>
<u>CVAT 18</u>	Referral Note: <u>A</u>	<u>83109125</u>		<u>5</u>	<u>8310102</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

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C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

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

Comments: See ID 112464CW

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SCHWEPPE, KRUG, TAUSEND & BEEZER, P.S.

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WARREN A. DOOLITTLE
JOHN N. RUPP
FREDRIC C. TAUSEND
OF COUNSEL

ROBERT R. BEEZER
MARK M. HOUGH
DAVID G. KNIBB
MARY ELLEN KRUG
DONALD H. MULLINS
KENNETH E. REKOW
ROBERT J. ROHAN
JEROME L. RUBIN
ALFRED J. SCHWEPPE
J. RONALD SIM
JUDITH B. STOUDE
REX B. STRATTON
JAMES B. STREET
DEXTER A. WASHBURN

September 17, 1983

Mr. Fred F. Fielding
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fielding:

Thank you indeed for the copy of the President's address to the National Association of Towns and Townships. It was, as usual, a delightful performance.

However, I am disturbed by his statement on page 6, last paragraph:

"I continue to support general revenue sharing and will oppose any changes."

That is the very thing that I showed in my American Bar Association articles to be unconstitutional along with all other grants for local purposes.

These unconstitutional programs were congressionally created with some presidential boosts, particularly from Lyndon Johnson; but it has been my hope that they would be sharply curtailed by this administration. Perhaps I can still hope.

Sincerely,



ALFRED J. SCHWEPPE

AJS:yn

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: New Constitutional Amendment Proposed by
the "Los Angeles Professional Republican
Women, Federated"

Donna Little, founder and President of the fledgling Los Angeles Professional Republican Women, Federated, has written Mr. Deaver to suggest that the President offer a new version of a Constitutional amendment to guarantee equal rights for women. Little thinks this strategy would help bridge the purported "gender gap." She does not suggest any specific wording for the new version, but would be happy to work on it. Deaver sent Little a brief nonsubstantive reply, and has asked for our views.

Little's idea is neither theoretically nor practically sound. Many of the President's objections to the ERA are based not on the particular language of the proposal but rather the vehicle of a Constitutional amendment. Any amendment would ipso facto override the prerogatives of the States and vest the federal judiciary with broader powers in this area, two of the central objections to the ERA. The President's position that a Constitutional amendment is not necessary to secure equal rights is also not based on objection to the particular language of the ERA.

As a practical matter, any shift in position on this issue - and support of a modified ERA would be a dramatic shift - would likely cause more harm than good. The President would be perceived as crassly opportunistic, and would risk losing the devotion of some of his most loyal supporters. I have listed these concerns in the attached draft memorandum to Deaver. I do not know if we should reply directly to Little, rejecting her suggestion, so I have also raised that question in the Deaver memorandum.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: New Constitutional Amendment Proposed by
the "Los Angeles Professional Republican
Women, Federated"

You have asked for our views on a proposal submitted by Donna A. Little, founder and President of the fledgling Los Angeles Professional Republican Women, Federated. In her letter to you of September 14, Little suggested that the President could capture significant female support by proposing a new version of a Constitutional amendment to guarantee equal rights for women.

In our view such a strategy would be ill-advised, both on theoretical and practical grounds. The President's and the Administration's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment is based in large measure not on the particular language of the proposal but on the vehicle of a Constitutional amendment. Any Constitutional amendment would override the prerogatives of the states and inject the federal judiciary into social disputes in this area. Our oft-stated position that an amendment is not necessary to secure equal rights for women is also not dependent on the particular language of the Equal Rights Amendment.

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FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1Name of Correspondent: Donna A. Little☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: New Constitutional Amendment proposed by
the "Los Angeles Professional Republican Women,
Federated"**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>CWAT 17</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83.09.22</u>			<u>1 1</u>
<u>CWAT 18</u>	Referral Note: <u>D</u>	<u>83.09.22</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>83.09.23</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

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

Comments: _____

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WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING

☐ H - INTERNAL

☒ I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence received (YY/MM/DD) 83/09/20

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: Dana A. Little

☒ DC Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

SUBJECT: Los Angeles Times
Republican Women Federation
new version of Institutional
movement

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>DC Sit</u>		ORIGINATOR	<u>83/09/20</u>	<u>MD</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>83/09/20</u>
<u>CUERL</u>		Referral Note:	<u>83/09/20</u>			<u>S 83/09/21</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>Acknowledgment sent</u> <u>from MKO, then referred</u> <u>on to D.E. for recom.</u>			
		Referral Note:				
		Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:		DISPOSITION CODES:	FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
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F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be	X - Interim Reply	S - Suspended	

COMMENTS: _____

117550

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1983

Dear Ms. Little:

Thank you for your letter of September 14 offering suggestions as to ways the President might counter recent criticism from various women's groups.

I want you to know that your proposal for a Presidentially sponsored constitutional amendment will be looked at very closely. In the meantime, let me thank you, too, for your offer of assistance. You can be certain that we will be in touch with you if the occasion arises.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Ms. Donna A. Little
Los Angeles Professional
Republican Women, Federated
11930 Montana Avenue #203
Los Angeles, CA 90049

112200

**LOS ANGELES PROFESSIONAL
REPUBLICAN WOMEN, FEDERATED**

September 14, 1983

The Honorable Michael Deaver
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

*Through
her idea
to 77.*

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I have been informed that you are presently exploring ways to negate the recent criticisms levied against the President by certain predominantly Democratic women's groups. ~~I am an attorney who has recently formed a group of Republican business women called the Los Angeles Professional Republican Women's Club.~~ This group presently has twenty-five members (most of whom are between twenty-five and forty-five years old) and is expanding rapidly. I am the president of the club.

I am writing because I have a specific suggestion. The Democratic women's groups which are presently criticizing the President are, I believe, engaged in a campaign to undermine the President's support among women by depicting him as "anti-women." This campaign is predicated largely upon the President's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, whose passage they worked so diligently for. That "ERA," of course, failed to gain the necessary support among the states, notwithstanding their efforts. Consequently, ~~I believe the opportunity has now presented itself for the President to convert this issue to his own political advantage by proposing a new version of a Constitutional amendment—one which would be consistent with Republican principles and yet would address the more legitimate concerns of the women's groups.~~ By proposing his own "ERA"—one which would be acceptable to the vast majority of Americans, the President could, simultaneously, unite the nation on this divisive issue, replace the "anti-women" image created by the women's groups with that of a champion of women's rights, and capture for his own use the women's groups' favorite weapon in their efforts to undermine his support.

If you feel a Presidentially sponsored Constitutional amendment would be feasible, I would be happy to assist in any way I could in the drafting of same. In any event, I would appreciate your thoughts about the suggestion and would like to offer whatever assistance you feel I or my group could give in your endeavors with regard to women's issues.

Very truly yours,

Donna A. Little

Donna A. Little
11930 Montana Avenue #203
Los Angeles, California 90049
(213) 826-0996

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Continuing Correspondence from
Reginald R. Brinkmann, Jr.

You will recall that Mr. Brinkmann wrote James A. Baker III to complain that his civil rights had been violated in connection with service of process in a domestic dispute, and that Justice Department officials were not prosecuting his complaint. We referred the matter to Justice, and so advised Brinkmann.

Senator Tower was also looking into the matter for Brinkmann. Tower forwarded to Brinkmann copies of letters from U.S. Attorney Rolfe and Civil Rights Division Section Chief Rinzel explaining why they could do nothing with Brinkmann's complaint. Brinkmann has now replied to Tower, copy to you, threatening to "go public" to the New York Times, Washington Post, and Dan Rather. I recommend no response, but we should refer the letter to Justice, which was not copied.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWARD C. SCHMULTS
DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Continuing Correspondence from
Reginald R. Brinkmann, Jr.

On August 5, 1983, we referred correspondence from Reginald Brinkmann to you for appropriate action. We were recently copied on a letter from Brinkmann to Senator Tower on the same subject, and hereby refer same to you for whatever further action, if any, is appropriate.

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1Name of Correspondent: Reginald R. Brinkmann, Jr.☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: His civil rights complaint and the reply
of James A. Rolfe, United States Attorney
for the Northern District of Texas.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CWU011</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83109124</u> ^{WS}		<u>1/1</u>
<u>CWAT 18</u>	Referral Note: <u>D</u>	<u>83109124</u>	<u>continuing corresp</u>	<u>83110124</u> ^{WS}
	Referral Note: <u>F</u>	<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>		<u>1/1</u>

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Comments: copy of 157856 CU
attached

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS.

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Intercircuit Tribunal
Meeting (Wednesday, September 28, 5:00 p.m.)

The attached talking points review in outline form our objections to the Justice Department proposal to support creation of the Intercircuit Tribunal, and respond to some points raised by Justice.

Attachment

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING ON
INTERCIRCUIT TRIBUNAL

- The President has long opposed bureaucracy and judicial activism. The Intercircuit Tribunal proposal would create a new federal bureaucracy to permit the courts to do more than they already do.
- By relieving the Supreme Court of some of its more mundane cases, the Intercircuit Tribunal will free the Court to take on more Constitutional cases.
- Increasing the capacity of the federal judiciary increases its power, ineluctably at the expense of the other branches, including the Executive.
- Vesting broad powers - essentially those of a Supreme Court Justice - in judges not selected by the President undermines the impact of our own appointees to the Courts of Appeals. However chosen, the members of the Intercircuit Tribunal will be representative of sitting federal appellate judges, a group on which Carterites are disproportionately represented. Why increase the powers of that group?
- Creating the Intercircuit Tribunal as a "safety valve" for overload in the federal judiciary would relieve the pressure for more basic reform and greater judicial self-discipline. It is like punishing a child who exceeds his allowance by giving him more money. The response is likely to delay a cure by masking the symptoms.
- Expanding the corps of judges who can render nationally-binding opinions is a first step in the bureaucratization of the Supreme Court. The members of the Intercircuit Tribunal would essentially be Deputy Justices, and their existence would go far to transforming the unique character and sense of responsibility of the Supreme Court.

RESPONSES

- Point: We will only support creation of the Intercircuit Tribunal for a three-year, experimental period.

Response: Like all new bureaucratic structures, it is likely that once the Tribunal is in place, it will develop a life of its own. Paradoxically, if the Tribunal's critics are correct that the Supreme Court will simply take on new cases to replace those referred to the Tribunal, it will be even harder to terminate the Tribunal. Thus, the greater the failure of the Tribunal, the harder it will be to end it. It will become a necessary crutch.

- Point: The Justices support the proposal and we will alienate them if we oppose it.

Response: The Court of Appeals and District Court judges are almost unanimous in their vehement opposition to the Tribunal, and we should be at least as concerned about alienating them.

- Point: Our support will be contingent on more basic reform, and such linkage is a good means of securing that reform.

Response: There is no way to ensure such linkage once we have given our blessing to the Intercircuit Tribunal concept. The proposal should be and will be considered on its own merits.

- Point: The additional appellate capacity represented by the Intercircuit Tribunal is needed to rein in wayward liberal circuit courts.

Response: Whether the Tribunal will rein courts in or ride off with them will depend on its composition, which under all proposals is beyond our control or even influence. To the extent the Tribunal reflects the disposition of sitting judges, it is unlikely to be a restraining influence. Nor is it likely to give the only slightly more conservative Supreme Court more time to rein in the Courts of Appeals, since the Supreme Court will have to police the Intercircuit Tribunal itself as well as the circuit courts.

-- Point: The Chief Justice has a great deal invested in the proposal.

Response: This is not surprising, since it dramatically increases the powers of the branch he heads and, depending on which appointment scheme is adopted, his own personal power. We have supported many of his proposals - including the ludicrous "Chancellor" proposal - and, if the Chief is at all reasonable, we can be forgiven for defending the institutional interests of our own branch in this instance.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Joey Adams

Joey Adams telephoned me to let me know how disappointed he was to receive your letter declining his request for a foreword by the President. He thought that an exception might be made in his case since he was such a close and long-standing friend of the President. Adams has now asked for a brief note from the President about Adams - "'Joey's always been such a source of joy,' something like that."

I told him he could not use any such note on the book jacket or as a foreword, or in connection with the marketing of the book. He said he would not do so.

I am somewhat at a loss as to how to respond to Adams' request, which is nothing more nor less than a request for a nice letter about himself. I do not even know what the pretext for such a letter would be, and remain uneasy that Adams will try to use it to promote his book. I await your guidance.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT: Civil Aeronautics Board Decision in
Arrow Airways, Inc.

Richard Darman's office has asked for comments by close of business Thursday, September 29 on the above-referenced CAB decision, which was submitted for Presidential review as required by § 801(a) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended, 49 U.S.C. § 1461(a). Under this section, the President may disapprove, solely on the basis of foreign relations or national defense considerations, CAB actions involving either foreign air carriers or domestic carriers involved in foreign air transportation. If the President wishes to disapprove such CAB actions, he must do so within sixty days of submission (in this case, by October 10).

The order here has been reviewed by the appropriate departments and agencies, following the procedures established by Executive Order No. 11920 (1976). OMB recommends that the President not disapprove, and reports that the NSC and the Departments of State, Defense, Justice and Transportation have not identified any foreign relations or national defense reasons for disapproval. Since this order involves a domestic carrier, the proposed letter from the President to the CAB Chairman prepared by OMB includes the standard sentence designed to preserve availability of judicial review.

The order authorizes Arrow to serve the Denver-London route and revokes Western's certificate on the same route. My review confirms OMB's description of this as a "routine, noncontroversial matter."

A memorandum for Darman is attached for your review and signature.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Civil Aeronautics Board Decision in
Arrow Airways, Inc.

Our office has reviewed the above-referenced CAB decision and related materials and has no legal objection to the procedure that was followed with respect to Presidential review of such decisions under 49 U.S.C. § 1461(a).

We also have no legal objection to OMB's recommendation that the President not disapprove this order or to the substance of the letter from the President to the CAB Chairman prepared by OMB.

FFF:JGR:aea 9/27/83

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1Name of Correspondent: Richard G. Darman☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: CAB Decision re: Arrow Airways, Inc.

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>CUH011</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83109120</u>			<u>1/1</u>
<u>CUAT17</u>	Referral Note: <u>D</u>	<u>83109120</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>83109129</u>
<u>CU AT 18</u>	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure

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: _____

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*
SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Republican
Majority Fund Dinner, Tuesday, 9/27/83
(9/26 - 6:30 p.m. Draft)

Richard Darman has asked that any comments on the above-referenced draft remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by 10:00 a.m. today. The remarks praise Howard Baker and review the progress of the economic recovery.

On page 3, paragraph 4, there are coy remarks concerning the President's decision to seek reelection. I do not think they are particularly funny, and in light of the legal consequences surrounding an announcement, should be deleted. On page 5, line 22, the remarks state that we are ending "the Vietnam syndrome." The message conveyed is that we're no longer afraid to get involved in new Vietnams. I suggest deleting the entire sentence, or at least the specific reference to Vietnam. Finally, on page 6, line 10, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING *Orig. signed by FFF*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Republican
Majority Fund Dinner, Tuesday, 9/27/83
(9/26 - 6:30 p.m. Draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. We recommend deleting the joke on page 3, paragraph 4. It's not particularly funny, and the question of a reelection announcement is fraught with legal consequences that may be complicated by such "jokes." On page 5, line 22, the sentence seems to suggest that we are no longer afraid to become involved in new Vietnams. I recommend deleting the sentence; it is entirely superfluous in any event. Finally, on page 6, line 10, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

bcc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Republican
Majority Fund Dinner, Tuesday, 9/27/83
(9/26 - 6:30 p.m. Draft) .

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. We recommend deleting the joke on page 3, paragraph 4. It's not particularly funny, and the question of a reelection announcement is fraught with legal consequences that may be complicated by such "jokes." On page 5, line 22, the sentence seems to suggest that we are no longer afraid to become involved in new Vietnams. I recommend deleting the sentence; it is entirely superfluous in any event. Finally, on page 6, line 10, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

cc: Richard G. Darman

FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

bcc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD)

83,09,27

Name of Correspondent:

DARMAN, RICHARD G

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A)

(B)

(C)

Subject:

REMARKS: REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND DINNER
TUES. 9/27/83

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)

Action
CodeTracking
Date
YY/MM/DDType
of
Response

Code

Completion
Date
YY/MM/DD

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83,09,27

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ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
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Type of Response = Initials of Signer
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Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/26/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND DINNER
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1983
(9/16/83; 6:30 p.m.)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			FISCHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has gone forward to the President. Please provide any comments/edits directly to Ben Elliott in room 100 by 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW, Tuesday, September 27, 1983, with an information copy to my office.

Thank you.

RESPONSE:

SEP 27 1983

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 Ext. 2702

(Rohrabacher/BE)
September 26, 1983
6:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REPUBLICAN MAJORITY FUND DINNER
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1983

Senator and Mrs. Baker, Dr. and Mrs. Kissinger, ladies and gentlemen. We are here to recognize those Senators who have stood with us for 3 years and who are now running for re-election. We are also here to salute their leader and ours in the United States Senate, a man who means much to all of us, both professionally and personally.

One of the first things I learned when I got to my current job was just how serious Howard Baker really is . . . about photography that is. It's said that he is one of the few members of the Congress that would rather take your picture than twist your arm.

Well, there's a story -- and I understand it is a true story -- about a newspaper photographer out in Los Angeles who was called in by his editor and told about a fire raging in Palos Verdes, a hilly area in the Southern end of the county. The photographer's assignment was to rush down to a small local airport where a plane would be waiting, to get some pictures of the fire and be back in time for the afternoon edition.

The photographer sped down the freeway, breaking every traffic rule. He got to the airport and drove his car right to the end of the runway where, sure enough, a plane was revving up its engines ready to go. He jumped in the plane shouting, "Let's go" and they were off. As they got up to about 5,000 feet, he began getting his camera out of the bag and told the fella flying

the plane to get him over the fire so he could get his pictures and get back to the paper. From the other side of the cockpit there was a deafening silence. Then he heard those words he will always remember, "Wait a minute. Aren't you the instructor?"

Since 1966, Howard has been making the picture as well as taking the picture. Howard, I'd say you'll be missed, but if you make yourself scarce we're going to come looking for you, and you can count on that.

It is more than fitting that a dinner like this, which is beefing up the Republican Majority Fund, salutes Senator Baker. Under his leadership the Republicans in the United States Senate served faithfully as the loyal opposition, and for the last 3 years -- for the first time in half a century -- Republicans have maintained a majority in the upper house for two consecutive sessions.

Howard may not remember this, but he did me a tremendous service years back. It was right before the 1976 election year and I ran into Howard and Joy. He had a new camera. I was inspecting it and asked him if that was really the camera he wanted. And I'll always remember his answer. He said, "We bought it, we paid for it, and we're going to keep it."

Seriously though, with Howard's guidance we've proven to the American people that there is a difference in the 2 political parties, and that if given the chance we can make a sometimes frustrating democratic process work for the betterment of our people.

During the election of 1980, we Republicans stated our case and outlined our program. And we did not, as some now suggest, just run against my predecessor. The opposition, with few exceptions, had control of both houses of the Congress almost continually for 50 years. For long stretches, including the years just before the 1980 election, they controlled both houses of the Congress as well as the White House and all the departments and agencies.

Now, as much as they would like to blame the near crisis we inherited on my immediate predecessor, we know that is not true. It was not one individual who caused all those enormous problems America faced in 1980; it was 20 years of liberal policies, policies with good intentions, but unworkable solutions.

In January of 1981, we set out to do what we promised to do. Together, we have fundamentally changed the direction of American Government. We can be proud of what we've accomplished. To those who criticize, I say let them clearly state their alternative. Then let them explain how this blueprint would differ from the many years when their party dominated the Federal Government and they left us with a disaster.

You know, I've been asked over and over again if I will be a candidate for reelection. Tonight I've decided to answer that question. Maybe I will and maybe I won't.

I'll be giving a more definitive answer by the end of the year. But what has been achieved in the last 3 years has been the result of a team effort. We can be particularly proud of the 1981 tax and spending cut packages, the most significant economic

legislation in memory. Without Republican control of the Senate, and without the kind of leadership Howard has been providing, you can bet that recovery package would still be bottled up in Committee.

It takes time for any program to take hold. The opposition was declaring our program a failure the morning after it passed, and did everything to pull the rug out from under our reforms before they had a chance to work. Ladies and gentlemen, we've weathered the storm. It is clear now, even to our critics, that after years of stagnation and inflation, our economy -- thanks to the basic changes we've made -- is beginning to move again. We are witnessing the first phase of lasting economic growth.

We must work together to keep what Howard has called that inflation beast locked in its cage. And, the most important question we must ask in next year's election is: Do we continue the responsible policies that are giving our economy new vitality and giving our people hope, or do we go back to the failed ideas of tax, spend, and inflate that brought us stagnation and despair?

Each and every Senate race will be crucial. And the Republican Majority Fund we contribute to this evening will give us a fighting chance to protect the gains we've made. But, the special interests -- groups that profited from big Government, from high taxes and high inflation -- will be out in force.

As for me, I'm confident. When we got here, inflation had been running at double digits for 2 years. The prime interest rate had soared to its highest level, 21½ percent, in more than a

century. Taxes had doubled in just the 5 years between 1976 and 1981, siphoning off resources needed for savings, job-creating business investment, growth and economic development.

Our system is based on faith in the people and I have faith that they will not vote to return to failed policies of the past. Our biggest job is to remind them what things were like, how we turned that desperate situation around, and just as important, the crucial difference between our efforts and vision for the future and theirs -- we offer solid progress and real hope, not fear, envy, and failure. We will not be on the defensive as we move into the 1984 elections. On the contrary, Republicans will be on the offensive. We are the party that lowered tax rates, reduced inflation, and put the American economy back on the path to real growth.

And something else we're not going to let the people forget: Three years ago our allies and adversaries alike were counting America out. It was being said that our best days were behind us. Morale in our Armed Forces was at a low ebb and the weapons and equipment they had to use were wearing out. We had planes that couldn't fly and ships that couldn't sail. Well, we've turned that situation around too.

We're ending the Vietnam syndrome that had broken the will of the American people. Today, we have reestablished ourselves as a reliable ally and we are rebuilding our defensive capabilities. The number of combat-ready units has gone up by a third since 1980. The deployable battle force in the Navy has risen from 480 ships when we took office to 510 today -- and it's

on the way to 600. And, military officers tell me that morale in our services has never been higher. We have strengthened America's capabilities and we have strengthened America's resolve to meet our responsibilities in the world.

The likelihood of peace is not enhanced by weakness or gestures of goodwill to tyrants. Peace and the preservation of our freedom is not more likely if we put our head in the sand and run away from our responsibilities. The peace of the world and the freedom of the United States, instead, depend on hard work, courage, and strength. This is not my philosophy, this is Republican philosophy and it's a philosophy that the voters of the United States will back up when they are given the choice.

Senator Baker has told his friends that one of the reasons he's taking a sabbatical from Government is that he needs time to get reacquainted with the people of the United States. Well, I think he's going to find that they are the same people that they always were. They are the kind of people who took a vast wilderness and turned it into this blessed land of liberty and abundance. They had courage, faith in God, and a willingness to roll up their sleeves and get on with the job at hand.

John Foster Dulles once said, "If we are faithful to our past, we shall not have to fear our future." That is our challenge and I am certain that like those before us, we will do the job that has to be done. And thank you for having me with you this evening. God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: JOHN G. ROBERTS *JGR*

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Reception and
Dinner for Howard Baker - (9/26 - 11:30 a.m.
Draft)

Richard Darman has asked that any comments on the above-referenced draft remarks be sent directly to Ben Elliott by 4:00 p.m. today. The remarks praise Howard Baker and review the progress of the economic recovery. I understand that the remarks are being revised to omit the paeans to Baker, as the event is not designed as a tribute to him.

On page 4, lines 3-5, there are coy remarks concerning the President's decision to seek reelection. I do not think they are particularly funny, and in light of the legal consequences surrounding an announcement, should be deleted. On page 6, line 3, the remarks state that we are ending "the Vietnam syndrome." The message conveyed is that we're no longer afraid to get involved in new Vietnams. I suggest deleting the entire sentence, or at least the specific reference to Vietnam. Finally, on page 6, line 18, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BEN ELLIOTT
PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING OFFICE

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Draft Presidential Remarks: Reception and
Dinner for Howard Baker - (9/26 - 11:30 a.m.
Draft)

Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced draft remarks. We recommend deleting the joke on page 4, lines 3-5. It's not particularly funny, and the question of a reelection announcement is fraught with legal consequences that may be complicated by such "jokes." On page 6, lines 3-4, the sentence seems to suggest that we are no longer afraid to become involved in new Vietnams. I recommend deleting the sentence; it is entirely superfluous in any event. Finally, on page 6, line 18, "This is not my philosophy" should read "This is not simply my philosophy."

FFF:JGR:aea 9/26/83

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj.
Chron

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1Name of Correspondent: Richard G. DARMAN☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Draft Presidential Remarks: Reception
and Dinner for Howard Baker
9/26 - 11:30 am draft)

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>CUA011</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>83,09,26</u>			<u>1 1</u>
<u>CUATTB</u>	Referral Note: <u>D</u>	<u>83,09,26</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>83,09,26</u> <u>4:00pm</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>

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C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
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Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 9/26/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. TODAYSUBJECT: DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION AND DINNER FOR HOWARD BAKER
(9/26 - 11:30 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FISCHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			ELLIOTT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			HENKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits/comments directly to Ben Elliott, Room 100, by 4:00 p.m. today. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Received SS
1983 SEP 26 AM 11: 58

(Rohrabacher/BE)
September 26, 1983
11:30 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RECEPTION AND DINNER FOR HOWARD BAKER
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1983

Senator and Mrs. Baker, Dr. and Mrs. Kissinger, ladies and gentlemen. We are here to honor a man tonight who has meant much to all of us, both professionally and personally. One of the first things I learned when I got to my current job was just how serious Howard really is . . . about photography that is. It's said that he is one of the few members of the Congress that would rather take your picture than twist your arm.

Well, there's a story -- and I understand it is a true story -- about a newspaper photographer out in Los Angeles who was called in by his editor and told about a fire raging in Palos Verdes, a hilly area in the Southern end of the county. The photographer's assignment was to rush down to a small local airport where a plane would be waiting, to get some pictures of the fire and be back in time for the afternoon edition.

The photographer sped down the freeway, breaking every traffic rule. He got to the airport and drove his car right to the end of the runway where, sure enough, a plane was revving up its engines ready to go. He jumped in the plane shouting, "Let's go" and they were off. As they got up to about 5,000 feet, he began getting his camera out of the bag and told the fella flying the plane to get him over the fire so he could get his pictures and get back to the paper. From the other side of the cockpit there was a deafening silence. Then he heard those words he will always remember, "Wait a minute. Aren't you the instructor?"

Since 1966, Howard has been making the picture as well as taking the picture. Howard, I'd say you'll be missed, but if you make yourself scarce we're going to come looking for you, and you can count on that.

It is more than fitting that a dinner like this, which is beefing up the Republican Majority Fund, honors Senator Baker. Under his leadership the Republicans in the United States Senate served faithfully as the loyal opposition, and for the last 3 years -- for the first time in half a century -- Republicans have maintained a majority in the upper House for 2 consecutive sessions.

Riding herd on 54 Republican Senators is no easy job. Sometimes we'd like to think that all the short-sightedness and stubbornness is in the other party. Well, those traits are human traits and not exclusive of any political organization. And, for goals to be reached, for progress to be made, it takes the leadership of a special individual. It takes a person who is sensitive yet firm, who has strong convictions and aims high, yet appreciates that one does not always get everything he or she wants.

My Chief of Staff Jim Baker calls Howard the "Quintessential mediator, negotiator, and moderator." Howard, your energy, your understanding, and your talent have served the Republican cause well . . . and we thank you for it.

Howard may not remember this, but he did me a tremendous service years back. It was right before the 1976 election year and I ran into Howard and Joy. He had a new camera. I was

inspecting it and asked him if that was really the camera he wanted. And I'll always remember his answer. He said, "We bought it, we paid for it, and we're going to keep it."

Seriously though, with Howard's guidance we've proven to the American people that there is a difference in the 2 political parties, and that if given the chance we can make a sometimes frustrating democratic process work for the betterment of our people.

During the election of 1980, we Republicans stated our case and outlined our program. And we did not, as some now suggest, just run against my predecessor. The opposition, with few exceptions, had control of both houses of the Congress almost continually for 50 years. For long stretches, including the years just before the 1980 election, they controlled both houses of the Congress as well as the White House and all the departments and agencies.

Now, as much as they would like to blame the near crisis we inherited on my immediate predecessor, we know that is not true. It was not one individual who caused all those enormous problems America faced in 1980; it was 20 years of liberal policies, policies with good intentions, but unworkable solutions.

In January of 1981, we set out to do what we promised to do. Together, we have fundamentally changed the direction of American Government. We can be proud of what we've accomplished. To those who criticize, I say let them clearly state their alternative. Then let them explain how this blueprint would

differ from the many years when their party dominated the Federal Government and they left us with a disaster.

You know, I've been asked over and over again if I will be a candidate for reelection. Tonight I've decided to answer that question. Maybe I will and maybe I won't.

I'll be giving a more definitive answer by the end of the year. But what has been achieved in the last 3 years has been the result of a team effort. As one of the top leaders of the team, Howard deserves a lion's share of the credit. His leadership was instrumental in galvanizing the political support that resulted in the passage of the 1981 tax and spending cut packages, the most significant economic legislation in memory.

It takes time for any program to take hold. The opposition was declaring our program a failure the morning after it passed, and did everything to pull the rug out from under our reforms before they had a chance to work. Ladies and gentlemen, we've weathered the storm. It is clear now, even to our critics, that after years of stagnation and inflation, our economy -- thanks to the basic changes we've made -- is beginning to move again. We are witnessing the first phase of lasting economic growth.

We must work together to keep what Howard has called that inflation beast locked in its cage. And, the most important question we must ask in next year's election is: Do we continue the responsible policies that are giving our economy new vitality and giving our people hope, or do we go back to the failed ideas of tax, spend, and inflate that brought us stagnation and despair.

Each and every Senate race will be crucial. If we keep control of the Senate we can protect the gains we've made. But, the special interests -- groups that profited from big Government, from high taxes and high inflation -- will be out in force.

As for me, I'm confident. When we got here, inflation had been running at double digits for 2 years. The prime interest rate had soared to its highest level, 21½ percent, in more than a century. Taxes had doubled in just the 5 years between 1976 and 1981, siphoning off resources needed for savings, job-creating business investment, growth and economic development.

Our system is based on faith in the people and I have faith that they will not vote to return to failed policies of the past. Our biggest job is to remind them what things were like, how we turned that desperate situation around, and just as important, where our vision and efforts are taking us, toward real progress and new hope, not toward fear, envy, and failure. We will not be on the defensive as we move into the 1984 elections. On the contrary, Republicans will be on the offensive. We are the party that lowered tax rates, reduced inflation, and put the American economy back on the path to real growth.

And something else we're not going to let the people forget. Three years ago our allies and adversaries alike were counting America out. It was being said that our best days were behind us. Morale in our Armed Forces was at a low ebb and the weapons and equipment they had to use were wearing out. We had planes

that couldn't fly and ships that couldn't sail. Well, we've turned that situation around too.

We're ending the Vietnam syndrome that had broken the will of the American people. Today, we have reestablished ourselves as a reliable ally and we are rebuilding our defensive capabilities. The number of combat-ready units has gone up by a third since 1980. The deployable battle force in the Navy has risen from 480 ships when we took office to 510 today -- and it's on the way to 600. And, military officers tell me that morale in our services has never been higher. We have strengthened America's capabilities and we have strengthened America's resolve to meet our responsibilities in the world. ✓

The likelihood of peace is not enhanced by weakness or gestures of goodwill to tyrants. Peace and the preservation of our freedom is not more likely if we put our head in the sand and run away from our responsibilities. The peace of the world and the freedom of the United States, instead, depend on hard work, courage, and strength. This is not my philosophy, this is Republican philosophy and it's a philosophy that the voters of the United States will back up when they are given the choice. ✓

Senator Baker has told his friends that one of the reasons he's taking a sabbatical from Government is that he needs time to get reacquainted with the people of the United States. Well, I think he's going to find that they are the same people that they always were. They are the kind of people who took a vast wilderness and turned it into this blessed land of liberty and abundance.

They had courage, faith in God, and a willingness to roll up their sleeves and get on with the job at hand.

John Foster Dulles once said, "If we are faithful to our past, we shall not have to fear our future." That is our challenge and I am certain that like those before us, we will do the job that has to be done. Senator and Mrs. Baker, thank you for all you've done. And thank you for letting me play a part in honoring this great individual. God bless you.