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Attached are draft debate papers on:

Abortion
Crime
Consumer Protection
Corporate Bailouts
Judicial Appointments
Labor
Small Business
Social Security

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ABORTION

Question

Can you explain your position on abortion?

Answer

- interrupting pregnancy is taking of human life, thus only justifiable if mother's life in danger.
- opposed to federal tax money for abortions unless mother's life in danger
 - position supported by majority of Congress (Hyde Amendment)
 - and upheld by the Supreme Court
- both ticket and party committed to protection of unborn through constitutional amendment.

Question

As president, would you refuse to nominate someone to the Supreme Court who does not support your position on abortion?

Answer

- platform pledges judges who "respect sanctity of innocent human life"
- will certainly not appoint anyone to anything who does not respect innocent human life
- will not insist that judicial candidates agree with me on every issue, but on broader philosophical terms

ABORTION: FACTS

Roe vs. Wade invalidated abortion laws in all 50 states (1973).

Says government may not regulate abortion in first 3 months, may regulate in 2nd and 3rd months, and that it may ban, except when life or health endangered, abortions in the last 3 months.

Constitutional Amendments take three forms

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

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

Hyde Amendment

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

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

RR California Record

- signed 1967 legislation authorizing state funded abortions
- by 1975, 275,000 had been funded

Defense of California Record

- few people could foresee the consequences 13 years ago
- or the abuses that would take place with some doctors

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

- Dems platform supports abortion on demand
- Also demands taxpayers pay for it
- All 3 Carter appointments to US Court of Appeals in D.C. previously supported abortion on demand.
- Patricia Harris continuing to finance abortions with federal funds despite Supreme Court ruling upholding Hyde Amendment. She cites technical reasons for practice.

CRIMEQUESTION

What should Federal government do to curb crime?

ANSWER

- RR recognized crime epidemic spreading:
 - Crime rates up sharply. Violent crimes up nearly 20% during Carter's term.
 - Over half of residents of big cities in late 1979 told George Gallup they were afraid to walk streets at night.
 - Drug abuse has reached alarming proportions again: Number of young adults using one of "hard" drugs (e.g., cocaine) has increased more than 50% in past 3 years.
- Control of crime primarily local and state responsibility, but Washington cannot turn its back. Carter has shamefully neglected:
 - Systematically undermined the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)
 - Dismantled White House Office of Drug Abuse Policy;
 - Politicized judicial process.
 - Allowed reform of Federal criminal code to become bogged down in Congress.
- The Reagan agenda on crime:
 1. Passage of modernized Federal code.
 - Feds should set good example for State and local governments. 40 states have adopted model penal codes. Feds far behind in modernizing their own.
 2. Upgrade LEAA, which provides help to local and state law enforcement agencies.
 - LEAA budget in final year of Ford administration was \$770 million; Carter has reduced to less than a quarter of that amount. RR would restore.
 3. Encourage stiffer penalties.
 - RR's support for death penalty.
 4. Encourage more experimentation at state, local level.

Example: In California, RR proposed (but permissive legislature blocked) that in case of technical violation of law by police officer, the accused be allowed to sue the state for damages, but evidence against accused then be admitted against him. Directed against "exclusionary rule".
 5. Take politics out of system of justice.
 - Cite Marston case, recent Civiletti flap over Billygate.

CRIME: FACTS

Some Carter quotes from 1976 campaign:

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

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

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

On capital punishment:

- In 1935, over 10,000 murders in U.S. In 1955, despite increased population, less than 7,500. One reason advanced by some: during that period, capital punishment authorized by most States, and there were several hundred executions each year.
- Nationwide campaign to ban capital punishment achieved success in early 60s. Number of executions went down to 0 between 1964-1977 (Gary Gilmore in Utah, 1977). Number of deaths due to murder increased from 12,500 in 1968 to more than 20,000 in 1975.
- Past RR story: "Back in 1967, when I was governor of California, an elderly storeowner in San Francisco was the victim of a robbery during the week of the last execution in California. The robber had the storeowner on the floor and raised a knife to stab the old man. The storekeeper, as he told me in a letter later on, cried out: "You'll get the gas chamber if you do!" The robber paused, drew back and ran from the store. One incident is not scientific proof, but this storekeeper is convinced capital punishment saves lives."

CONSUMER PROTECTION: FEDERAL SUPER AGENCY

Question

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

Answer

Oppose Carter proposal for Consumer Protection Agency for several reasons:

- All of us are consumers. Means that all of government -- not a single new bureacracy -- should act in way that protects.
- Government doesn't need another massive new agency.
- Consumer Protection Agency would probably push for measures that amount to "consumer taxation", not consumer protection". Regulations of other agencies have typically driven up cost of everything from bikes to power mowers to autos (over \$700 added to cost of every new car by federal regulations).
- But government still has constructive role to play on behalf of consumer:
 - Consistent enforcement of antitrust laws. Free competition is best regulator.
 - Ensure there is full disclosure and fairness for consumer. Agencies like the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and Consumer Product Safety Commission -- if well managed -- can play very positive role.
 - Overall, government should see that marketplace remains free and fair. Consumers can do rest for themselves.
- Finally, recognize that consumer's most important enemy is inflation. Has tripled under Carter.

CONSUMER PROTECTION: FACTS

1. Consumer Protection Agency -- Carter pushed hard, but measure decisively defeated in House in 1978. Now supported in 1980 Democratic platform.
 - A major GOP alternative, rejected by Carter, was to establish "mini" consumer protection offices in each Federal agency.

2. Federal Trade Commission -- Carter administration quietly tried to transform FTC into a super consumer protection agency. Caused great controversy with local industries (E.G., funeral industry). In 1980, Congress stepped in and significantly reduced powers of FTC as condition of extending authorization for agency.
 - FTC still controversial; many see as nuisance, intermeddler; others see as great protection for consumer, important second arm to government's anti-trust efforts, helping Justice Department.

3. "Mail fraud", "Wire fraud" -- While Democrats on one hand would open honest business to harrassment, Democrats in House Judiciary Committee would weaken protection against some shysters and con-Men. That committee voted to drastically cut back Federal crimes known as "mail fraud" and "wire fraud", which many knowledgeable persons say are most effective consumer protection laws in existence. U.S. Attorneys use them to convict con-men and shysters who operate across State lines. Postion of Carter administration on this _____?

4. Compulsory Air Bags -- Hot consumer issue. 3 reasons to oppose them:
 - Another example (like automatic seatbelt interlocks on cars) of government forcing its views on consumers;
 - Would add at least \$200 to price of car, further hurting Detroit.
 - Questions about their safety, reliability still up in air.

Note: Carter administration has _____

Better to let consumers decide. Good type of free enterprise solution -- Allstate Insurance Co. offers 30% reduction on premiums to those who have airbags. Leaves decision to consumer.

5. General Distinction: Better for government to ensure that individual or family has full, fair information and let them decide (e.g., saccharin) than to have government require consumers to buy only those appliances, equipment that meet Washington standards. One is system of freedom, the other, smacks of authoritarianism.

6. Illinois Brick: In controversial Illinois Brick case in 1977, Supreme Court ruled that so-called indirect purchasers of goods -- those 2-3 steps down distribution line -- cannot sue manufacturer for damages in event of anti-trust violation. Only direct purchaser can sue. Kennedy-Rodino trying to overturn by legislation. RR opposes legislation: inflationary, difficult to implement, lead to class action suits that have no clients, big fees for attorneys. Other side says bill would give consumers power against big business.

CORPORATE BAILOUTSQUESTION

Chrysler may soon return to Washington asking for additional help. Will corporations like this get help from you?

ANSWER

- Companies ought to stand on their own feet. As British have learned, government trying to save dying companies does not work.
- However, if Washington has helped to drive a company or an industry to the wall -- as it has with autos and steel -- then the government ought to consider ways to help.
- Take the auto industry - 300,000 auto workers unemployed
 - Three criticisms of the government:
 - Spending policies inflation, driving up cost of the average American-built car ___% in past four years.
 - Tax policies dried up capital investment, making Detroit less competitive. Capital investment in U.S. lowest among Western democracies.
 - Regulatory policies (emission, mileage, safety) add, as of 1979, \$600 to the cost of average car -- will increase prices as much as \$1,000 per car (1980-85 period).
 - In addition, the following immediate steps would help the auto industry:
 - Temporary moratorium on all new auto regulations and review of old ones.
 - Repeal of 1969 Credit Control Act sections that permitted Carter to impose credit crunch on motorists.
 - Accelerated depreciation legislation.
 - Extension of federal legislation to help unemployed auto workers.

BACKGROUND NOTES1. The Ailing Auto Industry

- Directly or indirectly, industry employs 1 out of every 6 Americans
- Unemployment in industry now more than 35% (an industry record).
- Foreign car invasion: 10 years ago, 1 of every 10 cars bought in the U.S. was foreign; today, it's 1 in 4

● Chrysler

- 10th largest U.S. corporation
- 130,000 employees when Loan guarantee passed last Fall.
- Loan guarantee was for \$1.5 billion, contingent on matching amount from private and state financial sources. Matching amount raised this spring (barely) and guarantee went into effect. Worry that Chrysler may come back for more.
- Federal regulations: RR has called for temporary moratorium on new ones, elimination of "thousands" of old ones. 3 types of regs: emissions, safety, nuclear.
- Carter Auto Program supplemented with new economic package not doing much:
 - Series of studies.
 - Minor lightening of regulations.
 - Speed-up of UAW import relief petition before International Trade Commission (ITC)
 - Little more aid to affected communities.
 - Tax relief (refund plan for investments by declining companies).

2. Steel Industry

- Losing competitive position in world. Hard hit by recession. Unemployment in industry around 13%; industry has half-million workers. Rising tide of imports fluctuate between 13-20% of US market.
- Problems:
 - Outmoded equipment due to lack of investment. Steelworkers in best Japanese plants can now produce 3-4 times as much steel an hour as in Gary, Indiana.
 - 5,000 complex, burdensome government regulations.
 - High labor costs (latest package will increase average salary plus perks to over \$16 per hour over 3 years);
 - Competes with subsidized foreign imports. U.S. industry also complains of illegal dumping (selling below cost in U.S.)

- Solutions:

- Trigger price mechanism: Carter's answer so far. When foreign imports begin selling in U.S. below cost of most efficient foreign producer, U.S. slaps on duties. Mild form of protectionism. Industry would like more protection. (RR has not taken public stand.)

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTSQuestion

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

Answer

- California: RR set up special system to prescreen and evaluate candidates. Committee composed of judges, laymen, members of the bar. Well received: San Francisco Chronicle later said RR had made "first class appointments".
- Two RR criteria for federal appointments:
 1. Excellence (integrity, intellectual capacity, experience, respect)
 2. Judicial temperament: Carter said in '76 debates he would choose people who accurately reflected his political philosophy. Time-honored tradition in US. RR will not seek out candidates who agree on every position but share one key view: role of courts to interpret the law, not to enact new laws or administer local institutions such as prisons, mental institutions, schools. No imperial judiciary.
- Disagree with 2 Carter practices:
 1. He has politicized the judiciary
 - ___ of Carter's ___ nominations to Federal bench have been Democrats
 - ___ of his ___ appointments as US attorneys have been Democrats
 - Excellent prosecutors (Marston) have been fired.
 2. Carter apparently wants to impose a quota system on judicial appointments. The question is not how many people of a particular background are appointed, but how many people of excellence are appointed -- men and women, blacks and whites.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS: FACTS

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

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

Carter attack lines:

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

Marston

- Was US attorney in Philadelphia; GOP appointee
- Fired by Carter administration in 1977 after opening investigation of 2 Democratic congressmen
- Carter had taken telephone call from one of the congressmen and later called Attorney General Griffin Bell.
- Bell openly cited politics as one reason for firing of Marston.

Archibald Cox:

- Another example of Carter playing politics with judiciary
- Was Watergate prosecutor, former Solicitor General of US
- Was Kennedy supporter
- Carter knocked him off judicial search committee -- apparently because he was Kennedy man.

Supreme Court appointees can surprise White House

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

REAGAN AS FRIEND OF LABOR

- Q. To blunt your appeal for blue collar voters, Carter/Mondale have been campaigning on the theme that you are "anti-labor." They cite your stand on many issues such as Davis Bacon, antitrust laws, etc. Can you tell us why working people should vote for you?
- True, have differed with union leaders on occasion and may in future.
 - Example: Temporary lower minimum wage for young workers. Most European countries find it successful. Agree with Walter Williams, black economist at Temple, who argues that lack of youth differential penalizes black teenagers: thru early 1950s, when minimum wage low, black teenage unemployment was below whites. But now, says Williams, higher wage and absence of differential means black teenagers can't find jobs -- their rate of unemployment scandalously high (around 40%, twice the white rate).
 - But on other issues, agree with union position.
 - Example: AFL-CIO challenge to Carter's wage-price guidelines.
 - Overall, a great champion of free trade union movement. No truly free unions except in democracy; no democracy lacks free unions.
 - Courage of Polish workers
 - Support
 - Also, first union leader in history to run for President.
 - Finally, true enemy of working people is a sick economy. Carter has made it sick:
 - Over a million more unemployed today than when he took office.
 - Average hourly wages of working man down 2 years in a row.
 - Taxes have risen by more than \$1,000 per working family under Carter.

LABOR ISSUES: FACTS

1. Carter/Mondale Attack: A central campaign theme for them -- RR is classical anti-labor man. Cite RR past statements on minimum wage, Davis Bacon, antitrust laws, OSHA, right to work. Have also argued that RR's record in Cal. was anti-labor. Here's a capsule on each:
 - Davis Bacon Act: Passed in 19___. Requires all construction projects involving federal funds to pay "prevailing wages" of area -- usually the union wages. Raises costs of projects to taxpayers. Also steers many contracts to unions, and thus penalizes blacks, many of whom aren't in unions. RR has called for repeal. Red flag for unions.
 - Antitrust laws: RR in past has suggested that possibly unions should be subject to anti-trust laws. Major red flag for unions.
 - Minimum wage: Now \$3.10, scheduled to rise this January to \$3.35. Has been rising 8.8% a year since 1978, but still lags behind inflation increases. Youth differential supported by RR has failed twice in Congress -- last time (1977) by a very close vote. Labor Sec. Marshall said that close to a million youth jobs lost when it failed (even though Carter opposed to differential). Carter may wrongly charge that RR wants to abolish entire minimum wage.
 - OSHA. Created under Nixon; small business finds it especially obnoxious. Regulations now number ___ thousand. Carter has lifted its regulations on very small businesses, claims to have eliminated nuisance regulations. But agency still a great headache -- and studies show that rate of accidents in work place hasn't improved under OSHA. Murray Weidenbaum estimates that its regulations cost economy \$___ billion a year. Very controversial. Ways to improve:
 - Better management
 - Give agency clearcut administrative guidelines
 - Total review, overhaul to keep same level of safety, but reduce paperwork, inefficiency.
 - Right to work. (14-B of Taft Hartley). Recent attempts to pass right to work laws have failed (e.g., lost in Missouri in bitter 1978 fight). Several states still have such laws. RR favors fundamental principle of fairness in labor relations -- and need to maintain legal standards preserving employee choice with respect to union membership.
 - Hatch Act: Passed in 1939; prohibits most Federal employees from taking active part in political management or political campaigns. Many past efforts to amend. RR supports as it stands -- protects civil servants from coercion by superiors (the original problem when there was no act on the books); also, partisan political activity by civil servants could undermine merit system.

SMALL BUSINESSQUESTION

Why can small business expect a better deal from a Reagan administration than the Carter administration?

ANSWER

- RR administration would recognize that economy will grow only if small business grows:
 - SBs provide 66% of new jobs in U.S.
 - More than half of major technological advances in this century have come from individual inventors and SBs.
- Carter false friend of SB, breaking his promise of 1976:
 - Carter inflation has put SBs at great disadvantage: must pay more for raw materials and supplies, but risk loss of business if they increase prices.
 - Costs of regulation have continued upward. Now costs SBs an estimated \$15-20 billion a year to handle paperwork alone.
 - Carter-imposed credit crunch in fall, 1979 also hurt.
 - Result: Estimated that 660,000 SBs will fail in 1980. Better than 50% higher than usual.
- What RR would do differently:
 - Cut taxes to increase growth. (Big item for SBs)
 - Accelerate depreciation.
 - Strong regulatory relief.
 - Incentives to spur R&D.
 - Repeal sections of Credit Control Act permitting President to impose credit restriction.
 - Ensure that SBs get fair share of Federal contracts.

SMALL BUSINESS: FACTS

- 97% of 10 million businesses in US are small.
- SBs provide 43% of GNP, employ 55% of workforce.
- Ordinarily, about 400,000 SBs a year fail. Estimated that this year, because of Carter policies, some 660,000 will fail. (Washington Post 5/15/80)
- Has also been estimated that Carter economic policies (especially his credit controls of fall, 1979) will cost 3.2 million small business jobs and \$228 billion in sales in 1980. (W. Post, 5/15/80).
- White House Conference on Small Business: Held this past January. Top priority was to obtain tax relief. Payroll taxes are 52% of SB tax bill. Among recommendations of conference:
 - More graduated corporate and individual tax scales.
 - Simplified depreciation schedules.
 - Lower estate taxes.
 - Balance budget, reduce spending.
 - Sunset laws, regulatory impact statements, Congressional veto of new regulations.
- Carter claims reindustrialization policy incorporates many small business recommendations. Of the top five, he recommended only one (simplified depreciation).

SOCIAL SECURITYQUESTION

How would you save the social security system?

Position:

- RR committed to the financial integrity of the system
 - elderly fastest growing segment of population
 - benefits that allow life in dignity
- Carter way: heavier taxes
 - largest peacetime tax increase in US history
 - \$1,000 per year per worker
- Reagan way: more growth. Report of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress has concluded that if economy had not slowed down so much in recent years Social Security would be in good shape today. Thus, best way to protect the fund is to get the country moving again.
- Beyond that
 - SS should not be voluntary (Carter demogoguery notwithstanding)
 - support equality of benefits for women (unkept Carter promise)
 - remove lid on earnings, it penalizes those who would work
 - SS benefits should not be taxed as Carter commission proposed
 - examine long-term outlook for SS, prepare for future
 - commission of experts to review and reform SS

SOCIAL SECURITYOBSERVATIONS

- Social Security, created in 1935, was originally intended to supplement retirement income. Now consists of several, separate benefit programs:
 - OASI (Old Age and Survivors Insurance), corner stone of the program. Covers retired workers and widows and orphans of those who die prematurely.
 - Disability Insurance (DI), 1956. Support for workers incapacitated before retirement.
 - Medicare, 1965. Medical aid for the elderly in two parts: Hospital Insurance and Supplemental Medical Insurance.
 - Supplemental Security Income, 1972. Covers needy, disabled, blind. Financed through general revenues. (Other programs financed through Social Security taxes.)
- Over 35 million Americans receive SS benefits, up more than ___% since 1970.
- Social Security payments 25% of the Federal budget. SS is financed by payroll taxes paid equally by employees and employers. Current rate: 6.13% each in 1980; 6.65% each in 1981.
- The program is not operated on an actuarial basis like an insurance program. A minimum benefit is guaranteed, no matter how much has been paid in. Disability and Medicare benefits awarded strictly on need.
- SS running out of money because
 - Benefits are indexed (and increase faster than rate of inflation).
 - Mortality and fertility rates are down.
 - Number of beneficiaries has risen sharply.
 - Slow economic growth has strangled the tax base.
- Under Carter's 1977 law, payroll taxes will more than double for the average worker by 1981 -- over \$1,000 per employee. New Carter tax proposal only a small offset.
- Notes:
 - RR urged not to discuss raising retirement age.
 - RR has not taken position on using general revenues to fund.