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 II (1 of 2)

Box: 238

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

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

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

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

National Archives Catalogue: https://catalog.archives.gov/

BOOK II

D. OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1. Agriculture
- 2. Anti Trust
- 3. Consumer Protection
 - 4. Crime and Drugs
 - 5. D. C. Amendment
 - 6. Elderly & Social Security
 - 7. Families
 - 8. Housing
 - 9. Immigration
- 10. Judicial Appointments
- 11. Managing the Bureaucracy
- 12: Political Pot Pourri
- 13. Puerto Rico
- 14. Religion
- 15. Returning Power to States
- 16. Science & Technology
- 17. Small Business
- 18. Transportation
- 19. Veterans

E. DEFENSE

AGRICULTURE

QUESTION 1.

Farm income is down and family farms are failing at rapid rate. What can be done to help farmers caught in cost-price squeeze?

ANSWER

- Almost anything would be improvement on Carter record:
 - -- 100,000 <u>family</u> farms have failed in past 4 years; becoming endangered species.

-- USDA predicts farm income will drop 20-25% in 1980.

-- Carter has managed to impose lowest price parity ratios since the Great Depression.

-- Farm debt has doubled under Carter (to \$180 billion)

 First step by RR: end the grain embargo. RR has opposed from beginning.

-- Only hurts American farmers; not the Russians.

-- Depresses farm income in U.S.

- -- Damages reputation of U.S. farmer as reliable exporter.
- -- Soviets have managed to get grain from other sources -- including friends alienated by Carter, Argentina.
- Second: Curb inflation. Most disruptive and destablizing factor in agriculture. Makes predictability impossible, and predictability is core of sound farm policy.
 -- Inflation forcing up production costs, farm income stays low.
- Review other govt. policies depressing farm incomes:
 -- Must ensure that farm price supports take account of farmers costs of production.
 - -- Review tax laws which inhibit productivity and govt. regulations which cut sharply into farm income. Example: FTC trying to expand regulation of crops.
- Fourth, rescind Carter policy of downgrading research, extension and teaching in agricultural sciences.

-- Ag R&D purchasing power down 19% since 1976;

- -- Ag Sec. Bergland said Carter Admin. will not fund labor-saving research.
- Fifth, work with farm community to expand ag exports.

-- US farmers depend on exports for 1-12 of income.

-- Largest item in US exports; pillar of economic strength for U.S.

-- Helps to feed the world; food one of pressing issues of next decade.

QUESTION 2:

What is RR's position on parity?

ANSWER

- · Strong interest in economic health of American farmer.
 - -- as Governor of California, largest agricultural state, RR worked to increase farmer and rancher prosperity by expanding marketing opportunities, improving control of animal diseases and natural pests and fighting agricultural crime.
 - -- Parity is a worthy goal to achieve fairness and equity for farmers.
- As President, RR will work toward the goal of parity for farmers in marketplace. Farmers want a fighting chance to make a living, a chance the Carter Administration is not giving them. Government's own figures show actual parity ratio has fallen from average of 81 during 4 years before Carter to 65 during first part 1980.
- To reach parity in the <u>marketplace</u>, RR would work with elected officials who have special understanding of the problems of farmers, as well as individual farmers and many different farm organizations, to develop a sound agricultural program, which would include:
 - -- controlling inflation and interest rates
 - -- expanding overseas markets for US crops
 - -- not singling out farmers to pay price of failed foreign policy.

Note: Parity implies farmers would achieve "fair" purchasing power by receiving a price for commodities sufficient to earn same "real" income as some base date, 1914 being the year usually quoted.

AGRICULTURE: FACTS

RR Record in California:

- -- Helped to provide protection from indiscriminate land development for 14 million farm acres.
- -- Established 13 new self-help state marketing programs to assist specific agricultural commodity industries in dealing with problem.
- -- Revised unfair economic boycotts against California's perishable crops.
- -- Expanded pest control program to include weed and vertebrate pests.
- -- Invited Japanese trade mission representing 32 farms to tour California; they bought specialty products in surplus supply.

Other items on RR Agenda

- -- Oppose 160 acre limitation on farms receiving federal water as unfair and unrealistic.
- -- Favor tobacco price support program which has been instrumental in preserving 276,000 family farms in 16 states.
 - Program operates at no cost to taxpayer. (It actually earned \$827,000 in 1978.)
- -- Assure survival of family farm which makes up 95% of U.S. farms and provides two-thirds of agricultural production by:
 - reducing inflation
 - assurance of adequate credit at reasonable rates
 - limiting regulatory burden
 - promote agricultural exports
- -- Grain Embargo: No reliable estimate available on cost to US farmers; billions of dollars is probable range.

ANTITRUST

QUESTION

You have been viewed during much of your career as somewhat pro-business and anti-labor. Will these attitudes affect your administration's attitude toward anti-trust enforcement?

ANSWER

- RR pledges tough anti-trust enforcement by non-politicized Justice Dept.
 - -- Since passage of Sherman Act of 1890, there has been broad bi-partisan support for antitrust laws -- belief that they are vital to keeping free enterprise competitive.
 - -- GOP presidents from Teddy Roosevelt to Gerald Ford have had admirable antitrust records. Under Ford, budget for anti-trust nearly doubled.
 - -- RR will maintain that tradition.

Improvements can be made on Carter

- -- Carter promises "vigorous antitrust enforcement" in 1976, but in 1979, Civiletti admitted violations occur with "dismaying frequency". (National Journal)
- -- Carter has also had difficulty speeding up large antitrust cases -- IBM case filed by the Johnson administration in 1969 still going on in fall of 1980 (Nixon and Ford couldn't solve either). ATT case filed by Ford Administration in 1974 still in courts, too -- and just recently was delayed for 3 additional months by the government.

Reagan Agenda

- -- Tough enforcement.
- -- RR's Attorney General will seek ways to speed up trial of massive antitrust cases. No case should take 12 years to try.
- -- (Use only if asked): RR would reject proposals -- some now before Congress -- which would prohibit mergers by companies having assets greater than a specified limit. Too rigid an approach. (Sensitive issue)

ANTITRUST FACTS:

- Two basic antitrust laws -- Sherman Act (1890) -Clayton Act (1914). Laws bar collusive agreements like
 price-fixing and industrial mergers which would tend to
 lessen competition.
- Criminal violations of Sherman Act raised from misdemeanor to felony in 1974 pursuant to Ford proposal.
- In 1977 Carter appointed National Commission to Review Antitrust Laws and Procedures -- made some technical recommendations to speed up big antitrust cases. A number now enacted into law, but haven't solved "big case" problem.
- Labor Unions, particularly their collective bargaining activities, are basically exempt from antitrust laws. NO significant political support for changing this. To repeat prior RR suggestion that labor unions should be subject to antitrust would provoke storm of labor protest.

CONSUMER PROTECTION: FEDERAL SUPER AGENCY

QUESTION

You have opposed creation of Consumer Protection Agency. What role should government play with regard to consumer?

ANSWER

- Oppose Carter proposal for Consumer Protection Agency:
 - -- All of us are consumers. All of government -- not a single new bureaucracy -- should act to protect.
 - -- Don't need another massive agency.
 - Note: RR created California Consumer Agency.
 - -- Consumer Protection Agency regulation would probably mean "consumer taxation", not "consumer protection".
 - -- Agency could also slow down good decision-making.
- But government still has constructive role to play:
 - -- Consistent enforcement <u>antitrust laws</u>. Free competition is best regulator.
 - -- One of best consumer protection is information. Ensure there is <u>full</u> and <u>fair disclosure</u>. Agencies like the Federal Trade Commission if well managed can play positive role. Other agencies can also provide education and information and encourage states, localities, and private organizations.
 - -- Overall, government should ensure free and fair marketplace; consumers can do rest for themselves.
- Remember: Consumer's most important enemy is inflation.

 Has tripled under Carter.

CONSUMER PROTECTION: FACTS

1. Consumer Protection Agency -- Carter pushed hard, but measure decisively defeated in House in 1978. Now supported in 1980 Democratic platform.

Note: Carter has established Executive Consumer Affairs Council (beefed up version of Ford Consumer Plans) to coordinate Federal consumer efforts.

2. Federal Trade Commission

- -- Carter Administration quietly tried to transform into a super consumer protection agency. In 1980, Congress stepped in and significantly reduced FTC powers as condition of extending authorization for agency.
- -- FTC still controversial; many see as nuisance, meddler; others see as great protection for consumer and important second arm to government's anti-trust efforts, helping Justice Department.
- 3. Compulsory Air Bags For Cars -- 4 reasons to oppose:
 - -- Another example (like automatic seatbelt interlocks) of government forcing views on consumers.
 - -- Would add at least \$200 to price of car, further hurting Detroit.
 - -- Safety, reliability still up in air.
 - -- Proposed system would initially apply only to cars with 3-passenger front seat--giving advantages to imports.

Note: Carter Administration (DOT), under pressure from Congress, now requiring auto makers to equip at least one line of cars with airbags in future —but has delayed imposition on all cars.

A good type of free enterprise solution -- at least one insurance company (Allstate) offers 30% reduction on premiums to those who have airbags. Auto industry should offer option, but not be required to install airbags in all cars.

- 4. General Distinction: Better for government to ensure that individual or family has full, fair information and let them decide (e.g., saccharin) than to have government require consumers to buy only those appliances, equipment that meet Washington standards. One is system of freedom, the other smacks of authoritarianism.
- 5. Illinois Brick: In controversial Illinois Brick case in 1977, Supreme Court ruled that so-called indirect purchasers of goods -- those 2-3 steps down distribution line -- cannot sue manufacturer for damages in event of anti-trust violation. Only direct purchaser can sue. Kennedy-Rodino trying to overturn by legislation. RR opposes legislation; other side says bill would give consumers power against big business. Anderson supports legislation.

CRIME

QUESTION

What should Federal government do to curb crime?

ANSWER

- RR recognizes crime epidemic spreading:
 - -- Crime rates up sharply. Violent crimes up nearly 20% during Carter's term; forcible rape up 33% (FBI Crime Statistics)

-- Over half of residents of big cities in late 1979 told George Gallup they were afraid to walk streets at night.

- -- Drug abuse reaching serious levels again: Number of young adults using one of "hard" drugs (e.g., cocaine) has increased more than 50% in past 3 years.
- Control of crime primarily local and state responsibility, but Washington cannot turn its back. Carter has shamefully neglected:
 - -- Systematically undermined the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)
 - -- Dismantled White House Office of Drug Abuse Policy

-- Politicized judicial process

-- Inadequate leadership on getting Federal criminal code through Congress

• The Reagan Agenda:

- Passage of modernized Federal code.
 - Feds should set good example for State and local governments. 40 states have adopted model penal codes. Feds far behind in modernizing their own.
- 2. Encourage stiffer penalties.
 - RR supports death penalty at federal level; up to states at state level.
 - New Federal code should include mandatory minimum sentencing (not in current omnibus bill before Congress)

Kevin says! Subsdidute

- 3. Upgrade LEAA, which provides help to local and state law enforcement agencies.
- 3. Economic growth to provide jobs
 - LEAA budget in final year of Ford administration was \$770 mil; Carter has reduced to less than 1 that amount. RR would strengthen funding. Good partnership with state and local govts.
- Appoint quality judges who will que adequate consideration to victims of crime.

CRIME: FACTS

Strong economy will help to solve crime problem.

Some Carter quotes from 1976 campaign:

- "Restoring order to our society is ... a question of leadership."
- "We can no longer afford to treat the administration of justice as political patronage...The Attorney General of this nation must be removed from politics...All federal judges and prosecutors should be appointed strictly on the basis of merit without any consideration of politics or influence...

Quote from Carter's FBI Director in April, 1980:

"Crime remains on of our nation's most serious problems...
Every American should be troubled."

On Capital Punishment:

• Past RR story: "Back in 1967, when I was governor of California, an elderly storeowner in San Francisco was the victim of a robbery during the week of the last execution in California. The robber had the storeowner on the floor and raised a knife to stab the old man. The storekeeper, as he told me in a letter later on, cried out: "You'll get the gas chamber if you do!" The robber paused, drew back and ran from the store. One incident is not scientific proof, but this storekeeper is convinced capital punishment saves lives.

Impact of bad economy

- -- e.g., Detroit, this month, laid off 18% of police force (690 police officers) because of economic stringencies
- -- Layoffs come at bad time. Murder rate had been declining, but has soared 25% in past 8 months--- another sign of economic stress.
- -- Many laid off were blacks and women (NYT , 9/7/80)

D.C. VOTING RIGHTS AMENDMENT

QUESTION

Both Anderson and Carter support the D.C. Amendment. How do you justify your opposition?

ANSWER

- Lack of success at state level instructive:
 - -- Submitted to states for ratification 2 years ago;
 - -- Only 9 states have passed (34 needed);
 - -- Amendment in deep trouble.
- States, like RR, question wisdom of amendment:
 - -- D.C. not a State, or should it be considered such within the Federal System.
 - -- Framers of Constitution intended D.C. to be special enclave, free of entangling interests and outside jurisdiction of any state. Federal District was provided over which Congress would have exclusive legislative authority and plenary power. (Article I).
- RR does support upgrading of non-voting delegate in House of Representatives to voting status.
 - -- Justifiable to have voting representative; but not be treated as state.
- RR also recognizes that D.C. facing budgetary crunch and looks forward to working with D.C. Mayor Barry, Congress in helping to resolve satisfactorily.
 - -- Congress has appropriated about \$300 million to city budget this year; Marion Barry says D.C. facing large deficit and seeking more.

NOTE:

D.C. voting rights amendment would provide District with two Senators, one full member of House. (D.C. already participates in electoral college, of course.)

ELDERLY & SOCIAL SECURITY

QUESTION

Our population is growing older. Many older people lack the basics. How will you deal with this problem?

ANSWER

- Most important solution: stop inflation
 - -- Since 1970, necessities have risen 17% faster than CPI.
 - -- Savings being wiped out. With Carter's 12% inflation, a 5½% savings account -- which many elderly have -- loses 6½% a year. This pushes elderly onto welfare, destroys self-respect and dignity.
 - -- Increasing property taxes, fuel costs forces elderly out of homes, making them choose between food and fuel.

Example: NY Times recently reported on Joseph Reyes (home unknown) who celebrated 65th birthday 2 years ago; retired as hotel cashier; but a few weeks ago had to go back to work at \$3.62/hr to meet bills. Senior citizens once went back to work because they wanted to; now many of them have to.

- Other Reagan Pledges:
 - -- Defend integrity Social Security
 - -- Eliminate denial of Social Security benefits if retirees take job.
 - -- Keep promises of Medicare and other programs.
 - -- Streamline, reduce red tape for Federal services: these involve 134 programs, 49 Congressional Committees.
 - -- Work to achieve objectives Older Americans Act.
 - -- Enforce law banning age discrimination.
 - -- Encourage community based long-term care as alternative to nursing homes.
- Dispite promises, Carter has neglected many problems of the elderly
 - -- Still has no national aging policy.
 - -- Has in past called for cuts in way Social Security is indexed for inflation (in first 1980 budget).
 - -- Allowed inflation to skyrocket.
 - -- One of leading Congressional authorities -- Democrat Claude Pepper of Florida -- has frequently said "current plight of elderly...a national disaster".
- RR has excellent record
 - -- In California, approved cost of living increases in senior citizen aid and property tax relief.
 - -- Nancy an ardent supporter of Foster Grandparent Program.

ELDERLY AND SOCIAL SECURITY: FACTS

- 1. Elderly are increasing proportion of population with major income, health and housing problems.
 - Elderly (over 65) now 11% population (24.4 million).
 - In 1960-70 period, over 65 group grew 62% faster than under 65; this differential expected to increase.
 - Women and minorities heavily over-represented among aged poor.
 - Elderly account for 29% personal health care expenditures.
 - Inflation: Although Social Security indexed, cost of living of elderly rising faster than that of younger consumers:
 - -- Elderly expenditures more concentrated on core necessities (food, utilities, medical care) which have risen since '70 at average 8.4%/year versus CPI average of 7.2%/year.
 - -- In 1980, general inflation reached 18%, inflation rate for necessities hit 24%. (National Center for Economic Alternatives).
 - Elderly are net creditors relying on conservative investments (e.g., savings accounts) which do not keep pace with inflation.

2. California Record

 Approved cost of living increases in senior citizens aid and provided \$46 million in new property tax relief ranging from 32% for those at \$6,000/year to more than 80% at \$3,000/year and below.

FAMILIES

QUESTION

One of the persistent themes in Carter's 1976 campaign was that the government was pursuing anti-family policies. You have taken something of the same stand. Can you explain what you would do differently?

ANSWER

- Role of government to promote, encourage strong family bonds -not to disrupt or destroy them.
- Carter economic policies one of greatest threats to families today.
 - Example: When Carter elected, one family in four could afford to buy a new home. This spring, down to one family in 20.
- Signs that family life continuing to deteriorate during Carter presidency:
 - -- In 1976, one child in eight born out of wedlock; now it's one in 6.
 - -- In 1976, one child in seven living in a single parent household; now it's one child in five.

 (Source: W.S. Journal 5/1/80)
- Carter has failed to deliver on many promises of 1976 -e.g., elimination of marriage tax penalty.
- Reagan agenda for change:
 - -- Economic growth
 - -- Abolish marriage tax penalty when fiscally possible
 - -- Stop federal funding of abortions (still continuing despite S.Ct. opinion on Hyde)
 - -- Tuition tax credits
 - -- Encourage local, private volunteer activities like Foster Grandparents. Many such efforts have been successful in dealing with child abuse, domestic violence, providing counseling services and support for wide variety of family problems.
 - -- Speak out for traditional values.

HOUSING

QUESTION

What is difference between your housing program and Carter's?

ANSWER

- Carter has created crisis in housing:
 - -- Cost of housing has doubled: average price of new home up over 50% -- to \$77,000; average monthly payment up to 110%.
 - -- Personal savings have plummeted: Lowest level in 30 years.
 - -- Interest rates highest since Civil War, nearly doubling from Jan. 77 to April 80 (to 16.9%); temporarily dropped, but rising again now.
 - -- Rental units slowing badly: Joint Economic Committee projects 9.4 million units needed in 80s; annual rental unit construction has fallen 15% under Carter, way below JEC goals.

Two Results

- -- Family seeking shelter in serious trouble: Less than 5% of families (vs. over 25% under Ford) could afford new home this spring. (Natl Assoc. Home Builders) Rentals tight -- vacancy rates at all-time high.
- -- Homebuilders in depression: Lowest level housing starts since WW II (49% drop) results in \$125 economic billion loss (equivalent to bankruptcy of 4 Chrysler's).

• The Reagan Agenda

Note:

Kevin wands

to add: "Abundon

high interest

rate policies"

Puery: this

Fed. Res. function;

one tool to

reducing

inflation

- -- Revitalize the economy to provide base for housing recovery. (including across-the-board tax rade cuts to encourage saving)
- -- Provide tax incentives to encourage saving, when fiscally possible.
- -- Expand homeownership through alternative mortgage instruments and urban homesteading (reuse abandoned buildings).
- -- Increase rehabilitation of existing stock through expanded neighborhood housing services and programs. (and tax incentives.)
- -- Increase local accountability and concentrate resource decisions in local elected officials; increase block grants.
- -- Reduce regulatory maze (fed and local)
 - Rutgers study (1977 Weidenbaum) estimates that excessive regs add 20% to price of average new home.

HOUSING: FACTS

Rise in housing costs

-- Jan., 1977: Average sale price new home: \$51,300 Monthly payment averaged \$367 (FHA interest rate at 8%, \$50,000 mortgage for 3 years).

-- Today: Latest average sales price (June) is \$77,900.

Monthly payment up to \$771 (FHA interest rate at 12% \$75,000 mortgage for 30 years).

Drop in savings rate

- -- Down to 3.5% in 4th Qtr., 1979, lowest in 30 years.
- -- Japanese savings rate: 20%.

Loss in housing starts

- -- Since 1977, housing starts fell from 2 million to 1 million in April, 1980.
- -- Housing starts hit 3 million record peak under Ford (were lower during 1976 campaign).

Additional Carter Vulnerabilities:

- (1) In 1976 speech to AFL-CIO in Dearborn, Carter said Republicans "have plunged the construction industry into a depression". But housing starts this year are barely half of levels when Carter took office.
- (2) Lax administration of federal housing programs.
 - -- Cost to taxpayer est. at \$600 million in misspent funds.
- (3) Federal funds to rehabilitate existing housing down 40% under Carter.

-- Should have worked with other nations in Western Hemisphere to resettle throughout Americas.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES

RR's stand on refugees

- -- Traditionally, U.S. a haven for refugees, especially political refugees. Fact that men like Solzhenitsyn come to U.S. great tribute to our freedom.
- -- Should continue to welcome, but when there are great numbers who want to come -- e.g., Cubans, Boat People -must also be realistic: balance humanitarian concerns with economic realities.
 - -- Must work with other friendly nations on problems.
- -- Carter handled Cubans clumsily; also, RR has pointed out that Carter couldn't get the Russians out of Cuba; he only got the Cubans out.
- -- Fla. unhappy because Carter hasn't given them much help in dealing with immigrants.

• RR's stand on illegal immigrants

- -- Need a comprehensive reassessment of our relationship with Mexico.
- -- Carter may be playing politics with Mexico to gain oil.
 - -- Number of illegal alien arrests has dropped, but not necessarily the number of crossings.
 - -- About 2 million a year entering U.S. illegally in late 1970s.
- -- RR would seek North American Accord.
 - -- Greatly expand trade, raising living standards in U.S. and Mexico.
 - -- Work out understanding of aliens within that framework.
 - -- After the Schlesinger natural gas fiasco and Carter's "Montezuma's revenge", need to open a new chapter in US-Mexican relations.

Background Notes:

- -- Senator Hayakawa has introduced a "Mexican guest worker" bill which would allow Mexicans to work in the U.S. for up to 6 months.
- -- 120,000 Cubans entered US in 4-month period, April-July; about 3,000 a month still arriving.
- -- U.S. Civil Rights Commission this week issued report saying that better management needed to solve border problem re Mexicans.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

QUESTION

The GOP platform has led to questions about the kinds of appointments you would make to the Federal bench. Can you tell us your thoughts?

ANSWER

- <u>California record acclaimed</u>: RR set up special system to prescreen and evaluate candidates. Committee composed of judges, laymen, members of the bar. San Francisco Chronicle later said RR had made "first class appointments".
 - -- University of California Professor, Preble Stolz (Jerry Brown Dem) recently quoted in Newsweek that RR "took very seriously the notion that judges ought not to be involved in politics. He pretty much promoted from within and did it on merit".
- Two RR criteria for federal appointments:
 - Excellence (integrity, intellectual capacity, experience, respect)
 - 2. Judicial temperament: Carter said in '76 debates he would choose people who accurately reflected his political philosophy. Time-honored tradition in US. RR will not seek out candidates who agree on every position but share one key view: role of courts to interpret the law, not to enact new laws or administer local institutions such as prisons, mental institutions, schools. No imperial judiciary.
- Disagree with 2 Carter practices:
 - 1. Politicized the judiciary
 - -- 85% of Carter's 61 nominations to Federal bench (1977-78) were Democrats; Carter stopped indicating political party in 79 (N.B. 81% of Ford appointments were Republican).
 - -- As of 6/79, Carter had replaced 67 of the 94 US attorneys, all by Dems.
 - -- Carter pledged independent selection commissions for US Circuit Court judges; but 82% of those selected as of mid 79 were Dems (survey showed half had worked in Carter Presidential campaign.)
 - -- Excellent prosecutors (Marston) have been fired.
 - 2. Apparently would impose quota system on judicial appointments. The question is not how many people of a particular background are appointed, but how many people of excellence are appointed -- men and women, minorities and whites.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS: FACTS

Carter/Anderson attack lines:

- 1. RR will impose right wing loyalty tests on appointees:
 - -- GOP platform says: "We will work for the appointment of judges at all levels of the judiciary who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life."
 - -- Recommend RR disavow loyalty test, but stress excellence and stick to guns on appointing on basis of judicial temperament.
- 2. They will also argue that they will appoint people more sensitive to blacks, women. May commit to woman for next Supreme Court seat.
 - -- RR can cite importance of excellence as criteria. Also can cite Cal. record: RR appointed more minorities and women to the bench than any previous governor and more than any other governor at the time.

Marston

- -- Was US attorney in Philadelphia; GOP appointee
- -- Fired by Carter Administration in 1977 after opening investigation of 2 Democratic congressmen
- -- Carter had taken telephone call from one of the congressmen and later called Attorney General Griffin Bell.
- -- Bell openly cited politics as one reason for firing of Marston.
- Note for your information (don't bring up)

White House over next four years could have enormous influence over future of judiciary:

- -- 5 of 9 Supreme Court members will be 72 or older next year (liberals Brennan and Thurgood Marshall - of Baltimore - and Nixon appointees Burger, Powell and Blackmun).
- -- Federal bench being expanded (from 508 to 678 judges at federal district level; Carter has already appointed some.)

Supreme Court appointees can surprise White House

- -- FDR appointed Felix Frankfurter, who became conservative
- -- Ike appointed Earl Warren

MANAGING THE BUREAUCRACY

QUESTION

You promise to trim the Federal government. Yet, while you were governor, state employment in California grew from 175,000 to 213,000. Why are your promises any more credible than Carter's?

ANSWER

• Proud of California Record

- -- Tight lid on spiraling growth: Compared to Pat Brown, RR cut growth rate over which Cal. governor has control by more than 80%. Under RR, only 750 employees a year added to state payroll (less than 1% annually). Note: There was continuing growth in that part not controlled by RR, but that largely reflected the boom in higher education.
- -- More money for services, not bureaucrats: Under RR, state budget allocated to administration shrank from 48 to 34.5% of total budget.
- -- Held down spending: Reduced rate of growth from Brown administration by 2/3 (measured in real terms). Cal's record of per capita spending growth lowest among 10 most populous states.

• Carter Record trail of broken promises

- 1. Agency reduction: Promised in 1976 to cut from 1900 to 200. Has eliminated number of minor advisory committees, but created two mammoth new bureaucracies -- Energy and Education.
- White House staff: Carter promised to reduce. Books show some reduction, but accomplished through bookkeeping gimmicks. Carter people admit White House staff budget (including Office of Administration) has increased 93% over Ford's.
- 3. Cut in Federal payroll: Ford cut 11,000 from federal payroll. Under Carter, Federal employment increased 113,000 or 4%.
- 4. Fraud & Waste: Comptroller General Elmer Staats argues that fraud, waste continue unabated because lack of management and fraud detection given low priority.
- 5. Federal paperwork: Carter has made some minor improvements, but nearly half of over 500 recommendations of Federal Paperwork Commission (1977 report) have yet to be implemented and amount of paperwork remains a disgrace. Carter's Small Business Administration says small business spending \$12.7 billion a year to fill out 850 million pages of govt. forms.

Carter's one accomplishment: Civil service reform of 1978, supported by both GOP and Dems. Allows for more merit pay, demotions (not implemented), creates senior executive service (GS 16-18). But even here, GAO has criticized way law carried out. Example: "whistle blowers" in govt. still have no protection.

Reagan Agenda

- 1. Recruit best managers in country.
- Freeze federal hiring. (Note: Carter has already imposed.)
- 3. Appoint National Citizens' Task Forces to examine every department and agency. (RR used this in Cal, saving taxpayers millions.)
- 4. Over next 2 months, Cap Weinberger to chair Task Force to examine and report on specific ways to search out and eliminate waste.

Political Potpourri

POLITICAL POTPOURRI

CRIME & SLEAZINESS

What will RR do to prevent ABSCAMs, general misconduct?

- Carter administration disappointing -- to put it mildly
 - -- Promised us good, honest government
 - -- Gave us Billygate, Peter Bourne (principal Carter adviser for drugs, forced to resign for improperly prescribing drugs for White House aides), the GSA mess, string of drug related investigations (Tim Kraft the latest).
- RR has always run clean ship
 - -- James Dickenson, Washington Star, wrote not long ago:
 "There was little taint of scandal in Reagan's administration and absolutely no question of his personal integrity. He left office with the reputation of a man of principle who kept his word when negotiating with his foes."
- RR's plans for Presidency
 - -- Appoint experienced, capable people for whom govt service is a sacrifice, not a promotion;
 - -- Immediately fire and prosecute abusers;
 - -- Reduce size and scope of govt

VOTER PARTICIPATION

What can be done to stop declining numbers at voting booths?

- Problem one of attitudes
 - -- Many old barriers to voting have been removed, but voting has been declining since 1960.
 - -- Non-voters apparently feel alienated, see no connection between politics and their personal lives.
- Universal election day registration -- Carter supports -not the answer
 - -- Opens door to election fraud (no verification possible)
 - -- Challenges and red tape could leave close election in long limbo.

RR Answer

- -- Can fine tune the system (e.g., states could make expanded use of post-card registration with 30 day deadline)
- -- But there are two critical answers:
 - -- Political system must give people reason for hope, confidence. Politicians will win more respect when they deliver on their promises.
 - -- Must also bring system closer to the people-decentralize govt. Give individuals more of a stake in political process.

* * *

Federal funding of Congressional elections

- Congress has repeatedly rejected -- most recently in 1979.
- They're putting principle above personal advantage in this case because fatal flaw in this scheme is the tremendous advantage it gives to incumbents.
 - -- That advantage already large: superior name recognition, greater media access, free postage for "reports to constituents", large staffs, ability to perform "constituent services".
 - -- In 1978, 95% of all incumbents running for re-election in House won. To defeat the 19 losing incumbents, the challengers had to spend an average of \$220,000 apiece -- well above the limits proposed by the most recent federal funding proposal.
 - -- Since federal funding law would limit challengers to same spending as incumbent, they would have no way to overcome incumbency advantage. Would make the "ins" even more entrenched.

Independent Expenditure Groups

- lst Amendment guarantees that every citizen shall be able to spend money expressing his or her views on candidates. Groups must be able to exercise this right in a democracy.
- Recently the courts have rebuffed Carter-Mondale attempts to interfere with this precious right.
- Reagan-Bush campaign does not authorize or encourage any groups to make independent campaign expenditures. We do encourage every American to join in the Republican campaign.
- While we may disagree or agree with some of things said by some independent groups, we strongly defend their -and everyone else's -- constitutional right to speak out on political issues.

PUERTO RICO

QUESTION

A plebiscite on statehood will be held in Puerto Rico in 1981. What is your position?

ANSWER

- Support right of self-determination for Puerto Ricans.
 - -- Support admittance to Union if they choose statehood.
 - -- Support enactment of necessary legislation to allow Puerto Rican people right to apply for admission (Cong. has to act after plebiscite for PR to become State.)
- Full recognition of PR must be within concept of the multicultural society allowing citizens the right to retain their Spanish language and traditions.

FACTS

- 3 Congressional criteria for statehood:
 - Residents of new state must support basic principles of democracy.
 - a) P.R. average election turn-out high -- 85% in 1976 elections.
 - b) no government has been overthrown by force or violence.
 - c) Puerto Ricans have gone to war for U.S. --WW I & II, Korea, Vietnam.
 - (2) Majority of new state must support statehood.
 - -- P.R. voting trends and polls indicate strong support.
 -- to be determined by plebiscite in 1981.
 - (3) Population and resources must be sufficient to support state government and its share of costs to Federal Government.

Puerto Rico:

- -- population is greater than 24 other states.
- -- economy produces approximately \$10 billion gross annual product.

RELIGION IN POLITICS

QUESTION

With the rise of the evangelical vote and the recent suggestion by a Catholic bishop that voters should not vote for proabortion candidates, many questions have arisen about the role of religion in politics. Can you tell us your position?

ANSWER

- Religion plays an important role in every person's life, whether or not he or she is in politics. A personal faith is a strong, sturdy anchor in difficult times.
- Moreover, should recognize that even though we maintain a <u>separation between church and state</u> -- a separation RR would maintain as President -- does not mean that those who are in politics should leave God out of their daily lives.

But we need to add two other observations:

- Person who holds high office of Presidency should not impose his religious persuasion upon other people who happen to hold a different viewpoint. A person's religion is holy ground and should be treated with respect.
- Secondly, should recognize that while religious faith can make one stronger personally, does not automatically make one more effective or competent in a job. All three of top candidates in this year's race are men of faith -voters ought to make decision not on religious grounds, but who can do the best job.

Example: when choosing a doctor for open heart surgery, you might prefer to have someone from same church or synagogue. But in final analysis, you will choose the person best qualified as a surgeon. The same test applies to the Presidency.

Final observation: If elected, will follow the counsel of the pastor who said, "pray as if everything depends on God -- work as if everything depends on you".

RETURNING POWER TO STATES

QUESTION

One of sharpest splits between you and your opponents is over the structure of government -- what should be in Washington, what should be left to states. Can you explain your position?

ANSWER

- Carter & Anderson do have different positions from RR:
 - -- Carter, contrary to 1976 campaign plans, has increased the power of central govt -- created Depts. of Energy, Education. (Anderson supported both.)
 - -- Carter & Anderson would also like to move in direction of federalizing health, education, welfare.
 - -- Carter has sought to cut out revenue sharing with state govts. (has agreed to keep local revenue sharing). Fight still underway. (Anderson is for revenue sharing).
- RR wants to move other way -- toward decentralization
 - -- Firm believer in 10th Amendment, specifically leaving to states all power not directly assigned to federal govt.
 - -- Principle of federalism served Republic well for more than 150 years. Has been badly distorted in recent years -- with result that govt. more inefficient and more remote from citizens.
 - -- RR, where <u>practical</u>, would seek ways to return power to states, local govts. Ways to be done:
 - -- Convert categorical grants into block grants (Washington now has over 500 categorical programs) (Good targets for conversion -- housing, education)
 - -- Work toward restoring some responsibilities to states and localities, such as welfare and education.
 - -- As responsibilities returned, should also ensure that powers over funding are also restored.
 - Note: Revenue sharing -- GOP & Nixon started. Roughly a \$7 billion program. Carter sought to cut out \$2.3 billion state revenue sharing. Issue now mired in Congress.