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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

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| DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE                | DATE    | RESTRICTION |
|---------------------|------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| 1. memo             | Jim Brady to Ed Gray (2 pgs) | 6/13/80 | C           |

### RESTRICTIONS

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Ed Muse -

Ed -

On our discussion,

I do not favor  
firing this fellow.

Rich.

6/22/80

RICHARD V. ALLEN

WASHINGTON

JERRIS LEDNARD  
SUITE 550  
1700 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 872-1095

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dick Allen and the T.N.G.  
FROM: Jerris Leonard  
DATE: June 20, 1980  
RE: Russ Wapensky

I ask that the T.N.G. strongly recommend the hiring of Russ Wapensky by the R.P.C. to assist in the issues and issues-strategy area.

He performed most ably in these areas for the Connally Committee. He had a major responsibility to recruit and maintain contact with selected Federal Government employees at the GS 15/16 level. These were people who were willing to provide information from their departments to be used by the Issues Staff of the Connally Campaign. Among those providing assistance of this kind were individuals in the Regulations Import-Export, International and Research Divisions as well as within the Planning Staff of the Department of Energy. Similar contacts were maintained within other Cabinet and federal agency offices.

Another function was to work with various Republican State leaders and former members of the Nixon and Ford Administrations to develop ideas for use by Governor Connally, as well as to review upcoming speeches and policy statements. At the same time, these individuals had a network of contacts within their respective States who were able to keep him informed as to efforts made by opposition candidates. The following persons were key liaison contacts for this purpose: Former Governor James Edwards of South Carolina; Phil Campbell, ex-Undersecretary of Agriculture, in Georgia; Haley Barbour of Mississippi, Southeastern Regional Coordinator; former Governor Walter J. Hickel of Alaska, John Hill ex-Federal Energy Administrator, Brad Johnston, ex-Associate Administrator, NASA; William Kolberg, former Assistant Director, OMB; Malcolm Lovell, ex-Assistant Secretary of Labor; Mike McKeivitt, National Federation of Independent Business; Armand Meyer, former Ambassador to Iran; Paul O'Neill, ex-Deputy Director, OMB; and Charls E. Walker, former Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

In addition, contacts were developed with staffs of the following legislators: Senators Thad Cochran of Mississippi; Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; Milton Young of North Dakota, and Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, and Representatives Clarence Brown of Ohio, Dave Stockman of Michigan; Bob Wilson of California, Bud Shuster of Pennsylvania; Henson Moore of Louisiana, and Delbert Latta of Ohio.

Projects on which he has assisted the Reagan Committee include the position paper dealing with Black Voters, done under the auspices of Jerris Leonard, Congressmen Carroll Campbell and Tom Evans. A second paper, outlining a strategy designed to attract Catholic voters was completed in collaboration with Henry Cashen.

Please note strong endorsement of Governor Connally in attached letter to Bill Casey.

I ask the T.N.G. to strongly recommend his retention.

Enclosure

April 7, 1980

Mr. Bill Casey  
Reagan for President  
9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430  
Los Angeles, CA 90045

Dear Bill:

There are four young men who were with the Campaign Committee who performed splendid service, that I want to recommend to you as being capable, intelligent and loyal:

Russ Wapensky, John Greene and Ned Greene, who worked with Issues and Research, and Mitchell Stanley who worked with the press.

I believe they would do a great job for you if you find a place for them with your Committee.

Sincerely,

John B. Connally

JBC:kw

TO ED MEESE

6-11-80

FROM ED GRAY

Per the attached, the black publishers are meeting at the same time we're visiting Chicago. In my opinion, this is worth at least a drop-in-to say hello. I would hope we would have time to do this. Remember, these are publishers. It is a particularly good opportunity to build a case to counter/<sup>possible</sup>speculation that we "have written off the black vote... we haven't made an effort to talk with blacks," etc. Do you agree we should do it? We need to get an answer back to this group right away.

cc: Chuck Tyson

Lyn Nofziger

*Joe Halmes*

STEVE G DAVIS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
770 NATIONAL PRESS BLDG  
WASHINGTON DC 20045

western union

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JOE HOMES COMMUNICATION DIRECTOR FOR REGAN  
FOR PRESIDENT CAMPAIGN  
9841 AIRPORT BLVD SUITE 1430  
LOS ANGELES CA 90045

THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION REPRESENTING THE BLACK  
PRESS OF AMERICA IS HOLDING ITS 40TH ANNUAL CONVENTION IN CHICAGO  
ILLINOIS JUNE 18-21 AT THE HYATT REGENCY CHICAGO HOTEL

REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR ASSOCIATION TALKED WITH YOUR DIRECTOR OF  
COMMUNICATION IN REFERENCE TO YOUR MAKING AN APPEARANCE DURING OUR  
PROGRAM.

SPECIFICALLY WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU SPEAK TO THE ASSEMBLED BLACK  
PUBLISHERS AND EDITORS OF AMERICA AND THEIR GUESTS ON THURSDAY  
EVENING JUNE 19TH AT 700PM IF YOUR BUSY SCHEDULE WILL PERMIT AN  
ALTERNATIVE TIME WOULD BE JUNE 20TH AT 10AM.

PLEASE ADVISE US OF YOUR AVAILABILITY  
STEVE G DAVIS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSN  
770 NATIONAL PRESS BLDG  
WASHINGTON DC 20045

12:14 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

JUNE 20

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| 10:00 a.m. EDT | New York to Chicago (TWA #319)   |
| 11:15 a.m. CDT | Arrive Chicago.<br>Luncheon w/ Republican Governors.<br>Unity Reception<br>Unity Rally |
| 6:45 p.m. CDT  | Chicago to Los Angeles (Continental #905).   |
| 8:45 p.m. PDT  | Arrive Los Angeles.  |



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WASHINGTON, D.C.

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OR DIAL WESTERN UNION'S INFOMASTER SYSTEM DIRECTLY:

FROM TELEX ..... 6161

FROM TWX ..... 910 420 1212

June 11, 1980

MEMO #3

TO: Bill Casey

FROM: Senator Donald E. Lukens

I am currently preparing separate papers on the following four unions which are especially vulnerable from the grassroots approach to the Reagan campaign this year:

1. International Brotherhood of Teamsters (2.3 million)
2. Building and Trades (23 unions, approximately 1 million)  
(Building and Trades will generally follow lead of Teamsters)
3. United Steel Workers (1.3 million)
4. United Auto Workers (1.5 million)

Additionally, it is my impression that no effort should be made Now nationally or grassroots, to attract the members of Communication Workers of America (498,000), the United Farm Workers (under 25,000), or the United Rubber Workers (190,000). They are without political direction or impact and the Ohio branch of CWA (Communication Workers of America) is committed to Carter through Martin Hughes.

No effort should be made to attract either at the national or local level, any members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America--they have already been expelled from the AFL-CIO and are heavily infiltrated with communists.

Additionally, no effort should be made to attract leadership of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers due to their lack of funds and political clout. They are obsessed with one issue--the unionization of J. P. Stevens.

There is only one Republican member on the AFL Executive Board and Executive Council. He is, William McClennan, President, International Firefighters of America, (171,000), 202-872-8484.

Attached are ten target unions of various sizes, all of which should be targeted for this campaign from the top down. Other memos will deal with the grassroots approach.

DEL/aja

cc: The Honorable Paul Laxalt  
Ed Meese  
Dick Wirthlin  
Lynn Nofziger

| <u>UNION</u>   | <u>MEMBERS</u> | <u>CONTACT</u>                         |
|--|----------------|--|
| 1. <u>Airline Pilots Association</u>   | <u>27,000</u>  | J. J. McDonell<br>202-797-4000         |
| (These people are highly incensed because of the FAA "whitewash" investigation of the Chicago DC 10 air crash. They have money.)   |                |  |
| 2. <u>American Federation of Grain Millers</u>   | <u>35,000</u>  | Roy Wellborn<br>612-545-0211           |
| (Due to upset, due to FTC proposal to break up cereal companies, they feel it would lead to fewer jobs. <u>IMPORTANT</u> : They have 204 local unions which is a PR plus.)   |                |  |
| 3. <u>Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bar Workers International</u>  | <u>450,000</u> | Ed Hanley, President<br>513-621-0300   |
| (Upset due to "three martini lunch" rule by IRS, supported by Carter. Ohio Teamsters President also has great influence.)  |                |  |
| 4. <u>American Postal Workers Union</u>  | <u>249,000</u> | No contact<br>202-638-2304             |
| (Anti-Carter because of government budget reform, including Saturday mail delivery.)   |                |  |
| 5. <u>American Federation of Teachers</u>  | <u>444,000</u> | No contact<br>202-797-4400             |
| (Intensely opposed to establishment of separate Department of Education. They believe this leads to a power elite in the educational community, diluting their own power. They have dollars and are strong politically.) |                |  |
| 6. <u>Sheet Metal Workers International Association</u>  | <u>161,000</u> | No contact<br>202-296-5880             |
| (With Carter's urging, strongly endorsed solar energy program, which has now been sold down the river.)  |                |  |
| 7. <u>Fraternal Order of Police</u>  | <u>147,000</u> | Robert H. Stark, Pres.<br>313-732-6330 |
| (Law and order appeal.)  |                |  |
| 8. <u>Amalgamated Transit Union</u>  | <u>140,000</u> | No contact<br>202-537-1645             |
| (They want federal support for the Highway Trust Fund and feel that Carter is not giving same.)  |                |  |

|    |   |                |  |
|----|---|----------------|--|
| 9. | <u>United Paper Workers</u><br><u>International</u> | <u>301,000</u> | <u>No contact</u><br><u>212-762-6000</u> |
|----|---|----------------|--|

(They are opposed to the catastrophic economic policy, domestically. They have seen consistent job loss and are based primarily in New England, especially in New Hampshire.)

|     |  |              |                   |
|-----|--|--------------|-------------------|
| 10. | <u>Newspaper, Mail and</u><br><u>Deliverers of New York</u><br><u>City</u> | <u>3,500</u> | <u>No contact</u> |
|-----|--|--------------|-------------------|

(They are hardcore conservatives and have seen their jobs disappear the last few decades. While small, they are very politically effective in New York.)

13 June 1980  
MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM CASEY

FROM: Fred Biebel, Drew Lewis

RE: REGIONAL POLITICAL DIRECTORS' RESPONSIBILITIES REQUESTS

---

Of the RPDs we have interviewed, the following are their respective responsibility preferences:

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Roger Stone     | New York, Connecticut  |
| Paul Manafort   | New Jersey, Virginia   |
| Don Totten      | Illinois, Michigan   |
| Frank Donatelli | Ohio, Wisconsin. It is recommended Walter Peters work Pennsylvania rather than New Jersey.   |
| Buz Lukens      | Can take Wisconsin and Minnesota if we feel Donatelli could handle Ohio and Pennsylvania.  |
| Don Devine      | Wants to continue with Maryland and his other responsibility request is to remain with the Nationalities Group.  |
| Rick Shelby     | Texas, Oklahoma, giving up Arkansas.   |
| Kenny Klinge    | Missouri, Louisiana, Mississippi, giving up North Carolina.  |
| Dave Nickles    | South Carolina, Georgia, giving up Alabama. Dave is requesting, however, that he only work with those two states on a part-time, 3-day a week basis. As a result, Dave has asked that his salary be \$2,000 per month. He also recommends that Sam Dawson and Lee Atwater be retained as the Campaign Manager and Field Director for South Carolina. |

Roger Stone and Paul Manafort recommend Wayne Roberts, the present Executive Director of Vermont, be assigned as an RPD for Rhode Island, Vermont, Maine, Massachusetts. They also recommend Walt Peters, who is the New Jersey Executive Director, to be RPD of Pennsylvania and Bill Lacy as Field Director of Maryland. It was also suggested that Haley Barbour, formerly of Connolly's staff, be considered as a possible RPD.

FB/vm

To: Governor Ronald Reagan

cc: Senator Paul Laxalt  
Congressman Tom Evans

William Casey  
Ed Meese  
Dick Wirthlin  
Lyn Nofziger  
Ed Gray  
Joe Holmes  
Drew Lewis  
Dick Allen  
Marty Anderson  
Paul Russo  
Rich Williamson  
Belden Bell  
Al Drischler  
Bob Feinberg  
Charls Walker  
Dick Whalen

From: Congressman Mickey Edwards

Re: Congressional Issue Advisory Committee

For your information, attached is a copy of the memorandum that I sent today to all 24 Co-Chairmen of the Congressional Issue Advisory Committees.

June 6, 1980

To: Co-Chairmen  
Congressional Issue Advisory Committees

From: Congressman Mickey Edwards

Thank you for coming to our meeting Wednesday morning in the Capitol. This memorandum will review the points we've discussed.

Paul Laxalt and Tom Evans have asked me to be Project Director for this effort. Rich Williamson (828-8434) will be helping me coordinate these 12 Committees. Belden Bell (347-4892) will work with the Foreign Policy and Defense groups. On a volunteer basis, and on their own time, Al Drishler of Senator Laxalt's office, Bob Feinberg with the House Banking and Currency Committee, my Administrative Assistant, Susan Bingham, and my Staff Assistant, Brad Bishop, will also assist.

#### I. General Purpose

There are various areas where we hope the Congressional Issue Advisory Committees will provide invaluable input and guidance to Governor Reagan.

1. Issue Development - We plan to use the Congressional Issue Advisory Committees as an integral part of issue development for the general election campaign.
2. We hope these Advisory Committees can serve as sounding boards for major speeches in their respective areas. To the extent possible, major speeches will be circulated to members of the Committees to seek input and advice.
3. It is our hope that each Committee will develop position papers on the major areas within each issue cluster. Such position papers should include (1) an analysis of the issues, (2) failures of the Carter Administration and options for Governor Reagan.

The format for such reports should include a two-page summary for the Governor as well as a longer discussion of the subject matter and appropriate appendices. I will see that each report is funneled to a senior policy advisor and to the Governor himself for his personal review. Senior Policy Advisor for Foreign Affairs is Dick Allen (347-3243). Senior Policy Advisor for Domestic Affairs is Marty Anderson (415-497-4742).

I would hope that you could have these basic reports to me in draft stage in approximately 4 weeks. We hope that these reports could then be circulated to all members of your Congressional Issue Advisory Committee during July and early August and returned to me in final form in time for me to make them available to the Governor before Labor Day.

We will arrange meetings between Senior Issues Advisors and these Committees. Any Committee Co-Chairmen who want to arrange any such meetings should contact me.

4. Quick Turnaround Response - Since March a network of Capitol Hill staffers has been available to respond to issue-related inquiries needing a rapid response. These people have volunteered to help on their own time. It is our intention to continue to use this staff network. If you have staffers who might wish to volunteer to assist in this program, please have them contact Rich Williamson (828-8434).

5. Targets of Opportunity - Each issue cluster will have unique targets of opportunity in its area. For example, there will be a number of key agriculture forums between now and Election Day. To the extent that these Advisory Committees can target such opportunities, we will seek to integrate such opportunities into the campaign.

## II. Membership

All Republican members of the House and Senate will be invited to select an Advisory Committee to serve on. This letter will be sent by Governor Reagan next week. The letter will ask for a reply by Thursday, June 12th. On Monday, June 16th, I will send you a list members who have asked to serve on your Issue Advisory Committee. In addition, I urge you to contact personally any members of the House or Senate you might wish to have on your Committee.

It is my hope that most Committees will have organizational meetings during the week of June 16th. Please inform me when you schedule such meetings. Whenever possible I will sit in on these meetings.

## III. Announcement

Governor Reagan plans to hold a press conference on Capitol Hill June 18th to announce the formation of these Congressional Issue Advisory Committees. All Co-Chairmen will be invited to attend a private meeting with Governor Reagan that morning and will also be invited to attend the press conference afterwards.

The Reagan for President Committee will prepare press releases which members of the Committees can send to their own media list if they so choose.

All Advisory Committee activities will be coordinated with the Reagan for President Congressional Relations Office under the direction of Paul Russo.



## A STRATEGY BASED ON REALITY

(The Business Roundtable Annual Meeting  
New York, June 9, 1980)

George P. Shultz \*

Hope, it has been said, makes a great companion but a lousy guide. Policy, if based on hope alone, will frequently lead to disappointment--setting in motion a pattern of shifting actions confusing to everyone: at home to consumers, savers, investors, businessmen; abroad to our adversaries and allies alike. And to all, it adds up to a lack of resolve, to weakness, to unreliability.

Unfortunately, all too often in recent years the policies of our government have been based on hope, on wishfulness detached from observation and detached from reality.

- Hope that households will save in the face of high and rising inflation.
- Hope that union leaders can sustain an advocacy of falling real wages.
- Hope that productivity will rise in the face of guerrilla warfare by government against the sources of productivity, especially long-term investments.

---

\* Vice Chairman, Bechtel group of companies, Professor, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, and co-author (with Kenneth W. Dam), Economic Policy Beyond the Headlines (Stanford: The Portable Stanford; New York: W. W. Norton)

- Hope that government suppression of domestic energy prices well below world market levels will be accompanied by all-out efforts to produce more energy and use less.
- Hope that a reduced use of military power in the world can be achieved by unilateral reductions in our own military capacity.
- Hope that vacillation in the face of challenge will not encourage aggression.

The result, all around us and plain for all the world to see, is confusion about our aims, deterioration in our world position, and deep concern, perhaps fear, that we are no longer able to establish a tough-minded sense of direction and stick to it.

In short, the state of the nation is deplorable. So obvious is this fact, whether we look at our own economy or at our military and diplomatic position, that I need not develop it further. More to the point are the policies, attitudes, and actions necessary to turn this situation around.

#### RECOGNIZE THE REALITIES

We must start by recognizing what the realities are, however harsh, disagreeable, and unrelenting they may be.

## CENTRAL PROBLEMS ARE LINKED

The first reality is that our central problems --inflation, energy, a decline in our relative military strength, uncertain diplomacy--are linked together both by their substance and by their root causes. Our inflation undermines the dollar, traditionally and still the world currency of exchange and store of value, thereby upsetting world markets and causing our trading partners to question our reliability--and not just our economic reliability. And our confused and changing position on the dramatic March 1980 "Jerusalem" vote in the U.N. underscored questions about our competence and our staying power, questions that carryover to other fields: Consistently inconsistent diplomacy undermines confidence that we are any more likely to stick with strong policies elsewhere, as for example, in the fight to curb inflation or to provide an adequate budget for defense.

Our unwillingness to face energy realities, as others have, is also deeply disturbing. We have an abundance of energy resources, especially as compared with many of our friends abroad whose resources are limited, sometimes in the extreme. Imagine the lectures we would be giving them had our price of gasoline been over twice theirs for years and theirs was just now rising above \$1.00 a gallon. Our energy industry is tied into knots by controls, entitlements, regulatory uncertainties and

contradictions, and tax penalties. Many of our allies blame the United States for the world's energy problems as much as or more than OPEC. Not only does our neglect of energy realities diminish our diplomatic strength, but our dependence on imported oil also weakens our strategic military position.

#### PEOPLE COUNT

The second reality is that the quality of people in government and the atmosphere in which they work makes a large difference in how well the functions of government are carried out. No matter how much you or I may complain about government, government is essential. Government is obviously here to stay. We all have a big stake in what kind of a job is done. Right now the general view seems to be that anyone who serves in the government should have his head examined. Or, barring that, he is fair game to have everything else about him examined. What's more, he is presumed to have a sinister conflict of interest if he happens to know anything about his area of responsibility on the basis of prior experience. Unless this atmosphere is changed, business people cannot make the contributions to government operations that many of them want to make and can make. We must regain the idea that government service is both a high calling and an individual responsibility. We must accept again that people in these jobs should be accorded fair treatment.

I must say, also, that we are entitled to expect top-notch performance in return.

WE NEED A STRATEGY

The third reality is that the essence of good policy is good strategy. The need for a long-term point of view is as essential in day-to-day problem solving as in the making of large policy decisions. Most decisions in government are made in the day-to-day process of responding to problems of the moment. The danger is that this daily firefighting can lead the policymaker farther and farther from his goals. A clear sense of guiding strategy makes it possible to move in the desired direction in the unending process of contending with issues of the day. Many failures of government can be traced to an attempt to solve minor problems piecemeal. The resulting patchwork of ad hoc solutions often makes such fundamental goals as consistent diplomacy, military strength, price stability, and economic growth more difficult to achieve.

LET GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS DO THE THINGS THEY DO BEST

The fourth reality is that life in the United States has become heavily overpoliticized. After five decades of activism, we have reached the point where government seems to be into everything--to the severe detriment of the performance of its truly essential functions. As the reach of government has extended into more and more of our

economic and private lives, government officials have been led more and more into areas where they have no comparative advantage and may even be out of their element entirely. Government increasingly has come to dominate the production of essential goods and services and their allocation to various uses, substituting a system of bureaucratic "command and control" for the incentives of private enterprise and the pulls and hauls of the marketplace.

Private enterprises operating in a competitive market have a clear comparative advantage whenever the major objective is efficiency in the use of resources. Private enterprise is also superior in adapting to variations in local and individual needs and in responding to new issues and changed conditions. The superiority of the private market over governmental command and control of large sectors of the economy derives in part from its superiority in the essential tasks of collecting and evaluating information, of giving opportunity for the expression of differing tastes, and of driving producers to seek the lowest cost methods for transforming raw materials into goods that people want and value.

In addition, important managerial distinctions may be drawn between government and private business that bear on their respective areas of comparative advantage. These

distinctions start with the deliberately flat organizational structure of the federal government, stemming from the very concept of checks and balances. The resulting disposition to delay has been compounded in recent years by the wide distribution of action-stopping power among Congress, the executive branch, the judiciary, and the regulatory agencies. Government action is crab-like at best, with an overwhelming emphasis on criticism and on policy formulation as opposed to execution of concrete tasks.

By contrast, the pyramidal structure of organization described in most textbooks does reasonably resemble the reality of business. A "doing" organization must be set up to force the decisiveness that gets action. One of the first lessons I learned in moving from government to business is that in business you must be very careful when you tell people who are working for you to do something, because the probability is high that they will do it. In government, no way! Among other things, they don't necessarily consider themselves to be really working for you in the first place.

This contrast between "debating and criticizing" organizations with their disposition to delay and "doing" organizations with their spirit of action underlies the comparative disadvantage of government in managing important parts of the economy. Many of our economic

problems today result from the large and increasing proportion of economic decisions being made through the political process rather than the market process.

So what do we conclude from this? It is essential in our society to return to the notion of the limited purpose organization: Let government and business do the things they do best and do not expect every organization, including government, to do everything.

Government must pay attention to those areas where it not only has a comparative advantage but where there is no competitor. We must have a strong defense. Only government can do it. We must have top-notch diplomacy. Only government can do it. We must have law and order in our society. It is up to government to provide that. We must have a society that is fair and that is efficient. Government can contribute to achieving those objectives. But government and only government can provide us first-class defense and diplomacy and a respected rule of law.

#### USE THE IDEA OF COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE

The idea of comparative advantage, then, can be a key to establishing our strategy for dealing with central problems and for determining what substantive shifts in government policy are appropriate. I will use this idea as a basis for comment on five subjects of critical importance.



## DEFENSE

Our country is blessed with such resilient people and institutions and with such vast resources that it can take a lot of ruin--domestically. But with the right strategy and with perseverance, we can recover from domestic setbacks.

The same cannot be said for our external defense if our military posture continues to decline. With this decline, our diplomatic position has weakened, as has our ability to defend our interests around the world. The deterioration of our military capability relative to our principal adversary, the Soviet Union, must be reversed.

What then are the economics of defense? Our economic performance has demonstrated that defense production is not needed to sustain economic growth. So let's not waste time on that phony argument. The real issue is, can our economy carry the burden of adequate spending for defense? We are highly taxed now. Federal revenues are heavily committed to gigantic programs of transfer payments, now a whopping 53 percent of the budget. These programs can and must be brought under control. We should be able to control other spending at least in tandem with increased spending for defense. In the meanwhile, the restoration of our defense capability must be a front-and-center priority, with other budget and tax decisions in a follow-on position. We can cope with

the budget pressures of spending for defense, but we cannot recover from a failure to commit adequate resources to this task.

#### PRICE STABILITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Our capacity for defense, as well as for the attainment of other objectives we hold as individuals and as a society, is dependent on a healthy economy. Present government activities are doing the country grave damage. High inflation, high taxes, high government spending, and overregulation have produced high unemployment, low savings, low investment, and a decline in innovation and productivity. The government giveth; the government can taketh away. These government-inflicted problems can be remedied.

There is massive evidence to support the ideas that changes in the supply of money are a powerful determinant of price behavior, as well as of economic growth, and that the long-term goal should be a steady rate of monetary growth at a level consistent with zero inflation. Restraint in government spending and minimization of deficits and of off-budget financing are highly desirable to promote productivity and economic growth; they also facilitate a desirable monetary policy. Financing large deficits when monetary growth is restrained to a noninflationary level requires government to bid funds away from private investment. The resulting

credit squeeze and rising interest rates inevitably put political pressure on the Fed to take actions that create excessive amounts of money and thereby refuel inflation.

The links between government spending, taxation, and monetary policy all point to the need for disciplined behavior by the government. One aspect of such discipline is to require the federal government to operate in real rather than nominal dollar terms. That is one of the objectives of indexing the tax structure. Discipline would also be promoted by inflation-proofing the Savings Bonds now being sold to the public, thereby implying a serious governmental effort to control inflation and offering a fairer deal to small savers, who suffered at least an 11 percent loss in early 1980 on their 7 percent interest, which is taxable to boot.

Other elements of discipline are also needed to attain price stability. The temptation is for the government to fall into some form of "incomes policy," ranging from jawboning to explicit controls, as part of the answer to inflation. Presidents have often stated their opposition to wage and price controls. However, the lessons of recent history are that opposition to controls is not sufficient to avoid having them and that, once started down the path of an "incomes policy," the chain of events moves in an increasingly compulsory and damaging

direction. A positive program is needed to avoid falling into that trap.

The basic fact is that to cure inflation the government must slow down the growth of demand. Other actions are also important, but failure to recognize this fact leads the political process to substitute hope in the form of an incomes policy for the reality of implementing the fundamental measures that count: a strategy for reducing expenditures and taxation compatible with a steady and disciplined rate of growth of the money supply.

#### GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The most effective way to put a quick hold on the growth of government spending is to assure that no new programs outside the area of defense are proposed or funded until the budget is brought into balance at rates of taxation well below those currently prevailing. At the same time, areas of excessive growth, of waste and fraud, of gross inconsistency, and of questionable merit can and must be tackled with vigor and resolve.

Two points must guide any effort to curb the growth of government spending. The first is the need to recognize the many and diverse ways in which "spending" takes place. The formal budget alone is far from the whole story, though it is visible and important. Off-budget financing and government guarantees are methods of mounting and expanding programs through the use of the

government's borrowing capacity that place a command on the nation's resources without being recorded in the formal spending totals. In addition, the mandating of private expenditures for government purposes has gained momentum as the spotlight has illuminated direct spending. Such mandates are a clear call by government on the nation's resources. Thus, point one: a realistic effort to control spending must be comprehensive in its concept, otherwise good work in one area will be negated in another.

My second point is that we urgently need to develop a long-term strategy for the shape of the budget, say, four years into the future. True, most of the spending in 1980 cannot be curtailed; technically it is uncontrollable. But, the proportion drops as we look today at what is controllable in the years ahead. The main reason for immediate uncontrollability in the budget is that current outlays are dominated by funds flowing through transfer programs in which legislation has created rights to payments for any qualifying individual.

Transfer payments, with all their faults, are our principal vehicle for the political expression of equity concerns. Although equity arguments are all too often used as a guise to support narrow self-interest, that does not alter the basic appeal that the idea of a "fair shake" has to the body politic--and for that matter to me. A key

problem for policy is to recognize the legitimacy of the concern for the poor and the disadvantaged, but to avoid having the rhetoric of poverty become the servant of well-placed interests. With 46 percent of the families in the United States receiving a transfer payment of some kind, this large and growing sector of the budget has great momentum behind it. But the feeling is widespread today that the administration of these efforts is wasteful, unfair, and unwise--a feeling borne out by detailed analysis of the income maintenance system. The transfer system can and must be made more internally efficient. Fraud must be minimized and benefits concentrated on those who really need them.

The difficulty of coping with the growth of government spending has led many people to advocate a spending limitation imposed by amendment to the Constitution. Though this proposal has long-term merit, we must come to grips with the need for budget discipline now. We cannot wait for the long process involved in the passage of a constitutional amendment. We can get results without changing our system around. Our system will work. We have to get in there and work with it.

#### TAXES

A reduction in the rate of taxation is essential. A genuine tax reduction requires that the spending side of governmental activities be confronted. Alan Greenspan

estimates that the amount of revenue recaptured from a tax cut in these times of high inflation and high risk premiums is no greater than one-third and probably more on the order of 20 percent. A few others make estimates that are higher. More important than these estimates alone is that as inflation is controlled and risks created by regulatory uncertainties are lessened, the rate of recovery will tend to rise. In the meanwhile, however, as tax rates are cut, the rapid upward movement of spending and its derivatives must also be curtailed--for the true burden of taxation is the fraction of our resources controlled by government, however financed.

There is far more to the tax issue than simple reduction. High marginal rates of taxation at all income levels bring about major distortions in economic activity and in individual economic behavior. This problem is all too familiar for middle- and high-income earners. The distortions of economic activity involved in the avid search for tax shelters, and the fact that relatively little revenue is collected at the highest marginal rates, testify to their basic futility. The relentless way in which inflation projects middle-income earners into ever-higher tax-rate brackets has received increasing commentary, so that now the idea of "indexing" certain areas of the tax system can almost be taken out of quotation marks. Unfortunately, even such a simple and

basic change as indexing has not been made. Less attention has been paid to the high marginal rates of taxation on the poor (in the form of withdrawal of benefits as income is reported) and to the fact that they, too, react predictably and negatively. Of course, they cannot afford tax lawyers, but work in the underground economy, where people are paid in kind or cash, not reported for tax or GNP purposes, is a substantial and rapidly growing way to shelter income.

These same points apply generally to taxes on capital gains and on business income as well. The combination of inflation and present taxes on capital gains amount to a confiscation of wealth that is especially discouraging to the creativity needed to develop new, small enterprises. And with present depreciation rates, the tax/inflation double whammy has brought real profits of business to low levels, as attested by the stock market's abysmal performance--worse in the decade of the 1970's even than in the 1930's.

Although complete revision of the tax code is desirable, it is probably not feasible, certainly not in a short span of time. Overall reduction is feasible, as is a sharp reduction in high marginal tax rates. Such reductions would have profound effects on individual and corporate behavior, providing incentives to save, invest, and work.



## THE MARKET WORKS

Many of our economic problems today result from the large and increasing proportion of economic decisions being made through the political process rather than the market process. The battle between government regulation and the private market is nowhere more apparent than in the field of energy, where the comparative advantage of the market is clear. Governmental intrusion into energy production and use provides a glaring example of how regulation costs us all dearly. Alternatives to imported oil exist here in the United States. Market pricing and market incentives will bring these alternatives on stream, just as surely as present regulations and the politicization of this field keep them on the sidelines. Governmental intrusion has ensnared a potentially efficient system for producing and consuming energy with high-visibility politics: regional considerations, varying corporate interests and their differential abilities to exert political influences, and, importantly, with attempts to use the energy system as a means for distributing welfare benefits. By this time, everyone knows the result is a mess.

Another battleground between government controls and market forces is the field of finance, where the present rate of inflation displays the injustice, as well as the inefficiencies, of detailed government regulations.

Limitations on the geographic spread, on the type of transaction permitted, and on the interest rates that savers may receive and that borrowers can pay, have brought about major rearrangements in financial markets. With high inflation, many of these indefensible limitations are proving unsustainable.

The market is gradually circumventing these regulations and is reshaping the field of finance, a reshaping bound to affect powerfully the functions of saving, borrowing, and investing. These developments show the strength and workability of the market and the benefits to be derived, for small and large savers and borrowers, from removing regulations and letting the market work.

A third battleground is the arena of international trade, where temptation abounds for government intrusion. Pressures to restrict imports are continuous and vigorous, and no doubt they will increase further during the current decline of economic activity. However, it is consumers and producers in the United States, not in other countries, who will be the big losers if rising restrictions on imports perpetuate inefficient production and higher prices here. Higher prices for primary products translate into higher costs for those using these products, further weakening the position of U.S.-made goods in our own, as well as international, markets.

Economic policy itself has too often been the enemy of our most workable means of producing and distributing goods and services. Precisely when important problems confront us, we must abandon the fashionable ideology that the government should simply "do something." We must again return to the principle of comparative advantage and rely instead on what has repeatedly proved far more practical and effective--the market system. It is, after all, in the economy itself--not in the offices and corridors of Washington--that our hopes for more, and more productive, jobs; more energy; and growing incomes can be realized.

I said at the outset that the state of the nation is deplorable. I say as well, we need not despair. The major problems we confront are self-inflicted. They arise from our mistakes and from our inconsistencies. Our resources are vast and our capacities as a people are formidable. If we face the realities squarely and follow a comprehensive and consistent strategy, we can again be confident as a nation and inspire the confidence of others. What we need is administration not with a weathervane but with a compass. And someone at the helm who will use it.

TO: Ed Meese  
FROM: Bill Gribbin  
RE: Attached article & possibility of future problems

Nothing could be more delicate than this subject: how the candidate's wife should handle questions on a subject like abortion. There is no easy way, but the press will surely keep raising this subject with her.

The attached article from the Washington Post will certainly be noticed by every reporter who follows the campaign. Some will see a chance to drive a wedge between the candidate and his wife, not necessarily from malice but simply because spousal disagreement during a campaign is interesting news.

Others would like nothing better than to present RR as so insensitive to the plight of women that he disagrees with his more sensible wife on this issue. Or, worse yet, that RR is not really sincere in his pro-life position. That appearance would have a devastating effect in New York, and elsewhere.

If I were a typical member of the Washington press corps, hostile to any conservative candidate, I would await a chance to ask Mrs. Reagan, first, just what she was asked the other night. And then:

- \* Since you approve of some abortions, what if your daughter had been raped?
- \* What about a case of teenage incest?
- \* What about a teenage mother whose child is likely to be deformed?
- \* What if continued pregnancy will result in mental illness for the mother?
- \* What about cases where abortion is "necessary" for medical treatment of, say, cancer?

In other words, she would find herself on the same "slippery slope" encountered by legislators who begin by reluctantly approving "a little bit" of abortion.

Those are difficult questions. There are answers to them, but (1) one must be intimately familiar with the issue and (2) one must use heroic tact to avoid sounding inhumane or callous.

Mrs. Reagan should have a few stock responses, declining to go beyond them no matter what the questioning.

One such response is the excellent reply she and the Governor have used in the past: "We can't get beyond the fact that it's taking a human life." Perhaps adding, "There are many tragic situations, but our response should be to help women and their babies, by stressing adoption, the help of church organizations, and assistance to families in trouble."

Or, "This is a terribly difficult issue, but it is a matter, literally, of life and death. The more you learn about abortion, the more you realize that it is an unacceptable solution. And I think that's why there has been a growing revulsion against it: because more people are taking the time to understand just what that word means -- what it means to the mother, to the baby, and to the society which tolerates it."

You get my point. Anyone with Mrs. Reagan's grace and composure does not have to get involved in detailed discussions of physiology and medical procedures.

The campaign, on the other hand, should have someone who knows the difference between treatment of an ectopic (tubal) pregnancy and an abortion, who knows why the rape issue is a red herring, and who can, in short, deal with the salami tactics of one abortion exception after another. (That's what some of us are for.) But that person need not be the candidate and definitely should not be his wife. This campaign will be hard enough on her without subjecting her to that unpleasantness.

# Regaling Mrs. Reagan

By Donnie Radcliffe

Like anyone else planning to move to Washington, Nancy Reagan came to town to meet a few of the "natives" yesterday, then set off on a house hunt for a place to tide her and her husband over until something a little more permanent opens up.

The "natives" were 100 or more political wives who had been invited to brunch by two Senate wives, Antoinette Hatfield and Carol Laxalt, and by Nancy Clark Reynolds, a vice president of the Bendix Corp. who was Nancy Reagan's press secretary when Ronald Reagan was the governor of California.

The hostesses invited Democratic as well as Republican Senate wives but limited their guests from the House side to Republicans. "Not everybody here is for Reagan," noted Frances Symms of Idaho. "If they aren't, they soon will be," replied Nancy Schulze of Pennsylvania.

Most of the guests arrived at the party, held in the Georgetown home of Oregon Republican Sen. Mark Hatfield, before the guest of honor. When she got there, she looked relaxed and unruffled in her blue and green silk Adolfo dress with its coordinated sweater.

After a turn through the crowd and a session with photographers in the garden, she retreated to the den, where she nibbled on cantaloupe slices, sipped apple juice and autographed copies of her recently published autobiography, "Nancy."

Reagan's dialogue with reporters was kept at a minimum until the end of the party, when an informal press conference was held. Questions were scatter-shot, ranging from the Reagans' brand of conservatism to where they stood on women's issues and abortion.

She said that her husband hasn't yet chosen his running mate but that she thinks it should be "somebody he can work with easily, somebody with whom he's compatible ideologically." When someone suggested that Reagan might be most comfortable with Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) but that such a ticket might not have wide enough voter appeal and that someone less conservative might be more beneficial, Nancy Reagan replied that "it would depend on how less conservative."

She said that as first lady, she would continue her work with the foster grandparents program but that in addition she hoped to get involved in drug prevention. "When you pick up the paper and read that 5-year-olds are in-

involved with heroin, I think there's got to be something wrong."

She said she didn't think she was extravagant in her clothing preferences and denied that she spent several thousand dollars recently on jewelry. "I'm not wearing a Dior or a Geoffrey Beene or a Mary McFadden," she said of designers whose pricetags, like Adolfo's, start at \$900 and go up for a simple afternoon dress.

"The joke in our family is that I hold onto everything for years. My husband says I still have my gym bloomers, which I probably do," she said defensively.

When pressed on the abortion issue, she said she would not advise her daughter to get an abortion if she were 18, unmarried and pregnant. If she were 12? somebody asked. "Yes, if she were 12."

For Democrats in the crowd, being seen in the Reagan camp didn't mean changing allegiances in midstream. One Democratic wife said she had come because she likes meeting everybody. "We're in so bad with the Carters right now that one more thing isn't going to matter."

A Democrat who was helping out at the party was Ann Hand, whose husband, Lloyd, was Lyndon Johnson's chief of protocol. "Both Reagans did an exceptional job when he was governor of California—we lived there for 18 years and he was our governor. Both Lloyd and I really like them a lot—if you liked Eisenhower, you'll like Reagan," Hand said.

Other Democrats there included the wives of senators Henry Jackson of Washington, Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska, Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, Dennis DeConcini of Arizona and Russell Long of Louisiana. Republicans included the wives of senators William S. Cohen of Maine, Robert Dole of Kansas, David Durenberger of Minnesota, Orrin Hatch of Utah, James McClure of Idaho, Bob Packwood of Oregon, Charles Percy of Illinois and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

Opportunities to get better acquainted with the new arrival in town were disappointing for at least one Republican wife. When she complained that it was difficult to talk to Nancy Reagan because she seemed to be tucked away in a remote corner, one of the hostesses looked stricken. She urged the woman to go right up and start talking. But when the woman finally got there, there was only time left for a quick goodbye.

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# REAGAN for PRESIDENT

James Brady  
Director of Public Affairs & Research

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Ed  
F-11



# REAGAN for PRESIDENT

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## MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Gray  
FROM: Jim Brady  
SUBJECT: First in a series of background papers on Editorial Board meeting  
June 16-18.

TIME INC.  
Monday, June 16, 1980

FORMAT: Governor Reagan will be met downstairs Time-Life Building by Larry Barrett. RR will be escorted to a private dining room on the 47th floor and introduced. After about 15 minutes of cocktails or Perrier, RR will be seated for the luncheon at which time the questions begin. Forget being able to eat! The traditional joke for a TIME Ed-board luncheon upon conclusion is "now you can go get a hamburger..."

NOTE: Normally the meeting is "quasi-off-the-record", meaning if they wish to use something you've said they check back for permission. This time because they are preparing a major take-out on RR they prefer to be on-the-record.

TOPICS: The questioning will be centered on three broad topics:

1. RR economic proposals
2. Foreign policy/defense
3. How RR intends to beat Carter

### KEY PARTICIPANTS (hand-picked by Grunwald)

1. Henry Anatole Grunwald - Editor-in-Chief  
The "editorissimo" -- spent 9 years as managing editor of TIME--  
He is the "daddy" of the Essay section of the magazine. He is cerebral, sophisticated and very attuned to foreign policy. He came up through the international side of magazine journalism. He speaks several languages, is well traveled and stays plugged into foreign capitals.



He is foreign born and a parallel may be drawn between Grunwald and Kissinger. They are of the same generation, fleeing as Hitler came to power. Grunwald, however, was born in Vienna (to the purple...) -- HAK wasn't.

He is an excellent writer and has authored several books, including one on Churchill.

2. Ray Cave - Managing Editor

Hand-picked for M.E. by Grunwald, Cave came to Time from Sports Illustrated. He is a career magazine person.

He is an expert in military affairs (his father was a general). The cover story on military manpower crisis was his work as well as running the Time conference on the "Military Balance."

(get up to speed on Nurn-Warner, the Carter-Nimitz "promise," defense related issues)

3. Otto Friedrich - Senior Editor

Friedrich is National Affairs Editor, the #1 senior editor slot at Time. He was the last M.E. of the Saturday Evening Post prior to its folding. A 6'2" red haired, red moustached Oxford Don-type, he has made "rumpled" an art form. His mind is "historical" and he is a prolific author on miscellaneous subjects. His latest book is about Henry Adam's wife.

4. Richard L. Duncan - Chief of Correspondents

He runs the nine U.S. bureaus and 21 overseas bureaus. Duncan, in his mid-40s is a "from the ranks type." He is in largely an administrative position and not deeply involved in reporting, writing and editing. His background is political reporting and he is the coverage point person on the presidential race/convention -- he also runs the News Service for the magazine.

RR may remember Duncan as he is from "West-Edit" (the LA operation of Time which includes S.F.)

5. Laurence I. "Larry" Barrett - Senior Correspondent

Larry is a frequent traveler on RR trips. The status of "Senior Correspondent" is somewhat special in the Time organization -- they (3 are left) do not report to any bureau and are free roamers with the ability to "big foot" beat reporters.

6. William Simon Rukeyser - Managing Editor Fortune Magazine

Newly installed as M.E. of Fortune, Rukeyser came from Money Magazine where he held the similar slot. (He was Money's first M.E.) William is the youngest of the famous Rukeyser brothers. But was Senior V.P. at NBC and financial writer Louis has PBS's "Wall Street Week" program. (Bill Rukeyser was 41 on June 8th.)

7. Richard Stolley - Managing Editor People  
Stolley is the founding M.E. of People. He is an old line Life magazine editor.
8. Phil Kuhnhart - Managing Editor Life  
Kuhnhart is an old Life editor from way back.
9. Ralph Graves - Editorial Director Time  
The #2 editorial person in the corporation overseeing all magazines.
10. Edward L. Jamieson - Executive Editor Time  
Cave's ranking deputy. Lifelong Time person --former Business editor and had been Grunwald's deputy.
11. Ron Kreiss - Assistant Managing Editor Time  
Time-ster forever! Former Tokyo Bureau Chief, former Senior Editor for National Affairs, political writer background. A contemporary of Larry Barrett's.
12. Harry Kelly - Assistant Managing Editor Washington Star  
(Star is owned by Time-Life)  
Harry is a veteran political reporter and White House correspondent. Formerly with Chicago Tribune and AP.
13. James Atwater - Deputy National Affairs Editor Time
14. Rudolph S. Rauch III - Deputy Chief of Correspondents Time  
Rauch is Richard Duncan's co-deputy (other is Bill Doener)
15. Marshall Loeb - Managing Editor Money  
Former Time Economics editor- took Bill Rukeyser's place at the magazine.
16. Daniel Seligman - Executive Editor Fortune  
"heavy"
17. Dick Armstrong - Assistant Managing Editor of Fortune  
The #3 person at Fortune
18. John Stacks - National Political Correspondent Time  
Very savvy political writer.
19. Bob Ajemian - Washington Bureau Chief Time  
Great political writer, directs largest bureau for magazine.  
Did the Connally cover story. Very thorough.

NOTE: This is an unusually large ed. board meeting. It should not escape notice that there are all chiefs and no Indians (no room!)

June 10, 1980  
memo to: Ed Gray  
page four

The meeting initially was for seven or eight and then Grunwald suddenly expanded to include all the big hitters.

It's their way of saying they think they are probably talking to the next President of the United States!

Most of the questions will come from Grunwald, Graves, Rukeyser and Seligman.

\*\*\*

An analysis of Time essays is being prepared, along with the Fortune editorials.

JB:ccn

cc Bill Casey  
Ed Meese  
Lyn Nofziger



# REAGAN for PRESIDENT

9841 Airport Boulevard  
Suite 1430  
Los Angeles, California 90045  
(213) 670-9161

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Gray  
FROM: Jim Brady  
SUBJECT: Background paper #2

Newsweek Dinner  
Tuesday, June 17th

**BACKGROUND:** Newsweek "the magazine" could not have a worse relationship with Jimmy Carter, "the president":

The last one-on-one interview they had with Carter was back in 1978! Consequently, they come not so much to grill RR, but rather to establish a relationship with him as the next President.

As a senior news officer of the magazine said, "we feel Ronald Reagan will be the winner, we are not viewing him merely as the challenger..."

**FORMAT:** ON THE RECORD

This editorial board is usually free-form and less structured than most. The questioning focus will be from Auchincloss, Goldman, Shepard and Gander.

**FUTURE COVERAGE:**

The lead correspondent on your campaign has been Jerry Lubenow to date. Lubenow, however, has told Newsweek he does not want to return to Washington after the election this fall. Consequently, they will supplement his coverage with a reporter who will carry continuity with him (or her) through the White House days. That individual is yet to be named.

KEY PARTICIPANTS:

1. Lester Bernstein - Editor (as of this writing he will be out of town and not attending)
2. Kenneth Auchincloss - Managing Editor  
Auchincloss (of the "family Auchincloss) really runs the magazine on a day-to-day basis. He is the #2 man at Newsweek, is Harvard educated but definately not a Liberal...if anything, he's a neo-conservative. He's well-to-do, witty, likes stories and is very pragmatic.
3. Stephen B. Shepard - National Affairs Editor  
Coming around to RR. Very Eastern oriented. Vintage Steinberg New Yorker cover view of world (9th Ave., 10th Ave., Jersey, Pacific Ocean, China...)?  
Becoming a realist, he now feels "positive" towards a Reagan candidacy. He has always felt Carter was finished!... a catastrophe! He has a Business Week background, is quick, bright and very much in control.
4. Larry Martz - Assistant Managing Editor  
Low key, competent in magazine style, but not a great "creative" thinker...he slogs through like a dog with a bone. He'll be the one who follows up for details...  
"Governor Reagan, what are you actually going to do to fight inflation...be specific,...but won't that increase the deficit...etc..." Former National Editor, former Business Editor.
5. Rod Gander - Assistant Managing Editor, Chief of Correspondents  
Influential voice, very close personally to Lester Bernstein. A 20 year veteran, he is an "Atlantic Magazine Liberal". Home in Vermont, scotch drinker, poker player, bright and VERY FAIR.
6. Peter Goldman - Senior Editor  
A real "key" -- most Newsweekers will tell you he is the best writer at the magazine. He writes most of the RR material and all the political covers. He will be the most knowledgeable on RR at the meeting.  
He is not an Eastern elitist although he is the quint-essential New York Jewish Liberal -- He also is VERY FAIR.
7. Russ Watson - Senior Editor International  
Runs foreign section of magazine, nervous, hyper-type, lived abroad.
8. Dave Alpern - Assistant National Affairs Editor  
A chief political writer, quick, off-hand, likes people who are interesting whatever their politics -- has written RR stories.

June 11, 1980  
memo to: Ed Gray  
page three

9. John Dotson - Senior Editor News  
Former LA Bureau Chief, he runs the news desk, largely administrative -- assignments, filing, etc.
10. Allen Mayer - Senior Writer  
Just returned from London; bright, young comer. Writer for national affairs section.
11. Mel Elfin - Washington Bureau Chief  
Head of Washington Bureau "for ages" - hates Jimmy Carter, bad relationship with Jody Powell. Tells everyone Carter is dead and RR will be elected. -- smart, very, very Washington, judging who is up one day, down the next... follows every rumor, witty and a key factor -- now and in the future. (Any defference paid to Mel would pay dividends.)
12. Jim Doyle - Chief Political Correspondent  
An attorney and former counsel for the Watergate Committee, Doyle is the author of a book on the subject. Irish, former Boston Globe reporter, he spent three years as Deputy Washington Bureau Chief. A real pro with close Bush ties (Teeley's pal).
13. Tony Fuller - National Correspondent  
Writes from New York to escape Mel Elfin. Can "big-foot" and is ubiquitous - an early Connally follower, has currently been covering Anderson. (We may see more of him.) Fraternity brother of Jim Brady, worked UPI Springfield, Illinois State Capital Bureau.



# REAGAN for PRESIDENT

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## MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Gray  
FROM: Jim Brady  
SUBJECT: Background paper #3

New York Times  
Publisher's Dinner  
Monday, June 16th

BACKGROUND: This is a "Publishers's Dinner" as opposed to a meeting with the editorial board. It is definitely top of the masthead!

PURPOSE: "To assure RR is not a right-wing nut"...to get a personal feel for his personality..."

1. A. O. Sulzberger - Publisher

"Punch" as he is called is the owner...he is a businessman first, news is secondary. He will decide who the paper endorses -- alone! Insiders feel it will be RR... The key is the difference between a 75-25 editorial and a 51-49...This evening is important in this respect.

2. Max Frankel - Editor of the Editorial Page

Max will write the editorial endorsing whomever "Punch" selects... Former editor of NYT Sunday Magazine and Washington Bureau Chief, good writer, smart and in charge of the day-to-day editorial policy. (He is given a fairly free hand by Sulzberger.) He covered the Johnson White House, left to fame in the Andrea Doria sinking -- served as Moscow correspondent.

As one time Sunday editor was rival to Abe Rosenthal as heir apparent, but current NYT watchers think he has lost.

3. John Oakes - Former Editor of Editorial Page

In his 70's, was relieved to make spot for Frankel -- writer occasionally on op-ed page - very interested in environmental problems and water projects.

4. A. M. "Abe" Rosenthal - Executive Editor

Brilliant, superior news judgment, "a little wierd", does not have a consuming interest in politics -- The most interesting person in the top Times crowd -- Won Pulitzer for Warsaw

June 12, 1980  
memo to: Ed Gray  
page two

stories, served overseas Bureaus in India, Japan -- takes Times very, very seriously -- terrific ability to spot role in story or argument. Poor quality of assistants viewed as sign of insecurity.

Has a major fixation on CIA not using American press overseas. He feels it endangers all foreign correspondents and hampers news gathering which if left alone would be better than intelligence they gather.

5. Seymour Topping - Managing Editor

Formerly Foreign Editor, very straight, very decent, will be strong on economic focus. Former Moscow correspondent and well known for international insight.

6. Charlotte Curtis - Associate Editor

Runs the op-ed page which uses no columnists but their own. Sharp, witty, late 40's, "brittle" -- made name as a cutting society reporter who was so deft, she would sever the head without the person knowing they were bleeding.

7. Tom Wicker - Associate Editor

The only columnist at the Times with a title. A Liberal Democrat, former Washington Bureau Chief (64-68) - wrote the Kennedy assassination story.

8. Hedrick Smith - Washington Correspondent

"Ric" Smith is the all time "big-foot" -- a tireless seven-day-a-week worker, prolific and competitive. Has an on-going battle with Adam Clymer.

Yesterday Smith was selected to write both leads from the Republican and Democrat Conventions.

Conspicuous by their absence are the National Editor, Deputy Editorial Page Editor or any other political writers.

The New York Times is not all-consumed by politics. They write for 11% of New York City and for anyone else in the U.S. who finds their copy useful. None of the top editorial positions are occupied by former political writers. They care about the world and New York City.

California? It's out there somewhere! Politics? If we have to!



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ETTESOR PARIS

FOR WILLIAM J. CASEY

FROM BERT JOLIS - PARIS

THE FOLLOWING HAS BEEN LAID ON, AND REQUIRES ONLY YOUR  
TELEXED CONFIRMATION FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

1. LONDON

A DINNER SPONSORED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN  
STUDIES AND STEPHEN HASLER.

INVITEES :  
-----

- BRIAN BEEDHAM AND NORMAN MAC CRAE OF THE ECONOMIST
  - PEREGRINE WORSTHOME - SUNDAY TELEGRAPH
  - ROBERT MOSS - DAILY TELEGRAPH
  - RHEES MOGGS AND BERNARD LEVIN - LONDON TIMES
  - RONALD BUTT - SUNDAY TIMES
  - ROBIN DAY - ?B.C.
  - FERDINAND MOUNT - DAILY MAIL AND SPECTATOR
  - MELVIN LASKY - ENCOUNTER
  - COLIN WELCH
- AND TWO OR THREE OTHERS

2. PARIS

A DINNER SPONSORED BY PATRICK WAJSMAN OF FIGARO  
UNDER THE AEGIS OF HIS QUARTELY MAGAZINE " POLITIQUE  
INTERNATIONALE "

INVITEES :  
-----

- JEAN FRANCOIS REVEL AND OLIVIER TODD OF EXPRESS
  - LOUIS PAUWELS AND JEAN D'ORMESSON - FIGARO MAGAZINE
  - EDOUARD SABLIER - FRENCH RADIO
  - PATRICK POIVRE D'ARVOR - TELEVISION
  - ANDRE CLEMENT AND ALMARIC - LE MONDE
  - RAYMOND ARON
  - CLAUDE FRANCOIS - FRANCE SOIR
  - JEAN LOUIS SERVAN-SCHREIBER
  - PHILIPPE THEYSSON - QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS
  - PHILIPPE DE BALEINE - PARIS MATCH
- AND ONE OR TWO OTHERS.

THE LONDON DINNER CAN BE ON THURSDAY JULY 3RD AND  
PARIS JULY 4TH.

BOTH EVENTS WILL BE PRIVATE AND OFF THE RECORD WITH THE  
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AND GENERAL DISCUSSION.

MUCH INTEREST EXPRESSED BY EVERYBODY IN MEETING WITH YOU  
PERSONALLY AND I HAVE ASSURED THEM YOU WOULD BE THERE.  
THEY ALSO EXPECT RICHARD ALLEN. OTHERS MENTIONED ARE  
RICHARD PIPES, FRED IKLE AND FRANK SHAKESPEARE.

PLEASE TELEX ME YOUR CONFIRMATION AS TO DATES AND PERSONS  
BY RETURN, IF POSSIBLE AS I LEAVE FOR WEST AFRICA WEDNESDAY  
MORNINK.

MY PARIS OFFICE TELEX NO IS 290222 ETTESOR

BEST WISHES

BERT

June 3, 1980

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Governor Reagan  
From: Bill Casey *w/l*  
Re: Election campaign

You've been through seven tough months of campaigning. When I came on board three months ago a detailed analysis by Darrell Trent concluded that the campaign would collapse financially during March. Through your personal campaigning and the dedicated supporters you've won over the years, you've won the nomination more decisively and earlier than anyone else coming from outside in this century and you've done it without any significant media since Illinois.

Now we have only five short months to win the election. I believe we have put together the basis for an experienced and effective campaign organization. I attach a memo in which Ed Meese summarizes our organizational discussions, a rough preliminary organization chart and the tentative layout of the national headquarters in Virginia - the mother of Presidents.

This memo outlines a first concept of the election campaign, subject to further refinement and reflection arising from polling, deliberation and discussion and future developments.

1. The election campaign needs to be much less hectic than the primary campaign, providing you with more time for rest and preparation. Between now and the Convention there will be time in California, much of which will be needed for meetings, work on your acceptance speech, selection of your running mate, etc. and there will be five or six days of pure vacation. After the Convention there should be a week or so of rest during the Democratic Convention, the week of August 10.
2. Less travel and fewer appearances should be possible because you should be seen by the public as presidential rather than as campaigner. The work of local campaigning should be done in large measure with a high door-to-door campaigning effort which we intend to mobilize. This program will be laid out for the RPD's next week. The candidate should appear primarily on paid TV, on TV news --

four or five brief events a week for the evening news -- and speeches to large audiences to get the activity and the commitment of large groups which reach out through the country, i.e., the Mayors meeting in Seattle next week, which should result in over 200 Republican Mayors making a commitment to go back to their cities and campaign for you, the VFW Convention, B'nai B'rith, Urban League and such national organizations.

Apart from this, the only other meetings which I think need to be addressed are occasions which offer a special opportunity to show well on the evening TV news and some large meetings which our supporters would organize for some special impact on a state. For example, Bob Dedman, who was Bill Clements' campaign manager, wants to do a dinner in Dallas to raise better than a million dollars for a Compliance Committee and which he and Bill Clements believe can, apart from the financial returns, expand and strengthen our organization in Texas. He claims that he created the Clements organization in Texas out of such a dinner, that Clements appeal was to elect a Republican Governor in order to elect a Republican President and that this dinner would help you to particularly capitalize on that, as well as raise a million dollars. Clements and his track record say he can do it. The Clements' dinner raised 1.3 million dollars and Clements thinks he can do it again with beneficial political results.

Another one I would like to see is kick off the campaign with a huge rally in Atlanta, Georgia to keep Jimmy nervous and concerned about his home base.

In addition, some special efforts should be made to get you on the air in a setting which appears presidential. I'd like to see a one-week visit to London, Bonn, Paris and Rome early in August. This would put you on the evening news with the Pope, Schmidt, Giscard and Thatcher. George Shultz will be going to Europe in a couple of weeks and I'd charge him with assuring us that such a visit would come off well.

Incidentally, because the campaign press plays back so heavily into the American press, especially in the East, I have arranged for Dick Allen and myself to spend the fourth of July weekend with the leading English, French and German journalists. See the attached telegram.

I think we can schedule weekly Cabinet-like meetings with our policy council where you would be discussing special subjects with the twelve or fifteen members of the council and emerge to talk to the cameras along with a George Shultz, an Arthur Burns, a Bill Simon, a Don Rumsfeld, etc.

Also, I would envision you doing a brief "fireside chat" on a national radio hookup about once a week. This would give you a chance to comfortably address a range of subjects which a national candidate is expected to deal with. These talks can then be put into a booklet and distributed to the press, to voter groups, etc. because they have been heard by millions of people. The press could not ignore them, as they frequently do, when such papers are just dropped on them.

I need two answers we should be able to give now: Whether to commit to the Dallas million dollar fund-raiser on June 30; whether to speak to the VFW Convention the weekend following the Democratic Convention, August 18, 19 and 20.

6-26-80

CHARLES P. SMITH

Ed:

With reference to the attached memo, Attachment 3 contains 7 issue areas and 79 issues that may be of immediate help in organizing such things as the Convention Platform or further Issues Advisory Panels.

All persons noted as possible "staff" are fully employed now, but are willing to help right away as a part-time/volunteer. Others have said they would work full-time as a volunteer.

You may reach me at 916-444-3096 (work) or 916-488-4830 (home)

Regards,

Charlie

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Meese DATE: June 22, 1980  
FROM: Charlie Smith SUBJECT: Issue Center Concept

As discussed with you on June 17, 1980, it is recommended that the national campaign include the use of several Issue Centers that would supplement private or Congressional Issue Advisory Panels and central issue staff by providing comprehensive, objective, concise, and rapid position papers or recommendations on issues as they emerge. As requested, attached are materials on the concept, including:

1. a strategy for handling issues;
2. examples of principles;
3. a list of possible issue areas and issues;
4. an Issue Center description;
5. some Issue Center staff examples;
6. example Issue Center coordinator assignments
7. possible issue information flow.

The above plan involves the use of part-time/volunteer Issue Center Coordinators until such time that a need exists and adequate funds may be available for full-time/paid Issue Center Coordinators.

After you have reviewed these materials, I would be glad to discuss them in more detail--including how I might help implement the concept.

Attachment

## STRATEGY FOR HANDLING ISSUES

1. Adopt a set of principles with which each issue can be related.
2. Select a small number of issue areas within which specific issues can be incorporated.
3. Identify specific issues within each issue area that relate to the role of the Executive branch of the Federal government on the national level and develop a position on most issues with assistance and sanction (as appropriate) from Issue Advisory Panels, Issue Centers, central issue staff and field issues staff.
4. Make only general statements at the beginning that relate to principles, issue areas or issue topics.
5. Give a major speech on each issue area that takes a position on some issues.
6. React to questions on specific issues as they arise based on positions already developed or positions developed rapidly during campaign.
7. Give additional major speeches or participate in debates (candidate or surrogates) on issue areas and specific issues as circumstances require.
8. Cooperate to maximum extent possible with national media as they may provide a surprising amount of support at editorial and news level if candidate makes sense on the issues.



## EXAMPLES OF PRINCIPLES

1. Place the maximum responsibility possible on private individuals, organizations and the free enterprise system to meet personal, social or economic objectives.
2. Provide maximum freedom possible to each person or organization as long as such freedom does not cause excessive harm to the common good.
3. Provide maximum peace of mind and security for persons or property.
4. Provide services, regulations, and incentive where needs exist, resources are available and success is likely.
5. Expend the minimum amount of tax dollars possible and still fulfill priority objectives.
6. Place emphasis on the prevention of problems rather than the cure.
7. Place emphasis on a consensus among various interests and on goals and productivity for the nation as a whole.
8. Select leaders in the private and public sector who have a commitment to a set of principles and a vision of something specific rather than individuals who only react to crises or numbers.
9. Be positive in proposing policies or programs rather than just asking questions or being critical of others.
10. Strive to develop competence and confidence among all to achieve desired objectives.

## POSSIBLE ISSUE AREAS AND ISSUES

For the purposes of this analysis, the term issue is defined as a "matter of disagreement." A possible list of preliminary issues is provided in the following pages--with each issue phrased as a question to enable an existing position to be related to the issue or a new position taken. All issues are organized into seven issue areas (human rights, values and attitudes; economic inflation and regulation; national security and foreign policy; energy and natural resources; social and health services; science and technology; and government administration).

Within each issue area, there is no intent to list the issues in a priority order. In addition, some issues could be listed in one or more issue areas. Further, many issues relate to other issues and a position on one issue will impact on the position on another issue. Finally, new issues can be added to each issue area or new issue areas could be developed if desired.

ISSUE AREA 1: HUMAN RIGHTS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES

1. Should equal rights or opportunities be provided to all persons, regardless of sex, race, ethnic group, religious beliefs, sexual preference, physical condition, or mental ability?
2. Should the government or its citizens have the right to kill another person if circumstances are justified (e.g., war, law enforcement and criminal justice, self-defense, mercy)?
3. Should parents or guardians have the right to refuse interference from the government in their handling of their children and should children have the right to act without approval of their parents or guardians?
4. Should abortion be granted to women on their demand?
5. Should all citizens be given the right to privacy?
6. Should all citizens be provided with free access to all types of weapons?
7. Should all persons be able to practice their own religion where they choose (e.g., should prayers be held in public schools, can prison inmates demand special religious rights)?
8. Is our present society excessively interested in materialism, self-satisfaction, and personal freedom?
9. Is our present society excessively aggressive, disrespectful for the life and property of others, and tolerant of unpleasantness?
10. Is our present society excessively burdened with stress, depression, apathy, lack of confidence in self and others, and insecurity?
11. Should the government attempt to develop or enforce ethical or moral values in the public and private sector?

ISSUE AREA 2: ECONOMIC INFLATION AND REGULATION

1. Should the Federal government regulate wages, prices, interest rates, discount rates, profits, dividends, and rents to control inflation and recession?
2. Should the Federal government maintain a gold standard on its money?
3. Should the Federal government guarantee loans to private industry (e.g., Chrysler, Lockheed) to avoid bankruptcy?
4. Should the Federal government provide financial assistance or guaranteed loans to States or localities (e.g., New York City) to avoid financial collapse?
5. Should a variable minimum wage be established (e.g., for teenagers, welfare recipients)?
6. Should all Federal contractors be required to pay the prevailing local wage?
7. Should the Federal government have a policy for foreign trade (e.g., controls, promotions)?
8. Should the Federal government provide tax incentives (e.g., capital investment, productivity, research and development, savings, hiring of disadvantaged)?
9. Should the Federal government vigorously enforce anti-trust laws?
10. Should the Federal government seek to control or mediate collective bargaining in the private and public sector?
11. Should the Federal government tax windfall profits?
12. Should the Federal government vigorously prosecute white collar and organized crime?
13. Should the Federal government have a balanced budget?
14. Can a balanced Federal budget be achieved simultaneously with a cut in income or estate tax rates in a time of inflation?

ISSUE AREA 3: NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

1. Should the U.S. become involved in the affairs within a nation (e.g., Cambodia) that may have no direct impact on this country?
2. Should the U.S. become involved in the affairs between two nations (e.g., Russia and Afghanistan) that may have no direct impact on this country?
3. Should the U.S. facilitate agreement among two or more other nations (e.g., Israel-Egypt) if it protects U.S. interests?
4. Should the U.S. use diplomatic or military action to release hostages being held in our embassies on foreign shores (e.g., Iran) or foreign embassies on our shores?
5. Should the U.S. participate in further limitations on strategic arms?
6. Should the U.S. initiate policies and programs to control terrorism and violent crime in this country?
7. Should the U.S. register persons for a military draft or national civilian service?
8. Should the U.S. encourage the entry of refugees (e.g., from Cuba, Southeast Asia) into this country?
9. Should the U.S. permit illegal aliens (e.g., from Mexico) to work in this country?
10. Should the U.S. provide assistance in the control of urban riots (e.g., Miami)?
11. Should the U.S. provide food and technical assistance to under-developed countries?
12. Should the U.S. encourage the decriminalization of supposedly victimless crimes (e.g., gambling, marijuana use, prostitution)?
13. Should the U.S. use the boycott as a means of influencing foreign policy?
14. Should the U.S. participate in a separate Big 4 Directorate outside of NATO?
15. Are the U.S. Armed Forces adequately equipped, trained and paid?

ISSUE AREA 4: ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

1. How should the Federal government control (e.g., scarcities, prices) and encourage development of passive and active energy sources (e.g., nuclear, solar, geothermal, natural gas, coal, electricity)?
2. How should the Federal government regulate air or water pollution?
3. How should the Federal government be involved in the prevention or solution of man-made disasters (e.g., Three Mile Island, Love Canal)?
4. Should special protections be set up to control dangerous substances (e.g., plutonium, pesticides) related to energy or agriculture?
5. How should the Federal government be involved in the prevention or solution of natural disasters (Mt. St. Helens eruption, Grand Island tornado)?
6. How should the Federal government be involved in assisting in agricultural production (e.g., technical advice, parity)?
7. How should the Federal government be involved in the protection of wildlife?
8. How should the Federal government be involved in the use of land (e.g., recreational purposes, open space)?
9. Should special protections be given to native-American land and natural resources?

ISSUE AREA 5: SOCIAL AND HEALTH SERVICES

1. What type of assistance or control should the Federal government provide in health care (e.g., insurance, standards)?
2. What type of assistance or control should the Federal government provide in income maintenance (e.g., welfare, unemployment benefits) eligibility (including fraud), payment (including cost-of-living increases), and work requirement?
3. What type of assistance or control should the Federal government provide in education (e.g., busing, birth control, vouchers, standards)?
4. What type of assistance or control should the Federal government provide in housing (e.g., low-income projects, standards)?
5. What should be the relative role of the family as compared to the government in meeting social or health requirements?
6. What should be the relative role of the private and public sector in employing disadvantaged (e.g., job creation, remedial help, special training)?
7. Should the Federal government encourage or sanction the deinstitutionalization of persons with minor social, mental or physical problems?
8. Should the Federal government provide assistance in child day care?
9. Should the Federal government encourage or sanction the removal of status offenders from the juvenile court?
10. Should the Federal government do anything to provide a more stable Social Security System and to enable improvement in private pension systems?

ISSUE AREA 6: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

1. What kind of controls should the Federal government provide for traffic safety (e.g., highway, air, rail, water)?
2. Should the Federal government encourage or assist in the development of mass transit?
3. How should the Federal government make better use of science and technology?
4. What role should the Federal government play in genetic research?
5. What role should the Federal government play in assuring the confidentiality of information in data bases and on communications lines?
6. What role should the Federal government play in assisting or controlling public TV or radio?
7. What role should the Federal government play in controlling private satellite transmissions?



ISSUE AREA 7: GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

1. How should staff or program performance be evaluated?
2. Should planning and social trends analysis techniques be used?
3. How can private sector services or personnel be used more effectively (e.g., contract services, volunteers, paraprofessionals, non-profit agencies, neighborhood reconciliation panels, business/professional personnel)?
4. Should the Federal government provide any types of grants to other public jurisdictions or private organizations (e.g., block, grants-in-aid, research, action projects)?
5. Should the forms and procedures of the Federal government be simplified?
6. Should open meeting (or "sunshine") laws or procedures be established or enforced?
7. Should agency termination (or "sunset") laws be established and implemented?
8. Should the Administration seek to manage the Executive Branch as a whole or to just facilitate the relatively independent function of Cabinet and regulatory agencies through policy and budgetary control?
9. Should the Administration seek to eliminate contradictory policies that exist among Cabinet and regulatory agencies?
10. Should the Federal government assist in the development or implementation of standards at the local level?
11. Should the Federal government use sanctions (e.g., withholding of funds, court suits) to implement Federal policy at the local level?
12. Should the Federal government use budget management techniques such as program budgets, zero based budgets or management by objectives?
13. Do reorganizations among or within major Federal agencies really have good results?

## ISSUE CENTER DESCRIPTION

I. DESIGN

- A. Seven Centers (or one for each issue area) of 5-7 persons, each of whom have a good grasp of national needs; knowledge in specific subject areas; a general acceptance of the candidate's personal philosophy; an ability to deal with issues objectively, analytically, clearly, and quickly; and good contacts with information sources.
- B. Each group (or individual) would prepare concise position papers or recommendations on issues as requested in coordination with the national issue coordinator and with the assistance of other persons as appropriate.
- C. All individuals would work up to 1-2 days per week on a volunteer basis with reimbursement sought only for approved travel, communications or production expenses.
- D. Each Center would have a coordinator and an administrative assistant.

II. FUNCTION

- A. Prior to the nominating convention, each individual would suggest issues on which a position might have to be taken. In addition, on request, individuals in each group would prepare brief papers recommending a position on specific issues for submittal to the national issue coordinator.
- B. After the nominating convention, the group or individuals would continue to submit suggestions on issue areas or prepare brief position papers or recommendations for submittal to the national issue coordinator. In addition, the same structure could provide a more rapid response if desired by telephone/telegraph/courier to the candidate on the campaign trail if an issue suddenly arises on which the candidate must reflect knowledge or take a position. Finally, the structure would enable the preparation of speeches by Issue Center Staff for use by candidate (or his surrogates) if desired.

## ISSUE CENTER STAFF EXAMPLES

A. COORDINATORS

1. Dr. Charles P. Smith  
Project Director; American Justice Institute; Sacramento, CA (and former Director of Management Services, State of California)
2. Dr. Lewis B. Barnes  
Director of Planning and Control; Flour Corporation; Irvine, CA (and former Assistant Director, System Development Corporation--International Operations)
3. Dr. Ralph C. Bledsoe  
Senior Faculty Member; Federal Executive Institute; Charlottesville, VA (and former Director, Sacramento Center of the University of Southern California School of Public Administration)
4. Robert A. Sayles  
Independent Consultant; Sacramento, CA (and former Director of State and Local Government Marketing, IBM Corporation)
5. Dr. Kenneth D. Wilson  
Executive Assistant for Planning and Policy Analysis; Southern California Edison Company; Los Angeles, CA (and former Executive Director, Los Angeles City Charter Revision Commission)

B. ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

1. Dorothy O'Neil  
Administrative Assistant; Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy; Sacramento, CA (and former Executive Secretary to the Director of Finance, State of California)

## ISSUE CENTER COORDINATOR EXAMPLE ASSIGNMENTS\*

| <u>ISSUE AREA</u>                          | <u>COORDINATOR</u> |                  |                   |                  |                  |
|--|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
|  | <u>C. Smith</u>    | <u>L. Barnes</u> | <u>R. Bledsoe</u> | <u>R. Sayles</u> | <u>K. Wilson</u> |
| Human Rights,<br>Values and<br>Attitudes   |                    |                  |                   |                  |                  |
| Economic<br>Inflation and<br>Regulation    |                    |                  |                   | X                |                  |
| National<br>Security and<br>Foreign Policy |                    | X                |                   |                  |                  |
| Energy and<br>Natural<br>Resources         |                    |                  |                   |                  | X                |
| Social and<br>Health<br>Services           | X                  |                  |                   |                  |                  |
| Science and<br>Technology                  |                    |                  |                   |                  |                  |
| Government<br>Administration               |                    |                  |                   | X                |                  |

\*Each of these example coordinators have either the ability to coordinate issue position papers or to develop issue position papers in these (or other) areas.

## POSSIBLE ISSUE INFORMATION FLOW\*

1. Candidate or Executive Staff concur on need for position on an issue.
2. National Issue Coordinator (full-time) scopes issue and assigns it to an Issue Center in one of the major Issue Areas.
3. Issue Center Coordinator (part-time) assigns issue to appropriate Issue Analyst (part-time).
4. Issue Analyst prepares Issue Paper and forwards it to relevant Issue Advisory Panel for accuracy check and concurrence on position (if possible).
5. After review and concurrence (if possible) by Issue Advisory Panel on a position, National Issue Coordinator presents position to Executive Staff and Candidate for approval.
6. Candidate announces position publicly.

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\*Adjustment could be made in this sequence depending on source of the issue, the rapidity with which a response is needed or the complexity of agreeing on a position.