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BIOGRAPHY OF PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born February 6, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois, the son of Nellie Wilson Reagan and John Reagan. He was educated in Illinois public schools and was graduated from Eureka College (Illinois) in 1932, with a degree in economics and sociology.

Following a brief career as a sports broadcaster and editor, Mr. Reagan moved to California to work in motion pictures. His film career, interrupted by three years of service in the Army Air Corps during World War II, encompassed 50 feature-length motion pictures. He served six terms as president of the Screen Actors Guild and two terms as president of the Motion Picture Industry Council.

In 1952 he married Nancy Davis. They have two grown children, Patricia Ann and Ronald Prescott. President Reagan has two other children, Maureen and Michael, by a previous marriage.

From motion pictures he went into television in the 1950's as production supervisor and host of "General Electric Theatre." In 1964-65 he was host of the television series "Death Valley Days."

In 1966 Ronald Reagan began his public service career with his election—by nearly a million-vote margin—as Governor of California. Mr. Reagan was Chairman of the Republican Governors Association in 1969. He was elected to a second term as Governor of California in 1970. After completing his second term, Mr. Reagan began a nationally syndicated radio commentary program and newspaper column and undertook an extensive speaking schedule, speaking to civic, business, and political groups. In 1974-75 he served as a member of the Presidential Commission investigating the CIA.

In November 1975 he announced his candidacy for the 1976 presidential nomination. He lost narrowly, but campaigned vigorously for the Republican ticket and for scores of local candidates in 1976. After the election, he renewed his radio commentary program, newspaper column, and national speaking schedule. He became a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee on the Present Danger and founded the Citizens for the Republic. In the 1978 elections he campaigned on behalf of 86 candidates.

In November 1979 Ronald Reagan announced his candidacy for the 1980 presidential nomination. At the Republican National Convention in July 1980 he was nominated unanimously on the first ballot. On November 4, 1980, Ronald Reagan was elected to the Presidency, by an electoral vote of 489-49, and on January 20, 1981, he was sworn in as the 40th President of the United States.

Mr. Reagan has received a number of awards, including: National Humanitarian Award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews; City of Hope "Torch of Life" Award for Humanitarian Service; Horatio Alger Award; American Newspaper Guild Award; Freedoms Foundation Awards; Distinguished American Award from the National Football Foundation Hall of Fame; American Patriots Hall of Fame; and Medal of Valor of the State of Israel.

Does Reagan Have a Problem with Women?

During the 1980 presidential campaign, some observers began noting that polls showed Ronald Reagan running less strongly among women voters than among men. Some polls indicated that Reagan did especially poorly among younger women, and among those who were college-trained and in professional occupations, compared to his electoral position among their male counterparts. Since the campaign, there have been innumerable stories discussing Reagan's "women problem" and speculating on its sources. Against this background, we decided to examine systematically the President's standing among women in the electorate, by itself and in comparison to the position of previous presidents. A small portion of the survey data we reviewed is presented in these pages.

Two conclusions appear. First, it is indeed the case that Reagan gets a lower rating among women than men—consistently and systematically. The magnitude of the differences by sex is greater than that of previous presidents, at least back to Eisenhower. At the same time, the extent of these differences in Reagan's case should not be overstated. His approval rating among women is eight to ten points lower than among men—not insignificant, surely, but not massive either.

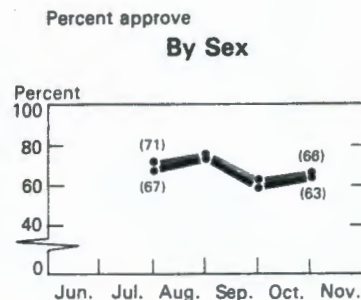
Second, the earlier suggestion that the President's lower marks among women are largely among younger, college-educated women, simply is not supported by the data. Women give the President a lower rating than do their male counterparts almost uniformly across age and class groupings.

The work reported on here did not seek to determine *why* women rate the President somewhat lower than do men, but *whether* they do.

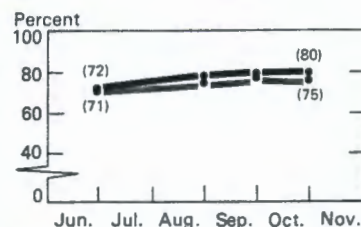
Everett Carl Ladd

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way (name of President) is handling his job as President?

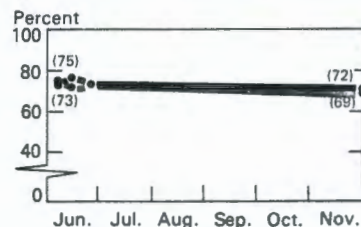
**Eisenhower
1953**



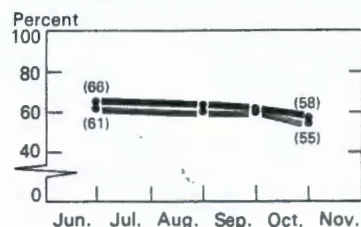
**Kennedy
1961**



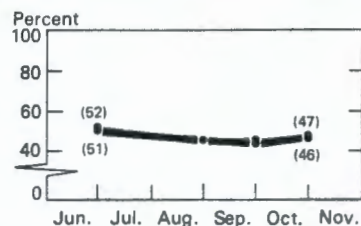
**Johnson
1964**



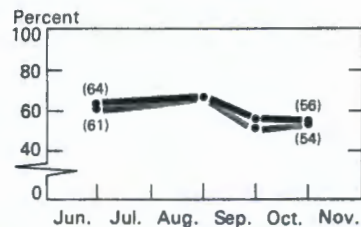
**Nixon
1969**



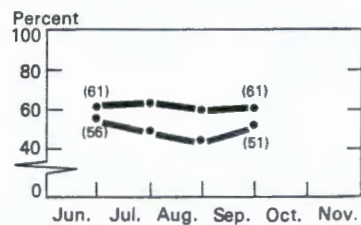
**Ford
1975**



**Carter
1977**



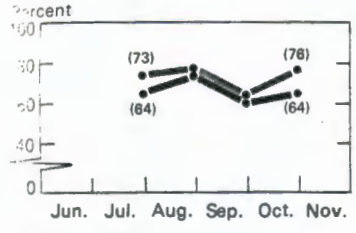
**Reagan
1981**



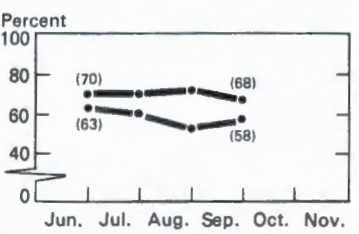
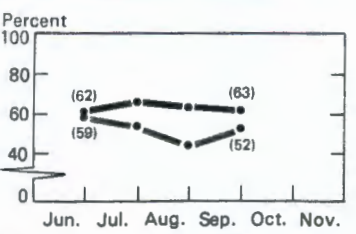
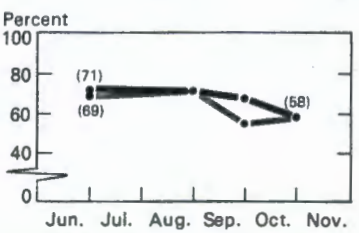
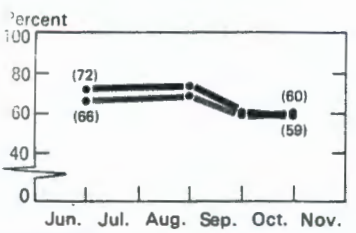
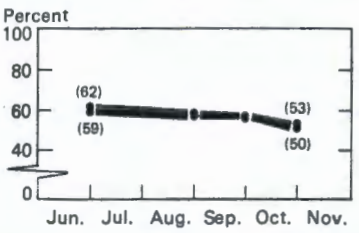
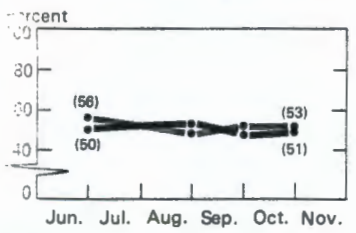
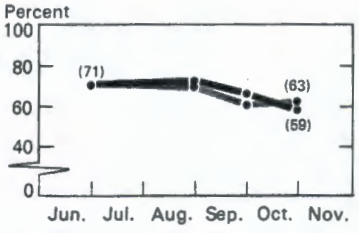
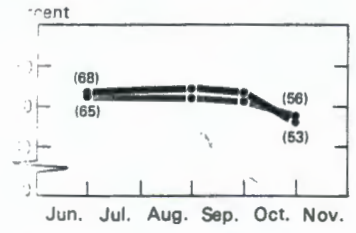
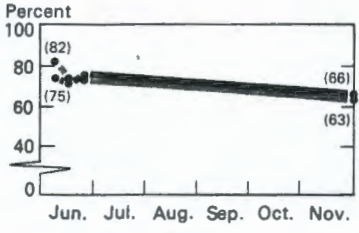
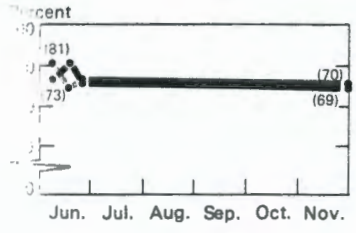
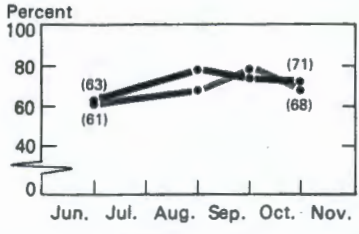
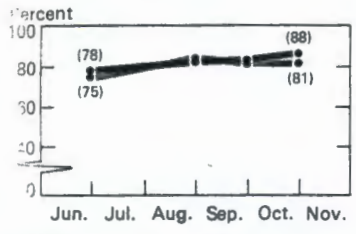
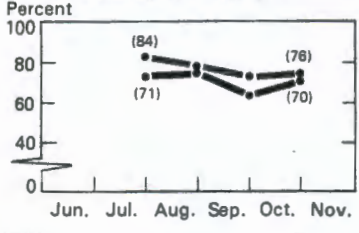
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of September 1981.

Male Female

By Age
18-35 years

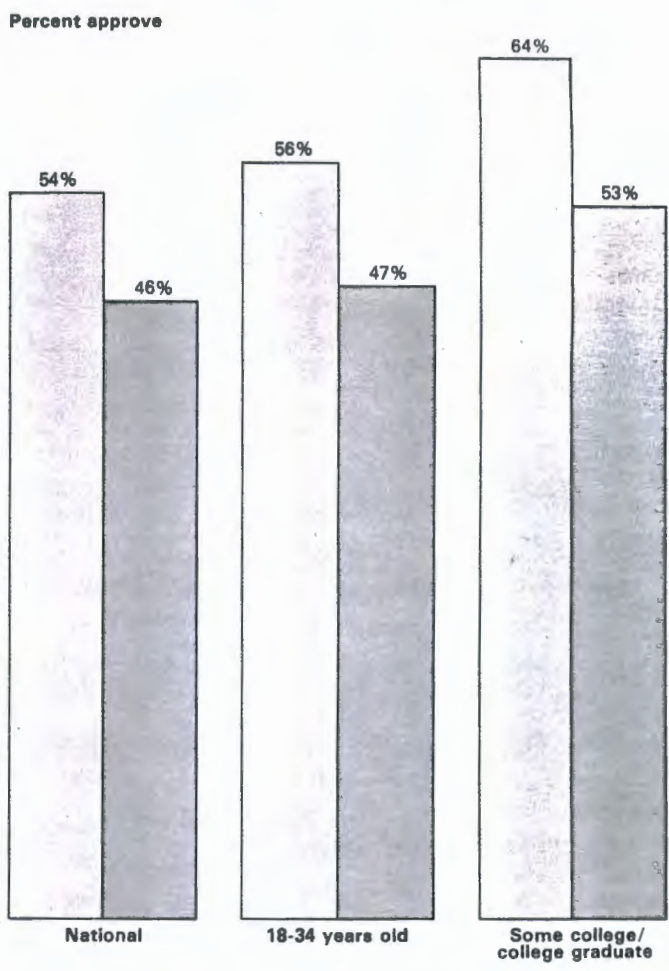


By Education
Some college/college graduate



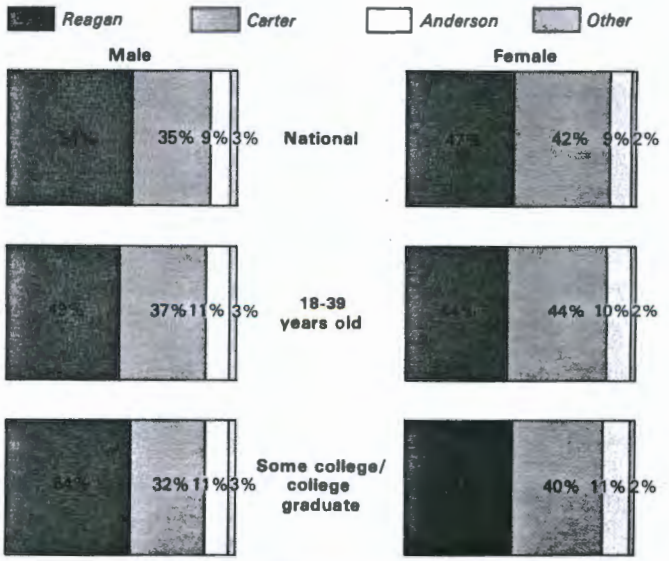
Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President?

Male Female



Source: Survey by the Roper Organization, November 14-18, 1981.

Question: For whom did you vote for President?



Note: Sample size = 9,742 voters as they left the polls. Source: Survey by ABC News, November 4, 1980.

RALLY AGAINST REAGAN

Saturday, February 6

March: 10 am, UN Plaza Rally: 12 - 3 pm, Union Square

Seniors and disabled people may call for rides to and from the rally.

Speakers (partial list):

NANCY WALKER, Member of S.F. Board of Supervisors

CAROL RUTH SILVER, Member of S.F. Board of Supervisors

WILSON RILES, JR., Member of Oakland City Council

FLORENCE McDONALD, Berkeley City Council member

PAT JACKSON, Executive Secretary, SEIU Local 400

DR. HOWARD S. GLOYD, Pastor, Bethel A.M.E. Church

HIROMITSU KIZU, World Peace March (Representative of the Japanese Peace Movement)

MARLENE DIXON, General Secretary, Democratic Workers Party

FELIX KURY, Speaker on El Salvador

ALSO: DAVE WALD, Anti-nuclear environmentalist engineer, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for the U.S. Senate; ELIZABETH MARTINEZ, Democratic Workers Party candidate for Governor in the Peace and Freedom Party primary; DAN SIEGEL, Anti-draft, anti-war activist, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for Attorney General; BRENDA SUNOO, Korea Support Committee; BILL WAHPEPAH, American Indian Movement; Speaker for the Iranian struggle.

Initiated by the Democratic Workers Party

Endorsers (partial list): Ronald V. Dellums (member of Congress), Eugene (Gus) Newport (Mayor of Berkeley), Dr. Carlton Goodlett (Publisher, *Sun Reporter*), CISPES (S.F.), CISPES (Oakland), Berkeley Non-Intervention in El Salvador, Friends of El Salvador, Univ. Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador (S.J. State Univ., CISPES-affiliated), San Francisco U.S. Peace Council, S.F. Jobs With Peace, San Franciscan Democratic Club, Greater Mission Democratic Club Exec. Comm., District 8 Democratic Club, District 9 Democratic Club, Ruth Williams, National Black Independent Political Party, Uhuru House Solidarity Committee, African People's Socialist Party, San Francisco Mime Troupe, S.F. Women Against Rape, Women's Building/Women's Center, Stanford University Women's Center, Women's Party for Survival (San Jose Chapter), Women's Party for Survival (W. Marin Chapter), The Women's Union (San Jose City College Chapter), *El Foro del Pueblo*, Daniel Chavez, Pres., San Jose City College Associated Students, Hastings Environmental Law Society, Prof. Larry Trujillo (Chicano Studies, U.C. Berkeley*), Prof. Paul Takagi (U.C. Berkeley), Family Nitoto, BANANAS, Children's Rights Group, Citizens Party of S.F., Workers World Party, Group Opposing Nuclear Energy (San Jose), Students/Staff Against Nuclear Energy (Santa Rosa Jr. College), Livermore Action Group, People's Anti-War Mobilization, Swords to Plowshares: Veterans Rights Organization, S.F. Veterans Incarceration Project, Bookworks, Unite Publications, Guatemala Solidarity Committee, Korea Support Committee, Philippine Solidarity Network, A.I.M. for Freedom Survival Group, Bloody Sunday Commemorative Coalition, Bay Area Social Therapy Organizing Committee, National Task Force on Prostitution, Northern California War Tax Resistance, Joyce Chapman, Jeanne Harner (Northwest Bernal Block Club*), Buck Bagot (Co Director, Bernal Heights Community Foundation*), Dave Keger (General Coordinator, Stanford for Environmental Education*), Dennis Gregg (Exec. Bd. Member of S.F. Council for the Social Studies*), Steve Rabisa, Howard Wallace, Sal Roselli, Theater Janitors Local 9, Lee Brown (Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2*), Jim Ryder (ILWU Local 6*), Union WAGE, Margo St. James (COYOTE), Kevin Troffer (Anti-Draft Coalition of CCSF*), Richard Levine (Alliance for Nuclear Responsibility at UCSF*), Mary Moore (ISO NO More Atomic*), Joel Ventresca, Gwenn Craig, Sylvia Bufanda Courtney, Vince Courtney, Jan Santos (Center for Independent Living*), Gene Coleman (Director, Canon Kip Community Center*), Rev. Amos Brown (Third Baptist Church*), Rev. W. T. Adams (Second Union Missionary Baptist Church*), Rev. Wince Batton (New Mt. Vernon Church*), Rev. Jim Heimeier (Bayview Lutheran Church*), Rev. Jose Luis Lana (Good Samaritan Church-Episcopal*), Rev. S.J. Martin (Little Zion Missionary Baptist Church*), Rev. R. Brown (Emanuel Church of God in Christ/Pentecostal*), Rev. Hannibal Williams (New Liberation United Presbyterian Church*), Rev. Christine E. Shiber (Bethany United Methodist Church*), Sister Maria Romero, S.H.F., Maria Isabel Ramos, Betty Melga, Cecilia Arias, Centro Pastoral Latinoamericano, Cecil Williams (Glide Church), Father Jack Isaacs (St. James Catholic Church*)

*Identification purposes only

Sponsors (partial list): All People's Congress, Casa Chile, Casa El Salvador, Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Marti, Citizens for Representative Government, Committee for a Democratic Palestine, Communist Workers Party, Frente Colombiano por el Socialismo, General Union of Palestinian Students, Iranian Student Association supporters of OIPFG, Irish Action Committee, Moslem Students Society, Peace and Freedom Party, SEIU Local 400, Socialist Party, U.C. Berkeley Feminist Alliance, Unidad Nicaraguense en el Exterior, Venceremos Brigade

For more information, call (9 AM - 9 PM):

San Francisco: (415) 821-3055

Sacramento: (916) 451-4418

Oakland: (415) 535-0488

Los Angeles: (213) 838-1758

Peace and Justice Coalition—3229 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94110

STOP
THE
REAGAN
WAR MACHINE
BSC
APPROVED

...His Nuclear Missiles

...His Giant Military Budget

...His Neutron Bomb

...His Registration for the Draft

...His Military Intervention Abroad

March Against Reagan

Saturday, February 6

March begins at 10:00 AM, United Nations Plaza
(Market between 7th and 8th, San Francisco)

Rally begins at 12 NOON, Union Square (Powell and Geary)

10 Reasons to Oppose Reagan's Militarism

1) We face nuclear destruction. The nuclear stockpile of the United States is sufficient to kill the entire world's population 20 times over.

2) We are at grave risk of a disastrous accident from the 30,000 nuclear weapons stored all over our country; already the Pentagon has admitted 32 near disasters.

3) Our young men may be drafted. Already, Reagan has threatened to prosecute (up to 5 years in jail) the 800,000 people who have refused to register for the military. Is the government going to force our sons and brothers to join the 500,000 U.S. troops already stationed overseas?

4) Reagan has buried the SALT II arms limitation treaty, which took 7 years to negotiate, and instead authorized the construction of the neutron bomb.

5) Because the military eats up so many of our tax dollars, working and unemployed people face cuts in education, health care, housing assistance and social security.

6) We lose our jobs; military spending creates less than half as many jobs as spending on education.

7) We pay the taxes. In the next 5 years, Reagan will spend \$1.6 trillion on the military.

8) Our environment is being ruined. Nuclear energy corporations are stripping uranium from Native American lands.

9) The Reagan Administration has made threatening statements about military intervention in Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador. And the 250,000-strong Rapid Deployment Force makes direct U.S. involvement in a Mideast war more likely.

10) We go to war, we get killed, and we are forced to kill other people just like us—people who are fighting for their freedom.

What Would Happen If A Nuclear Bomb Exploded Over San Francisco?

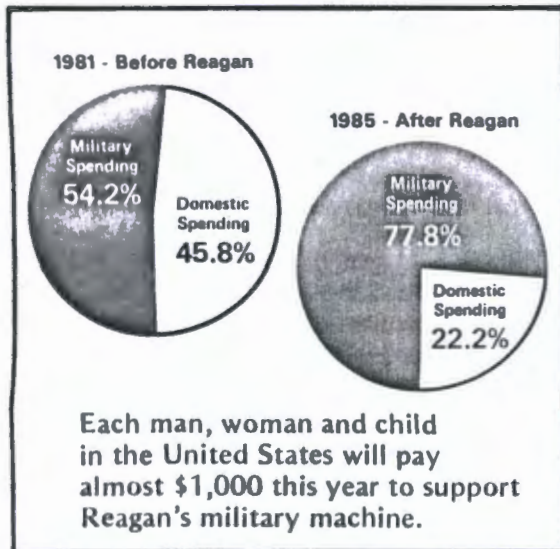
If a 1-megaton bomb exploded over San Francisco, all structures up to 1½ miles away would be pulverized and incinerated instantly. Up to 3 miles away, houses would be blown away, metal would melt, and flesh would be severely burned. And up to 6 miles away, clothes would burst into flame; one million people would be dead. Survivors would suffer intensely painful death from burns with no medical care to relieve their suffering. Others would face a lingering death from radiation sickness or cancer.

If Ronald Reagan's nuclear weapons build-up continues at its present rate, it is almost inevitable that millions of Americans will die in a nuclear holocaust—a holocaust caused either by a nuclear accident or by a war which spreads to our own cities.

That is why we must join the hundreds of thousands of Europeans who are demonstrating for peace and nuclear disarmament:

Bonn, Germany	300,000
London, England	250,000
Paris, France	50,000
Rome, Italy	300,000
Brussels, Belgium	200,000
Milan, Italy	100,000
Madrid, Spain	100,000
Amsterdam, Netherlands	500,000
Bucharest, Romania	300,000

The Europeans have already forced Reagan to think twice about placing more nuclear missiles in Europe. They understand that once nuclear war is unleashed, we will no longer be alive to protest.



Federal budget, not including items the government does not directly control, such as interest on the debt and social security

What Do We Want?

1) A major reduction in the military budget, with the money going to human needs

2) The rapid negotiation of a disarmament treaty leading to a ban on all nuclear weapons, beginning with the Senate ratification of the SALT II treaty already negotiated

3) Stop U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and Central America; no U.S. intervention in Latin America, the Middle

East, Europe, Africa and Asia

4) No draft registration, no draft, and no prosecution of those who refuse to register

5) An end to the radioactive contamination and relocation of indigenous peoples and the destruction of their lands caused by nuclear weapons and the nuclear industry; support for the sovereign rights of indigenous peoples to their land

McLaren College of Business
Office of the Dean
(415) 666-6771

February 3, 1982

Mr. Paul Erickson
College Republican National Committee
310 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Mr. Erickson:

As an active Republican involved in various local Republican activities, and as an administrator at the University of San Francisco, I was disturbed to see the attached flyer being passed out on campus, as well as the very well organized booth manned by the Peace and Justice Coalition (PJC) set up on campus to recruit students to their Rally. I am bringing this matter to your attention because what I observed during the short existence of the PJC on the University campus, I saw an extremely well organized group whose intention were to ignite young college students into an opposition of the Reagan Administration.

The University campus is opened to all types of organization for recruiting and promotional activities, therefore, during the Fall of 1981, I established a table to register voters and recruit students to join the College Republicans. At which time, I was unable to solicit any assistance from the local Young Republican chapter for this endeavor. After October, I aborted the effort of recruiting College Republicans due to the fact that I did not have the resource and was unable to do it alone. Today, as I see the PJC booth on campus and understand the resource behind them, I am writing to strongly urge the College Republican National Committee to explore for a resolution. We simply cannot afford to have the PJC or alike damaging the minds of innocent young college students.

A copy of this letter is being forwarded to the Field Division at the Republican National Committee and the Republican County Central Committee of San Francisco.

Thank you for your attention and cooperation.

Sincerely,


Dominica Waiho Leung

Attachment

DWL/sa

Reagan

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 22, 1981

REPORT ON THE FIRST YEAR
OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY
BY

EDWIN MEESE III AND JAMES A. BAKER III

2:00 P.M. EST

MR. BAKER: All of you should have a copy of our book, "The Reagan Presidency: A Review of the First Year."

I think we would say that it's been a very active year and we think a very good year, a very good first year of this Presidency. I know this, we would be willing to take another one just like it.

I think it's fair to say that this President has compiled the best legislative record since any President since, maybe FDR or LBJ, depending on your outlook. He has won seven major legislative contests, he has won the tax bill, two budget bills, a foreign assistance bill -- the first one that's passed in two years, the fight over AWACS, a defense appropriation bill, and the recent continuing resolution.

The President has maintained, we think, strong credibility, and in so doing has been able to accomplish what he promised the American people he would try to do insofar as the economy was concerned during the campaign of 1980. The President campaigned on a promise to cut taxes and he has given the American people the most substantial tax cut in history. He campaigned on a promise to cut federal spending, and he has reduced the rate of growth of federal spending, cut it in half, reduced it from 14 percent to 7-1/2 percent.

He campaigned in 1980 on a promise to do something about federal regulations, and he has cut regulation by one-third, if you measure by the size of the Federal Register today, or by one-half if you measure by the new regulations issued versus the regulations issued during the same ten-month period of last year.

He campaigned on a promise to do something about inflation. The CPI came out, as you know, today showing a monthly increase of six percent for an annual increase of 9-1/2 percent versus an annual rate last year of 12.4 percent and an annual rate the year before of 13.3 percent.

The President campaigned in 1980 on a promise to do something about interest rates and interest rates, at least as far as the prime rate is concerned, have dropped from 21-1/2 percent the day he took office to 15-1/2 percent today.

The President campaigned on a promise to restore America's defenses -- and Ed will talk more about that specifically in a moment -- but he has seen and acted and appropriated the most

MORE

comprehensive defense program in 20 years.

So, all in all, we're very pleased with this first year. We -- as I said initially -- would be happy to take a second one just like it.

MR. MEESE: Among the promises that the President made during the campaign were two others. One was to rebuild our national security, and also to develop new methods of management and leadership of the Federal Government. I think on these also he's carried through with his commitments to the people.

In terms of national security he has established a comprehensive defense program that has been virtually unequalled in modern times. He has, of course, had the greatest collection of strategic decisions that any President has faced, and carried through with this in terms of going forward with the B-1 bomber and the advanced technology bomber, going ahead with the completion of the MX missile, going ahead with submarine-based missiles and air defense program, and of course a total revitalization of the command, control, and communications system for strategic purposes.

At the same time he has -- part of the comprehensive defense program, a great deal of attention has been spent on our conventional forces, particularly rebuilding the survivability and readiness component so that we would be able to take care of any responsibilities we might have anywhere in the world.

The manpower situation, as far as the armed forces are concerned, has been materially improved during the course of the last year, so that recruiting and retention goals are now being satisfied or in many cases exceeded.

A wholly new effort in civil defense has been initiated and also considerable improvement of the intelligence community both in reestablishing the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and in publishing a new and improved executive order on intelligence.

In the first of foreign policy, as a part of the total national security, we can point to a number of things. I think one is the enhanced relationship with our allies, both in NATO, but more particularly in our own Hemisphere, in the relationship with Canada and with Mexico, which has been vastly improved in the course of the last year.

The President has been successful in his participation at the Ottawa Economic Summit and in the Cancun Conference on International Economic Development, and in his recent initiative

MORE

as far as an arms reduction program starting with the intermediate range nuclear forces discussions which started last month in Geneva and which are going forward now.

And, of course, I think one of the most significant foreign policy achievements has been through Ambassador Habib achieving a cease fire in Lebanon and defusing that very tense situation.

Turning to the area of government organization, contrary to all the pundits who thought otherwise, cabinet government is alive and well and is working. He established the cabinet councils, revitalized the National Security Council. He has carried through with his commitment to root out fraud, waste and abuse, established the President's Council on Efficiency and Integrity in Government and appointed Inspectors General who have amassed a record that is now exceeding some \$2 billion in cost avoidance and fraud, waste and abuse cost savings.

In addition, he has carried through on his commitments to the people, his promises to proceed with the dismantling of both the Department of Energy and the Department of Education.

And I think the fact that he has made the first appointment of a woman to the Supreme Court is another achievement as far as his activities in government. So, I think with that, we'll open it up for your questions.

Q Well, Mr. Meese and Mr. Baker, there was a story that you both were advocating tax increases or revenue enhancements or something of that sort to lower the record deficit that might be expected in '83 and '84. I wonder if you'd address that question?

MR. MEESE: I looked through this book and I didn't find that here anywhere.

Q Well, there's a lot about the economy and the budget. It's on the table right now, you know.

MR. MEESE: I don't think anybody's advocating tax increases. I think Dave Gergen mentioned the President's attitude towards those. I think we will all be looking at a lot of things in regard to the budget as it comes up for review in preparation for its submission in January and, obviously, what we are looking towards is working out a deficit trend which is in the direction of decreasing deficits.

Q Well, could you gentlemen tell us exactly what the deficit estimates are now? I noticed looking through the book that there was no mention of deficits at all. And I thought that was one of the goals, to bring down deficits and balancing the budget.

MR. BAKER: The deficit numbers will be announced in January at the time of the submission of the President's 1983 budget. I think what Ed said, though, is certainly true with respect to the President's advisors and the President himself being interested in a decreasing line as far as the deficit is concerned, but we're not going to have specific numbers to announce until the budget is submitted in January.

Q By a "decreasing line", does that mean --

Q Well, what about those deficits that are in the paper this morning?

MR. MEESE: Well, you can't necessarily believe everything you read in the papers.

Q But I believe they came from --

MR. MEESE: Those are not -- There are no forecasts

or estimates of deficits that have been finalized or have been presented finally to the President and won't be until January.

Q By "decreasing line", does that mean that the 1983 deficit will be smaller physically than the 1982 deficit or does it just mean that it will be a smaller percentage of GNP or the budget or so forth?

MR. BAKER: I'm not sure that's finally been determined, but the point is that the deficit numbers will not be available until the budget is submitted in January. And the President said the other day when he said that he regretted that a balanced budget in 1984 appeared not to be impossible, he further stated that that remained a goal of his and he would like to see the budget brought in balance just as soon as possible.

Q What would you gentlemen say has been the greatest disappointment of this first year?

MR. BAKER: We talked before we came in here about the possibility of that question being asked, Bob, and we both agreed that we made a mistake in jumping out there this year with Social Security when we did. We think that the President deserves an A+ for courage and effort, political courage and effort, in being willing to take on a problem that faces all Americans and in being willing to try and address, try and preserve the integrity of the Social Security system. It didn't work up there on the Hill. The other side took it and beat us severely about the head and shoulders with it. So, we're going to wait until 1983 and take a look at it through the commission that the President has announced.

Q What grade would you give yourself on economic forecasts?

MR. MEESE: We're not in the business of economic forecasting. That's somebody else. You mean as an administration?

Q Yes.

MR. BAKER: We've done better on inflation than we forecast. Now, does that make us a failure --

Q How about the deficit numbers?

Q How about unemployment?

MR. BAKER: We've been worse on deficits, better on inflation, worse on unemployment.

MR. MEESE: Brought down interest rates.

MR. BAKER: That's right.

Q To return to Mr. Meese's answer to that question about taxes. Ed, do you really mean to say flatly that despite all these reports in print and on the television that no senior Presidential advisor, yourself or Mr. Baker or Mr. Regan

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or Mike Deaver has suggested to the President that he raise some kind of new taxes to offset the deficit? Really, none of you has said anything like that?

MR. BAKER: If you want me to answer that, John -- or Ed -- I'll be glad to try.

I think that you ought to look at Dave's guidance, today, John, on that. And basically what it said was that the President remains opposed to any new increase in taxes. It said that it may be that proposals for selective tax increases of a type that would not conflict with the stimulative nature of his economic program will be presented. He also said, I think, though, that none have been presented.

Q Mr. Baker, you have all the spending decisions, now. The President has signed off on the appeals. Isn't that correct?

MR. MEESE: We're almost to the end of them. I think --

Q You also have a new economic assumption that everybody has signed off on.

MR. MEESE: No, we don't have --

Q Tentative one?

MR. MEESE: We have, but the whole thing has not been put together and won't be. They're still scrubbing numbers and will be until we get back in January, until the President gets back.

Q But he's not going to make any tax decision, then, until January?

MR. MEESE: Well, I don't know that he's ever going to make any tax decisions. He's not going to make any final decisions on the budget, on the budget package, and on what goes to Congress until January.

Q How does the deficit look now compared to the numbers that were leaked out, that we all know about?

MR. MEESE: Again, we're not commenting on deficit numbers until we make the only official release, the only release we're going to make or confirm is the one that's going to be part of the budget package, and that's going to come in January.

Q You've gotten quite a bit from Congress over the past year. Do you concede it's going to be an awful lot tougher next year on budgets and spending cuts?

MR. BAKER: You know, one thing that the President has proved, if he hasn't proved anything else this year, is that Congress and the Executive Branch can work together in this system of ours, and every time we went up with a different package this last year we were met with predictions that it wasn't going to make it. You know, you might get some of your budget cuts but you're not going to get your tax cut, or you're behind 61 to 12 in AWACS, and that sort of thing. It's going to be tougher next year, and I think we acknowledge that. But I think that for us to now say that we're not going to be able to get essential elements of the President's program through Congress this coming year, it would be wrong. I think we will be able to.

MR. MEESE: With each successive year of the budget, it gets tougher to make cuts; obviously. Because it's easy to cut out the fat right at the start, and it gets tougher as you go along. But I think we found with our own department heads so far this year in the 1983 budget, we were able to make substantial cuts already in our treatment of the budget.

Q What do you say in response to the 27 Senators, the number that was published, and who say that the Reagan economic program has been taking away from the northern and eastern industrial states and rewarding the southern and western states which are rich in energy and defense contracts?

MR. MEESE: I think, if you actually take a look at it, it doesn't prove out. I know Dave Stockman in OMB has done a study of this on a regional basis, and it's amazing how equitably the program really does spread across the country.

Q Both on spending and taxes?

MR. MEESE: Well, taxes is a factor of where people live and so if you have more people living in the northeast, presumably, then that would be a factor. But I think it has worked equitably on a regional basis; certainly the cuts have.

MR. BAKER: I might add this, Ted, that we have recently met on at least two occasions with the gypsy moths in the House and some Republican Senators from the Northeast and taken into consideration their views and their concerns with respect to the specific budget cuts that we were looking at for 1983, so we're very conscious of that and we're trying to deal with it on a fair basis.

Q Ed, can I ask you a question about foreign policy?

MR. MEESE: Sure.

Q Since the American people will be able to hear both of you on camera tonight, can you give us --

MR. MEESE: Tonight?

Q Tonight. An update of what you're all doing on Poland, sort of a review, so that people can know where we stand and what you're all working on?

MR. MEESE: Well, obviously, we have our Special Situation Group meeting on a daily basis to monitor the Polish situation. We are looking at an array of political, diplomatic, security, and economic measures that might be taken. We have taken a number of measures already in terms of cutting off certain economic aid; of curtailing, obviously, any consideration of other requests; and we have done a great deal to mobilize world opinion, to work with our allies in this regard. So I would say that we are looking at every possible step that needs to be taken either in relation to the Polish regime or in relation to the Soviet Union to prevent the situation from getting worse, and hopefully to work for improvements as far as the Polish people are concerned. As you know, the President met this morning with the Polish Ambassador who has recently found it necessary to come to this country for asylum.

Q Jim, why does this book on "The Reagan Presidency: A Review of the First Year," have so very little about foreign policy?

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It's almost entirely domestic.

And could you explain the meaning of this second sentence on the top of page 17?

MR. BAKER: With respect to the first question, I would suppose that that might be answered by saying that the emphasis during the first part of this first year was on the economy and on domestic affairs.

Now, with respect to --

MR. MEESE: But, also, I think you might add that the foreign policy portions of it could be summarized much more easily.

For example, on three or four pages there, you have a record of some 70 meetings that the President has had with foreign leaders of the various countries that are represented there. That can all be done in three pages. It's a lot harder to explain some of the economic concepts.

MR. BAKER: What is it?

Q The explanation of this second sentence on page 17.

MR. BAKER: The second sentence on page 17?

Q Yes, sir.

MR. MEESE: With an office in the West Wing. That's the one?

Q Yes, sir.

MR. BAKER: Seems to me to be self-explanatory.

Q I mean, what is a Presidential meeting of substance? I don't quite --

MR. MEESE: It means that there are a lot of Presidential meetings that didn't deal with major policy matters --

MR. BAKER: A lot of them are ceremonial.

MR. MEESE: Ceremonial and --

Q Oh, I see. Okay.

MR. MEESE: And so this was to differentiate, obviously the Vice President couldn't participate in every meeting.

Q Can you explain how the United States could proceed with nuclear arms limitation talks while the Soviet Union is still playing the role that it is playing regarding Poland?

MR. MEESE: I think that we are proceeding with the arms limitation talks because that's in the best interests of our nation and world peace.

If at any time we find that the conduct of the Soviets is such that it is not in our interest to go forward with those talks, which, incidentally, are in recess at the present time, then we would make that decision.

Q If you become persuaded that the Soviets are taking a more active role, that there are military movements progressing apace, then you would reconsider the issue of the arms talks.

MR. MEESE: We will consider anything at anytime that may be necessary, but I'm not going to respond to a specific hypothetical.

Q -- the report was prepared by the White House, why was the cost of it absorbed by the Republican National Committee?

MR. BAKER: The cost was absorbed by the Republican National Committee because we are making some fairly substantial cuts in the budget all across the federal government and it seemed to be appropriate to us that the cost of this book be borne by the private sector rather than by the federal government.

MR. MEESE: And also we wanted to avoid the other question which would have been asked if it had been paid for at federal expense, is, "How can you justify putting out a booklet like this at federal expense when you're cutting the budget everywhere else?" So --

Q Have anything to do with the possible political use of the document?

MR. MEESE: We doubt if it will be used politically. This is a factual account. (Laughter.)

Q Merry Christmas.

Q That's a tough line to follow.

Q -- any announcement on decisions regarding Poland this week?

MR. MEESE: Decisions regarding Poland? Yes, we're making decisions every day in certain elements of it.

As far as any major change or major action by the United States, I think it's, at this stage, too early to say. We'll announce them as the President makes those decisions.

Q But my question was, do you expect something of a major nature to be announced this week?

MR. MEESE: I would say that there will be -- it is highly probable that there will be some additional statements by the President on the subject. But as to any -- you know -- it's hard to say what is major. I think we'll have to wait and see what the decisions are.

Q Gentlemen, what grade would you give yourselves in terms of America's leadership role in the world, considering the situation in Poland and how it evolved and the current relationship with Israel?

MR. MEESE: It's hard --

MR. BAKER: A.

MR. MEESE: -- to give a grade. I would say, if you take the overall grade as far as leadership in the world and look at it as to whether things are better off now than they were a year ago, I'd have to say it's probably an A.

Q He said that with a straight face.

Q I know. You didn't laugh, either.

Q You seem to be separating the economic from the foreign policy side of things, but over the last few days there have been some very major statements coming from especially European bankers, the head of the Bank of England, the Bank for International Settlements and so forth predicting that there will be a blowout in the world

economy over the coming year and in particular those individuals have been advocating that some kind of a super-national structure of bankers to oversee which sectors have to be rationalized and which sectors will be kept alive must be brought into being.

I'm wondering, considering the gravity that these people put on the world's economic crisis, how you're responding to that and how do you see that effecting --

MR. MEESE: Yes. We think there's no question that there are serious economic problems in the world. A good deal of our effort during the past year has been spent at alleviating those. That was the reason for the President taking such an active part in the Ottawa Summit. That's the reason that he went to Cancun. It's also -- we feel that what the United States does has a very marked effect upon other countries, also. And that's why one of our principle priorities, as we've discussed here, has been getting our own economic house in order.

The fact that we've been able to develop conditions under which interest rates have fallen is helping other countries as well. The fact that we've been able to get our own inflation down has had a material effect. The fact that we are building a strong and vibrant economy, which will rebound from the recession next year. All of these are important.

But as far as having some new super-national economic order, we don't think this is either necessary or desirable.

MR. BAKER: Our foreign policy can't be as effective unless our economy is strong, I guess, is what we're saying.

Q Beyond that beating that you took on Social Security, what was the biggest lesson that you learned this year?

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MR. MEESE: I think, as far as lessons learned -- I think we learned that it takes longer to get the personnel process -- and this goes back to earlier in the year -- it takes the personnel process longer than we had anticipated when you have as many people appointed to jobs as we did. Many administrations of the past have left more people on the job longer. We felt it was better to have empty offices rather than obstructionists and so, I think we would make the same decision again, but I think it is one of the things we learned.

MR. GERGEN: Bob --

Q I'm sorry to keep dwelling on this and I know you say you are not going to make projections on the deficit, but the Congressional Budget Office this morning made some astonishing projections on deficits -- \$175 billion next year, I believe, and \$210 in '84. Now doesn't that demand some comment?

MR. MEESE: You can't really comment on them until you see their assumptions. I don't think either of us have seen the entire report or on what they base their predictions. I think that obviously, a lot depends upon several things -- the assumptions you use, the policy changes anticipated -- I'm sure they have no way of taking into account the policy changes, the budget cuts, the kinds of things we are contemplating in the budget. So, offhand, I would say that is not unduly remarkable until we see if they are looking at the same kind of conditions that we are.

Q Let me give you question about that -- Miguel speaking.

MR. MEESE: Okay.

Q I wonder, if you agree with me that one area in which economic recovery can give a lot of jobs and opportunities for the true living, is exporting our goods and services abroad, competitively? The United States Chamber of Commerce in testimony last week at the House of Representatives said that some of the government has been so stifled in not getting the protection for our exports in order to be competitive in the foreign markets. How do you comment and what will be in the next year the policies of the United States in order to give the exports that it needs, the incentive that they need to create a lot of jobs for our people in this country?

MR. MEESE: I would agree that exports obviously create jobs for our people. We have a number of concerns about unfair barriers to our exports in some countries. We are looking at this right now and I think that will get a lot of attention in the next year.

Q What is the view of the administration about economic sanctions such as the sanctions called upon yesterday by the Polish American citizens who met with the President?

MR. MEESE: Well, this is one of the things we're considering. As a matter of fact, we're going to have to leave you in about five minutes here, to go to a meeting where we are considering a number of things. (Laughter.)

Q Will you concede that the recession --

Q Could you just explain what the view of the administration is toward -- should they be broad, should they be selective?

MR. MEESE: I think we have to look at it --

MR. BAKER: That's what we are going to be talking about.

MR. MEESE: I think you have -- we can't really give you a clue until we've participated in the discussions, but I think you should notice that our main concern is the Polish people and what is going to be helpful to them. The President had been very prudent and very careful in the way he has approached this -- not from a lack of options -- there have been plenty of options -- but from a desire not to do anything that would jeopardize the situation of the Polish people and to select those actions which are going to be helpful in the long run. That is what we will be doing here today.

MR. GERGEN: Bob.

Q Let me concede that the recession was not predicted and that in spite of the figures you have had, that the economy really, overall, hasn't performed as well as you would have hoped it would in this first year --

MR. BAKER: That's right, but we did predict a soft period in the economy and we predicted -- we didn't predict the scope and extent of it, but nevertheless, we did expect the economy to be soft during this period and I don't think that we're -- we're unwilling to take blame for the fact that we are now in a recession. We think that that to some degree has been caused by the economic policies of the past 35 to 40 years, some of which we are seeking to reverse.

MR. MEESE: And I think --

MR. BAKER: And we think -- and let me just add that I think it's our strong position and very strong belief that the President has laid the foundation for economic recovery and that we will see economic recovery -- late spring or early summer of next year -- and that that recovery will be substantial.

Q You're not unwilling to take some of the blame, you said?

MR. MEESE: I don't think it is a matter of blame. I think that the recession was not caused by this administration. The recession was caused by the high interest rates which were a reaction to the fiscal and economic excesses of the past. I think there is no question about that, and there were a number of our economists who did raise the possibility of a recession in their view of things, but nobody, I think, anticipated the interest rates would stay as high as long as they were, which is a mark of the financial community being suspicious of government, no matter who is in government and being unwilling to lower those interest rates until they see that a government is going to stand fast on a sure course. I think the fact that the interest rates are coming down now is an indication that we have convinced the money managers that that is going to be the course of this administration.

Q Is that really the financial community's suspicion of high deficits?

Q What?

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MR. MEESE: No, I think -- I think it's a lot of things. But in the past, remember, a lot of administrations have swerved from their course, particularly in an election year. And I think they're convinced we're not.

Q Jim, did you direct Larry Speakes to explain to the Press what the President meant during the last press conference, as has been widely reported?

MR. BAKER: I don't think I directed Larry Speakes to explain that any more than I direct him to explain anything. He comes to me everyday for guidance on a whole wide range of issues. The guidance that you ought to follow on that, frankly, is the one that Dave gave you this morning, which is basically the very same one that Larry gave you the other day.

Q A final question about that guidance. On the question of the tax measures that would not, in the view of the White House, interfere with the stimulative nature of the economic program, you indicate that some of those may be presented to the President but they have not yet.

MR. BAKER: That's correct.

Q When will they be?

MR. BAKER: I don't know that we can answer that, Howell, but it would not be this year. It would be next year.

MR. MEESE: We'll take one last question on the year-end report back there.

Q There is one minor reference in the report to El Salvador. Do you feel that your policy towards El Salvador has been a success, or a failure?

MR. MEESE: I think it's too early to tell. I think that to the extent that we've able to help that government protect itself against outside interference with a minimum of financial involvement by the United States and with certainly us doing -- using only military training teams to improve the training of their armed forces, I think in that sense we've been successful so far. But it's too early to assess the final result.

Q You've offered a grade on several points, like Social Security. Do you have an overall grade for the administration?

MR. MEESE: No. We'll leave that up to you.

THE PRESS: Thank you very much.

END

2:35 P.M. EST