Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Reagan, Ronald: 1980 Campaign Papers, 1965-80 Folder Title: David Gergen – Book I (4 of 4) Box: 238

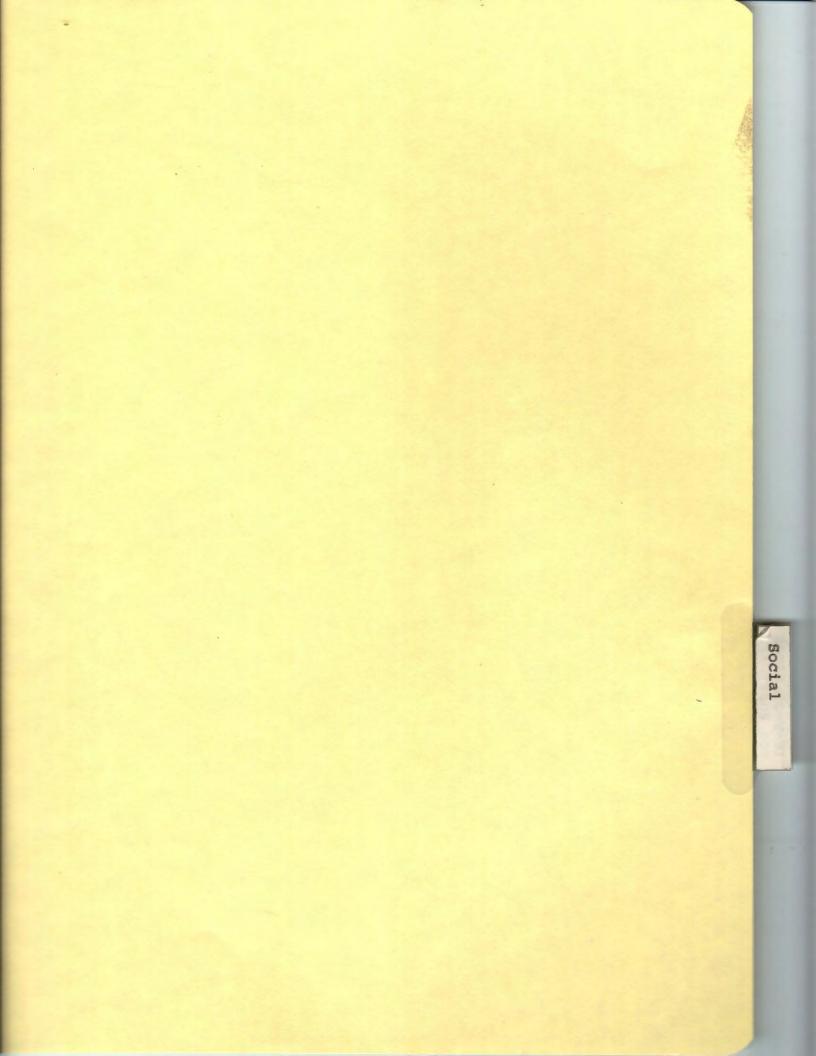
To see more digitized collections visit: <u>https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material</u>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit: <u>https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories</u>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <u>https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-</u> <u>support/citation-guide</u>

National Archives Catalogue: <u>https://catalog.archives.gov/</u>



WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND ABORTION

QUESTION

Why should women support you when you are against the ERA?

ANSWER

- Firmly committed to equal rights for women; but interested in results, not rhetoric.
- As Governor of California:
 - established credit rights and improved property rights for women.
 - signed laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, real property, insurance, and business transactions.
 - initiated programs to develop and improve child care centers.
- As Presidential candidate: Haison with 50 Governors - called for (Fod/State partnership) to examine and eliminate existing discriminatory laws.
 - established Women's Policy Board to recommend ways to remove the legislative, economic and political barriers facing women.
 - As President, RR proposes quick action to give economic support to working women:
 - tax/credit policy to stimulate responsive, locally based child care programs (similar to/California]
 - correct inequities within social security and pension systems
 - equal pay for comparable work (comparable is desirable code word)
 - eliminate (not reduce--Carter) discriminatory marriage tax;
 - explore alternate work schedules (including part-time jobs, flex-time and job sharing).

RR econ. progress will also improve outlook for all women; no longer a shrinking pie.

- Carter has substituted rhetoric for results: Carter endorsed passage of ERA in 1976. But
 - only one state has ratified since he became President (Indiana, in 1st week after Carter's inauguration).
 - and, Democrats control 13 out of the 15 state legislatures that have not ratified ERA.

Have National Commission on Status of Women to submit annual reports on laws which discriminate against women; need to correct these t consider women for all appointments,

WOMEN'S RIGHTS: FACTS

State legislatures that have not ratified ERA:

Democratic Controlled	GOP Controlled
(Senate & House)	(Senate & House)

Arizona Utah

Alabama Arkansas Florida Georgia Illinois Louisiana Mississippi Missouri Nevada North Carolina Oklahoma South Carolina Virginia

- Carter's mismanagement of the economy has impacted with particular force on women, stalling their drive for economic equity:
 - -- Nearly ½ of all poor families now headed by women
 - -- Nearly two-thirds of all women who work are their own source of support, or help to support husbands with earnings of less than \$10,000
 - -- 2.3 million elderly women are poor
 - -- In the past year alone, the unemployment rate for adult women rose from 5.9% to 6.7%
- RR's standard on <u>affirmative action</u>: equally and steadfastly committed to the equality of rights for all citizens, but opposed to quotas of any kind.

ABORTION

QUESTION

Can you explain your position on abortion?

ANSWER

- Interrupting pregnancy is taking of human life, thus only justifiable if mother's life in danger.
- Opposed to federal tax money for abortions unless rape, incest, mother's life in danger.
 - -- Position supported by majority of Congress (Hyde Amendment)
 - -- Constitutionality of Hyde upheld by the Supreme Court
- Both ticket and party committed to protection of unborn children through constitutional amendment.

QUESTION

The GOP platform pledges to appoint Federal judges who "respect sanctity of innocent human life". As President, would you refuse to nominate someone to the Supreme Court who does not support your position on abortion?

ANSWER

- Many different criteria for judicial appointments: integrity, capacity, experience, etc.
- Will not insist that judicial candidates agree with me on every issue, but on broader philosophical terms.
- Also would not appoint anyone who threatens innocent human life.

ABORTION: FACTS

• <u>Roe vs. Wade</u> (1973) invalidated state abortion law regulating abortion in first 3 months; but permitted regulation in second 3 months and banning of abortion in last 3 months except when life or health (mental or physical) endangered.

Constitutional Amendments take three forms

 prohibiting except to save life of mother (Garn)
 total prohibition from fertilization (Helms)
 leave it to the state to decide (Whitehurst)

19 of the 34 states required have voted for constitutional convention re abortion.

- Hyde Amendment
 - -- prohibits use of Medicaid Funds for abortion
 - -- 3 exceptions: rape, incest, life of mother
 - -- Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality this June -- passed in some form every year since 1976

Patricia Harris (HHS) estimates Hyde would reduce federally funded abortions from 470,000 to 2000 a year.

• RR California Record

- -- signed 1967 legislation permitting abortions where danger to mental (as well as physical) health
- -- also signed medical legislation authorizing state funding welfare abortion; by 1975, 275,000 had been funded.

Defense of California Record

- -- few people could foresee the consequences 13 years ago
- -- or the abuses that would take place with some doctors (psychiatrists who exploited loophole in 67 law).

Carter's stand offends right-to-lifers because:

- -- Dem platform supports abortion on demand
 - -- Also demands taxpayers pay for it.
 - -- All 3 Carter appointments to US Court of Appeals in D.C. previously supported abortion on demand.
 - -- Patricia Harris continuing to finance abortions with federal funds despite Supreme Court ruling upholding Hyde Amendment. She cites technical reasons for practice. (Supreme Court mandate to lower courts and parties was delayed pending decision on rehearing; Justice has made no effort to get court to issue mandate expeditiously).

Note: In 1976 debates, Carter promised he would do nothing to encourage abortion.

 Anderson position: Opposes constitutional amendment to ban abortion and Hyde amendment. Position very similar to Carter's.

CIVIL RIGHTS

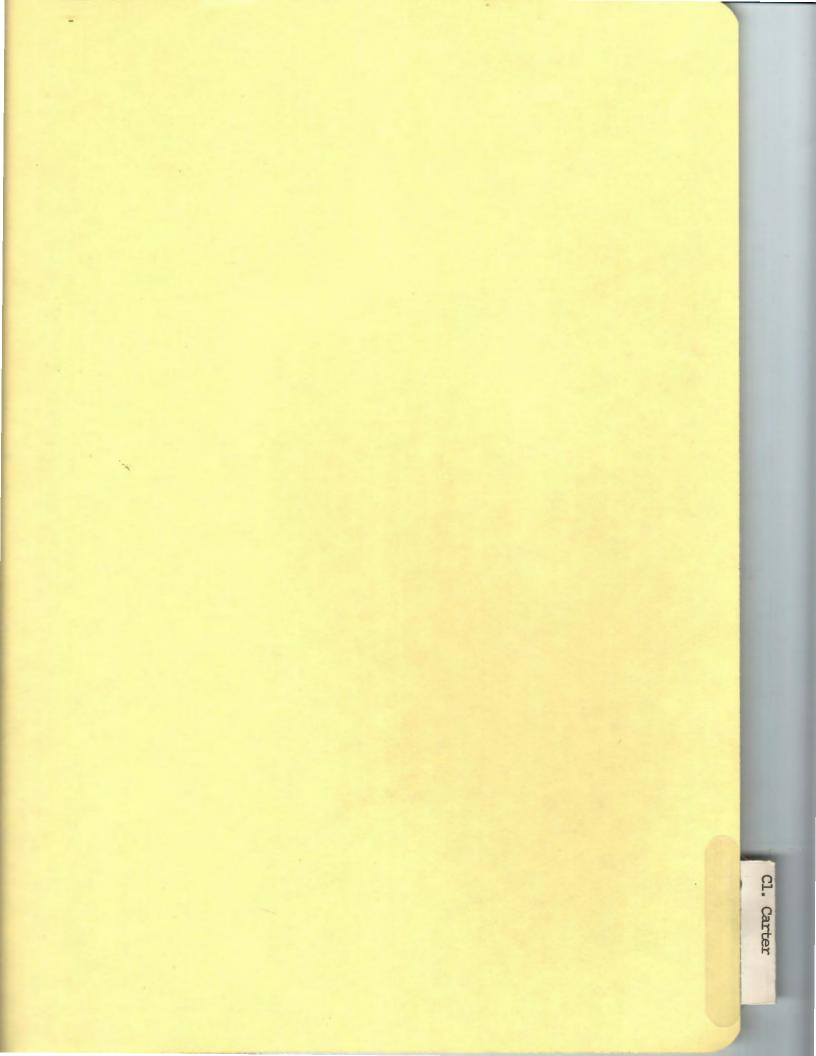
- RR record on civil rights in California very positive.
 - -- improved position of minorities through increased economic opportunities.
 - adopted non-discriminatory appointments system.
 - one-fifth of first 100 appointments were minorities
 - eliminated unnecessary eligibility tests in state civil service which barred advancement of minorities.
 - supported California Job Development Corporation to stimulate capital to low income areas.
 - established New Careers in Education Program as a vehicle for minority students to get a college education.
 - developed State Plan for Employment Opportunity under which minority youths could become apprentices.
 - signed measure permitting Calif. savings and loans to invest in low income housing under Federal Housing Act.
- Carter Administration Record promises, but no progress
 - -- little help to minority enterprise; met 1/3 of minority business procurement goals for FY 80.
 - -- affirmative action efforts reflect catalogue of actions with no systematic follow-through.
 - -- Proposed regulatory nightmares as solutions to civil rights problems would be of little help to average minority person faced with discrimination.
 - -- in Georgia (use only if necessary)
 - As a Georgia state senator in 1966, Carter voted against a measure aimed at preventing arbitrary layoffs of black teachers in the state. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 5/23/76)
 - In 1964, Carter voted for a measure attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court school desegration ruling. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 5/23/76)
 - While serving on the Sumter County School Board, Carter voted to raise salaries of white teachers, but no black teachers. (Wall Street Journal, 3/15/76, p.4)
 - On the school board, Carter voted to open black schools because of local white residents' objections. (Wall Street Journal, 3/15/76, p.4)
 - Carter proposed the relocation of a planned black school because of local white residents' objections. (Wall Street Journal, 3/15/76, p.4)

MINORITIES

- Inflation and unemployment hits minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, Indians) hardest.
 - -- Minority unemployment now 14.6% (8% higher than 76); Detroit minority unemployment reached 56% this summer
 - -- Black family income reached more than 60% of white family income in 76, but since 76 has fallen to 58%.
 - -- Towering interest rates and skyrocketing housing prices force black families to abandon dream of owning own home.
- Carter Administration has made many promises; but progress has been minimal.
 - -- Carter promised in 76 to rebuild South Bronx; 4 years later 1/3 of residents still on welfare
 - -- Very little to help minority enterprise; Administration met only 1/3 of government minority procurement goals for FY 80
 - -- Emphasis on CETA and related programs misguided when 5 out of 6 jobs in private sector
- Reagan Agenda
 - -- No idle promises or simplistic goals
 - -- Economic growth is the key
 - -- Vigorous enforcement of existing laws protecting minorities in marketplace
 - -- Open new economic opportunities for minorities through growing economy; disincentives to capital investment to job expansion. Surest guarantor of equal opportunity
 - -- Develop overall minority business development strategy
 - -- Provide added opportunities for minority youth (e.g., through temporary youth differential)
- California Record shows what can be accomplished
 - -- California Job Development Corporation Law to stimulate flow public and private capital into low income areas
 - -- worked hardest to provide jobs for Watts

- -- Reorganized Employment Development Dept. with new emphasis on job creation, manpower development, employment placement and vocational rehabilitation.
- -- Established Cal. Minority Business Enterprise Office and loan guarantee program for small business.
- -- Changed welfare system: 43% increased benefits and first cost of living increase in 13 years to neediest; 76,000 welfare recipients put to work during 73-74 recession.

-. C. ATTACK MATERIALS



1. Never raise taxes

"I would never do anything that would increase the taxes for those who work for a living, or who are presently required to list all their income." (1st debate)

- 2. Reduce unemployment to 41/2%
- 3. Control inflation
- 4. Balanced budget by end of 1st term

"But, I believe by the end of the first four years of the next term we could have the unemployment rate down to 3 percent, adult unemployment, which is about 4 to 4½% overall, a controlled inflation rate and have a balanced growth of about 4% to 6%, around 5%, which would give us a balanced budget." (1st debate)

- 5. High economic growth: 5-512% a year
- 6. Reduce the White House staff and budget
- Completely reorganize the federal government, making it "economical, efficient, purposeful, and manageable"
- 8. Increased development and use of coal
- 9. Merit selection of judges
- 10. Government do nothing to encourage abortions
- 11. Good health care for the country
- 12. No food embargoes

"I would never single out food ... as a trade embargo item." (2nd debate)

13. Stand by Taiwan

"I would never let that friendship with the People's Republic of China stand in the way of the preservation of the independence and freedom of the people on Taiwan." (2nd debate)

14. Strong and respected overseas

"Our country is not strong anymore; we're not respected anymore. We can only be strong overseas if we're strong at home; and when I become President we'll not only be strong in those areas but also in defense..." (2nd debate) 15. Less sacrifice than under a Ford Presidency

One more he would like to forget:

"We'll never have a balanced budget, we'll never meet the needs of our people, we'll never control the inflationary spiral, as long as we have seven and a half or eight million people out of work, who are looking for jobs. And we probably got two-and-a-half more million people who are not looking for jobs anymore, because they've given up hope. That is a very serious indictment of this administration. It's probably the worst one of all."

> Jimmy Carter Third Debate Oct. 22, 1976

Total Broken Promises From 1976 Campaign

- 667 Promises Made
- 130 Kept
- 227 Broken
- 238 Unkept, Unkeepable, Unverifiable
 - (Source: RNC, January 1980)

- 1. "A Crisis of Confidence"
 - -- Jan. 78, said nation sound "militarily, politically, economically and in spirit."
 - -- July 79, "true problems of our nation are ... deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages. Deeper even than recession or inflation." There is "a crisis of confidence."

2. Defense Budget

-- 76 Campaign: promised sharp reductions in defense spending.
-- Feb. 78, revises FY78 budget reducing defense outlays \$300 million and appropriation \$2.7 billion.
-- Jan. 80, calls for a 5.4% real increase.

3. Rebate

-- Jan. 77, proposed \$50 per person rebate. -- April 77, abandoned plan.

- 4. Economic Goals
 - -- May 77, goals for 1981
 - reducing inflation to 4%
 - reducing unemployment to 4.3%
 - -- Jan. 79, revised goals
 - inflation to 6.3% by FY80
 - -- New revitalization program (by end of 1981)
 - inflation at 9.7%
 - unemployment at 8.1%
 - -- New revitalization program: 7th this Administration and 3rd economic program in last 8 months.
- 5. Tax Cuts

-- March 80, says no new tax cuts without balancing budget.
-- Reindustrialization program -- \$7.3 billion in tax cuts in 1981.

6. Energy

-- 76 Campaign: promised deregulation of natural gas.
 -- Controls retained until March 1978, says can accept phased decontrol.

7. Welfare

-- Aug. 77, proposes comprehensive welfare plan. -- May 79, phases down in terms of costs.

- 8. <u>Cuba</u>: says presence of Soviet troops unacceptable, yet they remain.
- 9. Iran
 - -- says he won't stand for Americans to be held captive, yet they remain hostage.
 - -- Shah about to fall:
 - ordered Fleet dispatched from Phillipines to Persian Gulf.
 - then had it recalled.

(NOTE: Stay tuned for more.)

CARTER GAFFES

In the event that candidate "gaffes" come up in the debate, Carter has a barrel full. A few examples:

"ETHNIC PURITY"

"I see nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained. I would not force racial integration by government action but I would not permit discrimination against a family moving into a neighborhood."

> St. Louis Post-Dispatch April 11, 1976

"I was careless in the words I used and I apologize for it."

Associated Press April 18, 1976

"LUST IN HIS HEART"

In the <u>Playboy</u> interview, Carter also said, "I've looked on a lot of women with lust. I've committed adultery in my heart many times. This is something that God recognizes I will do - and I have done it - and God forgives me for it. But that doesn't mean that I condemn someone who not only looks on a woman with lust but who leaves his wife and shacks up with somebody out of wedlock."

> Playboy Interview 1976, page 86

"BERT, I'M PROUD OF YOU"

After the initial stages of the Lance Affair on August 18, 1977, Carter said, "Bert, I'm proud of you."

Betty Glad book, page 439*

LBJ: A LIAR

Carter in his <u>Playboy</u> interview said of Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson, "But I don't think I would ever take on the same frame of mind that Nixon of Johnson did - lying, cheating and distorting the truth." (<u>Playboy</u> Interview, page 86). Later in Houston, Carter recanted saying the "lying and cheating part referred to President Nixon." The press did not buy this reversal.

Betty Glad, page 386.*

HIS OPPONENT: "A SICK MAN"

During the 1970 Democratic gubernatorial primary, Carter called his opponent former Governor Sanders, "a sick man" in reaction to a Sanders campaign charge that Carter was a "land baron". Carter later retracted this statement saying he was only "referring to Sanders' approach to advertising, not to him personally."

Betty Glad, page 136*

MONTEZUMA'S REVENGE

Of course, there is the famous "Montezuma's revenge" remark during the Carter trip to Mexico. "In the midst of the Folklorico performance, I discovered I was afflicted with Montezuma's revenge."

> Presidential Documents, February 14, 1979 - page 276

"GET TOUGH" TOWARD INDIA

In a remark to then Secretary of State Vance that was picked up by an open mike on a trip to India in December-January, 1977-78, Carter suggested a... "get tough" policy toward that same country.

Betty Glad, page 439*

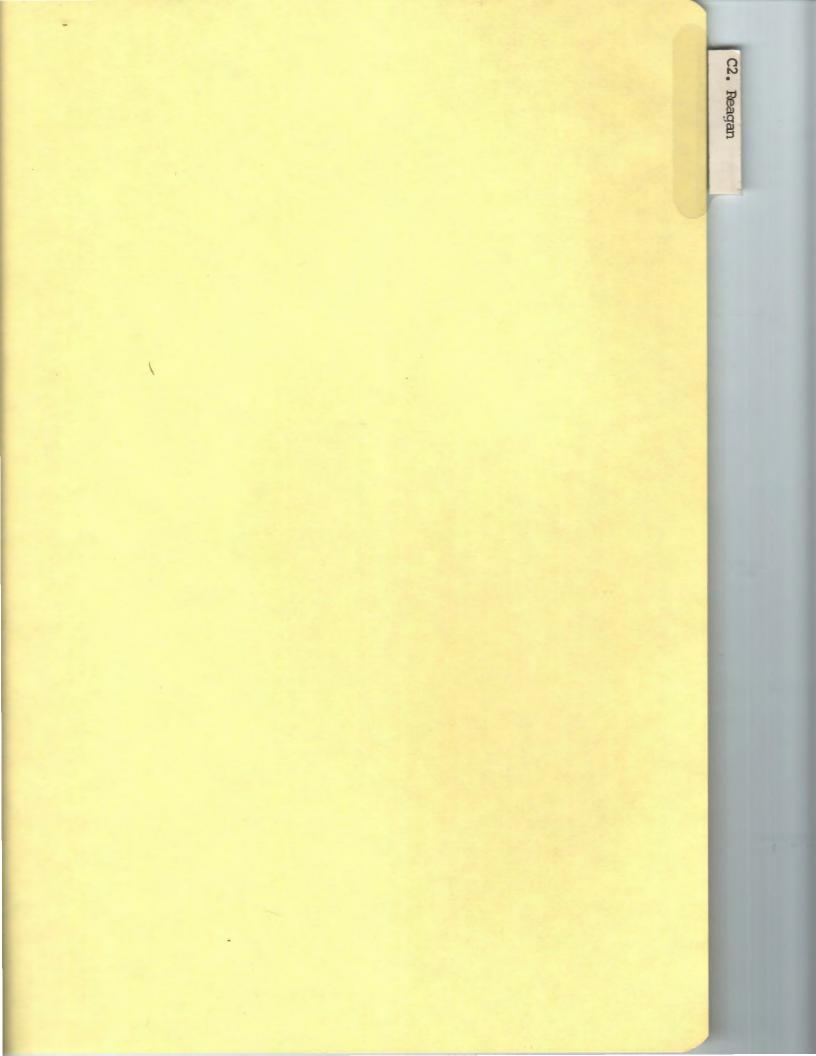
BRAZIL: "A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP"

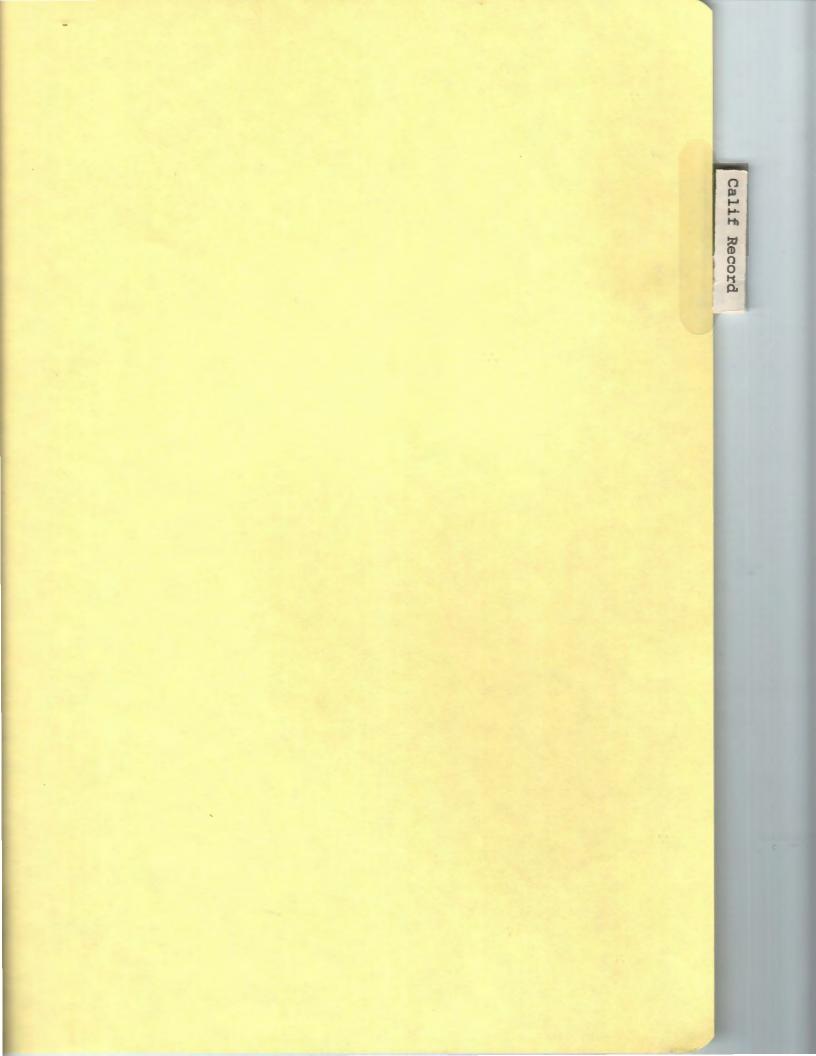
In his 1976 interview with <u>Playboy</u>, Carter <u>may</u> have strained relations with Brazil. Carter said, "When Kissinger says, as he did recently in a speech, that Brazil is the sort of government that is most compatible with ours - well, that's the kind of thing we want to change. Brazil is not a democratic government; it's a military dictatorship."

Playboy Interview 1976, page 74

HUBERT HORATIO HORNBLOWER, Democratic National Convention, August 1980

* - (Betty Glad, Jimmy Carter, In Search of the Great White House).





REAGAN'S CALIFORNIA RECORD ON THE TOUGH ISSUES

Spending

- •Between 1967 and 1975, California's rate of per capita spending growth was the lowest among the ten most populous states, and was lower than in 45 of the other 49 states.
- Reagan reduced the real (inflation-adjusted) rate of spending growth by two-thirds of what it had been under Pat Brown.
- •Reagan vetoed 994 bills in his two terms, which prevented an estimated \$15½ billion in spending. Only 1 veto overridden.
- •Between 1971 and 1975, when both Reagan and Carter were governors, real per capita spending grew by three percent in California versus 14 percent in Georgia.

Taxes

- •Between Reagan's first full fiscal year in office (FY 1968) and the end of his second term (FY 1975) per capita state taxes in California grew at a lower rate than in 47 of the other 49 states.
- Per capita state and local taxes combined grew at a lower rate than in 45 of the other 49 states between fiscal years 1968 and 1975.
- •There were some tax increases during Reagan's terms, but they helped to turn a million dollar a day deficit when he took cffice to a \$554 million surplus when he left.

off.

•Prudent fiscal practice paid (When Reagan was Governor, California's bonds were upgraded to the highest possible bond rating, Moody's Triple-A, for the first time in 31 years.

State Government Employment

- •The civil service work force under RR's control grew as much in RR's entire eight years as it did in only one year under his predecessor. Based on State Personnel Board figures, California's full-time civil service work force grew by only 6000 employees (5.8%) in 8 years, or an average only 750 employees a year (less than one percent annually).
- •State employment, relative to population, grew at less than one-third the national state average (10% versus 33%) between 1966 and 1974.
- •Between 1970 and 1974, the approriate benchmarks for comparing Carter's and Reagan's records as Governor, California state employment, relative to population, rew at one-sixth the rate of Georgia's (4% versus 26%).

Welfare

Reagan's welfare reform program began in January, 1971 through administrative means, and was incorporated into legislation in October, 1971. The results were:

- •The California welfare rolls were growing at the rate of about 40,000 per month as 1971 began. But between April and November of 1971, as the reform program began to take effect, 175,000 people left the rolls. The decline continued through the end of 1974.
- •From the time the welfare reforms started to take effect in 1971 until late 1974, the close of the Reagan Administration, there were over 850,000 fewer persons on family welfare and general assistance programs than had been projected by legislative and other experts prior to the 1971 reforms.
- •Between fiscal years 1971 and 1975, real per capita welfare spending in California grew 42% versus a national state average growth of 131%.
- Benefits to truly needy increased by an average of more than 40%

Consumer Protection

- •Reagan reorganized the various consumer protection bureaucracies into a single Department of Consumer Affiars, thereby giving consumers a single department with which to deal.
- •Reagan supported the establishment of a Division of Auto Repairs to crack down on unscrupulous practices, signed legislation protecting the public against unordered merchanise, and approved legislation giving consumers the power to sue for damages and injunctions in deceptive practices cases.

Environmental Protection

- •Reagan created an Air Resources Board which greatly strengthened the state's powers to control air pollution.
- Reagan implemented a program that outfitted cars with the most sophisticated smog control devices available, reducing hydrocarbon emissions by 90%. Nader group later said Calif. had toughest antismog laws in the U.S.
- •Reagan played a major role in enacting the California Water Quality Quality Act of 1969--the strongest water pollution control law in U.S. history.

Occupational Safety

•Reagan presided over the 1973 creation of Cal/OSHA, California's safety agency. None of Cal/OSHA's standards have been challenged in court since the agency's inception.

OTHER RESULTS OF CARTER ECONOMICS

Real Economic Growth

- -- Economy grew 5.9% in 1976.
- -- Grew only 2.3 in 1979.
- -- 1st Qtr, 1980, grew at annual rate of 1.1%.

Real Purchasing Power

-- For average worker in private non-agricultural sector, purchase power has been dropping for 2 years.

Misery Index

- -- Ford (1976) 12.5
- -- Carter (1980) 19.6 (CPI & unemployment rate)

Productivity

- -- Rose 3.5% in Ford's last year in office.
- -- Has dropped steadily under Carter.
- -- Has been declining for past 6 quarters.
- -- Note: Don't claim too much for GOP. Productivity has been sloping downwards since late 1960s. Final Ford year was unusually good.

Savings

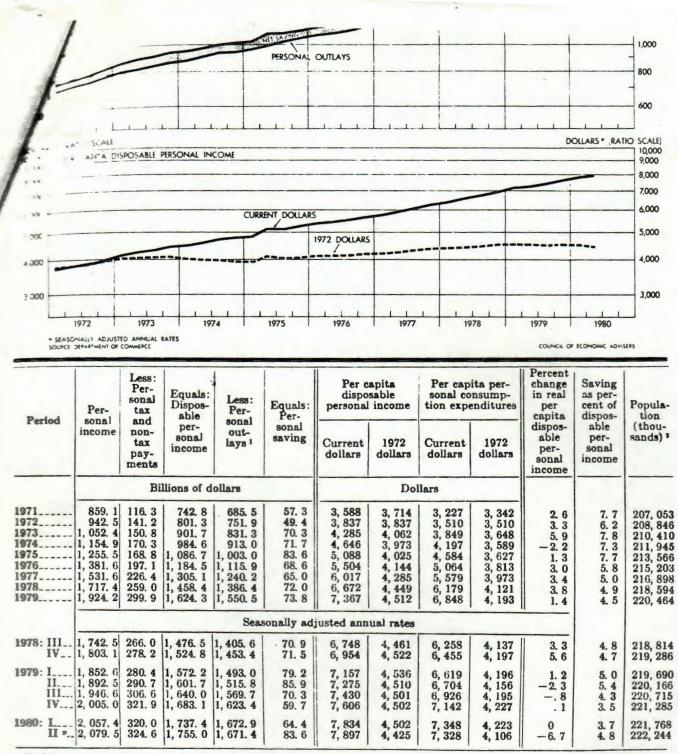
3.5% in 1976, and declining ever since Carter took office (4.5 in 1979) 3.4% in 1st Qtr, 1980, lowest rate in non-communist industrial world. 0.5. continues to have lowest level of capital investment among major industrial democracies.

Small Business

- -- Bankruptcies have increased 48% since October, 1979.
- -- Estimated 660,000 small businesses will fail in 1980.
- -- Small business faces loss of 3.2 million jobs, \$228 billion in sales in 1980.

Agriculture

- -- Net farm income down 22%.
- -- Net farm income per farmer (after inventory adjustment) fell from \$13,690 in 1979 (1st Wtr.) to \$10,602 in 1980 (1st Qtr.) -- 22.6% decrease.
- -- The cost-price squeeze under Carter:
 - -- Farm expenses in Carter's first 3½ yrs. up 57%.
 - -- Food prices increased 39% in same period.



Includes personal consumption expenditures, interest paid by consumers to ² Includes Armed Forces abroad. Annual data are for July 1 through 1973 and are averages of quarterly data beginning 1974. Quarterly data are average for the

meriad.

Source: I)epartment of Commerce (Bureau of Economic Analysis and Bureau of the Census).

6