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COMMON SENSE

by

Ronald Reagan

Short-sighted men with little vision playing political games have divided our nation into warring special interest groups, squandered our ability to provide for ourselves, and turned us into an impotent and scorned nation throughout the world. Their future for us is one of "living with less," allocating shortages, restricting our freedom, and retreating from the world.

Some may say this is all right -- that we are a greedy people who deserve to sacrifice. They may be willing to condemn our people, particularly the poor, to a hopeless future. But I will not accept this vision of despair, nor will I idly watch it become reality. Instead, we can, and must, make America great again.

More than 200 years ago, American patriot Thomas Paine declared in a document entitled "Common Sense" that "in the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense."

That is what I, too, offer in the following pages. I believe common sense is called for now more than it ever has been in the last half-century.

In what follows, I ask each reader only to abandon any prejudices and pre-conceived notions about the state of our nation, and consider what I have to say.

We face many serious problems, some of which require only simple solutions, while others demand complex answers. But none can be remedied by the symbolic remedies which have become the hallmark of the Carter administration.

Like a doctor who treats only the superficial symptoms of a disease while allowing it to spread unchecked throughout the body, the present administration has refused to respond to the causes of our country's ills. As a result, our nation's problems -- inflation, energy, education, confidence in government, defense, and foreign policy -- have worsened substantially during the last three and one-half years.

In fact, there is little doubt that the administration does not really understand the problems we face. Its policies have been based on three mistaken views of the world:

1. That government decisions are better than those made by the people.
2. That the American people will continue working and producing regardless of the obstacles government places in their way.
3. That the American people cannot be trusted, but that the Soviets can be trusted.

These misconceptions have led to government policies which have brought America to its lowest point -- economically, socially, and internationally -- since the Great Depression. We are slipping quietly into a new national nightmare. Short-sighted men with little vision playing political games have divided our nation into warring special interest groups, squandered our ability to provide for ourselves, and turned us into an impotent and scorned nation throughout the world. Their future for us is one of "living with less," allocating shortages, restricting our freedom, and retreating from the world.

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I firmly believe that we can renew our hope in the future. All it takes is understanding and common sense -- and a leadership willing to put it into practice.

Our goal must be to increase opportunities for all Americans, not merely to redistribute them from one group to another; to create a better life and higher standard of living for Americans, not a rationing program; and to promote true peace in the world, not conflict bred by an America in retreat.

This administration offers only the policies of the past -- it can therefore only hope to continue the problems of the past. A Reagan administration will look to the future with policies of hope -- so that our tomorrows will be better than our yesterdays.

We can become great again!

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INFLATION

FACT: During the past three years, the inflation rate has tripled -- rising from 4.8% to nearly 14% -- our highest peacetime rate ever. Interest rates have soared to 15% and more. But our people's standard of living has fallen -- about 4.5% each year.

FICTION: The Carter administration has blamed inflation on a number of factors, which are not causes, but results, of inflation. For example, the administration has condemned:

1. OPEC oil price increases. These do harm our economy, but other countries far more dependent upon OPEC oil than we are -- such as West Germany and Japan -- have kept inflation lower and productivity higher than we have. In fact, over the last several years, the increase in OPEC prices has paralleled the dollar's fall in value, caused by inflation. Thus, OPEC has been forced to raise its prices because the dollars we pay it with are worth less and less.

2. High wages and prices. Workers need to increase their wages, and businessmen need to increase their prices, to keep up with the costs of living and producing. It is because of inflation that wages and prices keep increasing, not the other way around.

3. "Excessive" spending by consumers. Consumers are spending more because higher prices require them to just to stay even. Further, consumers spend rather than save because taxes and inflation so greatly reduce the value of their savings that they are better off spending the money now.

REAL CAUSES: Inflation results when the nation's demand for goods and services exceeds the nation's supply of goods and services. With too few goods and services to go around, their prices are constantly bid up.

1. The excess demand is caused by the government

injecting too much printing-press money into the economy. One of the most important ways it does this is by spending more than it takes in. In fact, the federal deficit for 1980 is expected to be several billion dollars greater than it was last year.

2. The insufficient supply is caused by punitive government tax policies and regulations. High tax rates and burdensome regulations penalize increased production, resulting in a rate of increase in productivity that is lower in the U. S. than in virtually all the other industrial nations. Likewise, high tax rates discourage saving, thus greatly reducing the capital available to businesses to expand production. For instance, the U. S. rate of savings is five times less than the rate in Japan.

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REAL SOLUTION: Voters should be permitted to initiate and vote directly on national legislative matters. The initiative process has worked well at the state level, leading to such landmark achievements as Proposition 13 -- the tax limitation measure -- and other restrictions on government's taxing and spending power. A national initiative procedure would help restore both voters' confidence in and control over their government.

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FICTION: The Carter administration believes world peace can best be obtained by:

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REAL CAUSES: World peace is weakened when the United States, the leader of the free world, refuses to support its ideals or its allies. This only invites attacks on us and on other nations of the world. Our weak response to the Iranian crisis, for instance, convinced the Soviets we would not respond effectively if they invaded Afghanistan. Weakness produces only conflict, not peace.

REAL SOLUTIONS: Our foreign policy should be guided by a commitment to:

1. Superior economic and defensive strength.
2. Consistency in dealing with other nations.
3. A desire to be respected again in the world.

CONCLUSION

The problems which I have described -- inflation, energy, education, confidence in government, defense, and foreign policy -- are but a few of the many critical issues facing our nation in the 1980s. They demand immediate, serious, and effective solutions.

But to be effective, our national leadership must place its faith in individual, rather than government, decisions; it must recognize the destructive effect of past and present government policies; and it must trust the American people to do what they believe is best.

Freedom, economic growth, and national security are the hallmarks of a truly great nation. We need a national leadership which speaks of productivity and jobs, rather than cutbacks and sacrifice; a leadership which emphasizes a better life for all, rather than special favors and privileges for a few; and a leadership which is committed to a strong and respected nation, rather than one which is maligned and held hostage.

In short, we need a leadership with a vision of hope for the future. It is time to let go of the mistakes of the past, and meet the new challenges of the 1980s. All it takes is commitment, understanding, and a little common sense.

Together, let us make America great again.

RONALD REAGAN
January 1980

HOW YOU CAN HELP...

I sincerely believe that Ronald Reagan is the one leader in America who can restore greatness to our nation -- new opportunities, a better standard of living, and leadership in the pursuit of world peace.

But one man alone cannot complete the task. Ronald Reagan needs the help of millions of dedicated Americans like yourself to help make this vision of hopefulness become reality.

You can help by:

- *Supporting Ronald Reagan for President.
- *Encouraging your friends and associates to support Ronald Reagan.
- *Volunteering your time at our state headquarters (Call 213/670-9161 for more information).
- *Sending a financial contribution.

Whatever you can do to help will be greatly appreciated. Please complete the coupon below, and mail it to us at:

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT
National Headquarters
9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430
Los Angeles CA 90045

Thanks for your support in the cause of making America great again.

Jack Kemp

Rep. Jack Kemp
Chairman of Policy Development
Reagan for President

☐ YES! I want to help make America great again.

Enclosed is my contribution for \$_____.

Name, etc.

Draft 1/22/80

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But to be effective, our national leadership must place its faith in individual, rather than government, decisions; it must recognize the destructive effect of past and present government policies; and it must trust the American people to do what they believe is best.

Freedom, economic growth, and national security are the hallmarks of a truly great nation. We need a national leadership which speaks of productivity and jobs, rather than cutbacks and sacrifice; a leadership which emphasizes a better life for all, rather than special favors and privileges for a few; and a leadership which is committed to a strong and respected nation, rather than one which is maligned and held hostage.

In short, we need a leadership with a vision of hope for the future. It is time to let go of the mistakes of the past, and meet the new challenges of the 1980s. All it takes is commitment, understanding, and a little common sense.

Together, let us make America great again.

RONALD REAGAN
January 1980

HOW YOU CAN HELP...

I sincerely believe that Ronald Reagan is the one leader in America who can restore greatness to our nation -- new opportunities, a better standard of living, and leadership in the pursuit of world peace.

But one man alone cannot complete the task. Ronald Reagan needs the help of millions of dedicated Americans like yourself to help make this vision of hopefulness become reality.

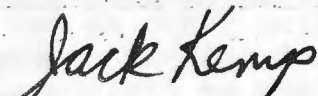
You can help by:

- *Supporting Ronald Reagan for President.
- *Encouraging your friends and associates to support Ronald Reagan.
- *Volunteering your time at our state headquarters (Call 213/670-9161 for more information).
- *Sending a financial contribution.

Whatever you can do to help will be greatly appreciated. Please complete the coupon below, and mail it to us at:

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT
National Headquarters
9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430
Los Angeles CA 90045

Thanks for your support in the cause of making America great again.



Rep. Jack Kemp
Chairman of Policy Development
Reagan for President

☐ YES! I want to help make America great again.

Enclosed is my contribution for \$_____.

Name, etc.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 1, 1900

SIR:
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours,
J. M. McKim

Very truly,
J. M. McKim

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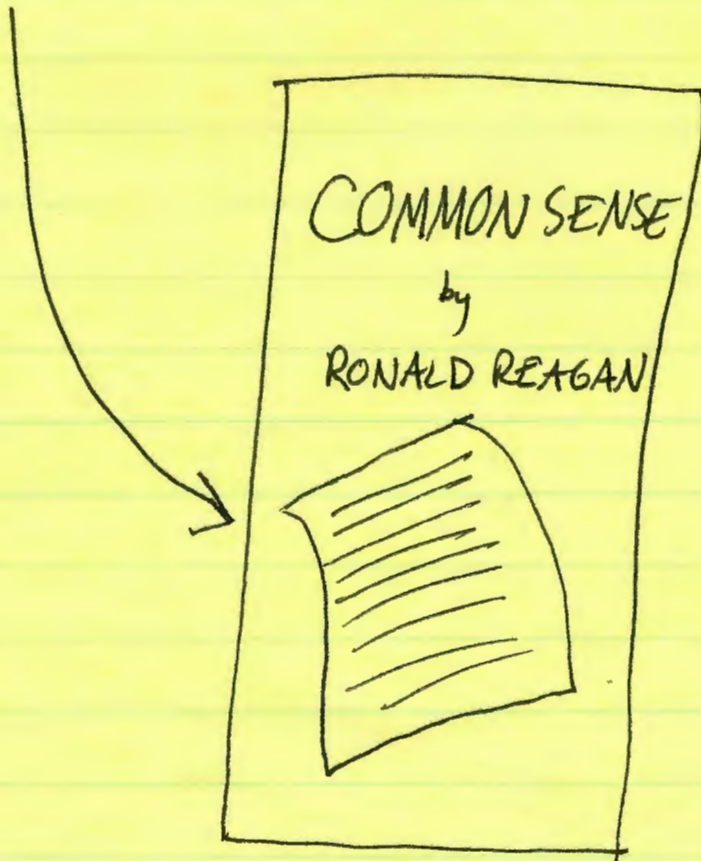
Front Cover

1/20

Short-sighted ~~little~~ men with little ~~minds~~ vision playing ~~political~~ games ~~called politics~~ have brought us

~~They have~~ divided ^{our} nation into ~~sp~~ warring special interest groups, ~~forfeited~~ ^{squandered} our ability to provide for our ~~people~~ ^{selves}, and ~~made~~ ^{turned} us ~~to be~~ ^{into} an impotent and ~~unrespected~~ ^{scorned} nation ~~people~~ throughout the world. Their future ^{for us} is one of "living with less," ~~allocating~~ ^{allocating} shortages, ~~ration tickets~~, restrictions ^{ing} on ^{our} freedom, and retreating from ^{the} world.

Some may say ^{this} this is all right. ~~Some may say~~ we are a greedy people who deserve to sacrifice. And ~~some~~ ^{they} may be willing to condemn the ~~poor~~ ^{our people,} particularly the poor, ~~to a future of despair.~~ ~~I am not willing~~ ~~to see~~ ~~this vision of despair, grows into reality.~~ ~~For the sake of our people,~~ ~~and our hope for a brighter future, let us~~ ^{Instead, we can, and must,} make America great again.



~~constituted~~

-1-

pre-conceive
yes, some ^{other}
answers.
~~punishment.~~

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since the ~~of~~ Great Depression. We ^{are} ~~have~~ slipped quietly into ^{ing} ~~a~~ ^{new} ~~potential~~ national nightmare. ^{Short-sighted} ~~little~~ men with little ^{vision} ~~minds~~ playing ^{political} ~~games~~ called ^{squandered} ~~politics~~ have divided us into warring special interest groups, ~~forfeited~~ our ability to provide for our ^{selves} ~~people~~, and ^{turned} ~~made~~ us ^{into} ~~an~~ impotent and ^{scorned} ~~unrespected~~ nation throughout the world. Their future for us is one of "living with less," ^{allocating shortages,} ~~ration~~ tickets, ^{ing} ~~restrictions~~ on our freedom, and retreating ^{around} ~~from~~ the world.

Some may say this is all right. ^{that} ~~Some~~ ~~may~~ ~~say~~ we are a greedy people who deserve to sacrifice. ^{they} ~~And~~ ~~Some~~ ~~may~~ ~~be~~ ~~willing~~ ~~to~~ ~~condemn~~ ~~the~~ ~~poorest~~ ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~society~~ ~~to~~ ~~perpetual~~ ~~poverty~~. ^{our people, particularly the poor, to a hopeless future.} ~~I~~ ~~will~~ ~~not~~ ~~accept~~ ~~this~~ ~~vision~~ ~~of~~ ~~despair~~, nor ^{will I idly} ~~watch~~ ~~it~~ ~~grow~~ ~~into~~ ~~reality~~. ^{become} ~~For~~ ~~the~~ ~~sake~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~people~~, and ~~our~~ ~~hope~~ ~~for~~ ~~a~~ ~~brighter~~ ~~future~~, ~~let~~ ~~us~~ ~~make~~ ~~America~~ ~~great~~ ~~again~~.

^{To} ~~We~~ ~~can~~ ~~escape~~ ~~this~~ ~~travail~~, and ~~renew~~ ~~hope~~ ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~people~~. ^{our the future, all} ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~it~~ ~~takes~~ ~~is~~ ~~understanding~~, ~~common~~ ~~sense~~, and a leadership willing to put it into practice. We can ^{become} ~~great~~ ~~again~~.

But ~~what~~ ~~is~~ "greatness?" ~~It~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~a~~ ~~nation~~ ~~which~~ ~~subjugates~~ ~~its~~ ~~own~~ ~~people~~ ~~for~~ ~~some~~ ~~"national~~ ~~interest~~," nor is it ~~a~~ ~~nation~~ ~~which~~ ~~dominates~~ ~~it~~ ~~neighbors~~. ^{Instead, greatness} ~~and~~ ~~conquers~~ ~~its~~ ~~enemies~~. ^{truly} ~~A~~ ~~great~~ ~~nation~~ ~~is~~ ~~one~~ ~~which~~ ~~treats~~ ~~all~~ ~~its~~ ~~people~~ ~~as~~ ~~equals~~, ^{protecting} ~~gives~~ ^{their} ~~its~~ ~~people's~~ ~~freedom~~ ~~to~~ ~~create~~ ~~a~~ ~~better~~ ~~life~~, and ~~strives~~ ~~for~~ ~~peace~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~. This is what the United States can become -- again.

~~But~~ ~~first~~ ~~we~~ ~~need~~ ~~a~~ ~~national~~ ~~leadership~~ ~~committed~~ ~~to~~ ~~solving~~, ^{rather} ~~rather~~ ~~than~~ ~~merely~~ ~~allowing~~ ~~them~~ ~~to~~ ~~become~~ ~~worse~~, ~~our~~ ~~problems~~, ^{rather} ~~rather~~ ~~than~~ ~~merely~~ ~~making~~ ~~them~~ ~~worse~~. ^{blindly}

INFLATION

FACT: During the past three years, the ~~rate~~^{rate} of inflation has nearly tripled ~~en~~^{rising} from 4.8% to ~~nearly~~^{our} almost 14% ~~At the same time, our high~~^{the highest peacetime rate in our history.} standard of living ~~long the hope of those seeking to improve their life,~~^{of all our people's standard of living} has ~~continued to~~^{declined} about 4.5% per year.

FICTION: The Carter administration, ~~in searching for~~ has variously blamed inflation on a number of ~~"causes"~~^{factors}. But these ~~"causes"~~^{which} are ~~but only~~^{instead} results of inflation. ~~The~~^{For example,} administration has condemned:

1. OPEC oil price increases. ~~These do harm our economy, but other countries~~^{Fact:} far more dependent upon OPEC oil than the U.S. -- such as West Germany and Japan -- have kept inflation ~~down~~^{lower} and productivity ~~up~~^{higher} ~~better~~^{that is} than the U.S. ~~has been able to~~. In fact, over the past several years, the ~~rise of~~^{increase in} OPEC prices has almost exactly paralleled the ~~fall~~^{rise} in the dollar's value, caused by inflation. OPEC has raised its prices ~~because~~^{raising} the dollars we are paying, it are worth less and less.

2. High wages and prices. ~~Labor needs to increase its wages~~^{Fact:} ~~to keep~~^{and} up with the ~~costs~~^{ever higher} of living. ~~Business needs to increase its prices~~^{to} ~~to keep up~~^{with the cost of producing}. High wages and prices thus do not cause inflation; ~~inflation causes~~^{but instead} high wages and prices are ~~the~~^a result of inflation.

3. "Excessive" spending by consumers. ~~Consumers are spending more~~^{Fact:} because ~~prices are so high that they have to~~^{higher} increase their ~~spending~~^{require them} just to stay even. ~~In fact,~~^{Further} consumers spend rather than save because taxes and inflation ~~reduce~~^{despite} the value of their savings, ~~even with~~ high interest rates.

REAL CAUSES: Inflation results when the nation's demand for goods and services exceeds the nation's supply of goods and services.

With too few goods and services to go around, their prices ~~are~~ ^{to be} continually bid up.

1. The excess demand is caused by the government injecting too much printing-press money into economy. One of the ^{most important} ~~main~~ ways it does this is by spending more than it takes in. In fact, the federal deficit for 1980 ^{may be even larger} is ~~\$3 billion more~~ ^{that} than for 1979. ^{is expected to be several billion dollars greater}

2. The insufficient supply is caused by ^{punitive} government tax policies and regulations. which discourage and actually punish production and savings. High tax rates and burdensome regulations ~~greatly reduce the ability of businesses to even keep up their present production~~ ^{discourage level of} as a result ^{ing in a} the rate of increase in ~~the~~ productivity ^{that} is lower in the U.S. than in virtually all the other industrial countries ~~of the~~ world. Likewise, high tax rates discourage savings, greatly reducing the capital available to businesses to expand ~~their~~ production. ^{For instance, the U.S. rate of savings is five times less than the rate in Japan.} ^{to stimulate production.}

REAL SOLUTIONS: To curb inflation, we must:

1. Reduce income tax rates across-the-board. ^{to help} Reduce taxes on capital, ^{so} businesses ^{can} increase their ^{investment and} production, ^{and} hire more workers. ^{at least up to a point} ~~Eliminate the~~ income tax on interest from savings, ^{and} ~~Eliminate~~ such ^{to encourage thrift.} confiscatory taxes as the ~~estate tax, inheritance tax, and carryover tax.~~ ^{Eliminate unnecessary}
2. Place ~~strictly~~ limits on federal spending, ^{we should also} ~~such~~ ^{or} ~~Eliminating~~ fraud and waste in the federal budget, which account for one-tenth ^{or} more of all federal spending. ^{Set constitutional limits}
3. Require that the federal budget be balanced. ^{on the level of spending, as well as}
4. Transfer back to the states programs which do not

belong at the federal level, ^{such as} along with the tax resources to pay for them. ~~Among the programs which should be transferred~~
welfare and education

ENERGY

~~PRO~~

FACT: During the past three years, energy prices have nearly doubled, and are now the highest in U.S. history, ^{while spot shortages are becoming commonplace.} ~~For the first time~~ the government ^{is now} seriously ^{intrusive} considering peacetime ^{gasoline} rationing, high gasoline taxes, and other controls over people's energy use -- all of which will hurt the poor and middle class the most.

FICTION: The Carter administration blames the energy crisis on:

1. "Wasteful and extravagant" energy use. ~~For~~ The American people do not

"guzzle" gasoline out of some malevolent desire to inflict energy shortages on our nation; they use energy because it is a necessary part of their ^{livelihood} ~~standard of living~~. In fact, the rate of ^{increase in} gasoline use ^{from 1973 to 1976} ~~in 1978~~ was about half the rate for the two decades before 1973, ~~and in~~ ~~was~~ 1978, it was only 39%, less than in almost every other industrialized country. And ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ October 1979, gasoline use was 8% lower than in 1978.

~~the~~ ^{is} ~~Department of Energy~~ ^{is using less energy now than it was in 1974, even though it is producing 12% more goods and services.} ~~has become 10-15% more energy efficient.~~ ~~And~~ ~~former~~

2. Unfair allocation by private companies. ~~Energy~~ Secretary James

Schlesinger admits that the gasoline lines ^{last spring} ~~were~~ ^{these} caused by federal allocation rules. ^{Moreover,} ~~And~~ a congressional committee ^{has found} ~~says~~ that those federal allocation rules could cause a heating oil shortage this winter and more gasoline lines this summer.

3. OPEC cutbacks in oil production. ~~But~~ If the U.S. produced more of

its own energy, it would not have to rely so much ^{heavily} on OPEC. ^{the primary cause of} ~~is~~ ^{is} caused mainly by

REAL CAUSES. Our energy problem ~~is~~ ^{is} caused mainly by

federal policies which have reduced domestic energy production, and which will continue to do so in the future:

10 Sept
4. Dwindling U.S. ^{energy} supplies. One government study estimates that on the Outer Continental Shelf alone there is more oil waiting to be drilled than has been produced in our entire history. Another government study says there is as much as 1,000 years of natural gas left in the United States, waiting to be drilled. yet to be developed.

1. Price controls. Oil production in the continental U.S. has declined every year since oil price controls were imposed in 1971. Natural gas production has been declining ever since natural gas price restraints became effective. Yet despite the existence of price controls, energy prices have soared; ~~This is because~~ price controls, by reducing domestic production, have forced the U.S. to import more oil, thereby driving up world oil prices.
2. The "windfall profits" tax. This tax ~~has nothing to do with~~ ^{is not related} profits; it is a per-barrel ~~tax~~ sales tax on domestic production. Oil ~~producers~~ ^{U.S. producers} will be encouraged to avoid the tax by reducing their production and ~~producing~~ ^{expanding} overseas instead. In fact, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that the tax will ~~deplete~~ ^{reduce} the U.S. ~~by~~ ^{production by} up to 840,000 barrels of oil per day.

3. Insufficient federal leasing. Time and again, the present administration has extended drilling leases, then revoked them. Professor William Moffat of Stanford ~~says~~ ^{estimates} that insufficient ^{offshore} leasing could cost the U.S. 3 million barrels of oil per day. ~~Expanded leasing in Alaska could~~

REAL SOLUTIONS: We must increase domestic energy production:

1. Eliminate price controls. ^{But according to} Charles Phelps and Rodney Smith ~~with~~ ^{Ensted, major oil company} of the Rand Corporation, a research group, ~~estimates that~~ ^{they will not} increase prices to the consumer, since refiners will have to absorb the cost increases. ~~But~~ ^{they already pay the world refined oil price} ~~will increase domestic oil~~ production -- ~~to~~ ^{up to} ~~by~~ ¹² million barrels per day or more.
2. Eliminate ~~taxes~~ ^{the windfall profits tax} on U.S. energy production, which is only a direct tax ~~discouraging~~ ^{on domestic energy production}.
3. Lease more federal lands, at the same time ensuring protection of the environment. For instance, expanded leasing in Alaska could ^{triple} oil production there.
4. Increase the use of coal and nuclear ^{power}, but within strict safety standards.

~~Not too terribly strong. Maybe leave out.~~

-8-

EDUCATION

FACT: Educational ~~so~~ test scores ~~are approach~~ ^{been} have declined ^{ing} significantly, ~~over the past three years~~, and are approaching their lowest level in several decades. Low educational achievement prevents many students -- especially minority members -- from securing decent, well-paying jobs.

FICTION: The Carter administration blames low education scores on:

1. Too little federal spending. ~~Fact~~ Educational performance in the U.S. increased from the 1930s until the early 1960s. ^{without substantial federal aid.} When federal aid began to education began in 1962, test scores began to decline, and have continued to fall ever since.

2. Too little mandatory busing. ~~Fact~~ Professor James Coleman, the "father of busing," says that it is "wishful thinking" that forced busing has advanced minority educational achievement.

REAL CAUSES:

1. Too much federal control. Federal ^{"uniform standards" for} ~~control over~~ education have diminished local ~~authority~~ control, ^{but} ~~yet only~~ ^{parents and school boards} local ^{best} authorities know what their schools and students need ~~most~~.

2. Too many federal regulations on education. ^{largely because of federal regulations,} As a result, ~~school~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{number of} ~~districts~~ administrative personnel per student has ~~more~~ than doubled. ~~Some~~ ^{all of which} ~~the~~ ^{this is} ~~of which~~ ^{as much as} one-third of their time filling out forms. ~~At~~ ^{all} ~~this is~~ ^{of which} means less time ~~for~~ and money for teaching students.

REAL SOLUTIONS: We must ~~improve~~ ^{improve} the quality of education for all students.

1. Eliminate the Federal Department of Education, and return control of schools to ^{parents and} local school boards ~~and parents~~.

2. Prohibit forced busing except where school districts intentionally

segregate students.

3. ~~Return~~ Transfer general federal education aid programs to the states
along with the tax resources to pay for them.

CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

FACT: During the past three years, confidence in government has declined to new lows.

FICTION: The Carter administration believes confidence in government has fallen because:

1. People have lost confidence in themselves. This was the theme of the President's July 1979 energy address.
2. The federal government has not initiated enough major new programs. ~~The Carter admin~~ The administration has blamed the people's lost confidence ^{among other things} on ~~the~~ Congress' failure to enact massive new energy and ^{health} ~~welfare~~ ^{in part} bureaucracies.

REAL CAUSES: In fact, people have lost confidence ^{in government} because:

1. The government continues to impose ^{failed} bad policies ^{more taxes,} and more regulations, while ~~prob~~ national problems worsen.
2. Voters ~~feel~~ they have less influence, as ^{their supposed} representatives ^{and for special} increasingly ^{work} against the people's ^{taxes} interests, by continually ^{spending} raising ^{billions} ^{on new programs} taxes and tolerating fraud and waste. ^{It is not} ~~that~~ ^{surprising} ~~that~~ record numbers of people ^{choose} ~~select~~ not to vote.

REAL SOLUTIONS: ~~It is time we created a national initiative process~~ to ~~allow~~ ^{initiate and} voters to ^{vote} directly on ^{federal} legislative matters. ~~This~~ ^{the initiative process} ~~procedure~~ ^{should be} has worked well at the state level, leading to such landmark achievements as Proposition 13 -- ~~the~~ ^{they} tax limitation measure -- and ~~other~~ other restrictions on governments' taxing and spending power. ~~in cases where the state legislatures refused to act~~ ^{national initiative} ~~We need such a procedure at the national level~~ would ^{help} ~~from~~ restore voters'

-11-

influence, and ~~also~~ permit them to reverse ^{counterproductive} ~~bad~~ government policies.

DEFENSE

~~FACT~~ ^{relative} ^{strength is} ^{recent} Our ~~national~~ defense ~~are~~ the weakest in ~~our~~ history. ~~FACT~~ ^{Our} conventional forces ~~are~~ ~~have~~ declined ~~in~~ ^{strength} ^{compared} relative to the Soviet Union. Our navy has half as many ships as the ~~new~~ Soviet navy. And in 41 ~~such~~ ^{measures} of strategic nuclear capability, the Soviet Union is superior in 33 ^{categories} and ^{soon} ~~will~~ may become superior in the other 8 categories. ~~By~~ ~~the~~ ~~early~~ ~~1980s~~.

FICTION: The Carter administration ^{apparently} ~~believes~~ ^{has} defensive capability improved ~~by~~ ^{despite} its: ^{has claimed that our}

1. Eliminating ^{important} defensive weapons. The administration has cancelled the B-1 bomber, slowed the M-X missile, ^{delayed} ~~reduced~~ the navy shipbuilding program, ^{in half,} and ~~delayed~~ postponed the neutron warhead. Now, ^{three years too late,} the administration admits that it was wrong. At the same time it has allowed

2. Approving a SALT II treaty which is actually ~~a~~ ⁵ Strategic Arms Buildup, ^{permitting} ~~allowing~~ the Soviets to add 3,000 new missiles while allowing the U.S. to play "catch-up," which ~~we~~ we cannot do ^{before} ~~until~~ 1990. ^{While Carter has temporarily withdrawn} ^{in 1983} Many of the same people who complained that U.S. strategic superiority ^{plans to follow its terms} could lead to war are silent now that the Soviets are achieving ^{strategic superiority} ~~the treaty~~ ^{from the Senate}.

REAL CAUSES: Our defensive strength is weakened by:

1. Our unilateral cutbacks in defense.
2. Our weak economy.
3. Our continuing regard of our nearest neighbors - Canada and Mexico - as foreigners.

REAL SOLUTIONS: To improve our defensive system, we must

1. Build those ~~defensive~~ weapons necessary to secure our nation from attack.
2. Shelve the SALT II Treaty, but then tell the Soviet Union

^{that} we will sit down ^{with them} ~~negotiate~~ as long as ^{necessary} ~~needed~~ to negotiate an arms limitation treaty which will reduce nuclear arms on both sides until neither ^{nation} is a threat to the other.

~~3. Strengthen our economy, as outlined above.~~

3. Inaugurate a new concept in ^{continental} ~~hemispheric~~ defense and economic strength by developing a closer association with Canada and Mexico -- a North American Accord. We should treat Canada and Mexico as equals, and ask them how we can jointly improve our continental relations.

FOREIGN RELATIONS POLICY

FACT: ~~Even the~~ International respect for the United States is at ^{one} ~~its~~ ^{of the} lowest points in ^{US history} ~~this century~~. During the past three years, ~~three~~ U.S. ambassadors ^{we} ~~half~~ been assassinated, ~~half a dozen~~ ^{our} embassies have been attacked, and ~~our people~~ ^{diplomatic personnel} have been ~~held~~ ^{taken} hostage ~~for~~ ^{for} the first time in ~~history~~. ^{the first time the Soviets have invaded a nation outside the Soviet bloc.}

FICTION: The Carter administration ~~is~~ ^{has} ~~apparently~~ ^{has claimed that our} believes in improving foreign relations ^{have improved} by ~~despite its~~.

1. Criticizing friends, but ignoring ^{adversaries} enemies. The administration's human rights policy has been used as a club against ~~our~~ allies such as Chile and South Korea, ^{to} ~~But~~ ^{virtually} ~~it~~ ^{similar} has ignored violations of human rights in ~~the~~ ^{the} Soviet Union, Mainland China, and Cuba.

2. ~~Exaggerating~~ ^{our} Undercutting allies. The administration unilaterally cancelled our 25-year-old treaty with Taiwan, ~~it~~ ^{often} has worked against Israel in ~~the~~ Middle East negotiations, ^{and} ~~it~~ ^{intentionally} undermined the Shah in Iran, ^{helping bring} by ~~giving him~~ ^{incorrect advice}, ~~allowing~~ the Khomeini regime ^{into} ~~to come~~ ^{to power}. ^[This paragraph offends my libertarian sensibilities to no end!]

3. Making policy on the basis of who will "like" us. ~~The~~ administration gave away the Panama Canal so ~~Panama~~ ^{other nations} would like us. It ~~has~~ ^{others} opposed the black ~~majority~~ majority government in Rhodesia so ~~the~~ ^{others} ~~Rhodesian~~ ^{nations} ~~terrorists~~ would like us. ^{And} ~~it~~ ^{has} negotiated a weak SALT II Treaty so ~~the~~ ^{others} ~~Soviets~~ ^{nations} would like us.

REAL CAUSES: ~~As~~ ^{Our foreign policy is failing because a} ~~Baron Ben Wallenberg, a Democrat and senior~~ ~~fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, has explained~~ ~~A nation which~~ ~~tells the world~~ ^{refuses to} ~~it will not support its ideals or its allies~~

Freudian?

invites attacks on itself and its friends. Weakness ^{does not} produce ~~only~~ ~~peace~~, but conflict, not peace, as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan ^{dramatically illustrates.}

REAL SOLUTIONS: Our foreign policy must be guided by three goals: [how about my 3?]

1. Resolution in pursuit of our ideals, and ~~in~~ commitment to our allies. [however corrupt they may be??]
2. Consistency in dealing with other nations.
3. A desire to be respected again in the world, so ^{never again will any} ~~no~~ dictator ~~can~~ ^{do} invade our embassy and hold our people hostage.

CONCLUSION

These problems -- inflation, energy, education, confidence in government, defense, and foreign ^{policy} relations -- are but ~~the~~ ^{a few} worst of ~~a number of~~ ^{the many problems} ~~ills~~ ^{facing} our nation. They demand ~~some~~ immediate -- and serious -- solutions.

But to be effective, ~~a~~ ^{our} national leadership must trust the American people, it must recognize the destructive effect of ~~many~~ ^{Past} government policies, and it must place ~~the greatest~~ ^{its} faith in individual, rather than government decisions.

~~These~~ ^{Freedom, and growth, and national security} are the hallmarks of a truly great nation. We need a leadership which speaks of productivity and jobs, rather than cutbacks and sacrifice; a leadership which emphasizes a better life for ~~everyone~~ ^{all}, rather than special favors ^{and privileges} for a few; and a leadership which is committed to a nation ^{strong and} respected in the world, rather than ~~one~~ ^{weak} which is ~~is~~ malignant, and held hostage. In short, we need a leadership ~~which~~ with a vision of ~~hope~~ ^{hope} for the future ~~not~~ ^{offer} ~~despair~~.

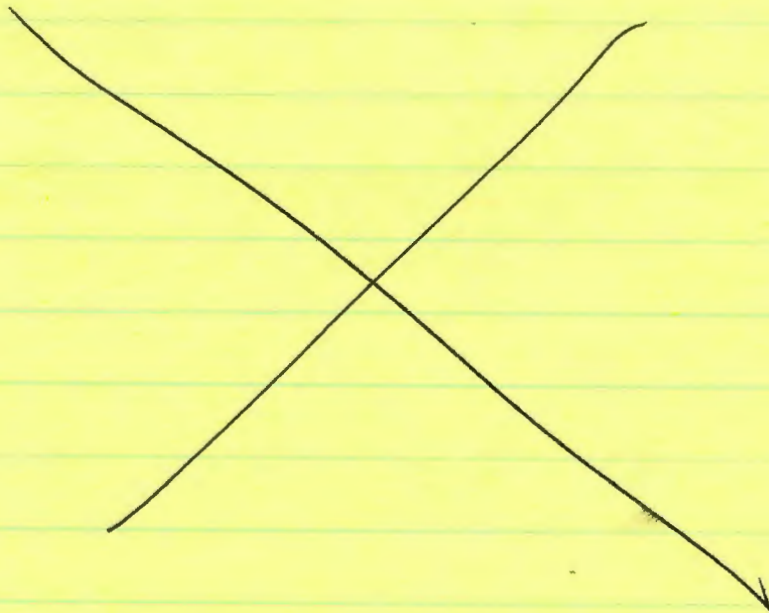
Together, let us make America great again.

HELP MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!
HELP ELECT RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENT.

Here's What you can do :

- * _____
- * _____
- * _____
- * _____
- * _____

COUPON



Thomas Paine, a hero of the American Revolution, wrote in 1776 that "the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in what part the fault lies; some will say in one and some in another, and every political physician will advise a different medicine."

Needs something. Is RR the master physician? Etc.
not really our problem.

1086-1099, is the most penetrating analysis of Paine's political ideas and their relation to the thought of other Revolutionary leaders.

A. THE CALL FOR INDEPENDENCE:
THOMAS PAINE, "COMMON SENSE" (1776)*

SOME writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness *positively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries *by a government*, which we might expect in a country *without government*, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case, advises him out of two evils to chuse the least. *Wherefore* security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows, that whatever *form* thereof appears most likely to insure it to us, with the least expence and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth, unconnected with the rest: they will then represent the first peopling of any country, or of the world. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought. A thousand motives will excite them thereto, the strength of one man is so unequal to his wants, and his mind so unfitted for perpetual solitude, that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same. Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness; but *one* man might labour out the common period of life without accomplishing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Disease, nay even misfortune would be death: for tho' neither might be mortal, yet either would disable him from living, and reduce him to a state in which he might rather be said to perish than to die.

Thus necessity, like a gravitation power, would soon form our newly-

* These excerpts are reprinted from the London edition of J. Almon (1776), pp. 1-7, 10-12, 14-23, 25-29, 39-40. The sentences and phrases in brackets were printed in all American editions but deleted from the London edition.

arrived emigrants into society, the reciprocal blessings of which, would supersede, and render the obligations of law and government unnecessary while they remained perfectly just to each other. But, as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen, that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and this remissness will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State-House, under the branches of which, the whole colony may assemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their first laws will have the title *only of REGULATIONS*, and be enforced by no other penalty than public disesteem. In this first parliament every man, by natural right, will have a seat.

But as the colony increases, the public concerns will increase likewise, and the distance at which the members may be separated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them to meet on every occasion as at first, when their number was small, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their consenting to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those have who appointed them, and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would act, were they present. If the colony continue increasing, it will become necessary to augment the number of the representatives, and that the interest of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found best to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part sending its proper number; and that the *elected* might never form to themselves an interest separate from the *electors*, prudence will point out the necessity of having elections often; because as the *elected* might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the *electors* in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be secured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themselves. And as this frequent interchange will establish a common interest with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally support each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *strength of government and the happiness of the governed*.

Here then is the origin and rise of government; namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the design and end of government, viz. freedom and security. And however our eyes may be dazzled with show, or our ears deceived by sound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or interest darken our understanding; the simple voice of nature and of reason will say, it is right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more simple any thing is, the less liable it is to be disordered, and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the so much boasted constitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was over-run with tyranny, the least remove therefrom was a glorious rescue. But that it is imperfect, subject to convulsions, and incapable of producing what it seems to promise, is easily demonstrated.

Absolute governments, (tho' the disgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are simple; if the people suffer, they know

the head from which their suffering springs, know likewise the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of causes and cures. But the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in which part the fault lies; some will say in one and some in another, and every political physician will advise a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.

First.—The remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the king.

Secondly.—The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers.

Thirdly.—The new republican materials in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a *constitutional sense* they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say that the constitution of England is a *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To say that the commons are a check upon the king, presupposes two things:

First.—That the king is not to be trusted without being looked after, or in other words, that thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy.

Secondly.—That the commons, by being appointed for that purpose, are either wiser or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the same constitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the supplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons by empowering him to reject their other bills; it again supposes that the king is wiser than those whom it has already supposed to be wiser than him. A mere absurdity!

There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; it first excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. The state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, by unnaturally opposing and destroying each other, prove the whole character to be absurd and useless.

Some writers have explained the English constitution thus: The king, say they, is one, the people another; the peers are an house in behalf of the king, the commons in behalf of the people. But this hath all the distinctions of an house divided against itself; and though the expressions be pleasantly arranged, yet when examined, they appear idle and ambiguous; and it will always happen, that the nicest construction that words are capable of when applied to the description of something which either cannot exist, or is too incomprehensible to be within the compass of description, will be words of sound only, and tho' they may amuse the ear, they cannot inform the mind, for this explanation includes a previous question, viz. *How came the king by a power which the people are afraid to trust, and always obliged to*

check? Such a power could not be the gift of a wise people, neither can any power, *which needs checking*, be from God; yet the provision, which the constitution makes, supposes such a power to exist.

But the provision is unequal to the task; the means either cannot or will not accomplish the end, and the whole affair is a *felo de se*; for as the greater weight will always carry up the less, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the constitution has the most weight, for that will govern; and tho' the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phrase is, check the rapidity of its motion, yet so long as they cannot stop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual; the first moving power will at last have its way, and what it wants in speed, is supplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the English constitution, needs not be mentioned, and that it derives its whole consequence merely from being the giver of places and pensions, is self-evident; wherefore, though we have been wise enough to shut and lock a door against absolute monarchy, we at the same time have been foolish enough to put the crown in possession of the key.

The prejudice of Englishmen in favour of their own government by kings, lords and commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason. Individuals are undoubtedly safer in England than in some other countries, but the *will* of the king is as much the *law* of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that instead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the more formidable shape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the First hath only made kings more subtle—not more just.

Wherefore, laying aside all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the constitution of the people, and not to the constitution of the government*, that the crown is not as oppressive in England as in Turkey.

An inquiry into the *constitutional errors* in the English form of government is at this time highly necessary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing justice to others, while we continue under the influence of some leading partiality, so neither are we capable of doing it to ourselves while we remain fettered by any obstinate prejudice. And as a man, who is attached to a prostitute, is unfitted to choose or judge of a wife, so any prepossession in favour of a rotten constitution of government will disable us from discerning a good one.

Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstances; the distinction of rich and poor may in a great measure be accounted for, and that without having recourse to the harsh, ill-founding names of oppression and avarice. Oppression is often the *consequence*, but seldom or never the *means* of riches; and though avarice will preserve a man from being necessitously poor, it generally makes him too timorous to become wealthy.

But there is another and greater distinction, for which no truly natural or religious reason can be assigned, and that is, the distinction of men into

KINGS and SUBJECTS. Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinction of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world so exalted above the rest, and distinguished like some new species, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happiness or of misery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the scripture chronology, there were no kings; the consequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throws mankind into confusion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this last century than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the same remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the first patriarchs hath a happy something in them, which vanishes away when we come to the history of Jewish royalty. . . .

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession; and as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and an imposition on posterity. For all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve *some* decent degree of honours of his contemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the strongest *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature disapproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *Ass for a Lion*.

Secondly, as no man at first could possess any other public honors than were bestowed upon him, so the givers of those honors could have no right to give away the right of posterity. And though they might say, "We choose you for *our* head," they could not, without manifest injustice to their children, say, "that your children, and your children's children shall reign over *ours* for ever. Because such an unwise, unjust, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next succession put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Most wise men, in their private sentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of those evils which, when once established, is not easily removed; many submit from fear, others from superstition, and the more powerful part shares with the king the plunder of the rest.

This is supposing the present race of kings in the world to have had an honourable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their first rise, that we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners, or pre-eminence in subtilty obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increasing in power, and extending his depredations, over-awed the quiet and defenceless to purchase their safety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his descendants, because such a perpetual exclusion of themselves was incompatible with the free and unrestrained principles they professed to live by. Wherefore hereditary succession in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as something casual or complimentary; but as few or no records were extant in those days, and traditionary history stuffed with fables, it was very easy, after the lapse of a few generations, to trump up some superstitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the disorders which threatened, or seemed to threaten,

on the decease of a leader, and the choice of a new one, (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at first to favor hereditary pretensions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened since, that what at first was submitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, since the conquest, hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his senses can say that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French bastard landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. It certainly hath no divinity in it. However, it is needless to spend much time in exposing the folly of hereditary right; if there are any so weak as to believe it, let them promiscuously worship the ass and the lion, and welcome. I shall neither copy their humility, nor disturb their devotion. . . .

In short, monarchy and succession have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and ashes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend it. . . .

The nearer any government approaches to a republic the less business there is for a king. It is somewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but in its present state it is unworthy of the name, because the corrupt influence of the crown, by having all the places in its disposal, hath so effectually swallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the house of commons (the republican part of the constitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without understanding them. For it is the republican and not the monarchical part of the constitution of England which Englishmen glory in, viz. the liberty of choosing an house of commons from out of their own body—and it is easy to see that when republican virtue fails, slavery ensues. Why is the constitution of England sickly, but because monarchy hath poisoned the republic, the crown hath engrossed the commons? . . .

Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs

IN the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense; and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves; that he will put *on*, or rather that he will not put *off* the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs: but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the house of commons, on the score, that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied

"they will last my time." Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a country, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the feed-time of continental union, faith and honor. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read in it full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politicks is struck; a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, *i. e.* to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year; which though proper then are superseded and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then; terminated in one and the same point, *viz.* a union with Great-Britain; the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force, the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and enquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with, and dependant on Great Britain. To examine that connection and dependance, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependant,

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thriven upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she has engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expence as well as her own, is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, *viz.* the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas, we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*, but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us on any *other*

account, and who will always be our enemies on the *same account*. Let Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connexions.

It has lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, *i. e.* that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enemyship if I may so call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *subjects of Great Britain*.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase *parent* or *mother country* hath been jesuitically adopted by the [king] and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.

It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow-parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of *neighbour*; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the name of *townsman*; if he travel out of the country, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him *countryman*, *i. e.* *countymen*; but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of *Englishmen*. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are *countrymen*; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones; distinctions too limited for continental minds. Not one-third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of English descent. Wherefore I reprobate the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow, and ungenerous.

But admitting, that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: And to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical.

The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are descendants from the same country; wherefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean any thing; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants, to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Besides what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because, it is the interest of all Europe to have America a *free port*. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to shew, a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great-Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for by them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependance on Great-Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and set us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while by her dependance on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, *because of her connection with Britain*. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled encreases the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.

The authority of Great-Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end: and a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward, under the painful and positive conviction, that what is called "the present constitution" is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that *this government* is not sufficiently lasting to ensure any thing which we may bequeath to posterity: And by a

plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life; that eminence will present a prospect, which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions. Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men, who *cannot* see; prejudiced men, who *will not* see; and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of sorrow; the evil is not sufficiently brought to *their* doors to make *them* feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston, that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it. In their present condition they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be exposed to the fury of both armies.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, "*Come, come, we shall be friends again, for all this.*" But examine the passions and feelings of mankind, bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon posterity. Your future connexion with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honour, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face? Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child, by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies; and without which, we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe

to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by *delay* and *timidity*. The present winter is worth an age, if rightly employed, but if neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man will not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose, that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain does not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connexion, and art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "Never can true reconciliation grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute: Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say, they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary, we thought so at the repeal of the stamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which when obtained requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness—There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands, not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independence; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded, that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; that every thing short of *that* is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity,—that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of

the continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treasure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expence. The removal of North, or the whole detestable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently ballanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent must take up arms, if every man must be a soldier, it is scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a just estimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law as for land. As I have always considered the independency of this continent as an event which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worth while to have disputed a matter which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest; otherwise it is like wasting an estate on a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant, whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, [I rejected the hardened sullen-tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul]. . . .

But the most powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independance, i. e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt somewhere or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain. . . .

The colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where there are no distinctions, there can be no superiority; perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domestic: monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest; the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising *ruffians* at home; and that degree of pride and insolence ever attendant on regal authority, swells into a rupture with foreign powers, in instances where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independance, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out—Wherefore, as an opening into that business, I offer the following hints; . . .

LET the assemblies be annual, with a President only.—The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress. . . .

But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent,

that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the people, let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held . . . to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or CHARTER of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing members of Congress, members of Assembly, with their date of sitting, and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: (Always remembering, that our strength is continental, not provincial:) Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience: with such other matter as is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said Conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the legislators and governors of this continent for the time being. . . .

But where, say some, is the King of America? I'll tell you, Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind [like the Royal Brute of Great Britain.] Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know that so far we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law *ought* to be King; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown, at the conclusion of the ceremony, be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance, . . .

To CONCLUDE, however strange it may appear to some, or however unwilling they may be to think so, matters not, but many strong, and striking reasons may be given, to shew, that nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open, and determined declaration for independance. Some of which are,

First. It is the custom of nations, when any two are at war, for some other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to step in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a peace: but while America calls herself the subject of Great-Britain, no power, however well disposed she may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore, in our present state we may quarrel on for ever.

Secondly. It is unreasonable to suppose, that France or Spain will give us any kind of assistance, if we mean only to make use of that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach, and strengthening the connection between Britain, and America; because, those powers would be sufferers by the consequences.

Thirdly. While we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain, we must, in the eye of foreign nations, be considered as rebels. The precedent is somewhat dangerous to *their peace*, for men to be in arms under the name of subjects; we, on the spot, can solve the paradox: but to unite resistance, and subjection, requires an idea much too refined for common understanding.

Fourthly. Were a manifesto to be published, and dispatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have

ineffectually used for redress; declaring at the same time, that not being able, any longer, to live happily or safely under the cruel disposition of the British court, we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connection with her; at the same time, assuring all such courts of our peaceable disposition towards them, and of our desire of entering into trade with them: such a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain.

Under our present denomination of British subjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad: The custom of all courts is against us, and will be so, until, by an independance, we take rank with other nations.

These proceedings may at first appear strange and difficult; but, like all other steps which we have already passed over, will in a little time become familiar, and agreeable; and, until an independance is declared, the Continent will feel itself like a man who continues putting off some unpleasant business from day to day, yet knows it must be done; hates to act about it, wishes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its necessity.

B. TOWARD THE CREATION OF INDEPENDENT STATE GOVERNMENTS: THE RESOLVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF CONGRESS (MAY 10, 15, 1776)*

Whereas his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with the lords and commons of Great Britain, has, by a late act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his crown; And whereas, no answer, whatever, to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of grievances and reconciliation with Great Britain, has been or is likely to be given; but, the whole force of that kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these colonies; And whereas, it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good Conscience, for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted, under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies; therefore . . .

Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs have been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.

* These excerpts are reprinted from *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. IV, pp. 342, 357-358.

Draft 1/22/80

COMMON SENSE

by

Ronald Reagan

Short-sighted men with little vision playing political games have divided our nation into warring special interest groups, squandered our ability to provide for ourselves, and turned us into an impotent and scorned nation throughout the world. Their future for us is one of "living with less," allocating shortages, restricting our freedom, and retreating from the world.

Some may say this is all right -- that we are a greedy people who deserve to sacrifice. They may be willing to condemn our people, particularly the poor, to a hopeless future. But I will not accept this vision of despair, nor will I idly watch it become reality. Instead, we can, and must, make America great again.

More than 200 years ago, American patriot Thomas Paine declared in a document entitled "Common Sense" that "in the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense."

That is what I, too, offer in the following pages. I believe common sense is called for now more than it ever has been in the last half-century.

In what follows, I ask each reader only to abandon any prejudices and pre-conceived notions about the state of our nation, and consider what I have to say.

We face many serious problems, some of which require only simple solutions, while others demand complex answers. But none can be remedied by the symbolic remedies which have become the hallmark of the Carter administration.

Like a doctor who treats only the superficial symptoms of a disease while allowing it to spread unchecked throughout the body, the present administration has refused to respond to the causes of our country's ills. As a result, our nation's problems -- inflation, energy, education, confidence in government, defense, and foreign policy -- have worsened substantially during the last three and one-half years.

In fact, there is little doubt that the administration does not really understand the problems we face. Its policies have been based on three mistaken views of the world:

1. That government decisions are better than those made by the people.

2. That the American people will continue working and producing regardless of the obstacles government places in their way.

3. That the American people cannot be trusted, but that the Soviets can be trusted.

These misconceptions have led to government policies which have brought America to its lowest point -- economically, socially, and internationally -- since the Great Depression. We are slipping quietly into a new national nightmare. Short-sighted men with little vision playing political games have divided our nation into warring special interest groups, squandered our ability to provide for ourselves, and turned us into an impotent and scorned nation throughout the world. Their future for us is one of "living with less," allocating shortages, restricting our freedom, and retreating from the world.

Some may say that this is all right -- that we are a greedy people who deserve to sacrifice. They may be willing to condemn our people, particularly the poor, to a hopeless future. But I will not accept this vision of despair, nor will I idly watch it become reality.

Instead, we can, and must, make America great again.

I firmly believe that we can renew our hope in the future. All it takes is understanding and common sense -- and a leadership willing to put it into practice.

Our goal must be to increase opportunities for all Americans, not merely to redistribute them from one group to another; to create a better life and higher standard of living for Americans, not a rationing program; and to promote true peace in the world, not conflict bred by an America in retreat.

This administration offers only the policies of the past -- it can therefore only hope to continue the problems of the past. A Reagan administration will look to the future with policies of hope -- so that our tomorrows will be better than our yesterdays.

We can become great again!

Ronald Reagan

INFLATION

FACT: During the past three years, the inflation rate has tripled -- rising from 4.8% to nearly 14% -- our highest peacetime rate ever. Interest rates have soared to 15% and more. But our people's standard of living has fallen -- about 4.5% each year.

FICTION: The Carter administration has blamed inflation on a number of factors, which are not causes, but results, of inflation. For example, the administration has condemned:

1. OPEC oil price increases. These do harm our economy, but other countries far more dependent upon OPEC oil than we are -- such as West Germany and Japan -- have kept inflation lower and productivity higher than we have. In fact, over the last several years, the increase in OPEC prices has paralleled the dollar's fall in value, caused by inflation. Thus, OPEC has been forced to raise its prices because the dollars we pay it with are worth less and less.

2. High wages and prices. Workers need to increase their wages, and businessmen need to increase their prices, to keep up with the costs of living and producing. It is because of inflation that wages and prices keep increasing, not the other way around.

3. "Excessive" spending by consumers. Consumers are spending more because higher prices require them to just to stay even. Further, consumers spend rather than save because taxes and inflation so greatly reduce the value of their savings that they are better off spending the money now.

REAL CAUSES: Inflation results when the nation's demand for goods and services exceeds the nation's supply of goods and services. With too few goods and services to go around, their prices are constantly bid up.

1. The excess demand is caused by the government

injecting too much printing-press money into the economy. One of the most important ways it does this is by spending more than it takes in. In fact, the federal deficit for 1980 is expected to be several billion dollars greater than it was last year.

2. The insufficient supply is caused by punitive government tax policies and regulations. High tax rates and burdensome regulations penalize increased production, resulting in a rate of increase in productivity that is lower in the U. S. than in virtually all the other industrial nations. Likewise, high tax rates discourage saving, thus greatly reducing the capital available to businesses to expand production. For instance, the U. S. rate of savings is five times less than the rate in Japan.

REAL SOLUTIONS: To curb inflation, we must:

1. Reduce income tax rates across-the-board to stimulate production. We also should reduce taxes on capital to help businesses increase their investment and production; and eliminate the income tax on interest from savings to encourage thrift.

2. Eliminate unnecessary federal spending. We should start by eliminating fraud and waste in federal programs, which account for one-tenth or more of all federal spending. We should also transfer back to the states programs which do not belong at the federal level, such as welfare and education, along with the tax resources to pay for them.

3. Set constitutional limits on the level of spending, as well as require that the federal budget be balanced.

ENERGY .

FACT: During the past three years, energy prices have nearly doubled, and are now the highest in U. S. history, while spot fuel shortages are becoming commonplace. The government is now seriously considering ways to even more dramatically increase energy prices; gasoline rationing; and other punitive controls on energy use -- all of which will hurt the poor and the middle class the most.

FICTION: The Carter administration has blamed the energy crisis on:

1. "Wasteful and extravagant" energy use. We use about one-third of the world's energy, but we also produce one-third of the world's goods and services. The fact is, the American people do not "guzzle" fuel out of some malevolent desire to inflict energy shortages on our nation. They use energy because it is a necessary part of their livelihood.

In fact, while fuel use was increasing in Europe last year, Americans used about 8% less gasoline than the previous year. And American industry is using less energy now than it was in 1974, even though it is producing 12% more goods and services.

2. Unfair allocation by oil companies. The Department of Energy, not the oil companies, allocates fuel. And former Energy Secretary James Schlesinger admitted that the gasoline lines last spring were caused by these federal allocation rules. Moreover, a Congressional committee has found that these federal allocation rules could cause a heating oil shortage this winter and more gasoline lines next summer.

3. OPEC cutbacks in oil production. If the U. S. produced more of its own energy, we would not have to rely so heavily on oil imports from OPEC.

4. Dwindling U. S. energy supplies. One

government study estimates that on the Outer Continental Shelf alone there is more oil waiting to be drilled than has been produced in our entire history. Another government study reports that there is as much as 1,000 years of natural gas left in the United States, waiting to be developed.

REAL CAUSES: Our energy crisis is a crisis of policy. Misguided government actions have reduced domestic energy production, and will continue to do so in the future:

1. Price controls: Oil production in the continental U. S. has declined every year since oil price controls were imposed in 1971. Natural gas production has been declining ever since natural gas price controls became effective. Yet despite controls, energy prices have soared, because they have forced us to import more oil. An MIT study said that by 1977, oil imports were three and one-half times greater than they would have been had there been no price controls.

2. "Windfall profits" tax. This tax has nothing to do with profits; it is a per-barrel sales tax on domestic production. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the tax will reduce U. S. oil production by up to 840,000 barrels per day (enough to fuel more than one million cars).

3. Restrictive federal leasing. Professor William Moffat of Stanford estimates that insufficient leasing of lands could cost the U. S. 3 million barrels of oil per day.

REAL SOLUTIONS: To increase domestic energy production, we must:

1. Eliminate price controls.
2. Repeal the windfall profits tax, which is only a tax on production.
3. Lease more federal lands, while ensuring environmental protection. For instance, expanded leasing could triple oil production in Alaska.
4. Increase the use of coal and nuclear power.

EDUCATION -

FACT: Educational test scores have been declining significantly, and are approaching their lowest level in several decades. Low educational achievement prevents many students -- especially minority members -- from securing decent, well-paying jobs.

FICTION: The Carter administration blames low educational attainment on too little federal spending, so it established the Department of Education. But educational performance in the U. S. increased from the 1930s until the 1960s without substantial federal aid. It was not until the federal government became actively involved in 1962 that test scores began to decline; they have been falling steadily ever since.

REAL CAUSES:

1. Too much federal control. Federal "uniform standards" for education have diminished local control; but parents and local school boards know best what their schools and students need.

2. Too many federal regulations on education. Largely because of federal regulations, some teachers spend as much as one-third of their time filling out forms -- which means less time for teaching students.

3. Too much busing. Professor James Coleman, the "father of busing," says that it is "wishful thinking" that forced busing has improved education for minorities.

REAL SOLUTIONS: We must improve the quality of education for all our children:

1. Eliminate the federal Department of Education, and return control of the schools to parents and local school boards.

2. Prohibit forced busing, except where school districts intentionally segregate students.

3. Transfer general federal education aid programs and the tax resources to pay for them to the states.

CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

FACT: During the past three years, confidence in government has declined to new lows.

FICTION: The Carter administration believes confidence in government has fallen because:

1. People have lost confidence in themselves.
This was the theme of the President's July 1979 energy address.

2. The federal government has not initiated enough major new programs. The administration has blamed the people's lost confidence in part on Congress' failure to enact massive new energy and health taxes and bureaucracies.

REAL CAUSES: In fact, people have lost confidence in government because:

1. The government continues to impose ineffective policies, more taxes, and more regulations, while national problems worsen.

2. Voters have less influence, as their supposed representatives increasingly work against the people and for special interests, by continually spending billions on unnecessary programs and tolerating fraud and waste. It is not surprising that record numbers of people choose not to vote.

REAL SOLUTION: Voters should be permitted to initiate and vote directly on national legislative matters. The initiative process has worked well at the state level, leading to such landmark achievements as Proposition 13 -- the tax limitation measure -- and other restrictions on government's taxing and spending power. A national initiative procedure would help restore both voters' confidence in and control over their government.

DEFENSE.

FACT: Our relative defense strength is the weakest in recent history. Our conventional forces have declined compared to the Soviet Union. Our navy has half as many ships as the Soviet navy. And in 41 categories of strategic nuclear capability, the Soviet Union is superior in 33, and soon may become superior in the other 8.

FICTION: The Carter administration claims that our defensive capability is adequate. Yet it has:

1. Eliminated important weapons. The administration has cancelled the B-1 bomber, slowed the MX Missile, delayed the cruise missile, cut the navy shipbuilding program in half, and postponed the neutron warhead. Now, three years late, the administration admits that it was wrong, and that the Soviets are not to be trusted.

2. Approved a SALT II treaty which is actually strategic arms buildup, permitting the Soviets to add 3,000 new missiles while allowing the U. S. to play "catch-up," which it cannot do until 1990, if then. And while Carter has temporarily withdrawn the treaty from the Senate, he still plans to abide by its terms.

REAL CAUSES: Our defensive strength has actually weakened under the Carter administration because of

1. Its unilateral cutbacks in defensive capability.

2. Our weak economy.

REAL SOLUTIONS: To ensure a superior defense, we must:

1. Build the weapons necessary to secure our nation from attack.

2. Shelve the SALT II treaty, then negotiate for verifiable nuclear arms limitation on both sides.

3. Inaugurate a new concept in continental defense and economic strength, by developing a closer association with Canada and Mexico -- a North American Accord.

FOREIGN POLICY

FACT: International respect for the United States is at one of the lowest points in U. S. history. During the past three years, U. S. ambassadors have been assassinated, our embassies have been attacked, and our people have been taken hostage.

FICTION: The Carter administration believes world peace can best be obtained by:

1. Projecting weakness. President Carter apparently knew that our embassy personnel in Iran could be taken hostage, but he refused to order increased protection. He established relations with Mainland China, but only by giving in to all three of China's demands. And he negotiated the Panama Canal treaty under threat from Panama that otherwise it would blow up the Canal.

2. Undercutting our allies in the hope that other nations will "like" us. President Carter unilaterally cancelled our 25-year-old defense treaty with Taiwan without cause, so the Communist Chinese would "like" us. He has refused to recognize the new Rhodesian government so the Marxist revolutionaries will "like" us. And he has often worked against Israel in the Middle East so the Arab nations will "like" us.

REAL CAUSES: World peace is weakened when the United States, the leader of the free world, refuses to support its ideals or its allies. This only invites attacks on us and on other nations of the world. Our weak response to the Iranian crisis, for instance, convinced the Soviets we would not respond effectively if they invaded Afghanistan. Weakness produces only conflict, not peace.

REAL SOLUTIONS: Our foreign policy should be guided by a commitment to:

1. Superior economic and defensive strength.
2. Consistency in dealing with other nations.
3. A desire to be respected again in the world.

CONCLUSION

The problems which I have described -- inflation, energy, education, confidence in government, defense, and foreign policy -- are but a few of the many critical issues facing our nation in the 1980s. They demand immediate, serious, and effective solutions.

But to be effective, our national leadership must place its faith in individual, rather than government, decisions; it must recognize the destructive effect of past and present government policies; and it must trust the American people to do what they believe is best.

Freedom, economic growth, and national security are the hallmarks of a truly great nation. We need a national leadership which speaks of productivity and jobs, rather than cutbacks and sacrifice; a leadership which emphasizes a better life for all, rather than special favors and privileges for a few; and a leadership which is committed to a strong and respected nation, rather than one which is maligned and held hostage.

In short, we need a leadership with a vision of hope for the future. It is time to let go of the mistakes of the past, and meet the new challenges of the 1980s. All it takes is commitment, understanding, and a little common sense.

Together, let us make America great again.

RONALD REAGAN
January 1980

HOW YOU CAN HELP...

I sincerely believe that Ronald Reagan is the one leader in America who can restore greatness to our nation -- new opportunities, a better standard of living, and leadership in the pursuit of world peace.

But one man alone cannot complete the task. Ronald Reagan needs the help of millions of dedicated Americans like yourself to help make this vision of hopefulness become reality.

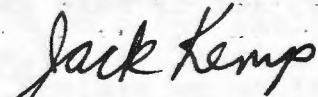
You can help by:

- *Supporting Ronald Reagan for President.
- *Encouraging your friends and associates to support Ronald Reagan.
- *Volunteering your time at our state headquarters (Call 213/670-9161 for more information).
- *Sending a financial contribution.

Whatever you can do to help will be greatly appreciated. Please complete the coupon below, and mail it to us at:

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National Headquarters
9841 Airport Blvd., Suite 1430
Los Angeles CA 90045

Thanks for your support in the cause of making America great again.



Rep. Jack Kemp
Chairman of Policy Development
Reagan for President

☐ YES! I want to help make America great again.

Enclosed is my contribution for \$_____.

Name, etc.

I am writing to you to let you know that I have received your letter of the 10th of the month and I am glad to hear from you. I am well and hope this letter finds you the same. I am looking forward to hearing from you again soon.

I am sure that you are doing well and I hope that you are enjoying your work. I am sure that you are doing well and I hope that you are enjoying your work.

Yours truly,

John Doe
123 Main Street
New York, NY 10001
Phone: (212) 123-4567
Fax: (212) 123-4568
Email: john.doe@example.com

I am sure that you are doing well and I hope that you are enjoying your work. I am sure that you are doing well and I hope that you are enjoying your work.

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REAGAN for PRESIDENT

9841 Airport Boulevard
Suite 1430
Los Angeles, California 90045
(213) 670-9161

January 22, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: GOVERNOR REAGAN ✓
Martin Anderson
Rep. Jack Kemp
Jim Lake
Ed Meese
John Sears

FROM: *Kevin Hopkins* / *Doug Bandow*
Kevin Hopkins/Doug Bandow

RE: Issues Pamphlet

Attached is a draft for an issues pamphlet.

As Rep. Kemp has stated, Gov. Reagan is a man of ideas. Ideas are powerful -- especially so in 1980. The more the public knows about Gov. Reagan's ideas, the better his chances of being elected President.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to summarize Gov. Reagan's ideas on several key issues, and to present them in a concise, convincing manner. The pamphlet is designed to be a major piece of campaign literature.

In 1980, the contrast is clear: Gov. Reagan is the one candidate with new ideas and a vision for the future. The other candidates in many ways are philosophical captives of the past. In general, the best they can offer is a warmed-over version of past policies -- therefore, they can only hope to perpetuate past problems.

This, we believe, is Gov. Reagan's strongest selling point, and should be emphasized and re-emphasized at every opportunity. The pamphlet is directed toward partial fulfillment of that goal.

Note: Of course, the design and content are of necessity preliminary. But should you approve the idea, we will re-type (double-space) the text for editing.