Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

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

Collection: Barr, William: Files

Folder Title: Chron File, 08/23/1982-08/24/1982

Box: 16

To see more digitized collections visit: https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit: https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection

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

Citation Guidelines: https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing

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

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

MICHAEL M. UHLMANN

SUBJECT:

Gun Control Proposition in California

(Ref. 090627)

Rollins says that polls show strong sentiment in favor of Proposition 15. He feels that a Presidential comment would not be useful, either for the President or for major GOP candidates in the State.

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

TE: 8/10/82	ACTION/	CONCURR	ENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:		8/16/82	
JBJECT: Gun Contro	1 Propos	ition in	California - Possi	ble Pres	sidential	Comme
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI	7
HARPER			DRUG POLICY		: 🗆	
PORTER		X	TURNER			
BARR	X		D. LEONARD			
BAUER			OFFICE OF POLICY	INFORMA	TION	
BOGGS			GRAY			- 1
BRADLEY			HOPKINS			
CARLESON			PROPERTY REVIEW BOA	RD 🗆		
DENEND			OTHER			
FAIRBANKS						
FERRARA						
GUNN						
B. LEONARD						
MALOLEY						
MONTOYA						
SMITH						
UHLMANN		X				
ADMINISTRATION						

Remarks:

See attached note.

Please return this tracking sheet with your response.

Edwin L. Harper
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
(x6515)

WASHINGTON

Me 0 9 1885

August 9, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

WILLIAM P. BARR NY

SUBJECT: EGun Control Proposition in California Possible Presidential Comment

On the California ballot for November is proposition 15, a measure that would require registration of all handguns and freeze the number of handguns in California to the number in circulation on April 30, 1983.

Before Mike Uhlmann left on vacation, he had lunch with the new Executive Director of NRA, J. Warren Cassidy.

Cassidy thinks that Proposition 15 will be beaten. He suggested that we may want to consider having the President make a comment against the initiative at some point before November. He was not insistent about it, but simply thought it would be good for the President.

This may be worth considering. Given the President's past position on gun control, there is little downside in his casual reiteration of it in connection with the California measure.

If you think this is worth pursuing, we should check with Rollins to get a fix on the posture of Wilson, Dukemajian, and the other major local candidates.

Pls do This ASAP.

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

MICHAEL M. UHLMANN

STEPHEN H. GALEBACH 55

SUBJECT: Presidential Action to Insure a Vote

on Abortion in this Congress

I. Overview

Our course on the abortion issue must be set within the next week and a half.

On September 9 at 2:00 p.m., there will be a vote on cloture on a statutory anti-abortion measure introduced by Senator Helms as an amendment to the debt ceiling bill.

Helms' amendment would effect an across-the-board permanent ban on federal government funding and support for abortion.

It would also encourage the Supreme Court to reconsider its Roe v. Wade abortion decision.

By deleting his controversial definition of unborn children as "persons" under the Fourteenth Amendment, Senator Helms has come up with a bill that can pass. Helms' measure is substantially identical to the Hatfield Bill, S.2372, but with strengthened Congressional findings. It is the strongest step toward protection of unborn children that can pass in this Congress.

Helms also has a good chance of gaining cloture, but will probably need some help from the President in order to break filibuster by pro-abortion Senators.

The Tax Bill has deeply disaffected many of our right-wing supporters. Presidential inaction on this anti-abortion initiative would greatly aggravate these wounds, particularly since everyone knows this is the only chance for action this session and perhaps for a while to come. Conversely, Presidential involvement would go far toward healing wounds with the social right. Having won our battles on the economic front, we can afford to be magnanimous in victory.

Furthermore, the new Helms measure attacks abortion at those points where we enjoy greatest public support: denial of federal funding and reversal of Roe v. Wade. The measure cannot be attacked for "making abortion murder" or even for making abortion a criminal offense.

II. Details of the Helms Amendment

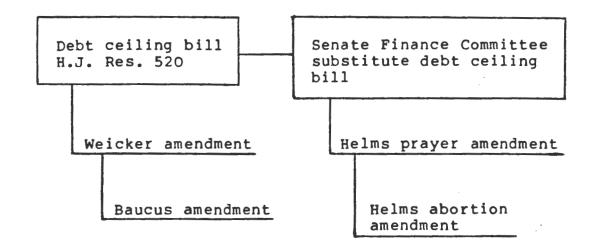
- A. The new Helms measure has three major parts:
 - Congressional findings recognizing that unborn children are human beings.
 - 2. Substantive provisions prohibiting all forms of federal funding and support for abortion, including:
 - a. Performance of abortions by federal agencies (except when life of mother would be endangered by carrying child to term);
 - b. Use of funds appropriated by Congress for abortions (except life of mother), or for abortion referrals and counselling;
 - c. Use of federal funds to pay for abortions for federal employees through insurance programs;
 - d. Discrimination by medical schools and hospitals receiving federal funds, against doctors, nurses, and medical students who oppose abortion;
 - e. Training in techniques of abortion and experimentation on aborted babies, by institutions receiving federal funds.
 - 3. Judicial review provision, stating that if any state passes an anti-abortion law based on this Congressional Act, and such state law is invalidated by a federal court, there shall be a right of direct appeal to the Supreme Court, as occurs now whenever an act of Congress is invalidated by a federal court.
- B. Comparison to other anti-abortion measures considered by this Congress:
 - Helms' new measure is a substantial revision of his earlier Human Life Bill, S.158, and his "Super-Helms Bill," S.2148, both of which defined the term "person" in the Constitution to include the unborn.
 - a. The personhood provision was criticized as unconstitutional by many legal scholars, including some in anti-abortion movement (leading to split between Helms and Hatch Amendment USCC forces).

- b. The new Helms measure retains the <u>factual</u> <u>finding</u> of the humanity of the unborn but leaves the <u>legal conclusion</u> re personhood to the courts.
- 2. The judicial review provision in the new Helms measure will encourage - not compel - the Supreme Court to reexamine Roe v. Wade, in light of the findings on the humanity of the unborn.
 - a. There is a chance of 5 votes on the Court to overturn Roe (especially if the President gets an additional appointment to the Court).
 - b. Supreme Court reversal of Roe is the simplest and easiest way to end a tragic episode of judicial overreaching. The new Helms measure provides an orderly way for the Supreme Court to set the law right by letting states outlaw abortion.
 - c. The judicial review provisions do not involve jurisdiction-stripping and are clearly constitutional.
- 3. The substantive prohibitions of the Helms measure would make the Hyde Amendment permanent law, thus avoiding annual fights over riders to appropriations bills.
 - a. The Helms measure contains the same life-of-the-mother exception as the Hyde Amendment.
 - b. The Helms measure sweeps more broadly than the Hyde Amendment by applying to all aspects of federal involvement the principle that the government should not take innocent life or assist others to do so.

III. Parliamentary Situation in the Senate

- A. Senator Helms has made two amendments to the Finance Committee debt ceiling bill, the one on abortion and the other to deny federal courts jurisdiction over school prayer cases.
- B. Senators Weicker and Baucus, filibustering in support of Senator Packwood, have moved two anti-jurisdiction-stripping amendments to the original debt ceiling bill (H.J. Res. 520).

C. The "tree" of bills and amendments is as follows:



- D. On Friday afternoon, August 20, Senator Baker filed a cloture petition on the Helms abortion amendment. By Senate rules, the vote must occur two working days later -- i.e., on the afternoon of Thursday, September 9.
 - If we win on cloture and on the merits of the Helms anti-abortion measure, we will then need cloture for and passage of the prayer measure.
 - 2. If we win on the amendments, and the Committee substitute debt ceiling bill is then passed, the Weicker and Baucus amendments will be nugatory because they are attached to H.J. Res. 520, which is superseded by the Committee substitute.

IV. Pro-Life Movement Support

- A. The new Helms measure avoids the "personhood" provision over which the anti-abortion groups have been divided.
- B. All groups agree that there must be a vote on some anti-abortion measure in this Congress.
- C. The Helms measure appears to be the only anti-abortion measure likely to bring about a clear-cut up-or-down vote on the abortion issue.
 - 1. Although Senator Baker has promised to bring up the Hatch Amendment in early September, he has been unable to get a time agreement, and the cloture vote on Helms will definitely come before the Senate can take action on Hatch. (It remains unclear whether Senator Baker will bring up Hatch at all.)

The Helms measure has the important advantage that it has a real chance of passing both Senate and House.

V. Analysis

This is the <u>only chance</u> in this Congress -- and likely will be the only chance in the President's first term -- to achieve a major legislative victory toward protection of the unborn.

This is the most moderate of the various constitutional amendments and bills pushed by the pro-life movement during this Congress. Yet, it is the most that can probably win passage, and it is a major step toward the eventual legal protection for the unborn that the President has repeatedly called for.

The Helms measure is easy to support in the context of the President's expressed views on abortion:

- o It recognizes that the unborn children involved in abortions are human beings.
- o It gives the Supreme Court a way to reconsider its often-criticized Roe v. Wade opinion.
- o It makes the Hyde Amendment permanent law and extends the Hyde reasoning to get the federal government out of the abortion business completely.

(While polls show lesser support for outlawing abortion, they show majority support for denying government funding for abortions.)

Because the Helms measure relies conspicuously on findings about the humanity of the unborn, it is a good opportunity for Presidential leadership and education on the point he has made so effectively in the past: The unborn are human beings and human life deserves our respect.

Tactically, the <u>President's support is most vital for cloture</u>. Senator Helms appears to have 45-55 votes on the merits (53 Senators voted for the Hyde Amendment in 1981), but, of course, he needs 60 votes for cloture.

It is significant that <u>Senator Baker</u> introduced the cloture petition. If cloture is made a <u>Republican</u> party issue, by means of a <u>Presidential letter</u> to <u>Senator Baker</u> and phone calls to other <u>Republican Senators</u>, chances of quickly breaking a filibuster are very good. Some <u>Republican Senators</u> who voted against <u>Hyde in 1981</u> have already indicated support for cloture, but more <u>Senators</u> are needed to go over the top.

The President could also have a decisive impact in gaining passage if he publicly supports the measure as an important affirmation of the humanity of the unborn. Also, several Senators would probably be susceptible to quiet, private persuasion by the President on the merits of the measure.

VI. Recommendations

- o President make phone calls in support of cloture to key Republican Senators (but not those such as Packwood, Weicker, who are militantly pro-abortion).
- o Endorse Helms measure in September 4 radio statement, or by other means, and call for Senate to have opportunity to vote on issue of federal funding and support for abortion-on-demand.
- o Presidential letter or phone call to Senator Baker saying that a vote on this measure is a high priority of the President.
- o Presidential statement could have especially dramatic favorable impact if issued while in California from site where 17,000 corpses of aborted babies were discovered in warehouse crate.
- o Staff monitor anti-abortion groups to determine their position on Helms measure.
- Obtain Presidential decision on extent of desired involvement before Labor Day weekend to insure timely and effective action.

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

MICHAEL M. UHIMANN

SUBJECT:

Promises in President Reagan's Acceptance Speech

at Republican National Convention, July 17, 1980

There are only two promises in the speech that are directed to women:

- 1. "As President, I will establish a liaison with the 50 Governors to encourage them to eliminate, wherever it exists, discrimination against women."
- 2. "I will monitor Federal laws to insure their implementation and to add statutes if they are needed."

There are other tangentially relevant phrases, such as holding out to "men and women of all races, nationalities and faiths" the hope of "bringing home to their families a decent paycheck they can cash for honest money." No other parts of the speech are directed to women qua women.

cc: Elizabeth Dole

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION DETROIT, MICHIGAN JULY 17, 1980

Mr. Chairman, delegates to this convention, my fellow citizens of this great nation:

With a deep awareness of the responsibility conferred by your trust, I accept your nomination for the Presidency of the

United States. I do so with deep gratitude.

I am very proud of our party tonight. This convention has shown to all America a party united, with positive programs for solving the nation's problems; a party ready to build a new consensus with all those across the land who share a community of values embodied in these words: family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom.

I know we have had a quarrel or two in our party, but only as to the method of attaining a goal. There was no argument about the goal. As President, I will establish a liaison with the 50 Governors to encourage them to eliminate, wherever it exists, discrimination against women. I will monitor Federal laws to insure their implementation and to add sta-

tutes if they are needed

More than anything else, I want my candidacy to unify our country; to renew the American spirit and sense of purpose. I not to carry our message to every American, regardless of ty affiliation, who is a member of this community of ared values.

Never before in our history have Americans been called upon to face three grave threats to our very existence, any one of which could destroy us. We face a disintegrating economy, a weakened defense and an energy policy based on the shar-

ing of scarcity.

The major issue of this campaign is the direct political, personal, and moral responsibility of Democratic party leadership—in the White House and in Congress—for this unprecedented calamity which has befallen us. They tell us they have done the most that humanly could be done. They say that the United States has had its day in the sun; that our nation has passed its zenith. They expect you to tell your children that the American people no longer have the will to cope with their problems; that the future will be one of sacrifice and few opportunities.

My fellow citizens, I utterly reject that view. The American people, the most generous on earth, who created the highest standard of living, are not going to accept the notion that we can only make a better world for others by moving backwards ourselves. Those who believe we can have no business leading

the nation.

I will not stand by and watch this great country destroy itself under mediocre leadership that drifts from one crisis to the next, eroding our national will and purpose. We have come together here because the American people deserve better from those to whom they entrust our nation's highest offices, and we stand united in our resolve to do something

We need a rebirth of the American tradition of leadership of every level of government and in private life as well. The United States of America is unique in world history because it has a genius for leaders—many leaders—on many levels. But, back in 1976, Mr. Carter said, "Trust me." And a lot of people did. Now, many of those people are out of work. Many

have seen their savings eaten away by inflation. Many others on fixed incomes, especially the elderly, have watched help-lessly as the cruel tax of inflation wasted away their purchasing power. And, today, a great many who trusted Mr. Carter wonder if we can survive the Carter policies of national defense.

"Trust me" government asks that we concentrate our hopes and dreams on one man; that we trust him to do what's best for us. My view of government places trust not in one person or one party, but in those values that transcend persons and parties. The trust is where it belongs—in the people. The responsibility to live up to that trust is where it belongs, in their elected leaders. That kind of relationship, between the people and their elected leaders, is a special kind of compact; an agreement among themselves to build a community and abide by its laws.

Three-hundred-and-sixty years ago, in 1620, a group of families dared to cross a mighty ocean to build a future for themselves in a new world. When they arrived at Plymouth, Massachusetts, they formed what they called a "compact"; an agreement among themselves to build a community and abide by its laws.

The single act—the voluntary binding together of free people to live under the law—set the pattern for what was to come.

A century-and-a-half later, the descendants of those people pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to found this nation. Some forfeited their fortunes and their lives; none sacrificed honor.

Four score and seven years later, Abraham Lincoln called upon the people of all America to renew their dedication and their commitment to a government of, for and by the people.

Isn't it once again time to renew our compact of freedom; to pledge to each other all that is best in our lives; all that gives meaning to them—for the sake of this, our beloved and blessed land?

Together, let us make this a new beginning. Let us make a commitment to care for the needy; to teach our children the values and the virtues handed down to us by our families; to have the courage to defend those values and the willingness to sacrifice for them.

Let us pledge to <u>restore</u>, in our time, the American spirit of voluntary service, of cooperation, of private and community initiative; a spirit that flows like a deep and mighty river through the history of our nation.

As your nominee, I pledge to restore to the federal government the capacity to do the people's work without dominating their lives. I pledge to you a government that will not only work well, but wisely; its ability to act tempered by prudence, and its willingness to do good balanced by the knowledge that government is never more dangerous than when our desire to have it help us blinds us to its great power to harm us.

The first Republican President once said, "While the people retain their virtue and their vigilance, no Administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can seriously injure the government in the short space of four years."

If Mr. Lincoln could see what's happened in these last

three-and-a-half years, he might hedge a little on that statement. But, with the virtues that are our legacy as a free peole and with the vigilance that sustains liberty, we still have he to use our renewed compact to overcome the injuries that we been done to America these past three-and-a-half years.

First, we must overcome something the present Administration has cooked up: a new and altogether indigestible economic stew, one part inflation, one part high unemployment, one part recession, one part runaway taxes, one part deficit spending and seasoned by an energy crisis. It's an economic stew that has turned the national stomach. It is as if Mr. Carter had set out to prove, once and for all, that economics is indeed a "dismal science."

Ours are not problems of abstract economic theory. These are problems of flesh and blood; problems that cause pain and destroy the moral fiber of real people who should not suffer the further indignity of being told by the White House that it is all somehow their fault. We do not have inflation because—as Mr. Carter says—we have lived too well.

The head of a government which has utterly refused to live within its means and which has, in the last few days, told us that this year's deficit will be \$60 billion, dares to point the finger of blame at business and labor, both of which have been engaged in a losing struggle just trying to stay even.

High taxes, we are told, are somehow good for us, as if, when government spends our money it isn't inflationary, but when we spend it, it is.

Those who preside over the worst energy shortage in our history tell us to use less, so that we will run out of oil, gasoline and natural gas a little more slowly. Conservation is desirable, of course, for we must not waste energy. But conservation is not the sole answer to our energy needs.

America must get to work producing more energy. The publican program for solving economic problems is based growth and productivity.

Large amounts of oil and natural gas lay beneath our land and off our shores, untouched because the present Administration seems to believe the American people would rather see more regulation, taxes and controls than more energy.

Coal offers great potential. So does nuclear energy produced under rigorous safety standards. It could supply electricity for thousands of industries and millions of jobs and homes. It must not be thwarted by a tiny minority opposed to economic growth which often finds friendly ears in regulatory agencies for its obstructionist campaigns.

Make no mistake. We will not permit the safety of our people or our environmental heritage to be jeopardized, but we are going to reaffirm that the economic prosperity of our people is a fundamental part of our environment.

Our problems are both acute and chronic, yet all we hear from those in positions of leadership are the same tired proposals for more government tinkering, more meddling and more control—all of which led us to this state in the first place.

Can anyone look at the record of this Administration and say, "Well done"? Can anyone compare the state of our economy when the Carter administration took office with where we are today and say, "Keep up the good work"? Can anyone look at our reduced standing in the world today and say, "Let's have four more years of this"?

I believe the American people are going to answer these questions the first week of November and their answer will "". "No—we've had enough." And, when the American peohave spoken, it will be up to us—beginning next January h—to offer an Administration and Congressional leader-up of competence and more than a little courage.

We must have the clarity of vision to see the difference between what is essential and what is merely desirable; and then the courage to use this insight to bring our government back under control and make it acceptable to the people.

We Republicans believe it is essential that we maintain both the forward momentum of economic growth and the strength of the safety net beneath those in society who need help. We also believe it is essential that the integrity of all aspects of Social Security be preserved.

Beyond these essentials, I believe it is clear our federal government is overgrown and overweight. Indeed, it is time for our government to go on a diet. Therefore, my first act as Chief Executive will be to impose an immediate and thorough freeze on federal hiring. Then, we are going to enlist the very best minds from business, labor and whatever quarter to conduct a detailed review of every department, bureau and agency that lives by federal appropriation. We are also going to enlist the help and ideas of many dedicated and hard-working government employees at all levels who want a more efficient government as much as the rest of us do. I know that many are demoralized by the confusion and waste they confront in their work as a result of failed and failing policies.

Our instructions to the groups we enlist will be simple and direct. We will remind them that government programs exist at the sufferance of the American taxpayer and are paid for with money earned by working men and women. Any program that represents a waste of their money—a theft from their pocketbooks—must have that waste eliminated or the program must go—by Executive Order where possible; by Congressional action where necessary. Everything that can be run more effectively by state and local government we shall turn over to state and local government, along with the funding sources to pay for it. We are going to put an end to the money merry-go-round where our money becomes Washington's money, to be spent by the states and cities only if they spend it exactly the way the federal bureaucrats tell them to.

I will not accept the excuse that the federal government has grown so big and powerful that it is beyond the control of any President, any Administration or Congress. We are going to put an end to the notion that the American taxpayer exists to fund the federal government. The federal government exists to serve the American people and to be accountable to the American people. On January 20th, we are going to re-establish that truth.

Also on that date we are going to initiate action to get substantial relief for our taxpaying citizens and action to put people back to work. None of this will be based on any new form of monetary tinkering or fiscal sleight-of-hand. We will simply apply to government the common sense we all use in our daily lives.

Work and family are at the center of our lives; the foundation of our dignity as a free people. When we deprive people of what they have earned, or take away their jobs, we destroy their dignity and undermine their families. We cannot support our families unless there are jobs; and we cannot have jobs anless people have both money to invest and the faith to invest it.

These are concepts that stem from the foundation of an economic system that for more than two hundred years has helped us master a continent, create a previously undreamed-of-prosperity for our people and has fed millions of others around the globe. That system will continue to serve us in the future if our government will stop ignoring the basic values on which it was built and stop betraying the trust and good will of the American workers who keep it going.

The American people are carrying the heaviest peacetime tax burden in our nation's history—and it will grow even heavier, under present law, next January. This burden is crushing our ability and incentive to save, invest and produce. We are taxing ourselves into economic exhaustion and stagnation.

This must stop. We must halt this fiscal self-destruction

and restore sanity to our economic system.

I have long advocated a 30 percent reduction in income tax rates over a period of three years. This phased tax reduction would begin with a 10 percent "down payment" tax cut in 1981, which the Republicans in Congress and I have already proposed.

A phased reduction of tax rates would go a long way toward easing the heavy burden on the American people. But, we

should not stop here.

Within the context of economic conditions and appropriate budget priorities during each fiscal year of my Presidency, I would strive to go further. This would include improvement in business depreciation taxes so we can stimulate investment in order to get plants and equipment replaced, put more Americans back to work and put our nation back on the road to being competitive in world commerce. We will also work to reduce the cost of government as a percentage of our Gross National Product.

The first task of national leadership is to set honest and realistic priorities in our policies and our budget and I pledge that my Administration will do that.

When I talk of tax cuts, I am reminded that every major tax cut in this century has strengthened the economy, generated renewed productivity and ended up yielding new revenues for the government by creating new investment, new jobs and more commerce among our people.

The present Administration has been forced by us Republicans to play follow-the-leader with regard to a tax cut. But, we must take with the proverbial "grain of salt" any tax cut proposed by those who have given us the greatest tax increase

in our history.

When those in leadership give us tax increases and tell us we must also do with less, have they thought about those who ave always had less—especially the minorities? This is like elling them that just as they step on the first rung of the adder of opportunity, the ladder is being pulled up. That may be the Democratic leadership's message to the minorities, but it won't be ours. Our message will be: we have to move ahead, but we're not going to leave anyone behind.

Thanks to the economic policies of the Democratic party, millions of Americans find themselves out of work. Millions more have never even had a fair chance to learn new skills, hold a decent job, seize the opportunity to climb the ladder and secure for themselves and their families a share in the

prosperity of this nation.

It is time to put America back to work; to make our cities and towns resound with the confident voices of men and women of all races, nationalities and faiths bringing home to their families a decent paycheck they can cash for honest money.

For those without skills, we'll find a way to help them get

skills.

For those without job opportunities we'll stimulate new opportunities, particularly in the inner cities where they live.

For those who have abandoned hope, we'll restore hope and we'll welcome them into a great national crusade to make America great again!

When we move from domestic affairs and cast our eyes abroad, we see an equally sorry chapter in the record of the

present Administration.

• A Soviet combat brigade trains in Cuba, just 90 miles from our shores.

 A Soviet army of invasion occupies Afghanistan, further threatening our vital interests in the Middle East.

 America's defense strength is at its lowest ebb in a generion, while the Soviet Union is vastly outspending us in both crategic and conventional arms.

Our European allies, looking nervously at the growing menace from the East, turn to us for leadership and fail to find it.

 And, incredibly more than 50 of our fellow Americans have been held captive for over eight months by a dictatorial foreign power that holds us up to ridicule before the world.

Adversaries large and small test our will and seek to confound our resolve, but the Carter Administration gives us weakness when we need strength; vacillation when the times demand firmness.

Why? Because the Carter Administration lives in the world of make-believe. Every day, it dreams up a response to that day's troubles, regardless of what happened yesterday and what will happen tomorrow. The Administration lives in a world where mistakes, even very big ones, have no consequence.

The rest of us, however, live in the real world. It is here that disasters are overtaking our nation without any real response from the White House.

I condemn the Administration's make-believe; its self-deceit and - above all - its transparent hypocrisy.

For example, Mr. Carter says he supports the volunteer army, but he lets military pay and benefits slip so low that many of our enlisted personnel are actually eligible for food stamps. Re-enlistment rates drop and, just recently, after he fought all week against a proposal to increase the pay of our men and women in uniform, he helicoptored out to our carrier the U.S.S. Nimitz, which was returning from long months of duty. He told the crew that he advocated better pay for them and their comrades! Where does he really stand, now that he's back on shore?

I'll tell you where I stand. I do not favor a peacetime draft or registration, but I do favor pay and benefit levels that will attract and keep highly motivated men and women in our volunteer forces and an active reserve trained and ready for an instant call in case of an emergency.

An Annapolis graduate may be at the helm of the ship of state, but the ship has no rudder. Critical decisions are made at times almost in Marx Brothers fashion, but who can laugh? Who was not embarrassed when the Administration handed a major propaganda victory in the United Nations to the enemies of Israel, our stauch Middle East ally for three decades, and then claimed that the American vote was a "mistake", the result of a "failure of communication" between the President, his Secretary of State and his U.N. Ambassador?

Who does not feel a growing sense of unease as our allies, facing repeated instances of an amateurish and confused Administration, reluctantly conclude that America is unwilling or unable to fulfill its obligations as leader of the free world?

Who does not feel rising alarm when the question in any discussion of foreign policy is no longer, "Should we do something?", but "Do we have the capacity to do anything?"

The Administration which has brought us to this state is seeking your endorsement for four more years of weakness, indecision, mediocrity and incompetence. No American should vote until he or she has asked, is the United States stronger and more respected now than it was three-and-a-half years ago? Is the world today a safer place in which to live?

It is the responsibility of the President of the United States, in working for peace, to insure that the safety of our people cannot successfully be threatened by a hostile foreign power. As President, fulfilling that responsibility will be my Number

One priority.

We are not a warlike people. Quite the opposite. We always seek to live in peace. We resort to force infrequently and with great reluctance—and only after we have determined that it is absolutely necessary. We are awed—and rightly so—by the forces of destruction at loose in the world in this nuclear era. But neither can we be naive or foolish. Four times in my lifetime America has gone to war, bleeding the lives of its young men into the sands of beachheads, the fields of Europe and the jungles and rice paddies of Asia. We know only too well

that war comes not when the forces of freedom are strong, but when they are weak. It is then that tyrants are tempted.

Ve simply cannot learn these lessons the hard way again

hout risking our destruction.

I of all the objectives we seek, first and foremost is the establishment of lasting world peace. We must always stand ready to negotiate in good faith, ready to pursue any reasonable avenue that holds forth the promise of lessening tensions and furthering the prospects of peace. But let our friends and those who may wish us ill take note: the United States has an obligation to its citizens and to the people of the world never to let those who would destroy freedom dictate the future course of human life on this planet. I would regard my election as proof that we have renewed our resolve to preserve world peace and freedom. This nation will once again be strong enough to do that.

This evening marks the last step—save one—of a campaign that has taken Nancy and me from one end of this great land to the other, over many months and thousands and thousands of miles. There are those who question the way we choose a President; who say that our process imposes difficult and exhausting burdens on those who seek the office. I have

not found it so.

It is impossible to capture in words the splendor of this vast continent which God has granted as our portion of his creation. There are no words to express the extraordinary strength and character of this breed of people we call Americans.

Everywhere we have met thousands of Democrats, Independents and Republicans from all economic conditions and walks of life bound together in that community of shared.

ey are concerned, yes, but they are not frightened. They a disturbed, but not dismayed. They are the kind of men and women Tom Paine had in mind when he wrote—during the darkest days of the American Revolution—"We have it in our power to begin the world over again."

Nearly one-hundred-and-fifty years after Tom Paine wrote those words, an American President told the generation of the Great Depression that it had a "rendezvous with destiny." I believe this generation of Americans today also has a ren-

dezvous with destiny.

Tonight, let us dedicate ourselves to renewing the American Compact. I ask you not simply to "Trust me", but to trust your values—our values—and to hold me responsible for living up to them. I ask you to trust that American spirit which knows no ethnic, religious, social, political, regional or economic boundaries; the spirit that burned with zeal in the hearts of millions of immigrants from every corner of the earth who came here in search of freedom.

Some say that spirit no longer exists. But I have seen it—I have felt it—all across the land; in the big cities, the small towns and in rural America. The American spirit is still there, ready to blaze into life if you and I are willing to do what has

to be done; the practical, down-to-earth things that will stimulate our economy, increase productivity and put America back to work.

The time is now to limit federal spending; to insist on a stable monetary reform and to free ourselves from imported oil.

The time is now to resolve that the basis of a firm and principled foreign policy is one that takes the world as it is and seeks to change it by leadership and example; not by lecture and harangue.

The time is now to say that while we shall seek new friendships and expand and improve others, we shall not do so by breaking our word or casting aside old friends and allies.

And, the time is now to redeem promises once made to the American people by another candidate, in another time and

another place. He said,

"... For three long years I have been going up and down this country preaching that government—federal, state and local—costs too much. I shall not stop that preaching. As an immediate program of action, we must abolish useless offices. We must eliminate unnecessary functions of government....

"... we must consolidate subdivisions of government and, like the private citizen, give up luxuries which we can no

longer afford.

"I propose to you, my friends, and through you that government of all kinds, big and little be made solvent and that the example be set by the President of the United States and his cabinet."

So said Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention in July, 1932.

The time is now, my fellow Americans, to recapture our destiny, to take it into our own hands. But, to do this will take many of us, working together. I ask you tonight to volunteer your help in this cause so we can carry our message throughout the land.

Yes, isn't now the time that we, the people, carried out these unkept promises? Let us pledge to each other and to all America on this July day 48 years later, we intend to do just that.

At the end, Reagan departed from his prepared text:

I have thought of something that is not a part of my speech and I'm worried over whether I should do it.

Can we doubt that only a divine providence placed this land, this island of freedom, here as a refuge for all those people in the world who yearn to breath freely: Jews and Christians enduring persecution behind the Iron Curtain, the boat people of Southeast Asia, of Cuba and of Haiti, the victims of drought and famine in Africa, the freedom fighters of Afghanistan and our own countrymen held in savage captivity.

I'll confess that I've been a little afraid to suggest what I'm going to suggest. I'm more afraid not to. Can we begin our crusade joined together in a moment of silent prayer?

God bless America.

Autoriae.

DOCUMENT No. 065531

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

8/23/82	ACTION/	CONCURRE	NCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _	•	8/30/82		
BJECT: DRAFT PROCLAMATION FOR NATIONAL P.T.A. MEMBERSHIP MONTH							
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI		
HARPER		X	DRUG POLICY				
PORTER			TURNER				
BARR			D. LEONARD				
BAUER			OFFICE OF POLICY	INFORMA	TION		
BOGGS			GRAY				
BRADLEY			HOPKINS				
CARLESON			PROPERTY REVIEW BOAF	D O			
DENEND			OTHER				
FAIRBANKS							
FERRARA							
GUNN							
B. LEONARD							
MALOLEY							
MONTOYA			*				
SMITH							
UHLMANN							
ADMINISTRATION							

Remarks:

Mike Uhlmann: Please provides comments by 8/30/82.

DOCUMENT No. 081399

PD

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

8/23/82	ACTION/	CONCURRI	ENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:	,	8/24/8		
ECT: H.R. 6033 - PRESERVATION OF CONGRESSIONAL CEMETERY							
•	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI		
HARPER		X	DRUG POLICY				
PORTER			TURNER				
BARR			D. LEONARD				
BAUER			OFFICE OF POLICY	INFORMA	TION		
BOGGS			GRAY				
BRADLEY			HOPKINS				
CARLESON			PROPERTY REVIEW BOAF	RD 🗆			
DENEND			OTHER				
FAIRBANKS							
FERRARA							
GUNN							
B. LEONARD							
MALOLEY							
MONTOYA							
SMITH							
UHLMANN							
ADMINISTRATION							

Remarks:

Mike Uhlmann: Could we have your coments ASAP.

Morablem, Ms & Myn

DOCUMENT No. 090775 PD

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

			ENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:				
ECT: H.R. 6260 - PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE AUTHORIZATION							
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI		
HARPER		X	DRUG POLICY		. 🗖		
PORTER	- '		TURNER				
BARR			D. LEONARD				
BAUER			OFFICE OF POLICY	INFORMA	NOITA		
BOGGS			GRAY				
BRADLEY			HOPKINS				
CARLESON			PROPERTY REVIEW BOA	ARD 🗆			
DENEND			OTHER				
FAIRBANKS							
FERRARA							
GUNN							
B. LEONARD							
MALOLEY							
MONTOYA							
SMITH							
UHLMANN							
ADMINISTRATION	X						

Remarks:

Mike Uhlmann: Could we have your comments before COB 8/25/82.

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

STEPHEN H. GALEBACH 56

SUBJECT:

Letter to Peace Corps from American Life Lobby

(Ref. 090720)

It is not clear to me whether Curran is really looking for a substantive response from the Peace Corps or only for an occasion for letting off steam. His ire expressed in this series of correspondence, however, is a measure of the disaffection and distrust that is rampant among pro-life groups toward the Administration in general.

I take this as a reminder why the cloture vote on September 9 is a critical watershed for us. If the President supports cloture, much of this sort of criticism will evaporate. If he does not, it becomes increasingly difficult to reassure groups such as American Life Lobby of our bona fides regarding abortion or any other such issue.

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

TAFFING MEMORANDUM							
TE: 8/18/82	ACTION/	CONCUR	RENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:	•	8/24/82		
BJECT: Letter	to Peace	Corps	from American Life Lo	bby			
,	ACTION	FYI		CTION	FYI		
HARPER			DRUG POLICY		₂ 🗖		
PORTER			TURNER				
BARR			D. LEONARD				
BAUER			OFFICE OF POLICY I	NFORMA	TION		
BOGGS			GRAY				
BRADLEY			HOPKINS				
CARLESON			PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD				
DENEND			OTHER				
FAIRBANKS							
FERRARA			Steve Galebach	X			
GUNN							
B. LEONARD							
MALOLEY							
MONTOYA							
SMITH							
UHLMANN							
ADMINISTRATION							

Remarks:

What's your reaction to the Peace Corps' response.

Edwin L. Harper
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
(x6515)



AMERICAN LIFE LOBBY INC.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. BOX 490, STAFFORD, VA 22554 OFFICES: ROUTE *6, BOX 162-F. STAFFORD, VA 22554 (703) 659-4171 METRO DC 690-2049

GOVERNMENT LIAISON OFFICE: 68 LIBRARY COURT SE (CAPITOL HILL) WASHINGTON, DC 20003 + (202) 546-5551

TELEGRAM

July 27, 1982

Mrs. Loret Miller Ruppe Director Peace Corps 806 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D. C. 20525 JUL 28 1985

The July 23, 1982 letter, which has yet to be delivered and which I personally picked up at your office last night, is totally unacceptable.

You invited me to the meeting on June 22 in your office to discuss the Peace Corps. You asked me to put my questions (which you did not answer at the meeting) in writing.

Do me the favor of a personal reply.

Better yet I request an appointment to discuss these questions in detail in person.

Sincerely,

Gary L. Curran American Life Lobby 6 Library Court S.E. Washington, D. C. 20003

Peace Corps

Washington, D.C. 20525

July 23, 1982

Mr. Gary Curran Legislative Consultant American Life Lobby 6 Library Court, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mr. Curran:

Your letter of June 24 put into writing some of the questions raised at the White House meeting the previous day, initiated by Director Ruppe through the office of Morton Blackwell.

I apologize for the delay in responding to your request, but I intentionally asked Loret's permission for me to develop the replies as a "learning experience" (I joined the Peace Corps just weeks before your letter was received.) As we discussed by telephone, when you said you intended to write a letter of protest about the delay anyway, the issues you raised were sensitive and significant. Consequently, if the information in this letter is to be used other than for your own personal background, I ask that my replies be printed in their entirety so as to avoid misunderstandings which may arise if material is lifted out of context.

Here are our views on the topics you address:

- A. Peace Corps relations with United Nations
 Volunteers. To the best of our knowledge, no Communist citizen
 is heading any United Nations agency involving United Nations
 Volunteers (UNVs). The costs of U.S.-supplied volunteers are
 shared jointly by Peace Corps and the host country. Of the
 56 (currently) U.N. Volunteers supplied by Peace Corps, one
 volunteer is a health-related rural water and sanitation
 project specialist in Liberia, a second is a pharmacist
 trainer in Lesotho, and the third works on administrative
 matters for the U.N. Fund for Population Activities post in
 Turkey.
- B. Peace Corps policies re abortions, abortificants, and family planning. Peace Corps does not consider abortion to be a birth control method, so Volunteers neither educate others, nor receive information from Peace Corps, about abortificants or abortions. That includes use of Depo Provera

as an abortificant. As a practical matter, Volunteers operate primarily in rustic rural areas and handle few medicines other than aspirin, deworming medicine, chloroquine (anti-malarial prophylaxis) and other common substances. Peace Corps is required to pay travel and per diem for Volunteers who require "elective (necessary but not emergency) surgery of any consequence" including abortions. The Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice, has verified this requirement pursuant to the Pregnancy Discrimination Act [42 USCp 2000 e(k)], so long as Peace Corps continues to pay travel and per diem for comparable medical conditions.

- C. Peace Corps' use of civil servants as recruiters. Less than two-thirds of the present recruiting force were associated with Peace Corps (or ACTION) during Sam Brown's tenure; primarily as Volunteers during that time. Congress requires by law to give preferential hiring treatment to returned Volunteers. Few others express interest in the parttime, low-pay, non-career-directed employment opportunity as Peace Corps recruiters.
- D. Peace Corps personnel policy regarding Country Directors. Country Directors serve 30-month contracts. Since the beginning of the Director's term, May 28, 1981, seventeen Directors have been appointed, and five selected but not yet fully appointed. All final candidates must receive medical and security clearances in addition to clearances from White House Presidential Personnel. Of the twenty-two, ten have Reagan-Bush credentials, nine were previously employed (e.g., Federal government) in positions which precluded campaign activities, and three are non-political. All are committed to the Reagan Administration's policies.

You assert you can "discern no major change in the recruitment, training or policy" since the Sam Brown days. To make major changes would require legislative sanction. Except for minor technical changes, there have been no policy changes enacted by Congress since the first act in 1961. We are still required by law to pursue the initial three goals, to help others by effort of American volunteers, to help others understand Americans by example, and to help Americans understand others' cultures.

Under the Director's leadership, we have reinstituted training about the Communist menace. We have deliberately sought out the older-Americans, in recruiting. We have reoriented our projects toward economic development and entrepreneurial training in marketing, distribution, accounting and management skills. We are seeking direct corporate involvement in Peace

Mr. Gary Curran July 23, 1982 Page 3

Corps activities. And we have undertaken internal management procedures to achieve even greater operating economies and protection against waste, fraud and abuse. We have not publicized these activities, consistent with Peace Corps' belief that actions speak louder than words. Perhaps we should be educating Americans better about the Peace Corps, so enclosed is an article by the Director for use in one of your publications. We would appreciate receipt of a copy of your publication reprinting her article.

I apologize again for the delay in this reply, but you asked thought-provoking questions that have required some time to determine the answers.

I look forward to keeping open our dialogue. I urge you to seek support from your members for considering the potential of becoming Peace Corps Volunteers. It's a proven microeconomic way to help make stable the economies of developing countries by fighting poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy traditionally the breeding grounds for the menace of Communism.

Sincerely,

John B. Nicholson

Director of Communications

Enclosure

AMEHICAN LIFE LUBBY IN

CALLED BOTH AND ALLER AND ALL

July 23, 1982

Mrs. Loret Miller Ruppe Director Peace Corps 806 Connecticut Ave., N.W. 12th Floor Washington, D. C. 20525

Dear Mrs. Ruppe:

This will follow up my letter of June 24, 1982 to which I have not received an acknowledgement nor a response for a whole month.

On June 22, 1982, at your invitation, I attended a meeting so that you could explain how the Peace Corps has changed since the tenure of 60's radical Sam Brown served as director.

I stress that I did not ask for the meeting, it was your initiative. Why has it taken you more than a month to answer questions that you did not answer in person and which you specifically asked me to put in writing?

Sam Brown probably answered his mail quicker than the present administration has answered me.

When can I expect a reply? Please telephone me at 546-5550 l will be glad to pick up your reply in person.

Sincerely,

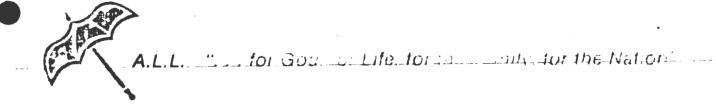
Gary #. Curran

Legislative Consultant

cc: Judge Clark
Ed Meese III
James A. Baker III

BONG DE COLOR DE CONTRACTOR DE

GLC/sm



June 24, 1982

Mrs. Loret Miller Ruppe Director Peace Corps 806 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D. C. 20525

Dear Mrs. Ruppe:

Thank you for the opportunity to a cuss the operation of the Peace Corps in the Reagan Administration.

Unfortunately from the presentations made yesterday I can discern no major change in the recruitment, training or policy of the Peace Corps from the way it operated under the direction of 60's redical Sam Brown. I would welcome autormation to the contrary.

Towards the end of the meeting I asked you several questions. You asked me to put them in writing, so here they are:

- 1. Of the 67 United Nations Voltate and (UNV) how many work for UN agencies whose head a service or other Communist country citizen?
- 2. Is the cost of these volunteer colected in the U.S. contributions to these UN agencies?
- 3. How many UNV's work for (C_n) about or population control agencies?
- 4. How many UNV's are involved a planning for or actually distributing the injectable abortions at birth control drug Deportorers which is banned from the U.S. by the IDA? How many other Peace Corps volunteers dispense Deportor vera?
- 5. How do you justify Peace Corps involvement in this activity in light of the Young Amendment that Lans use of Peace Corps funds for abortion?
- 6. What is the Peace Corps policy, it any, concerning dispensing to third world citizens drugs beared in the United States?
- 7. What is the Peace Corps policy, Party, concerning whether it is proper for volunteers to coursel that abortion is an acceptable method of birth control?

- 8. You indicated that notwithstanding the Young Amendment (banning Peace Corps dollars from being used for abortion) the Peace Corps pays for transportation and other ancillary costs so that the volunteer can obtain an abortion on her own. Why is it legal to aid and abet obtaining an abortion when paying for the abortion is a violation of the Young Amendment? Exactly what is the justification for paying such transportation and other costs?
- 9. You mentioned that the Justice Department was looking into this question exactly who at Justice are you consulting?
- 10. There are approximately 77 full time and temporary Peace Corps recruiters how many were volunteers or trainees or employed as recruiters during Sam Brown's tenure? Without a change in recruiters how can you hope to get "new, more representative" volunteers?
- 11. Country directors are hired and fired in your sole discretion. How many are hold overs from the Sam Brown regime? Of those you have hired how many have identifiable Reagan-Bush credentials? Why don't the others have these credentials? How do you expect to get a change in policy if the "hands on" managers of your agency, the country directors, are not Reagan people?

Also you said that as a measure of your system for monitoring for political statements or actions contrary to this government's policy you would tell us how many volunteers and/or employees you have reprimanded or dismissed for such transgressions.

I look forward to an expeditious reply to these questions.

Sincerely

Gary L. Curran Legislative Consultant

WASHINGTON

August, 24, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

MICHAEL M. UHLMANN

SUBJECT: Economic Equity Act (S.888)

The E.E.A. was introduced by Senator Packwood and 10 others in April of 1981. Its purpose is to eliminate inequities in the treatment of women in taxation, pensions, and insurance. Treasury estimated that the revenue loss impact would be approximately \$12 billion by 1986. Portions of the bill were enacted as part of the Economic Recovery Tax Act last year.

Major provisions include the following:

- o Permit non-working spouse to establish IRA in his or her own right, with income of the working spouse as the basis for determining the allowable contribution. (Obvious revenue loss problems.)
- o Prohibit waiver of survivor benefits unless consented to by spouse; also, require that survivor benefits be paid if insured died within 10 years of retirement. (The first seems harmless; the latter would be difficult to measure and costly.)
- o Treat pensions as transferable property right for divorce and survivors' rights purposes. (The problem seems to be that many divorced spouses are prevented by ERISA from sharing pension and survivor rights accumulated during marriage.)
- o Lower required participation age under ERISA from 25 to 21. (Designed to add four more years to female base during the period before many women drop out of the labor force.)
- o Require retirement plans to count maternity leave for purposes of vesting, benefits, and funding. (Costly; could be attached as subsidy from working males whose wives don't work to women who do.)
- o Increase zero bracket amount for heads of households equal to that for married couples filing jointly. (Old idea; costly (\$1.1 billion by 1984).)
- o Mandate that former spouses of civilian government and military employees married for 10 years be given a pro

rata share of pension benefits (including survivor benefits) accrued during marriage. (No costs involved, only redistribution of pension benefits. DOD, however, strongly opposes. Divorce courts can do this now. Question is whether pro rata share should be mandatory.)

- o Extend targeted jobs tax credit for five years and add "displaced homemakers" to list of eligible hirees. (The TJTC was allowed to expire last year, was it not?)
- o Allow credit of 20% of child care expenses. (ERTA essentially enacted this.)
- o Allow employers to provide child care as tax-free fringe benefit. (Checking now with IRS on status; will let you know.)
- o Eliminate various sections of U.S. Code dealing with sex-based distinctions in the military. (Under a more or less continuing state of review, with predictable balking by DOD.)
- o Raise estate tax exemption to \$600K. (Massive revenue loser (\$5.7 billion now, growing to \$5.9 billion by 1986). Problem partly addressed by ERTA, whereby women who survive their spouses are considered, for estate tax purposes, to be owners of half of jointly held property regardless of their financial contribution to its acquisition.)
- o Eliminate provision which apparently requires FMHA to give preferenc to married vs. unmarried individuals with dependents. (Why not?)
- o Title V of the E.E.A. has also been introduced as a separate bill (e.g., H.R. 100). Would declare as national policy the prohibition of discrimination in insurance and prohibit use of gender-based mortality tables. (Exceedingly complicated, potentially very costly change. Even Carter Administration punted, saying it needed more study. Our "Manhart" working group has been wrestling with it, temporarily on back-burner. Apart from the substantive merits, you should be aware that regulation of insurance has been traditionally treated as a state matter.)
- o Title VI of the E.E.A. would mandate elimination of gender-based distinctions in federal regulations. (Essentially, a codification of the President's Executive Order mandate.)
- o Title VII would require DOJ to study federal role in enforcement of delinquent alimony, child support, and property settlements. (DOJ and HHS have begun to do so;

can be beefed up and, per our discussion yesterday, will be. Danger here is that federal courts could bcome major arbiters of domestic relations law, but there are useful steps which can be taken short of that.)

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

August 24, 1982

FOR:

There was the first was the first the second of the second of the first the second of the second of the second

Barring Control of the William Property of the Control of the Cont

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

MICHAEL M.

LHANN

SUBJECT:

New CEA Study on

Women's Compensation

Per our meeting yesterday, attached is a draft memo from you to Feldstein requesting a new CEA study on women's compensation.

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1982

FOR:

MARTIN FELDSTEIN

FROM:

EDWIN L. HARPER

SUBJECT: Need for New CEA Study on Women's Compensation

There remains a widespread public perception that women do not get equal pay for equal work because of sex discrimination.

CEA's 1973 Economic Report to the President contained a report on womens' role in the economy. That report, and some subsequent studies, suggest that most of earnings differentials between men and women are attributable to differences in experience levels and continuity in the workforce. Some recent data shows that the gap in male-female earnings within job categories has been significantly narrowing over the past decade. Some analysts have concluded that, if adjustments are made for experience differences, equal pay for equal work (i.e. within job categories) has become a reality.

If these interpretations are correct, it means that, at least on the equal pay front, we are faced with a perception problem rather than a substantive one. The obvious remedy is to educate the public.

A new CEA study could serve as the basis for this effort. my view, the time is ripe for CEA to revisit its decade-old study on the role of women in the economy. I request that over the next few months CEA do a study and report, focusing particularly on the compensation of women. I think we should avoid any publicity while the study is in progress. Once we know what the conclusions are, we can determine best how to use it.

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1982

FOR: EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM: MICHAEL M. UHLMANN

SUBJECT: Depolitization of Grants

(Ref. 090703)

OMB appears to be making progress surely and quietly -- which is the way it must be done if we are to achieve our objectives on this sensitive issue.

Horowitz is running an interagency working group that is focusing specifically at depolitization of grants and coordinating efforts within the departments.

Some recent steps include:

- o Two OMB Circulars on awarding grants and cost accounting for grants have been revised. The main thrust of the changes will make it difficult for political advocacy groups to administer grants. (These revisions are awaiting Stockman's approval.)
- o OMB is proposing a new rule that would require grantees to have an "employee bill of rights" to ensure that employment does not depend on political orientation. (Stockman has not yet approved.)
- o The new attorney fee bill would bar many public interest law firms from obtaining legal fees from the government. It does this by requiring that a binding contract exist between client and attorney, requiring that the client pay the fees if fees are not obtained from the government.
- o Departments are preparing their own grant regulations, and these are being reviewed by OMB.

Other steps are underway which would be premature to include in this memo but which I could discuss with you if you would like.

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

BJECT: Defu		-T-1			
			procedition by procedure and p	Service and the service and th	
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
HARPER		0	DRUG POLICY		
/ PORTER			TURNER		
BARR		0	D. LEONARD		
BAUER			OFFICE OF POLICY	INFORMA	TION
BOGGS			GRAY		•
BRADLEY			HOPKINS		
CARLESON			PROPERTY REVIEW BOA	RD 🗆	
DENEND			OTHER		
FAIRBANKS					
FERRARA					
GUNN					
B. LEONARD					
MALOLEY					
MONTOYA					
SMITH					
/ UHLMANN		X	. egyptisessi (dellitti omittaladin egitisessa, as. a plantisen mastropropropropropropropropropropropropropr		

Remarks:

Where do we stand on this project?

ADMINISTRATION

1 1 AUG 1982 KYT

al enably FALLS CHURCH, Va. - Is it fair to require taxpayers to finance the political activities of groups whose views they do not share? Most people would say no. Yet it has been estimated that, since the 1970's, hundreds of millions of dollars - maybe more than \$1 billion - in taxpayers' money have been used each year to support and spread

political views that the American peo-

ple have consistently and overwhelmingly rejected.

For example, many Americans do not support tax-financed abortion on demand, compulsory forced busing of schoolchildren, Federal control of education, racial quotes in hiring, radical feminism and major cutbacks in defense spending. Yet millions of dollars are given to these causes, not through tax exemptions or deductions but through direct grants by the Government.

In 1980, more than \$70 million in taxpayers' money was given by the Department of Health and Human Service to Planned Parenthood, which lobbies for Federal funding of abortions. That year, \$110 million was handed over by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and several other agencies to the National Urban League, a politically powerful lobby. Tax money has also been given by Vista to the Youth Project, which finances anti-MX-missile activism in Nevada and antinuclear demonstrations in New York City.

But even if most Americans supported these views, those in the minority should not be forced to finance political groups or causes with which

they disagree.

Thomas Jefferson stated the issue best in the 1777 Virginia Declaration of Religious Liberty: "To compel a man to furnish funds for the propagation of ideas he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical." That is why conservatives believe that defunding

The Left

By Richard A. Viguerie

the left should be a principal priority of the Reagan Administration.

Among political-activist groups that received Federal funds over the last five years are the American Civil Liberties Union, the Gray Panthers, the National Council of La Raza, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the United Automobile Workers, the National Education Association, Planned Parenthood, Americans for Democratic Action, the National Welfare Rights Organization, Tom Hayden's Laurel Springs Institute, David Rockefeller's Council on Foreign Relations, Cesar Chavez's United Farmworkers Association and the National Council of Churches.

Unfortunately, this flow of money has only been somewhat reduced rather than stopped by the Reagan Administration. Last year, for example, the Department of Education, despite an internal report stating that the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Push-Excel education project "does not add up to a program," gave Push \$656,644. The same department also gave \$64,923 to pro-unilateral disarmament American Friends Service Committee and more than \$275,000 to the National Organization for Women's Legal De-

fense and Education Fund.

The granting of more than a total of \$1 million to the National Council of Churches from 1978 to 1981 got almost no publicity in the news media. But it is not hard to imagine the thousands of editorials and columns that would be written (and rightly so) about the

separation of church and state if the Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority received \$1 million in Federal funds.

The result is anything but fair. If the situation were reversed, liberals would probably see an important First Amendment issue at stake.

The real issue is not whether taxfunded projects are good or bad, liberal or conservative. It is that they represent involuntary taxpayer support of special political interests support that is fairly well concealed

from the public.

The typical liberal approach to the Reagan budget cuts and cutbacks in social programs is to ask: Are they fair? I ask liberals: Is it fair for the Government to use billions of dollars of taxpayers' money to fund and further the political and social causes they support, while conservatives have to go into the marketplace of competing ideas and interests to support the causes we believe in?

What's past is past. I challenge liberais to join conservatives, starting now, in renouncing the Department of Health and Human Services' grants and these of other agencies to liberal advocacy groups. I challenge the liberals to enter the marketplace, to stop taking tax money for their causes, to finance their activities with private, not public, money. If liberal causes are truly as important as the liberals think they are, there should be no shortage of supporters for them. Liberals should be willing to join conservatives in raising funds voluntarily rather than continuing to take other people's tax money.

Defunding the left has become one of the top priorities of many conservatives. But it is a cause that should appeal to all fair-minded Americans.

Richard A. Viguerie, a direct-mail expert used by many conservative candidates and causes, is publisher of the Conservative Digest.

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1982

FOR:

EDWIN L. HARPER

FROM:

MICHAEL M. UNIMANNN

SUBJECT: Helms Amendment on Abortion

I was called today by John Mackey, the lobbyist for the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life. He emphasized the extreme importance of the forthcoming cloture vote in the Senate, indicating that the pro-life movement will be looking to the President for support. The Ad Hoc Committee, FYI, is the publisher of Lifeletter, the most widely circulated news source for the movement. Mackey and the newsletter's publisher, Jim McFadden, are the most sophisticated, realistic, and sensible of all anti-abortion troops. Lifeletter has resisted criticism of the President in the past, when many other groups were howling, and has gushed in the President's favor whenever we did something right (e.g., the April letter to Helms and Hatch, the Knights of Columbus Convention speech). Mackey's message today was that if the President did not come out strongly for the Helms amendment, Lifeletter could not credibly refrain from joining the criticism. On the other hand, if the President were to act, they would lead the pack in singing his huzzahs.