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REP. FERRARO: No, what I'm -- no, that's not what I'm saying. What I'm saying to you is that at the time I would take a look at the total number of -- the total circumstances surrounding the issue, but I would tell you unequivocally that there is no place that I will move in with military might as the first resource of decision.

MR. WILL: Would Grenada have --

REP. FERRARO: You know, Grenada is a little island. They had less than 100,000 --

MR. WILL: But a big issue in your plat --

REP. FERRARO: -- people on the -- less than 100,000 / that island, most of them women and children. I mean, that was not an island that if we didn't move in there that our security was at stake by no sense of the imagination. What the platform discusses is that this Administration, instead of attempting to negotiate, moves in with military might. They did it in Beirut as well.

MR. WILL: Would it be better for Grenada today --

REP. FERRARO: They're doing it in Central America.

MR. WILL: -- to have a communist government than for us to have gone in with troops?

REP. FERRARO: Well, you know, I think what you should -- you know, I mean, let's slide off of whether or not it would have been better than. I'm not quite sure, again, and what I'm focusing attention on is the means to addressing the problem, and that's where this Administration is wrong. They were wrong in Beirut, and obviously they've pulled out their troops recognizing the fact that

they had -- it was outrageous what they had done.

In Central America, I believe they're wrong, and so does the President of Mexico. He addressed a joint session of Congress with reference to the issue. And so do all the people in the nations in the Contadora process. They believe we're wrong.

And I don't think you can just move ahead like -- as he has done and it's his method of dealing with the problem that the Democratic platform criticizes.

MR. BRINKLEY: Let me interrupt again briefly. We'll be back with more questions in a moment.

(Announcements)

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MR. BRINKLEY: Ms. Ferraro, in the campaign about to start or which has already started, it certainly is predictable that Mr. Reagan will use his famous term, "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" Some of the polls we have already seen have asked the same question, and a majority of those responding say yes. Employment is up, inflation is down, and so on. Whereas the Democrats have sort of taken the tack that, "Well, you may be better off but you shouldn't be because of the economic -- because of the deficit," and this and that. Isn't that a rather poor political program to try to sell?

REP. FERRARO: No.

MR. BRINKLEY: You're better off but you shouldn't be?

REP. FERRARO: No, no, I don't think that's what they're saying at all.

MR. BRINKLEY: Well, that's the effect of it.

REP. FERRARO: I think what we're saying is that unemployment is at the same level it was when President Reagan took office, and that fortunately we are through the worst recession since the Great Depression caused by this Administration's policies, and, yes, we are on the way out, but we're talking about what's for the future. The future is that we have \$200 billion deficits to address caused by this Administration, and this Administration is not looking at it seriously, even in their platform. And if anybody -- anybody took what they said in their platform, which is "Give the rich another \$100 billion in tax cuts by the year 1989," when the President expects us to have a balanced budget, though he has never submitted one to the Congress, we'll have \$400 billion deficits.

That's what the Democrats are talking about. They're talking about the future of this country. We're also taking a very close look at the various segments of the economy of this nation. Ask the farmers if they're any better off than they were four years ago. Two hundred thousand of them have gone out of business and that's a business since this Administration took office. The banks are out of business.

I mean, you have the unemployed, you still have -- I believe the figures now indicate eight-and-a-half million people still unemployed, so you take a look at that piece.

The other piece of it, are we as a nation any better off as far as our relationship with the Soviet Union, as far as our security, our military buildup? Are we any better off? Are we any

more secure than we were four years ago? I think those are the issues that we have to look at. Any -- taking a third, is our environment any better than it was when Ronald Reagan took office after the marvelous work done by both Secretary Watt and Anne Burford.

MR. BRINKLEY: James Watt?

MR. DONALDSON: Ms. Ferraro, you mentioned the farmers.

REP. FERRARO: Uh-huh (affirmative).

MR. DONALDSON: The Soviets want to buy more grain now from us.

REP. FERRARO: Uh-huh (affirmative).

MR. DONALDSON: They have their shortfall perennially. Should we sell them more grain?

REP. FERRARO: Let me put it to you this way. I think that the farmers have suffered incredibly because of the grain embargo. If you take a look at what happened, we reduced --

MR. DONALDSON: Well, that was a Carter-Mondale grain embargo.

REP. FERRARO: You're right. And it has been continued -- no doubt about it -- it has been continued during this Administration as well. What happened is that --

MR. DONALDSON: What's been continued?

REP. FERRARO: The fact that we are not able to sell grain. The embargo is lifted, but we nonetheless have reduced that market for ourselves, because they have experienced the opportunity to buy grain elsewhere. I think we should stop --

MR. DONALDSON: That wasn't the President's fault.

REP. FERRARO: Well, okay, but let me finish my comments.

MR. DONALDSON: Yes.

REP. FERRARO: I'm not saying it's Ronald Reagan's fault. What I'm saying to you is that what we now have is a situation where we have to look to increase the export farmers -- export market not only for our farmers but for our other industries in this country as well. We now have a trade deficit of \$120 billion. We have gone from being a creditor nation three years ago to being a debtor nation. Why is that? Yeah, some of the markets are not open to us, as with the Soviet Union.

MR. DONALDSON: So you would sell grain now to the Soviet Union?

REP. FERRARO: I would sell -- I would sell our grain on an open market, as we should. What I'm saying to you, though -- and let me proceed one step further -- the problems with our trade are many. It's not only that markets are closed. It's also that we have these huge deficits again, causing high interest rates --

MR. DONALDSON: All right. You've made that point.

REP. FERRARO: No, but I'm making a second point.

MR. DONALDSON: If I could move forward, our time is short.

REP. FERRARO: Making a second point on it, and it's because the dollar is so strong, we are creating problems for ourselves as an export nation that did not exist three years ago.

MR. WILL: Is the Soviet Union an evil empire?

REP. FERRARO: Listen, the Soviet Union are not good guys. I mean, I'm not walking around saying they are. That's -- I think

that's the President's term. I mean, you know, we've spent an awful lot --

MR. WILL: Is it an empire that's evil?

REP. FERRARO: -- of time talking and hurling insults at each other. I think it's about time we start exchanging serious arms negotiations talk.

MR. DONALDSON: Okay, let me ask you about Ronald Reagan.

REP. FERRARO: Sure.

MR. DONALDSON: He's running against Walter Mondale. A lot of people think the election will be determined not on these issues but on the force of the personalities involved. What do you think of the President? Is he a dumb man?

REP. FERRARO: Oh, I wouldn't say that. I have total respect for, you know, the office of President of the United States.

MR. DONALDSON: Well, I don't mean it in a disrespectful way, but I want you to tell me what you think this man is about.

REP. FERRARO: Well, let me -- I don't -- you know, I don't know Ronald Reagan personally. What I do know is I see his policies. I think his policies are wrong. I think that if you take a look at his domestic policies, they're unfair.

MR. DONALDSON: So all of this -- let me just ask you about this, because you've talked about his policies. So all of this talk that some --

REP. FERRARO: I'm trying to talk about his policies.

MR. DONALDSON: -- that some people say he goes to sleep, that doesn't bother you?

REP. FERRARO: Let me put it to you this way, Sam. I'm not going to make --

MR. DONALDSON: That he doesn't retain information?

REP. FERRARO: I'm not going to make a comment on that at all. Leave that to the American public to determine if it bothers them. What I will do is I will run a very positive campaign, stressing the issues. That's Gerry Ferraro.

MR. DONALDSON: Do you think age would be an issue?

REP. FERRARO: I'm not going to discuss that. I think, you know, that's up to the American public to make a determination. They're going to make a determination, you're right, but not only based upon the personalities of the two individuals. There is too much at stake in this election. We've got to think about the issues. That's why Walter Mondale is going for six debates. Let the American public see these two men debate each other. Let's hear where they are substantively on the issues. Let's see if they can handle a full in-depth discussion of the issues. That's what we're calling for. Let the American people know. I'm not going to make a comment about the President in any way.

MR. BRINKLEY: Now, Walter Mondale has told us he's going to raise our taxes, or at least ask Congress to do it.

REP. FERRARO: Uh-huh (affirmative).

MR. BRINKLEY: What is he going to raise?

REP. FERRARO: Well --

MR. BRINKLEY: Tell us what he's going to do.

REP. FERRARO: If you take a look at what he has said he

would do, he would -- for one thing, he would move toward a 15 percent minimum on the corporate taxes. He would delay indexing for four years. He would put a cap on the third year of the tax cut, which we would try to do in Congress, at \$60,000.00. He would close loopholes. There are numerous things. He would look into compliance a little bit more seriously.

Again, what he would do is the taxes that have to be raised are going to be done fairly.

MR. BRINKLEY: Do you mean he's going to turn the IRS on all of us as they have turned on you?

REP. FERRARO: No. You know that that's not a fact. What's going to happen is you're going to have -- actually, by the way, the secrecy of your tax returns is there, and it's only if you decide to give them up, as my husband has, that the IRS is going to have them -- make any comment about them publicly.

But he's going to raise -- he's talking about raising taxes and raising them fairly. That is something, again, that Ronald Reagan has refused to tell the American people, and I think that's an issue, where he said first of all, "We're not going to raise taxes at all," and then said, "Maybe, if we have to, we will." I think it's up to him to let us know exactly what he would do if he had to raise things.

Again, taking a look at the Republican platform, they're calling for no raise in taxes at all.

MR. BRINKLEY: When do we get the details on Mr. Mondale's tax program?

REP. FERRARO: Well, you know, you've got some of them already. I mean, we're still trying to get the details on -- you know, on budget from this Administration. You know, it's four years and we still don't have it coming at us. I think you'll be getting them very, very shortly.

MR. WILL: Religion has gotten all tangled up in this election already, and on the subject of abortion I have this question. I understand your position, which is that as a matter of faith you believe a fertilized ovum is a baby, but in a pluralistic society where there is a deep difference of opinion, abortion should be tolerated. However, why, where there is this passion on both sides of the issue, do you favor subsidizing -- taking tax money to have Federally subsidized abortions?

REP. FERRARO: What it is, is abortion is legal in this country, as you know, and the point I think I make is that, you know, I, if I were inclined, because I can afford to or any other woman because -- if she has the money, can go and have an abortion under any circumstances. In our country, you can't do that unless you have the money to pay for it. My feeling is the poor woman should have that same option. As long as that's the law, she should be allowed to participate in it.

MR. WILL: Well, you can't be --

REP. FERRARO: I mean, she can't -- under the law, she can't even have it done -- if a poor woman is raped or is the victim of incest, she can't even have an abortion under those circumstances, because she can't afford to pay for it. So it's -- you know, if

you're going to have it be the law of the land, it should be available to everybody safely -- safely.

MR. WILL: You're saying abortion is a right, but a right you wish people wouldn't exercise. We have a right to read pornography. We don't subsidize pornography for the poor.

REP. FERRARO: No. Well, that is not -- that is not exactly what I said. I said it's the law of the land and that, you know, if you can take advantage of it and if you -- you know, it should be -- the choice, first of all, should be yours and that if the choice is yours and you make that choice, you should be able to have it done safely whereas that -- the choice is not really available to a poor woman, because she can't afford to have it done safely if she has no money to have it done.

MR. WILL: One of the things you're emphasizing, you personally and your campaign, is family values, which are all the rage this year.

REP. FERRARO: Uh-huh (affirmative).

MR. WILL: I'd like you to explain something to me.

REP. FERRARO: Sure.

MR. WILL: On the new Fairness Commission in your party, it shall have 50 members and it says that these members shall be equally divided between men, women, Hispanics, Blacks, et cetera, and persons of all sexual preference consistent with their proportional representation in the party, and that's saying that homosexuals shall be treated as an interest group with rights on the Fairness Commission. Does that mean that to the Democratic Party homosexuality

is a matter of moral indifference?

REP. FERRARO: No, I think it's -- it's -- and it's not even a matter of preference or choice. It's a matter of orientation.

MR. WILL: But that's their word.

REP. FERRARO: Was it the word?

MR. WILL: Sexual preference.

REP. FERRARO: Doesn't it say sexual orientation?

MR. WILL: No. Sexual preferences. But, anyway, that's --

REP. FERRARO: In any event there are --

MR. WILL: -- a relative semantic term. I mean, but does the Democratic Party treat homosexuals now as it treats farmers or any other interest group?

REP. FERRARO: I don't know. I have not seen that, quite frankly, but I think what they do is -- I know, as Chair of the Platform Committee, what we sought to do is make sure that no group was discriminated against, and homosexuals, as well as women, as Blacks, as whatever. I mean, we've sought to eliminate discrimination and that goes throughout the platform, and I think that that's a matter of basic fairness.

MR. DONALDSON: Ms. Ferraro, back on abortion, it's the law, you say, and you want the law applied equally in an economic sense, but will you work to change the law?

REP. FERRARO: No.

MR. DONALDSON: Why?

REP. FERRARO: No, I -- you know, because it is the law of the land, and it was --

MR. DONALDSON: But a law can change.

REP. FERRARO: -- decided by the Supreme Court. What would you like me to do?

MR. DONALDSON: I wouldn't like you to do anything you wouldn't want to do, but --

REP. FERRARO: Well, I certainly would not push for a constitutional amendment.

MR. DONALDSON: -- if you feel deeply that abortion is wrong, personally --

REP. FERRARO: No, no. What I say is I say I accept the teachings of my choice --

MR. WILL: But don't you try to --

REP. FERRARO: Of my church.

MR. WILL: Don't you try to --

REP. FERRARO: I don't say that, you know, I necessarily would not -- would not --

MR. DONALDSON: Well, do you agree with the teachings of your church?

REP. FERRARO: Well, let me put it this way. What I have said is that, though I would not have an abortion if I were to become pregnant, I would -- if I were the victim of rape and incest, I might want that choice available to me, and that's the law of the land.

MR. DONALDSON: But it's not the law of your church.

REP. FERRARO: Well, I'm a public official of the government, not of my church.

MR. BRINKLEY: We'll have to leave it there. Our time is

up. Ms. Ferraro, thank you very much.

MS. FERRARO: Thank you.

MR. BRINKLEY: Thanks for coming and being with us today.

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