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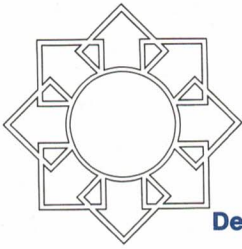
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MEMORANDUM

TO: President Ronald Reagan
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin
DATE: January 22, 1983
SUBJECT: State of the Union - Fifth Draft 1/22/83

COPIES TO: Michael Deaver ✓
Richard Darman
Aram Bakshian

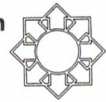
The following comments might be of help to you, Mr. President, as you put the polishing touches on your speech.

Length

If our target audience is the 80 to 100 million adult Americans who will watch the speech on television and not just the assembled Congressmen and guests, it is imperative that we keep the length of the speech to no longer than thirty minutes.

It seems to me you might want to tighten up:

- . The Introduction, pp. 1 - 2 (see comments on the "Pace" below).
- . Keeping Faith with the Future, pp. 16 - 18.
- . Foreign Affairs, pp. 18 - 22. We do need to stress our foreign policy successes and our drive toward meaningful arms reductions but, should you review most of our foreign initiatives in the detail of the draft, the only thing you will accomplish will be to dilute the impact of both this section and the speech generally.



President Ronald Reagan
January 22, 1983
Page Two

Pace

We must get into the substance of the speech more quickly. Almost half of those who begin listening to the speech will not be with us at the close. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the audience will disappear after the first 20 minutes, with a large proportion of those dropping out in the first 10 minutes (i.e. after the first six pages). Hence, during that first 10-minute period, we must sound our major themes clearly and concisely:

- . An unvarnished recognition that America is very troubled because of its economic difficulties.
- . Our commitment to providing more Americans with jobs sooner and to getting the economy moving again.
- . The success of resolving the social security issue through a bi-partisan effort and the promise that such a working arrangement -- which cuts across partisan lines -- holds in resolving the major challenges not yet met.
- . The high priority we give to pressing the initiative for the reduction of nuclear weapons in the context of an equitable and verifiable agreement with the Soviets.
- . The importance of doing all of the above in a fashion that will move us toward balancing the budget during our planning period (1983-1988).

Tone

The entire tone of the speech must be realistic but hopeful. Let us not trap ourselves by raising expectations too high about the prospects and immediacy of economy recovery. It is much better for us now to err just a little bit on the side of being a bit too pessimistic.



President Ronald Reagan
January 23, 1983
Page Three

Some Specific Suggestions

We over-use the word comprehensive -- "Comprehensive Federal Spending Freeze," "Comprehensive Employment Bill of 1983." Can't we simply call the later the Employment Bill of 1983?

On page 16, first paragraph, rather than "eliminate unjust discrimination on the basis of sex," it would be more forceful to say "eliminate unjust discrimination against women."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

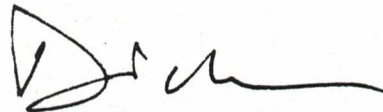
January 21, 1983

NOTE FOR: ARAM BAKSHIAN

SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL MATERIAL FOR STATE OF THE
UNION -- RE FAIR HOUSING

Jim Baker, Ed Meese, and the President have discussed the following; and it is my understanding that they wish to have this language included at some appropriate spot:

"The effective implementation of the Nation's Fair Housing Laws is essential to insuring equal opportunity for millions of Americans who have been denied the full range of housing choices available to their fellow citizens. I will propose legislation to enhance and strengthen enforcement of the Fair Housing Laws."



Richard G. Darman

cc: Meese
Baker
Deaver ✓
Gergen

A. Lee Fritschler
President

Patricia S. Florestano
President-Elect

Keith F. Mulrooney
Executive Director

January 21, 1983

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

Dear Mr. President:

When you deliver your State of the Union Address to the nation on the 25th, the many roles you have as President -- Chief of State, Commander in Chief, Chief Diplomat, Party Chief -- are melded together.

There is one more hat on that rack -- Chief Executive Officer. We of the American Society for Public Administration hope and urge you to acknowledge the importance of that role in your address.

This month is the 100th Anniversary of the Civil Service. In your Proclamation and Statement of January 10 you urged ceremonies and events to express appreciation for the career professionals of government.

I enclose a draft paragraph for your State of the Union message. The wording is not important but the thought is. In a time of low morale and calls for sacrifice, please tell the nation in your own voice how much you as President and our country as a society owe to your dedicated Military, Civil, Postal, and Foreign Service co-workers.

Respectfully yours,



A. Lee Fritschler
President

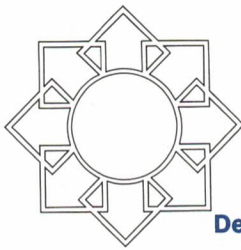
Enclosure

A year ago from this rostrum I introduced you to a hero who was seated in the galleries. It was Mr. Leonard Skutnik who dove into icy waters to rescue the survivor of a plane crash.

As I call tonight for special efforts and sacrifice from those who work for government, I want to tell you that they, too, deserve a nation's praise. In the past two years as the general manager of the federal establishment, I have grown to appreciate the heroes and near-heroes in our public service -- men and women like Phil Habib in Lebanon, Paul Nitze in Geneva, Jean Kirkpatrick at the UN, the rangers in our parks and the postman who comes to our doors each day.

This year is the 100th Anniversary of our nation's Civil Service. I salute them and acknowledge the positive contributions of those in the Civil, Postal, Military and Foreign Services.

They are indispensable in making ours a stable and successful democracy.



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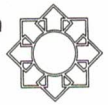
MEMO

TO: Michael Deaver
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin
DATE: January 21, 1983
SUBJECT: State of the Union - January 20th Draft

COPIES TO: Aram Bakshian
Richard Darman

I. Some General Comments

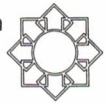
- A. It is imperative that we keep the length of the speech to no longer than thirty minutes if our target audience is the 80 to 100 adult Americans who will watch the speech on television and not just the assembled Congressmen and Cabinet.
- B. We must get into the substance of the speech more quickly. Almost half of those who begin listening to the speech will not be with us at the close. Twenty-five (25%) of the audience will disappear after the first 20 minutes, with a large proportion of those dropping out in the first 10 minutes. Hence, during that first 10-minute period, we must sound our major themes clearly and concisely:
- An unvarnished recognition that America is very troubled because of its economic difficulties.
 - Our commitment to providing more Americans with jobs sooner and to getting the economy moving again.
 - The success of resolving the social security issue through a bi-partisan effort and the promise that such working arrangements -- which cut across partisan lines -- hold in resolving the challenges not yet met.



- A high priority we give to pressing the initiative for reduction of nuclear weapons in the context of an equitable and verifiable agreement with the Soviets.
 - The importance of doing all of the above in a fashion that will move us toward balancing the budget during our planning period (1983-1988).
- C. The entire tone of the speech must be very realistic but also hopeful. Let us not trap ourselves one more time in the bind of raising expectations only to have those expectations dashed later, or by appearing to be too "Polyann-ish" about the prospects and immediacy of recovery. It is much better for us to error just a little bit on the side of being too pessimistic than being too optimistic.
- D. The speech lacks emotional impact.

II. Some Specifics

- A. I believe it is an excellent idea to build off the social security successes to issue the call for bi-partisan support. It is a strong and good theme we need to sound.
- B. We must hammer again and again that there is no quick fix for our economic recovery and that difficulties we are now experiencing in the economic area have very deep and old historical roots.
- C. I believe we may be going too far when we say the "long night of a beleaguered U.S. economy is now ending."
- D. When we talk about economic renewal, there is no mention at all in those principles about what we are doing to generate jobs. Perhaps, because of policy, we need to finesse this a little bit. If not, we need to talk about the action we are suggesting.
- E. When we discuss the trade initiatives, we should tie this to what it will do to help farmers and small businessmen.
- F. I believe we stress too much the promise of high-tech. While we need to look to the future and hope, we gild the lily excessively in that section of the speech.
- G. The foreign affairs section should focus primarily on our peace initiatives as articulated at Eureka College with the progress we are hopefully going to secure in the Mideast. We also should definitely use the State of the Union Address to clarify and strengthen our case of the 0-0 option in Europe.



- H. It is important to mention the initiatives we have taken and will take to strengthen our bonds with our allies.
- I. Of all of the constituency issues that are most helpful to us broad-brushed (aside from economic recovery and peace) education stands at the top of the list. We discuss education in a number of different places in the speech. I believe we can strengthen the President's commitment to quality education by putting those pieces all together.
- J. In reviewing what we have accomplished, curbing waste and fraud and cutting burdensome regulation should be mentioned.

The above represents somewhat of a potpourri of suggestions but I would be happy to discuss these with you or any one else as the speech becomes solidified over the next day or so.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVID GERGEN
LARRY SPEAKES

FROM:

PETER ROUSSEL 

SUBJECT:

State of the Union -- Media
Plan ... Plus a Few Other
Things

Knowing you are preparing the media plan for marketing of the State of the Union and Budget, I offer the following for consideration in that plan or for additional follow-up. Some of this is repetitious, some perhaps not:

State of the Union/Budget

- Schedule appropriate Presidential interviews following the speech and budget release.

Wires -- AP, UPI, Reuters, AFP

Radio -- CBS, ABC, NBC (to equalize interview given the independents)

TV -- CNN

Groups -- chains, newspapers

In addition to transmitting our message through these outlets, numerous standing interview requests could be fulfilled, particularly through the group sessions, and most importantly, while being focused on one subject thus maximizing impact.

- Schedule surrogate spokesmen on ensuing morning, Sunday, late evening, etc. shows.

* See additional item regarding surrogates.

- Through Media Relations office, schedule briefings here for editorial groups. On all upcoming trips, we should also consider possibility of having the President and surrogates meet with editorial writers, columnists, not only from the city visited, but the region. Ideally, the

surrogates would both precede and follow the President's appearance. Think there is much to be gained from this approach and saves having to import large groups to Washington.

- Suggest that a representative cross-section of columnists (not editorial writers) be brought in for a small group session. These can have more impact than the newswriters and certainly than editorial writers. A columnist, for instance, such as Lynn Ashby of The Houston Post is the most popular, widely read and quoted in the state. We have done virtually nothing to involve these kind of writers and now seems like a crucial time to do so.
 - Through the Media Relations office make absolutely certain that all special interest groups are covered via mailings of the speech, budget summaries, etc.
 - Similarly, make certain that not only Members but their press secretaries get these mail outs so as to encourage reprinting excerpts in their newsletters.
 - On a very selective basis, consider building on the base established with the 5-minute radio program by following during this crucial marketing period with a series of geographically/politically targeted call-ins to radio talk shows around the country. This would provide a means for taking his message directly to the people and being responsive without filtering it through the media. These shows have large audiences that generate discussions for many days, even weeks following. Through these we could generate the follow-up that may have been lacking in the radio shows -- an interest beyond the day of broadcast.
 - Activate the Cabinet, sub-Cabinet, etc. in a surrogate blitz making certain their efforts are concentrated in areas of good media coverage.
- * (Frankly, I think we are not getting maximum impact from our surrogate effort; e.g., we need to make the press here more aware of what these surrogates are doing -- mailings of their speeches via the RNC, etc.)

A Few Other Things for Consideration

- We need to do a better job on marketing of speeches, appearances by senior White House staff members. Perhaps a memorandum will remedy the problem. A recent case in point was the Baker speech, which CNN would have carried live had we alerted them. Also, when a prepared text is used, we should make it available in the White House press office.

- Consider compiling an updated daily/weekly sheet of the "designated hitters" on the various issues. This would have the following purposes:
 - Being available to the press so they would know who they are and thus cut down the number of phone calls.
 - Circulate within the White House so staff would know where to forward errant press calls.
 - Emphasize to press and staff that this is a serious policy being pursued in a serious manner.
- Consider having Mrs. Reagan host a White House lunch for an individual or couple from each state -- people to be chosen by the Governor, Senator or Congressman -- who are notable for some self-sacrifice during these difficult times. This would associate Mrs. Reagan with "mainstream" Americans who are also achievers and, in a sense, joined with the President in the same battle. Also, would have the effect of involving Governors, Senators and Congressmen in a very positive way with the White House -- and their constituents.
- Draft and prepare a Presidential letter to all White House staff, Republican officials, etc. thanking them for their dedicated effort in the first two years, emphasizing the accomplishments and urging them on to greater effort in the years ahead. This morale boost to the troops in the trenches could pay dividends in increased output and perhaps is needed at this mid-term juncture. A re-charging of the batteries of commitment.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1983

TO: Aram Bakshian

FROM: Michael Castine
Rob Mosbacher

SUBJECT: PSI References in the State of the Union Address

In our two previous memoranda on PSI references in the State of the Union Address, we listed the following subjects in which the PSI Program would play a role in the next two years:

- Assisting displaced workers in the short-term by the creation of job search clubs modeled after the Crucible Steel case.
- Assisting displaced workers in the long-term through the creation of a business-labor-education-government partnership.
- Assisting working parents (particularly women) by encouraging the expansion of affordable quality child care.

Finally, we also mentioned that the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives will be succeeded by an Advisory Council on PSI, hopefully to be headed by Governor William Milliken of Michigan.

What we neglected to mention was the importance of continuing to "build partnerships" between the private sector and government all across the country. We were reminded of this by the heavy emphasis placed on public-private partnerships by Governor Cuomo in his State-of-the-State message in New York and Mayor Kathy Whitmire of Houston in her State-of-the-City address last week.

In short, the President's PSI program is catching on and he should reinforce that fact by using the "building partnerships" buzz-words.

INSERT FOR STATE OF UNION OR OTHER ADDRESS ON MILITARY PAY FREEZE

We have made a good start in our program to restore the defenses necessary to preserve peace with freedom. And we mean to continue that progress. At the same time, I recognize that these are times of sacrifice for all Americans, and that I must ask all Federal employees -- military and civilian -- to shoulder a share of the burden by foregoing pay raises ^{in the fiscal 84} ~~this year.~~ RR

This is particularly difficult for me to ask in the case of our armed forces. After many years of neglect and shamefully low pay, we restored competitive pay to the military over the past two years and we intend to continue that vital obligation ^{in the following} ~~next~~ year when economic conditions are again favorable. I very much hope that all will recognize that this sacrifice which is asked of all across the board is necessary to our economic recovery. RR ?

~~At the first opportunity I will want to make this loss up to our troops.~~ RR

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER ✓
JIM BAKER

FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DG*

SUBJECT: AP Story on State of Union

Mike, this is the product of our conversation with Jim Gerstenzang that you arranged.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE OF HOPE ALSO BID TO REGAIN LOST GROUND

by James Gerstenzang -- Associated Press

WASHINGTON -- At the heart of President Reagan's State of the Union speech a week from tonight will be an attempt to clear up misunderstandings about his economic program and, according to one aide, "re-establish himself as a central figure."

As Reagan enters his third year in the presidency, and Democrats line up to challenge him, the address becomes "a particularly important speech for him," says David R. Gergen, Reagan's Assistant for Communications.

Attempting to regain lost ground, Reagan will seek to "re-establish himself as a central figure and as one who helps to set the agenda for the coming year," said Gergen.

Deputy Chief of Staff Michael K. Deaver said the speech offers "a chance for him to once again talk about what we have achieved so far and what he hopes to achieve in the next two years."

Reagan's aides, troubled by criticism that the Administration's budget and tax cuts have hurt the poor and helped the rich, stress that the program is "going to be fair in the way it treats people."

"You can't say too many times what it is we're trying to do," Deaver said. "The economy is a very difficult subject and there are a lot of misunderstandings. It's a difficult time for a lot of people and he wants to express that."

Reagan's most senior advisers began work on the speech late last year, and then met with him for about 45 minutes on Dec. 23 to get his ideas on what the speech should contain.

Last weekend, time was set aside for the President to sit down with drafts proposed by speechwriter Aram Bakshian and others and start shaping them into the speech he will deliver before a joint session of Congress and nationwide television audience on Jan. 25.

On Sunday, Reagan invited some outsiders to the White House family quarters for what Deaver decried as a meeting "where he picks peoples brains."

On the guest list were Lee Iacocca, Chairman of the Chrysler Corp.; columnist George Will; longtime Republican presidential adviser Bryce Harlow; Secretary of State George Shultz, and conservative economist Irving Kristol.

The President's aides, in seeking suggestions from outsiders as well as others in the White House and then coordinating them into one text, are trying to avoid a problem that cropped up a year ago, when different groups prepared competing versions of the same speech. "Hopefully, we've got everybody's input," Deaver said.

(continued)

If history is any guide, the speech will go through seven or eight drafts before it is committed to a script in large, typewritten letters, from which the President will read in the House of Representatives, with the help of an electronic prompting device.

Aides will submit paragraphs from their areas of expertise, speechwriters will smooth them out, and then the President will combine much of the material, working with a yellow legal pad and felt-tip pen.

"He will, in effect, write out a great deal of this before it is over," said Gergen.

Although Reagan's standing has dropped in some polls, Deaver said that a public opinion survey by Republican pollster Richard Wirthlin determined that 60 percent of those questioned "still think" Reagan's economic plan will work.

"They have faith. They want to believe," Deaver said.

Gergen added that positive signs from the housing and auto industry, as well as falling interest rates, provide economic signals to which the President can point as evidence of success, despite the 10.8 percent unemployment rate.

-end-

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK /s/
SUBJECT: State of the Union

I realize you must reduce the length of the excellent draft of the State of the Union address forwarded to you January 16 by Aram Bakshian, but have some suggestions for strengthening the national security area of the speech to achieve a better overall balance. Limiting this vital subject to four pages of 29, as this draft does, may suggest that you are not serious about, or attentive to, national security. It also misses the opportunity to bring key issues to the Congress and public.

These are principal suggestions:

- o Reinforce your call on Congress to stay the course on national defense.
- o Strengthen the section on arms control to reflect the theme of your recent press statement: because of the military rebuilding program you have put in place, we now have leverage with the Soviets. START and INF negotiations, which will reconvene in Geneva shortly after your address, should be mentioned specifically. You might want to draw attention to our negotiators by name (Paul Nitze will have returned to Geneva, Ed Rowny could be in the audience).
- o Add to the Middle East section by including a clearer call for peace in the region and discussing Lebanon, which is currently left out of the address.
- o Do not ignore the military pay freeze. Cap has provided a proposed insert on this subject, which could be subsumed in an overall discussion of federal pay. His suggested wording is attached.
- o Pay more attention to our alliance partners, and mention the importance of international trade to national security.
- o Expand the discussion of security assistance beyond the Central America paragraph, which currently contains the only mention of this key legislative item.

We made inputs on these subjects as the speech was being drafted, and stand ready to assist you or the speechwriters further.

cc: Secretary Shultz
Secretary Weinberger
Jim Baker
David Gergen
Aram Bakshian

Attachment: As stated

INSERT FOR STATE OF UNION OR OTHER ADDRESS ON MILITARY PAY FREEZE

We have made a good start in our program to restore the defenses necessary to preserve peace with freedom. And we mean to continue that progress. At the same time, I recognize that these are times of sacrifice for all Americans, and that I must ask all Federal employees -- military and civilian -- to shoulder a share of the burden by foregoing pay raises this year.

This is particularly difficult for me to ask in the case of our armed forces. After many years of neglect and shamefully low pay, we restored competitive pay to the military over the past two years and we intend to continue that vital obligation next year when economic conditions are again favorable. I very much hope that all will recognize that this sacrifice which is asked of all across the board is necessary to our economic recovery. At the first opportunity I will want to make this loss up to our troops.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE DEEVER

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER 

SUBJECT: SOU Guest

We might consider having the President invite to the House Gallery for the State of the Union address John Mooney, Ordnance Man First Class, who wrote the letter the President is quoting from in the State of the Union address (SOU draft #1/Bakshian). I seem to remember that the networks reported on how proud he and his family were that the President quoted from the letter during a radio address.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ARAM BAKSHIAN

FROM:

Jim Cicconi 

SUBJECT:

State of the Union Speech--Farm Foreclosures

Attached is some draft language on the subject of farm foreclosures prepared at Dave Gergen's request.

It is important for the President to express concern over this problem, which has gained increasing media attention. There is general agreement that any type of moratorium on foreclosures would be far too costly. Instead, the President can point out some of the steps USDA has taken, and urge the private sector (which makes the vast majority of farm loans) to follow our example. This is, at heart, a populist approach that should prevent the President from being blamed whenever a private bank forecloses on a farmer.

This statement should be portrayed as "treating the symptoms" in combination with our efforts to treat the main cause--low prices (which the blended credit and PIK programs are aimed at).

cc: James A. Baker, III
Mike Deaver ✓
Dave Gergen
Ed Harper

(In advance of mentioning PIK program, exports, etc.)

Current economic problems are also hurting America's farmers. Low prices and high costs are causing some to face the agonizing prospect of foreclosure and the loss of their farms because they cannot keep up with their loan payments. Our farmers, who feed this country and much of the world, should not have to live in fear of losing everything they have worked for. Last year, the Secretary of Agriculture adopted a policy that will allow the Farmers Home Administration to continue to finance those farmers who, through no fault of their own, fall behind in their loan payments because of current economic conditions. I have instructed the Secretary to continue and expand these efforts, utilizing other means at his disposal, including deferral and rescheduling, to help FmHA borrowers on a case by case basis who might otherwise be in danger of losing their farms.

Such policies, though, will apply only to farm loans which are underwritten by the government: the vast majority of farm loans are made by private creditors. I would urge them to take similar steps, and exercise similar patience, to help America's farmers through this difficult period.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN *ARD*

SUBJECT: State of the Union Address

This is your call, of course. But I felt an absolute responsibility to present -- as forcefully as possible -- my reasons for believing the President should be given the opportunity to read this draft.

1) THIS IS THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH -- No one else's. It is easily forgotten around here that the editing, drafting and speaking style of Ronald Reagan are responsible for the success of his public speeches -- it has little to do with the resident geniuses on the writing, policy or administrative staffs.

A speech process -- a chemistry -- has led to this success. This chemistry works best when we take maximum advantage of Ronald Reagan's writing skills, speaking talents and unabashed intellect. Obviously, it would be ideal if the President could look over all the excellent raw materials available but this, of course, is impossible especially in view of the incredible breadth of a State of the Union message. So it is our job to give him a speech draft (as we have in the past) that best summarizes all the excellent material available.

This draft (like my draft for the tax cut speech of the summer of '81, last year's State of the Union and the London speech) represents the culmination of months of thought and writing. The draft has been keyed to bringing in the best available material and fashioning it within the context of the President's past thoughts and statements.

Let me be specific. (a) The draft has the patriotic 1783 opening and then makes an appeal to national unity. (b) It has a wealth of material about how far we have come in the past 2 years -- it dwells on our success in the economic area especially dealing with the inflation menace (the number one concern of Americans only a few years ago). (c) It has a great expanse of the material on powerful political issues like waste and fraud, and crime. (d) It has an

extremely strong ending. (None of this is duplicated or even adequately represented in the shorter draft. Indeed, in my view the shorter draft catches little of the pace or cogency of this draft.)

I think it should be the President's decision to choose how much or how little -- what combinations, what mix -- of these rhetorical and thematic points he wishes to have in his speech. He is the best judge, only he can take the broad view, only his is the comprehensive look. A State of the Union message is critical to defining a presidency. Only the President can provide that definition and he should have the maximum amount of material to choose from.

I was somewhat shocked by Dick Darman's suggestion that if we do not pare down the President's options and restrict them to what appears to be a narrow field we "have failed as a staff." Far to the contrary, presenting only a few options based on the feelings of six or seven people -- none of whom were elected and most of whom have no responsibility or expertise in these areas -- is a disservice to the President and the country.

This draft takes a different course, it attempts to collect Ronald Reagan's thoughts on the State of the Union as expressed during the past year as well as present the views of a wide range of people within the Administration. I think we owe it to him and to the country to take advantage of his judgement, his good sense and his intellect and let him be the judge of what material should be included or excluded.

2) A GENERAL RULE -- We work in the biggest fishbowl in the world, sooner or later our actions -- e.g. the range of options we make available to the President -- are the stuff of history. I don't think we can be criticized for giving the President too much in the way of choices. And I think we have a grave responsibility to assure the public that we are doing all we can to let the President see as many reasonable points of view as possible.

3) THE TRACK RECORD -- This process -- that of preparing a lengthy but cogent first draft which offers the President a wide range of choices -- is essentially the same process that we have followed in the past. I believe the President would strongly prefer this option. I cite just one example. When the President learned that I had written a draft for the London speech (despite strong attempts by some of the staff to discourage such an undertaking), he asked to see it. He had extremely kind words for this draft at his radio speech the following day and he repeated those words to Dick Wirthlin the subsequent day. As you know, he decided to use that draft for his London speech. The draft was overly long

but the President seemed pleased not dismayed at the opportunity to see that much material.

As you also know, this same procedure of preparing a long draft was followed in the tax cut draft of '81 and last year's State of the Union speech with excellent results.

Frankly, as with the London speech, I was perplexed at being left out of the State of the Union process this year. Especially in view of the fact I was the only writer on the staff who had, in this Administration or any other, been responsible for taking a prior State of the Union message through the process.

Here I think I should provide a word of background. When Dave Gergen did call me shortly before Christmas to tell me a decision had not been made on who the writer(s) would be, he did say a two or three-track approach and a "conservative draft" would be useful. As you know, the draft I prepared during Christmas week and that you intercepted over New Year's weekend (sent to the President instead of Judge Clark "eyes only") was never intended for him. I had hoped, however, that the existence of a draft would be called to your attention and that eventually the President might have a look at it early on. I sent in several memos to this effect; Dave indicated that he felt the drafts would go to the President within a week. At that point, the other draft has still not been produced and my draft was turned over to be used in part of that process. I cite all of this to suggest that whatever the intentions behind these events, there has been a great deal of maneuvering and the original force and direction of my Christmas draft has been lost in the shorter draft.

4) FINAL POINT -- Mike you have often said that your first loyalty is to Ronald Reagan. It is that loyalty that I am appealing to now. This is a critically important moment for this Presidency. We have had good results with a certain speech process in the past and I think changing it now would be unwise.

It can do little harm and possibly an enormous amount of good to let the President see the broad range of material available to him in this draft.

Like any White House, we have seen develop on our staff those who think their guidance and counsel is responsible for the President's success. The perception is growing that intoxicated by the nearness of power, some have simply lost touch with reality and seem to believe in a spoon-fed presidency, a presidency where a few people control the access, limit the agenda and attempt to predetermine the outcome of presidential decisions. I think Ronald Reagan is a patient man but one nonetheless who eventually does draw

the line at this kind of thing. I think you also know that it is Ronald Reagan who, in crisis after crisis, has made his staff look good. It has rarely been the other way around.

We need to resist all of these unfortunate tendencies. I think showing the President this draft would assist in this goal. But more important, by giving him a wide range of options and a speech text that carries his nuance and idiom, we would be cutting down on the tremendous burden he has to carry.