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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 2/24/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2/25/82SUBJECT: DRAFT CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE DINNER SPEECH

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JAMES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ANDERSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CANZERI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WILLIAMSON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WEIDENBAUM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DOLE →	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Remarks:

Attached is the draft of the CPAC speech that went to the President. Please provide any further comments by noon tomorrow.

Richard G. Darman
 Assistant to the President
 and
 Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 (x-2702)

Allen, AB/
February 24, 1982

CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE DINNER
FEBRUARY 26, 1982

Nancy and I are delighted to be here at the ninth annual Conservative Political Action Conference. Anyone looking at the exciting program you have scheduled over these 4 days -- and the size of this gathering here tonight -- cannot help but be impressed with the energy and vitality of the conservative movement in America. And I think we owe a special debt of gratitude to the staffs of the American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, Human Events and National Review for making this year's conference the most successful in the brief but impressive history of this event.

You may remember that when I spoke to you last year I said the election victory we enjoyed in November of 1980 was not a victory of politics so much as it was victory of ideas; not a victory for any one man or party but a victory for a set of principles -- principles that had been protected and nourished during years of grim and heartbreaking defeats by a few dedicated Americans.

You are those Americans -- and tonight I salute you. But I've also come here tonight to remind you of how much remains to be done and to ask your help in turning into reality even more of our hopes for America and the world.

The agenda for this conference is victory -- victory in this year's crucial congressional, State and local elections.

The media coverage you have received this week and the attention paid to you by so many distinguished Americans -- in and out of government, conservative and not so conservative --

are testimony to the sea-change that you have already brought about in American politics.

But despite the glitter of nights like this, despite the increasing attention paid to conservative ideas during the last year, despite the excitement we all still feel at the thought of enacting reforms we were able only to talk about a few years ago, we conservatives should never forget our strength still lies in our faith in the good sense of the American people -- and that the climate in Washington is still opposed to those enduring values, those "permanent things" that we have always believed in.

But Washington's fascination with passing trends and one-day headlines can sometimes cause us serious problems over in the West Wing of the White House. As you know, we've had some problems with leaks in our Administration. In fact, before we even made a decision to give away the surplus cheese, the mice in Government warehouses had hired a lobbyist.

And a few weeks ago, you may recall, stories about the tape recordings made in the Oval Office by President Kennedy were all the rage. I can't begin to tell you the price we paid for that:

-- Al Haig came in to brief me on his trip to Europe; I uncapped my pen and Al stopped talking.

-- Up on the Hill they were saying: you need eloquence in the State Dining Room, wit in the East Room and sign language in the Oval Office.

-- It got so bad I found myself assuring every visitor to the Oval Office that there were absolutely no tape recordings

being made -- and then I told them that if they wanted a transcript of that remark they could mention it to the potted plant on their way out.

Well, that particular story faded like so many others -- but if it is important to remember that Washington is a place of fads and one-week stories, we should also remember that this remains a company town. And there's only one company, one business, one vested interest here -- its name is Government, Big Government.

You know, I remember what Stan Evans used to call a few years ago his "iron law of politics": "When our people get someplace they can do us some good -- they stop being our people." And it is easy to come here and forget our principles and our constituents -- to start wanting to be an insider, to start talking the conventional wisdom -- to forget that there's a big country out there across the Potomac, a country that sent us here with one job in mind: to cut the size and burden of government not to increase it.

Now I don't think that's happened in our Administration. In fact, I have a sneaking suspicion that a few of you here tonight agree with my recent decision not to ask the Congress for higher taxes. But let's be honest with ourselves: its going to take more than 402 days to completely transform the Federal bureaucracy. This came home to me the other day when I learned about one private citizen in Louisiana who wrote to HUD asking for help in developing his property and received this letter back from the bureaucracy: "We have observed that you have not traced the title prior to 1803. Before final approval, it will be necessary that the title be traced previous to that year."

So this particular citizen wrote to Washington:

"Gentlemen, I am unaware that any educated man failed to know that Louisiana was purchased from France in 1803. The title of the land was acquired by France by right of conquest from Spain. The land came into possession of Spain in 1492 by right of discovery by an Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus. The good Queen Isabella took the precaution of receiving the blessing of the Pope . . . the Pope is emissary of Jesus Christ, son of God. And God made the world. Therefore, I believe that it is safe to assume that He also made the part of the United States called Louisiana. And I hope to hell you're satisfied."

Changing the habits of four decades, is, as I say, going to take more than 402 days. But change will come. It will come because we conservatives are in this thing for the long haul. We owe our first loyalty not to the trends or special interests that dominate Washington, but to ideas and principles that we discussed, debated, developed and popularized over many years -- even as some in official Washington and in the media, who are now so anxious to offer us advice, rarely took notice.

Last year I pointed to these principles as the real source of our strength as a political movement and mentioned some of the intellectual giants who fostered and developed them. Men like Frank Meyer who reminded us that the robust individualism of America was part of deeper currents in Western civilization, currents that dictated respect for the law and the careful preservation of our political traditions.

Only a short time ago, and I can't help but see this as another astounding bit of change, conservatives filled this very room for a testimonial dinner for a great conservative intellect and scholar -- the author of The Conservative Mind and the defender of "the permanent things" -- Russell Kirk.

In a recent speech, Dr. Kirk has offered some political advice for the upcoming elections -- he said conservatives now more than ever must seek out what he calls the "gift of audacity."

He has warned us not to become too comfortable with our newfound status in Washington. He has said in that special prose of his: "When stern decisions must be reached, smugness and dullness may produce political ruin. When men are arming, a conservatism of complacency, or of the disputed middle, cannot long endure." When the walls of order are breached, the vigorous conservative must exclaim: Arm me, audacity, from head to foot."

It was Napoleon, he has reminded us, that master of the huge battalions, who once said "it is imagination that rules the human race" and Disraeli who mentioned that "success is the child of audacity."

That is why we must approach the upcoming elections with a forthright and direct message for the American people. We must challenge our opponents, we must go straight to the matter, we must remind the American people of the economic catastrophe that we faced before this Administration took over: millions out of work, inflation in double digits for 2 years in a row, interest rates reaching 21 and one-half percent, productivity and the rate of growth in the GNP down

Page 6
for the third year in a row, the money supply increasing by a rate of 11 percent.

This economic mess had one overriding cause: Government was too big and it spent too much money. Federal spending in the last decade has gone up by nearly 300 percent. In 1980 alone, spending increased by 17 percent. Almost three quarters of the Federal budget was being routinely referred to as "uncontrollable" largely due to increases in programs like food stamps, which had grown by a staggering 16,000 percent in the last 15 years or medicare and medicaid, which had grown by more than 500 percent in just 10 years. Our national debt was approaching an incredible \$1 trillion and we were paying nearly \$100 billion a year in interest on that debt -- enough money to run the entire Federal Government in 1960.

Attending to this spending spree was a tax burden that had increased by 168 percent in just 10 years. Not only that -- when this Administration came into office we were looking at a tax increase from 1980 to 1984 of more than \$300 billion.

It was clear where all of this was leading -- unless we stopped the spending juggernaut, unless we reversed the trend towards higher and higher taxes, Government by 1984 would consume nearly one quarter of the gross national product. Inflation and interest rates, according to several studies, would be heading towards 25 percent -- levels that would stifle enterprise and initiative and plunge the Nation into even deeper economic crisis.

... of the government to address this economic problem first. Our very strength as a nation -- our very ability to protect our political freedom -- depended on it. History tells us of great nations brought to their knees by unchecked inflation and wild government spending.

Brooks Adams once put it this way: "Nature has cast the United States into the vortex of the fiercest struggle which the world has ever known. She has become the heart of the economic system of the age, and she must maintain her supremacy by wit and force, or share the fate of the discarded."

You may remember that at this point last year much of the smart money in Washington was betting -- as it is today -- on the failure of our proposals for restoring the economy. It was said that we could never assemble the votes we needed to get our program for economic recovery through the Congress.

But assemble the votes we did:

-- For the first time in nearly 25 years we slowed the spending juggernaut and got the taxpayers out from under the Federal steamroller.

-- We cut the rate of growth in Federal spending almost in half.

-- We didn't just slow the \$300 billion tax increase the last Democratic administration planned for the next three years, we cut taxes for businesses and individuals on a sweeping scale and then we indexed taxes to inflation. This last step ended once and for all that hidden profit on inflation that had made the Federal bureaucracy America's largest growth industry.

-- We've moved against waste and fraud -- Our Inspectors General have estimated that they have saved the Government some \$2 billion in just 6 months last year. We've concentrated on criminal prosecutions and we've cut back in other areas like the multitude of films, pamphlets and public relations experts -- or as we sometimes call them "the Federal flood of flicks, flacks, and fold-outs."

-- We're cutting the size of the Federal payroll by 75,000 over the next few years -- and make no mistake about this -- we will fight to dismantle two Cabinet departments, the Department of Energy and the Department of Education, agencies whose policies have frequently been exactly the opposite of what we need for real energy growth and sound, rigorous education for our children.

Even now -- less than 5 months after our program took full effect -- we've seen the first signs of recovery: inflation has dropped dramatically by nearly 30 percent. In January, leading economic indicators like housing permits showed an upturn. By 1983, we will begin bringing down the percentage of the gross national product consumed by both the Federal deficit and by Federal spending and taxes.

Our situation now is actually in some ways similar to that which confronted the United States and other Western nations shortly after World War II. Many economists then were predicting a return to depression once the stimulus of war-time spending was ended. But people were weary of wartime government controls -- and here and in other nations like West Germany, those controls were eliminated over the advice of the experts. At first there was a period of

hardship that saw higher unemployment and declining growth -- in fact, in 1946, our gross national product dropped 15 percent. But by 1947 the gross national product was holding steady, and then in 1948 it increased by 4 percent. Unemployment dropped 2 years in a row and in 1949, consumer prices were actually decreasing.

A lot of the experts were wrong -- they underestimated the economic growth that occurs once Government stops meddling and the people take over -- they were wrong then and they're wrong now.

It is now the job of this Administration and of the Congress to move forward with additional cuts in the growth of Federal spending and thereby insure America's economic recovery.

I want to be clear about this Administration's position on the spending cuts now before the Congress and those tax reductions we have already passed for the American people: we are standing by our program, we will not turn back, we will not run for cover, we will not sound retreat just as we near certain victory.

Now, in the discussion of Federal spending I think the time has come to put to rest one little bit of budget bunkum that has been making the rounds all too frequently lately. I'm speaking of attempts to portray our desire to get Government spending under control as a hardhearted attack on the poor people of America.

In the first place, even with the economies we have proposed, spending for entitlements -- benefits paid directly to individuals -- will actually increase by one-third over

the next 5 years, and in 1983, non-defense items in that budget will consume more than 70 percent of total spending.

As Dave Stockman pointed out the other day, we are still providing 95 million meals a day. We are still providing \$70 billion in health care to the elderly and the poor. We are still providing an increasing level of income transfer payments to those households who are without income. We are still providing scholarships for a million or a million and one-half students.

Only here in Wonderland on the Potomac, only here in the city of Oz, would a budget this big and this generous be characterized as a miserly attack on the poor.

But let's understand where some of these attacks originate. They are coming from the very people whose past policies -- all done in the name of compassion -- brought us the current recession. It was their policies of tax and tax, spend and spend that drove up inflation and interest rates. And it was their policies that stifled incentive and creativity and halted the movement of the poor up the economic ladder.

Some of this criticism is perfectly sincere. But let's also understand that some of this criticism comes from those who have a vested interest in a permanent welfare constituency and in the government programs that reinforce that dependency.

Well, I would suggest tonight that no one should have a vested interest in poverty or dependency -- that these tragedies must never be looked at as a source of votes for politicians or paychecks for bureaucrats -- they are blights on our society, blights that we must work to eliminate, not institutionalize.

You know in listening to some of these attacks, I sometimes ask myself: how can limited government and fiscal restraint be equated with lack of compassion for the poor? How can a tax break that puts a little more money in the weekly paychecks of working people be seen as an attack on the needy? Since when do we in America believe that our society is made up of two diametrically opposed classes -- one rich, one poor -- both in a permanent state of conflict and neither able to get ahead except at the expense of the other? Since when do we in America accept this alien and discredited theory of social and class warfare? Since when do we in America endorse the politics of envy and division?

As the young boy in the New Yorker cartoon put it when he saw his dinner plate: "I say it's spinach and I say the (heck) hell with it."

We've heard these tired arguments before. I remember how loudly they were made when we reformed the welfare system in California and got the cheaters and the undeserving off the welfare rolls. And instead of hurting the poor we were able to increase benefits to the truly needy 4percent.

By reducing the cost of Government we can continue bringing down inflation -- the cruelest of all economic exploitations of the poor and the elderly. And by getting the economy moving again we can create a vastly expanded job market that will offer the poor a way out of permanent dependency.

So let's tell the American people the truth tonight and next fall about our economic recovery program: it isn't for

one class or group -- its for all Americans: working people, the truly needy, the rich and the poor.

One man who held this office, a President vastly underrated by history, Calvin Coolidge, pointed out that a nation that is united in its belief in the work ethic, and its desire for commercial success and economic progress is usually a healthy nation -- a nation where it is easier to pursue the higher things in life like the development of science, the cultivation of the arts, the exploration of the great truths of religion and higher learning.

In arguing for "economy" in government, President Coolidge spoke of the burden of excessive government.

"I favor a policy of economy," he said, "not because I wish to save money, but because I wish to save people. The men and women of this country who toil are the ones who bear the cost of the Government. Every dollar that we carelessly waste means that their life will be so much the more meager. Every dollar that we save means that their life will be so much the more abundant. Economy is idealism in its most practical form."

And this is the message we conservatives can bring to the American people about our economic program. Higher productivity, a larger gross national product, a healthy Dow Jones average, they are our goals and they are worthy ones. But our real concern are not statistical goals or material gain -- it goes far beyond these -- it concerns those conservative ideas and principles, those "permanent things," I spoke of earlier:

We want to expand personal freedom, to renew the American dream for every American. We seek to restore opportunity and reward, we seek to value again personal achievement and individual excellence, we seek to rely on the ingenuity and

energy of the American people to better their own lives and those of millions of others around the world.

It is by accomplishing these goals that we can reunite America with the great wisdom with which she began her nationhood -- the realization that Government can be the enemy as well as the protector of freedom.

Now I think we can be proud of the fact that a conservative administration has pursued these goals by confronting the Nation's economic problems head-on. But it should not be forgotten that we also dealt with one other less publicized, but equally grave problem: the serious state of disrepair in our national defenses. The last Democratic administration had increased real defense spending at a rate of 3.3 percent a year -- not even enough to keep up with inflation. I don't think I have to recount for you again all the horror stories of 1980: the fighter planes that couldn't fly; the navy ships that couldn't leave port; the rapid deployment force that was neither rapid, nor deployable, nor a force.

The protection of this Nation's security is the most solemn duty of any President: that is why I have asked for substantial increases this year in our defense budget. Those who think these increases are excessive should contemplate the erosion that has taken place in defense spending during the past two decades. In 1962, President Kennedy's budget called for defense spending that accounted for 43.8 percent of the entire budget; even with our increases, the defense spending this year will account for only 28.5 percent of the budget -- just two-thirds of that figure 20 years ago. In 1962, President Kennedy's request for military spending

accounted for 8.6 percent of the gross national product; even with our increases, the figure today is only 6.3 percent of the gross national product.

Those who call for defense spending cuts should think long and hard about the reaction they are likely to get from the American people. The Soviet Union outspends us by 50 percent on defense which consumes 15 percent of their gross national product. Opinion poll after opinion poll shows that the American people are well aware of the danger of neglecting our defenses; and that they are in no mood to gamble with the readiness of our armed forces or the security of our nation.

So let us be very clear about the course this Administration is taking: we will press for further cuts in Federal spending, we will protect the tax reductions already passed, we will bolster spending on national defense.

And if the Congress hesitates, we will take our case to the American people.

There will be no about-faces -- let me assure you, I do not intend to lead a Republican Party into next fall's election that stands for higher taxes and cut-rate defense.

But let me also assure you: If the other major party wants to go to the American people next fall and say: "Elect our candidates to the Congress -- give us the ball -- we're the party that refused to cut spending, we're the party that tried to take away your tax cuts, we're the party that wanted a bargain basement military and held a fire sale on national security" -- believe me, if the other party wants to be that candid with the voters -- we'll give them all the running room they want.

There are other matters on the political agenda for this coming year -- matters I know that you have been discussing during the course of this conference.

Surely one of them will be this Administration's attempt to give Government back to the people -- not just by controlling Federal taxes and spending but by returning control over Government's everyday decisions to our states and localities.

Federal grants in aid have grown from 32 programs in 1960, to over 500 programs in 1981. Our Federalism proposal would cut through this jungle of grants and return the bulk of these programs to State and local governments where they can be made more responsive to the people.

This week, in our talks with the governors, we have already made progress by starting a dialogue and I believe we will eventually see the Congress pass this program largely in the form we have proposed.

But we will need your help. Already there are those who are saying that our Federalism proposal is just a short-term wonder, a temporary enthusiasm of just one more administration in Washington. But I think they are forgetting we are deeply committed to this program because it has its roots deep in conservative principles. We have talked a long time about revitalizing our system of Federalism. Now with a single bold stroke we can restore the vigor and health of our State and local governments; we can get government back to the people. Let me assure you: this proposal lies at the heart of our legislative agenda for the next year and we will need your active support in getting it passed.

There are other issues before us. As you know, this Administration is unalterably opposed to the forced busing of school children; just as we also support constitutional protection for the right of prayer in our schools.

And there is the matter of abortion, -- perhaps the most serious moral question and the most potentially divisive issue to face this Nation since slavery. I support a prohibition of abortions -- but I believe we must also realize that a great educational dialogue lies before us in achieving this goal: we must with calmness and resolve help the vast majority of our fellow Americans understand that 1.55 million abortions performed in America last year amount to a great moral evil, an assault on the sacredness of human life.

Finally, there is the problem of crime -- a problem whose gravity cannot be underestimated. As you know, this Administration has moved, in its appointments to the Federal bench and in its legislative proposals for bail and parole reform, to assist in the battle against the lawless. But we must never forget that our legal system does not need reform so much as it needs transformation -- and this cannot occur at just the Federal level -- it can really occur only when society as a whole acknowledges principles that lie at the heart of modern conservatism: right and wrong matters, individuals are responsible for their actions, society has a right to be protected from those who prey on the innocent.

This then is the political agenda before us -- perhaps more than any group, your grassroots leadership, your candidate

recruitment and training programs, your long years of hard work and dedication have brought us to this point and made this agenda possible..

But let us never forget that even more is at stake in the next few years than just these issues -- more than spending cuts, military readiness, a sound economy or a conservative House and Senate.

We live today in a time of a great climatic struggle for the human spirit -- a time that will tell whether the great civilized ideas of individual liberty, representative Government and the rule of law under God will perish or endure.

Whittaker Chambers, that great, gallant man who stood as a witness for "the permanent things" even as he was, ridiculed and dismissed by Washington's wisemen, reflected once upon this drama of our times.

"For in this century, within the next decades," he said, "will be decided for generations whether all mankind is to become communist, whether the whole world is to become free, or whether, in the struggle, civilization as we know it is to be completely destroyed or completely changed. It is our fate to live upon that turning point in history."

More recently, a scholar at the Hudson Institute reminded us that we are living today "in the most dramatic and important period in human history."

Max Singer sees the uniqueness of America in history as part of mankind's remarkable story of progress during the past two centuries.

"Up until 100 years ago," he wrote, "there were relatively few people in the world. All human societies were poor. Disease and early death dominated most people's lives. People were ignorant, and largely at the mercy of forces of nature. Now we are somewhere near the middle of a process of economic development that will take some 400 years. At the end of that process almost no one will live in a country as poor as the richest country of the past. There will be many more people, most living long, healthy lives, with immense knowledge and more to learn than anybody has time for -- largely able to cope with the forces of nature, and almost indifferent to distance."

This is the new age mankind can someday enjoy if today we Americans can but persevere in the cause of freedom. It is a vision worthy of us, of our great Nation, of our beginnings as a people.

Winston Churchill said once during the darkness of Britain's struggle for survival, "When great causes are on the move in the world . . . we learn that we are spirits, not animals, and that something is going on in space and time and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty."

Fellow Americans, fellow conservatives, our duty, America's duty, is before us tonight -- let us go forward determined to serve selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

For it is now our task to tend and preserve -- through the darkest and coldest of nights -- that "sacred fire of liberty" that President Washington spoke of two centuries ago -- a fire that remains tonight a beacon to all the oppressed of the world, shining forth from this kindly pleasant greening land called America.



CPAC

Conservative Political Action Conference • 1982
Mayflower Hotel • Washington, D.C.
February 25-27, 1982

Sponsored by:
The American Conservative Union and
Young Americans for Freedom

In Co-operation with:
Human Events and National Review

February 24, 1982

TO: Morton Blackwell

FROM: Suzanne Scholte *SS*

RE: "Looking Towards '82"

Attached are resumes or short blurbs on the panelists for "Looking Towards '82." You will be responsible for introducing the speakers and fielding questions at the end. It is imperative that the panel end by 5:00 p.m. in order for the hotel to set-up for the Reagan dinner. The following is an outline for speakers:

Opening Remarks and Introductions/Blackwell/3:30-3:40
Black/3:40-3:55
Richards/3:55-4:10
Finkelstein/4:10-4:25
Sinnott/4:25-4:40
Dolan/4:40-4:55
Q & A/4:55-5:00

Charlie Black told me that he would only be speaking for approximately 10 minutes in order to leave time for more questions. You may wish to suggest to the panelists that they keep their remarks brief in order to be able to take more questions from the audience.

Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this year's CPAC. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask Paul Prince of the CPAC Staff or me.

CHARLES BLACK

Former Political Director of the Reagan Campaign

Former Political Director of the Republican National Committee

Partner in Black, Manafort and Stone which is handling the campaigns of four Gubernatorial Races and five U.S. Senate Races including Bob Dornan and Prescott Bush

Former ACU Board of Director and YAF Staff

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 23, 1982

TO: Tony Dolan

FROM: Morton C. Blackwell 

RE: President's 1982 CPAC Speech

This is an excellent opportunity to rekindle the enthusiasms of 1980.

It is no coincidence that the President's 1983 budget has found few, if any, enthusiastic supporters on Capitol Hill or elsewhere. In a combative political environment, why should anyone declare himself our friend until he finds out who our enemies are? The President's speech should identify our enemies.

Our foes are the big spenders who are trying to crawl out of the rubble of their 1980 defeats and who hope to restore high tax rates and the growth of big government.

Our foes are entrenched bureaucrats who claim to be helping the needy but who are really expert only at helping themselves to your tax money.

Our foes are special interest advocacy groups desperate to keep their hands in the Federal till so they can continue to get government grants to organize political action.

Our foes are those so blind they will not see the danger created by years of neglect of our national defense in the face of unprecedented military buildup by the Soviet Union.

Our foes are those who, through fraud and abuse, grew fat by ripping off the American taxpayer.

Our foes are those who in 1980 denied that it is time for a change, who are fighting badly needed changes today.

Our foes are those politicians who even now are hoping to go back to the failed policies of tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect.

The greatest of our foes, though, is apathy. The hard-won victories of 1980 can be reversed in one election if you forget to do those things which led us to victory two years ago.

Perhaps more than any other group, you grassroots leaders and activists, your voluntarily supported organizations, your remarkably effective training programs, your candidate recruitment activities, your long years of hard work have turned the tide of American politics. You have a heavy responsibility in 1982.

If and only if you rededicate yourselves to making more needed changes in the elections this year can we all succeed.

The alternative would be disaster. Our foes are gathering their forces. They want to march this country back into the depths from which we have begun to rise. They want to cut national defense. They want to resume their careers by taking ever bigger bites from every American's paycheck.

They want to go back to the rip-off society, to skyrocketing inflation. They want to remount their saddles on the backs of the taxpayers.

They have no plan to bring our country back to economic health. They have no plan for adequate defense preparedness.

They must be beaten again. With your dedicated help, we will beat them again ... and again.

C PAC

For Immediate Release

February 26, 1982

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE DINNER

The Mayflower Hotel

THE PRESIDENT: Nancy and I, Mr. Toastmaster, Mickey Edwards, thank you very much for those very generous words, Reverend Clergy, ladies and gentlemen, we're delighted to be here at the Ninth Annual Conservative Political Action Conference. Anyone looking at the exciting program you've scheduled over these four days, on the size of this gathering here tonight, can't help but be impressed with the energy and vitality of the conservative movement in America. (Applause.)

We owe a special debt of gratitude to the staffs of the American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, Human Events, National Review, for making this year's conference the most successful in the brief but impressive history of this event.

You may remember that when I spoke to you last year, I said that the election victory we enjoyed in November of 1980 was not a victory of politics so much as it was a victory of ideas; not a victory for any one man or party, but a victory for a set of principles, principles that had been protected and nourished during years of grim and heartbreaking defeats by a few dedicated Americans. Well, you are those Americans, and I salute you.

I've also come here tonight to remind you of how much remains to be done, and to ask your help in turning into reality even more of our hopes for America and the world. The agenda for this conference is victory, victory in this year's crucial Congressional, state, and local elections. (Applause.)

The media coverage that you've received this week, the attention paid to you by so many distinguished Americans in and out of government -- conservative and not so conservative -- are testimony to the sea-change that you've already brought about in American politics. But, despite the glitter of nights like this and the excitement we all still feel at the thought of enacting reforms we were only able to talk about a few years ago, we should always remember that our strength still lies in our faith in the good sense of the American people. And that the climate in Washington is still opposed to those enduring values, those "permanent things" that we've always believed in. But Washington's fascination with passing trends and one-day headlines can sometimes cause serious problems over in the West Wing of the White House.

There's the problem of leaks. Before we even announced the give-away of surplus cheese, the warehouse mice had hired a lobbyist.

Then a few weeks ago, those stories broke about the Kennedy tapes. And that caused something of a stir. Al Haig came in to brief me on his trip to Europe. I uncapped my pen, and he stopped talking. (Laughter.) Up on the Hill, I understand they were saying, "You need eloquence in the State Dining Room, wit in the East Room, and sign language in the Oval office." (Laughter.) It got so bad that I found myself telling visitors that there were absolutely no tape recordings being made. And if they wanted a transcript of that remark, just mention it to the potted plant on their way out. (Laughter.)

But Washington is a place of fads and one-week stories. It's also a company town, and the company's name is government, big government. Now, I have a sneaking suspicion that a few of you just might have agreed when we decided not to ask Congress for higher taxes. (Applause.) And I hope that you realize that it's going to take more than four hundred and two days to completely change what's been going on for forty years. (Applause.) I realized that the other day when I read a story about a citizen in Louisiana who asked the government for help in developing his property, and he got back a letter that said, "We have observed that you have not traced the title prior to 1803. Before final approval, it will be necessary that the title be traced previous to that year.: Well, the citizen's answer was eloquent. "Gentlemen," he wrote, "I am unaware that any educated man failed to know that Louisiana was purchased from France in 1803. The title of the land was acquired by France by right of conquest from Spain. The land came into the possession of Spain in 1492 by right of discovery by an Italian sailor, Christopher Columbus. The good Queen Isabella took the precaution of receiving the blessing of the Pope ... the Pope is emissary of the Son of God, who made the world. Therefore -- (Applause.) Therefore, I believe that it is safe to assume that He also made that part of the United States called Louisiana, and I hope, to hell, you're satisfied." (Laughter, applause.)

Now, changing the habits of four decades is, as I say, going to take more than four hundred and two days. But change will come if we conservatives are in this for the long haul, if we owe our first loyalty to the ideas and principles we discussed, debated, developed, and popularized over the years. Last year I pointed to these principles as the real source of our strength as a political movement, and mentioned some of the intellectual giants who fostered and developed them -- men like Frank Meyer who reminded us that the robust individualism of America was part of deeper currents of Western civilization, currents that dictated respect for the law, and the careful preservation of our political traditions.

Only a short time ago, conservatives filled this very room for a testimonial dinner to a great conservative intellect and scholar, author the The Conservative Mind, Russell Kirk. (Applause.) In a recent speech, Dr. Kirk has offered some political advice for the upcoming elections. He said, "Now, more than ever, we must seek out the gift of audacity." We must not become too comfortable with our new found status in Washington. "When the walls of order are breached, the vigorous conservative must exclaim: Arm me, audacity, from head to foot." It was Napoleon, master of the huge battalions, who once said, "It is imagination that rules the human race." And Disraeli who mentioned that, "Success is the child of audacity."

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We must approach the upcoming elections with a forthright and direct message for the American people. We must remind them of the economic catastrophe that we faced on January 20, 1981. Millions out of work, inflation in double digits for two years in a row, interest rates hovering at twenty-one and a half percent, productivity and the rate of growth in the Gross National Product down for the third year in a row, the money supply increasing by twelve percent. And all this due to one overriding cause: Government was too big and had spent too much money.

Federal spending, in the last decade, went up more than 300 percent. In 1980 alone, it increased by 17 percent. Almost three quarters of the federal budget was routinely referred to as "uncontrollable," largely due to increases in programs like Food Stamps, which in fifteen years increased by sixteen thousand percent.

Or Medicare and Medicaid -- up by more than 500 percent in just 10 years. Our national debt was approaching one trillion dollars and we were paying nearly \$100 billion a year in interest on that debt -- more than enough money to run the entire federal government only 20 years ago. In an effort to keep pace, taxes had increased by 220 percent in just 10 years and we were looking at a tax increase from 1980 to 1984, already passed before we got here, of more than \$300 billion. Unless we stop the spending juggernaut and reverse the trend toward even higher taxes, government by 1984 would be taking nearly one-quarter of the Gross National Product. Inflation and interest rates, according to several studies, would be heading toward 25 percent -- levels that would stifle enterprise and initiative and plunge the nation into even deeper economic crisis.

We had to address this economic problem first. History tells us of great nations brought to their knees by unchecked inflation and wild government spending. Brooke Adams once put it this way, "Nature has cast the United States into the vortex of the fiercest struggle which the world has ever known. She has become the heart of the economic system of the age and she must maintain her supremacy by wit and force or share the fate of the discarded."

At this point last year, much of the smart money in Washington was betting, as it is today, on the failure of our proposals for restoring the economy; that we could never assemble the votes we needed to get our program for economic recovery through the Congress. But assemble the votes we did. For the first time in nearly 25 years, we slowed the spending juggernaut and got the taxpayers out from under the federal steamroller. We cut the rate of growth in federal spending almost in half. We lowered inflation to a single digit rate and it's still going down. It was 8.9 percent for all of 1981 but our January figure at an annualized rate is only three and a half percent. (Applause.)

When they talk of what should be done for the poor, one thing alone, by reducing inflation, we increase the purchasing power of four families by more than \$250. We cut taxes for business and individuals and index taxes to inflation. This last step ended once and for all that hidden profit on inflation that had made the federal bureaucracy America's largest growth industry. We've moved against waste and fraud with a task force including our inspectors general who have already found thousands of people who've been dead for as long as seven years still receiving benefit checks from the government. We've concentrated on criminal prosecutions and we've cut back in other areas like the multitude of films, pamphlets, and public relations experts or, as we sometimes call them, the federal flood of flicks, flacks, and foldouts. (Laughter.)

We're cutting the size of the federal payroll by 75,000 over the next few years and are fighting to dismantle the Department of Energy and the Department of Education -- (applause) -- agencies whose policies have frequently been exactly the opposite of what we need for real energy growth and sound education for our children. Even now, less than five months after our program took full effect, we've seen the first signs of recovery. In January, leading economic indicators like housing permits showed an upturn. By 1983, we will begin bringing down the percentage of the Gross National Product consumed by both the federal deficit and by federal spending and taxes.

Our situation now is in some ways similar to that which confronted the United States and other Western nations shortly after World War II. Many economists then were predicting a return to depression once the stimulus of war-time spending was ended. But people were weary of war-time government controls and here and in other nations like West Germany, those controls were eliminated against the advice of some experts. At first, there was a period of hardship -- higher unemployment and declining growth. In fact, in 1946, our Gross National Product dropped 15 percent but by 1947, the next year, it was holding steady and in 1948 increased

by four percent. Unemployment began a steady decline. And in 1949 consumer prices were decreasing. A lot of the experts underestimated the economic growth that occurs once government stops meddling and the people take over. (Applause.) They were wrong then and they're wrong now. The job of this administration and of the Congress is to move forward with additional cuts in the growth of federal spending and thereby ensure America's economic recovery. We have proposed budget cuts for 1983 and our proposals have met with cries of anguish and those who utter the cries are equally anguished because there will be a budget deficit. They're a little like a dog sitting on a sharp rock howling with pain when all he has to do is get up and move. (Laughter. Applause.)

On the spending cuts now before the Congress and those tax reductions we've already passed for the American people, let me state we're standing by our program. We will not turn back or sound retreat. (Applause.)

If I could just interject here, some of those people who say we must change direction when we've only been on this new direction for five months and it's only the first limited phase of the whole program, it was described pretty well by Mickey Edwards sitting right here while we were having dinner. He said, "If you were sliding downhill on a snowy hill and you know there's a cliff down there ahead of you at the bottom and suddenly there's a road that turns off to the right," he said, "You don't know where that road to the right goes," but he says, "You take it." (Laughter. Applause.) We know where that other one goes. (Laughter.)

In the discussion of federal spending, the time has come to put to rest the sob sister attempts to portray our desire to get government spending under control as a hard-hearted attack on the poor people of America. In the first place, even with the economies that we've proposed, spending for entitlements, benefits paid directly to individuals, will actually increase by one-third over the next five years. And in 1983, non-defense items will amount to more than 70 percent of total spending.

As Dave Stockman pointed out the other day, we're still subsidizing 95 million meals a day, providing \$70 billion in health care to the elderly and poor, some 47 million people. Some 10 million or more are living in subsidized housing. And we're still providing scholarships for a million and a half students. Only here in this city of ours would a budget this big -- (applause) -- would a budget this big and this generous be characterized as a miserly attack on the poor. (Laughter. Applause.)

Now, where do some of these attacks originate? They are coming from the very people whose past policies, all done in the name of compassion, brought us the current recession. (Applause.) Their policies drove up inflation and interest rates and their policies stifled incentive, creativity, and halted the movement of the poor up the economic ladder. Some of their criticism is perfectly sincere. But let's also understand that some of their criticisms comes from those who have a vested interest in a permanent welfare constituency and in government programs that reinforce the dependency of our people. (Applause.)

I would suggest that no one should have a vested interest in poverty or dependency; that these tragedies must never be looked at as a source of votes for politicians or pay checks for bureaucrats. They are blights on our society that we must work to eliminate not insitutionalize. (Applause.)

Now, there are those who will always require help from the rest of us on a permanent basis and we'll provide that help. To those with temporary need, we should have programs that are aimed at making them self-sufficient as soon as possible. How can limited government and fiscal restraint be equated with lack of compassion for the poor? How can a tax break that puts a little more money in the weekly paychecks of working people be seen as an attack on the needy?

Since when do we in America believe that our society is made up of two diametrically opposed classes -- one rich, one poor -- both in a permanent state of conflict and neither able to get ahead except at the expense of the other? Since when do we in America accept this alien and discredited theory of social and class warfare? Since when do we in America endorse the politics of envy and division?

When we reformed the welfare system in California and got the cheaters and the undeserving off the welfare rolls, instead of hurting the poor we were able to increase their benefits by more than 40 percent.

By reducing the cost of government, we can continue bringing down inflation, the cruelest of all economic exploitations of the poor and the elderly. And by getting the economy moving again, we can create a vastly expanded job market that will offer the poor a way out of permanent dependency.

So let's tell the American people the truth tonight and next fall about our economic recovery program. It isn't for one class or group. It's for all Americans: working people, the truly needy, the rich and the poor.

One man who held this office, a president vastly underrated by history, Calvin Coolidge, pointed out that a nation that is united in its belief in the work ethic and its desire for commercial success and economic progress is usually a healthy nation, a nation where it is easier to pursue the higher things in life like the development of science, the cultivation of the arts, the exploration of the great truths of religion and higher learning.

In arguing for economy in government, President Coolidge spoke of the burden of excessive government. He said, "I favor a policy of economy, not because I wish to save money but because I wish to save people. The men and women of this country who toil are the ones who bear the cost of the government. Every dollar that we carelessly waste means that their life will be so much the more meager. Every dollar that we save means that their life will be so much the more abundant. Economy is idealism in its most practical form."

This is the message we conservatives can bring to the American people about our economic program. Higher productivity, a larger Gross National Product, a healthy Dow Jones average -- they are our goals and are worthy ones.

But our real concerns are not statistical goals or material gain. We want to expand personal freedom, to renew the American dream for every American. We seek to restore opportunity and reward, to value again personal achievement and individual excellence. We seek to rely on the ingenuity and energy of the American people to better their own lives and those of millions of others around the world.

We can be proud of the fact that a conservative administration has pursued these goals by confronting the nation's economic problems head-on.

At the same time we dealt with one other less publicized but equally grave problem: The serious state of disrepair in our national defenses. (Applause.) The last Democratic administration had increased real defense spending at a rate of 3.3 percent a year. You know how much inflation was, so they were actually losing ground.

By 1980 we had fighter planes that couldn't fly, Navy ships that couldn't leave port, a rapid deployment force that was neither rapid nor deployable and not much of a force. (Laughter.)

The protection of this nation's security is the most solemn duty of any president, and that's why I've asked for substantial increases in our defense budget -- substantial but not excessive.

In 1962 President Kennedy's defense budget amounted to 44 percent of the entire budget. Ours is only 29 percent. In 1962 President Kennedy's request for military spending was 8.6 percent of the Gross National Product. Ours is only 6.3 percent. The Soviet Union outspends us on defense by 50 percent, an amount equal to 15 percent of their Gross National Product.

During the campaign I was asked any number of times: If I were faced with a choice of balancing the budget or restoring our national defenses, what would I do? Every time I said, "Restore our defenses." And every time I was applauded. (Applause.)

So let me be very clear. We will press for further cuts in federal spending. We will protect the tax reductions already passed. (Applause.) We will spend on defense what is necessary for our national security. (Applause.)

I have no intention of leading the Republican Party into next fall's election on a platform of higher taxes and cut-rate defense. If our opponents want to go to the American people next fall and say, "We're the party that refused to cut spending, we're the party that tried to take away your tax cuts, we're the party that wanted a bargain-basement military and held a fire sale on national security." Let's give them all the running room they want. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

There are other matters on the political agenda for this coming year, matters I know that you've been discussing during the course of this Congress. I hope one of them will be our attempt to give government back to the people. One hundred and thirty-two federal grants-in-aid in 1960 have grown to over 500 in 1981. Our federalism proposal, as Mickey Edwards told you, would return the bulk of these programs to state and local governments where they can be made more responsive to the people.

We're deeply committed to this program because it has its roots in deep conservative principles. We've talked a long time about revitalizing our system of federalism. Now, with a single bold stroke, we can restore the vigor and health of our state and local governments. This proposal lies at the heart of our legislative agenda for the next year and we'll need your active support in getting it passed.

There are other issues before us. This administration is unalterably opposed to the forced busing of school children, just as we also support constitutional protection for the right of prayer in our schools. (Applause.) And there is the matter of abortion. We must with calmness and resolve help the vast majority of our fellow Americans understand that the more than 1.5 million abortions performed in America in 1980 amount to a great moral evil, an assault on the sacredness of human life. (Applause.)

And, finally, there's the problem of crime, a problem whose gravity cannot be underestimated. This administration has moved in its appointments to the federal bench and in its legislative proposals for bail and parole reform to assist in the battle against the lawless. But we must always remember

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that our legal system does not need reform so much as it needs transformation. And this cannot occur at just the federal level. It can really occur only when society as a whole acknowledges principles that lie at the heart of modern conservatism. Right and wrong matters, individuals are responsible for their actions. Society has a right to be protected from those that prey on the innocent.

This then is the political agenda before us. Perhaps more than any group, your grass roots leadership, your candidate recruitment and training programs, your long years of hard work and dedication have brought us to this point and made this agenda possible.

We live today in a time of climactic struggle for the human spirit, a time that will tell whether the great civilized ideas of individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God will perish or endure.

Whittaker Chambers, who sought idealism in communism and found only disillusionment, wrote very movingly of his moment of awakening. It was at breakfast, and he was looking at the delicate ear of his tiny baby daughter, and he said that, suddenly, looking at that, he knew that couldn't just be an accident of nature. He said, while he didn't realize it at the time, he knows now that in that moment God had touched his forehead with his finger.

And later he wrote, "For in this century, within the next decades, will be decided for generations whether all mankind is to become communist, whether the whole world is to become free, or whether in the struggle civilization as we know it is to be completely destroyed or completely changed. It is our fate to live upon that turning point in history."

We've already come a long way together. Thank you for all that you've done for me, for the common values we cherish. Join me in a new effort, a new crusade.

Nostalgia has its time and place. Coming here tonight has been a sentimental journey for me, as I'm sure it has been for many of you. But nostalgia isn't enough. The challenge is now. It's time we stopped looking backward at how we got here. We must ask ourselves tonight how we can forge and wield a popular majority from one end of this country to the other, a majority united on basic, positive goals with a platform broad enough and deep enough to endure long into the future, far beyond the life span of any single issue or personality.

We must reach out and appeal to the patriotic and fundamental ideals of average Americans who do not consider themselves "movement" people but who respond to the same American ideals that we do.

I'm not talking about some vague notion of an abstract, amorphous American mainstream. I'm talking about Main Street Americans in their millions. They come in all sizes, shapes, and colors; blue collar workers, blacks, hispanics, shopkeepers, scholars, service people, housewives, and professional men and women. They are the backbone of America, and we can't move America without moving their hearts and minds as well.

Fellow Americans, our duty is before us tonight. Let us go forward determined to serve selflessly a vision of man with God, government for people, and humanity at peace. For it is now our task to tend and preserve, through the darkest and coldest nights, that sacred fire of liberty that President Washington spoke of two centuries ago, a fire that tonight remains a beacon to all the oppressed of the world, shining forth from this kindly, pleasant, greening land we call America.

God bless you and thank you. (Applause.)

END

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 18, 1983

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE DINNER

The Sheraton Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you. You did that once already. Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Chairman, Reverend Clergy, Mickey, I thank you very much for those very kind words and I thank all of you for certainly a most hearty and warm welcome.

I'm grateful to the American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, National Review, and Human Events for organizing this third annual memorial service for the Democratic platform of 1980. (Applause.) Someone asked me why I wanted to make it three in a row, well, you know how the Irish love wakes. (Laughter.) But I'm delighted to be back here with you, at your tenth annual conference. In my last two addresses, I've talked about our common perceptions and goals and I thought I might report to you here tonight on where we stand in achieving those goals -- a sort of state of the Reagan report, if you will.

Now, I'm the first to acknowledge that there is a good deal left unfinished on the conservative agenda. Our clean-up crew will need more than two years to deal with the mess left by others for over half a century. (Applause.) But I'm not disheartened. In fact, my attitude about that unfinished agenda isn't very different from that expressed in an anecdote about one of my favorite Presidents, Calvin Coolidge, -- (laughter) -- Some of you may know that after Cal Coolidge was introduced to the sport of fishing by his Secret Service detail, it got to be quite a passion with him, if you can use that word about "Silent Cal". (Laughter.) But, anyway, he was once asked by reporters how many fish were in one of his favorite angling places, the River Brule. And Coolidge said the waters were estimated to carry 45,000 trout. And then he said, "I haven't caught them all yet, but I sure have intimidated them." (Laughter.)

It's true we haven't brought about every change important to the conscience of a conservative, but we conservatives can take a great deal of honest pride in what we have achieved. In a few minutes I want to talk about just how far we've come and what we need to do to win further victories. But right now I think a word or two on strategy is in order. You may remember that in the past, I mentioned that it was not our task as conservatives to just point out the mistakes made over all the decades of liberal government, not just to form an able opposition, but to govern, to lead a nation. And I noted this would make new demands upon our movement, upon all of us.

For the first time in half a century, we've developed a whole new cadre of young conservatives in government. We've shown the conservatives can do more than criticize -- we've shown that we can govern and move our legislation through the Congress.

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

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heartening sign of all. It would have taken a \$5 billion jobs bill to reduce unemployment by the same amount. And it didn't cost us anything. (Applause.)

It's time to admit our guilt, time we admitted that our liberal critics have been right all the time and they should go right on telling the American people that the state of the economy is precisely the fault of that wicked creature, Kemp/Roth and its havoc-breaking truth,* Reaganomics. (Applause.)

Let's confess, let's admit that we've turned the corner on the economy. And we're especially proud of one thing. When we hit heavy weather we didn't panic; we didn't go for fast bromides and quick fixes, the huge tax increases or wage and price controls recommended by so many. And our stubbornness, if you want to call it that, will quite literally pay off for every American in the years ahead. (Applause.)

So, let me pledge to you tonight: Carefully, we have set out on the road to recovery. We will not be deterred. We will not be turned back. I reject the policies of the past, the policies of tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect. The lesson of these failed policies is clear -- I've said this before: You can't drink yourself sober or spend yourself rich; and you can't prime the pump without pumping the prime -- (applause) -- as somebody did like to 21.5 percent in 1980.

And a word is in order here on the most historic of all the legislative reforms we have achieved in the last two years -- that of tax indexing. You can understand the terror that strikes in the heart of those whose principal constituency is big government. Bracket creep is government's hidden incentive to inflate the currency and bring on inflation and indexing will end that. It will end those huge hidden subsidies for bigger and bigger government. In the future, if we get indexing planted firmly as the law of the land, the advocates of big government who want money -- more money for their social spending, their social engineering schemes, will have to go to the people and say right out loud: We want more money from your weekly paycheck, we're raising your taxes. Do that instead of sneaking it out by way of inflation which they have helped bring on. (Applause.)

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

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

On the other hand, our political philosophy is at the heart of the new political consensus that emerged in America at the beginning of this decade; one that I believe all -- well, I believe it will dominate American politics for many decades. The economic disasters brought about by too much government were the catalysts for this consensus. During the seventies the American people began to see misdirected overgrown government as the source of many of our social problems -- not the solution.

This new consensus has a view of government that is essentially that of our Founding Fathers -- that government is the servant, not the master, that it was meant to maintain order, to protect our nation's safety -- but otherwise, in the
*havoc-wreaking twin

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

I'll talk about defense in a moment. I know you've already heard about that today, some of you. But on the matter of domestic order, a few things need to be said. First of all, it is abundantly clear that much of our crime problem was provoked by a social philosophy that saw man as primarily a creature of his material environment. The same liberal philosophy that saw an era of prosperity and virtue ushered in by changing man's environment through massive federal spending programs also viewed criminals as the unfortunate products of poor socio-economic conditions or an underprivileged upbringing. Society, not the individual, they said, was at fault for criminal wrongdoing. We were to blame.

Today a new political consensus utterly rejects this point of view; the American people demand that government exercise its legitimate and constitutional duty to punish career criminals -- those who consciously choose to make their life by preying on the innocent. (Applause.)

Now, we conservatives have been warning about the crime

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our coinage. The Supreme Court opens its proceedings with a religious invocation. And the Congress opens each day with prayer from its chaplains. The schoolchildren of the United States are entitled to the same privileges as Supreme Court Justices and Congressmen. (Applause.) Join me in persuading the Congress to accede to the overwhelming desire of the American people for a constitutional amendment permitting prayer in our schools. (Applause.)

Finally, on our domestic agenda, there is a subject that weighs heavily on all of us, the tragedy of abortion on demand. This is a grave moral evil and one that requires the fullest discussion on the floors of the House and Senate. As we saw in the last century with the issue of slavery, any attempt by the Congress to stifle or compromise away discussion of important moral issues only further inflames emotions on both sides and leads ultimately to even more social disruption and disunity.

So, tonight, I would ask that the Congress discuss the issue of abortion openly and freely on the floors of the House and Senate. Let those who believe the practice of abortion to be a moral evil join us in taking this case to our fellow Americans. And let us do so rationally, calmly, and with an honest regard for our fellow Americans.

Speaking for myself, I believe that once the implications of abortion on demand are fully aired and understood by the American people, they will resolutely seek its abolition. I know there are many who sincerely believe that limiting the right of abortion violates the freedom of choice of the individual. But if the unborn child is a living entity, then there are two individuals, each with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. (Applause.) Unless and until someone can prove the unborn is not alive, and all medical evidence indicates it is, then we must concede the benefit of the doubt to the unborn infant.

But whether it's -- (Applause) -- whether it's cutting spending and taxing, shrinking the size of the deficit, ending overregulation, inefficiency, fraud and waste in government, cracking down on career criminals, revitalizing American education, pressing for prayer and abortion legislation, I think you can see that the agenda we've put before America these past two years has been a conservative one. Oh, and there are two other matters that I think you'd be interested in. First, as part of our federalism effort, next week we will be sending to the Congress our proposal for four megablock grants that will return vital prerogatives to the states where they belong. (Applause.) And, second, the Office of Management and Budget will press ahead with new regulations prohibiting the use of federal tax dollars for purposes of political advocacy. (Applause.)

And these important domestic initiatives have been complemented by the conservative ideas we've brought to the pursuit of foreign policy. In the struggle now going on for the world, we have not been afraid to characterize our adversaries for what they are. We have focused world attention on forced labor on the Soviet pipeline and Soviet repression in Poland and all the other nations that make up what is called the "fourth world" -- those living under totalitarian rule who long for freedom.

We publicized the evidence of chemical warfare and other atrocities in Cambodia, which we're now supposed to call Kampuchea, and in Afghanistan. We pointed out that totalitarian powers hold a radically different view of morality and human dignity than we do. We must develop a forward strategy for freedom, one based on our hope that someday representative government will be enjoyed by all the people and all the nations of the earth. (Applause.)

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

"A lot of healing . . . went on," said Jan Scruggs, the wounded combat veteran who helped organize support for the memorial. And then there was this newspaper account that appeared after the ceremonies. I'd like to read it to you. "Yesterday, crowds returned to the memorial. Among them was Herbie Petit, a machinist and former marine from New Orleans. 'Last night,' he said, standing near the wall, 'I went out to dinner with some ex-marines. There was also a group of college students in the restaurant. We started talking to each other and before we left, they stood up and cheered. The whole week,' Petit said, his eyes red, 'it was worth it just for that.'" (Applause.)

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

Yet, the most valuable lesson of all, the preciousness of human freedom, has been relearned not just by Americans but all the people of the world. It is "the stark lesson" that Truongs Nhu Tang, one of the founders of the National Liberation Front, a former Viet Cong minister and vice-minister of the postwar Vietnamese Communist government, spoke of recently when he explained why he fled Vietnam for freedom. "No previous regime in my country," he wrote about the concentration camps and boat people of Vietnam, "brought such numbers of people to such desperation. Not the military dictators, not the colonialists, not even the ancient Chinese warlords. It is a lesson that my compatriots and I learned through witnessing and through suffering in our own lives the fate of our countrymen. It is a lesson that must eventually move the conscience of the world." This man who had fought on the other side learned the value of freedom only after helping to destroy it and seeing those who had had to give it up.

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

This is not a task we shrink from. It's a task we welcome. For with the privilege of living in this kindly, pleasant greening land called America, this land of generous spirit and great ideals, there is also a destiny and a duty, a duty to preserve and hold in sacred trust mankind's age-old aspirations of peace and freedom and a better life for generations to come.

God bless you all and thank you for what you're doing. (Applause.)

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