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August 20, 1980

To: Meese

From: McClaughry

Re: Jesse Jackson

I am very concerned about the possible deterioration of our rapport with Jesse Jackson.

At our August 6 meeting with him, we promised him a response to his critique of the Governor's Urban League speech. We expressed a hope that the response could be delivered to him in Washington on August 8, in time for a meeting of black leaders.

It was not possible to meet that deadline, but you authorized me to say to him that we would have a response "the next week".

That week ended on August 15. It is now the 20 and to the best of my knowledge Jackson has not received his promised response.

Let me say that the Governor met with Jackson in Chicago on August 6 over my contrary advice. I did not think we were prepared to have a productive meeting, nor was the Governor briefed on what he might expect, so far as I know. I did give him my file memo on my earlier meeting with Jackson, on the plane, but a thorough briefing did not occur.

Once we met with Jackson, however, we incurred some responsibilities for continuing the process of creating mutual trust. One was the statement denouncing the Klan, which the Governor issued the next morning in LA. (Whether this was conveyed to Jackson I do not know, nor have I ever seen a copy of it.)

The other was the response. The sequence of promise and then non-performance is not calculated to develop the mutual trust necessary to establish any kind of useful relationship with Jackson (or anyone else). Frankly, if I were he, I would conclude by now that the Governor wanted his picture taken with Jackson, and had no interest in pursuing a relationship any further. In my judgment, this leaves us in a far worse position than if we had not opened the door in the first place.

At this point - if we wish to have a continuing relationship with Jackson - it seems to me absolutely imperative that the Governor's response be hand carried to Jackson's office by as important an emissary as possible with apologies for its lateness. Perhaps Don Totten could do this, or some other prominent Reagan Republican in Chicago. I am not eager to go to Chicago to do this, but I will if you think it advisable.

If we do not deliver our promised response at once, I am sorely afraid that our credibility will be permanently undermined with Jackson and that this will prove to be a mistake that will hurt us.

8/20 7:30 pm - EM says response will be in mail 8/21

8/22 9:30 am - EM says he can't get it out today - leaving tomorrow 4:45 pm

Originally prepared
by JMcLaughlin

8/6/80
Never sent to Jackson

August 27, 1980

John M^S-C
(final
copy)

RESPONSE TO THE ANALYSIS BY REV. JESSE JACKSON
OF THE REMARKS OF GOV. RONALD REAGAN BEFORE THE
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE ON AUGUST 5, 1980

1. Racism

Rev. Jackson quite correctly points out that a decade after the Kerner Commission Report, America has not yet eliminated all vestiges of racism. Progress has been made, and Republicans are proud of the role they have played. And Republicans are pledged to stand shoulder to shoulder with black Americans in working to eliminate racism from American life. This a cause to which Governor Reagan is deeply and firmly committed.

Governor Reagan, in the actual speech delivered in New York (though not in the advance text available to Rev. Jackson) said: "I am committed to the protection of the civil rights of black Americans. This commitment is interwoven into every phase of the programs I will propose." This is a commitment that Gov. Reagan will keep, because it is a commitment he firmly believes in far above and beyond the requirements of political life. Under a Reagan administration, the civil rights laws will be administered aggressively, firmly, and fairly, so that the law will afford secure protection to the rights of all our citizens. And as President, Gov. Reagan will use all the influence of his office to move our society toward full racial justice and equal opportunity.

2. Short Term Aid for Chronically Unemployed

Gov. Reagan fully recognizes the necessity of governmental help for those unable to find work. The Republican platform calls for an "employment safety net" for those thrown out of work. Gov. Reagan's record in California speaks for itself. He designed and implemented a sound welfare system that provided a substantially increased level of subsistence for those genuinely unable to support themselves and their families. In time, sound economic policies will put America back to work, and the problem will correspondingly recede. For the short term, however, the nation cannot in conscience ignore the minimal needs of those unable to make their own way.

3. Bailouts

Rev. Jackson raises a point about "bailing out" the poor, just as the taxpayers were called upon to bail out distressed corporations. As a matter of principle, Gov. Reagan believes the government should stay out of the business of propping up failing enterprises which make mistaken managerial decisions or suffer normal business reverses. On the other hand, if decent jobs are to be created in a growing economy, businesses must be relieved of the excessive burden of taxation and regulation which has demonstrably discouraged vital job-creating investment.

Helpless impoverished individuals must be helped. But the idea of bailing out those in economic difficulty, except where they are genuinely needy and unable to provide for their needs through their own productive efforts, should not be encouraged.

4. Enterprise Zones

Requiring a fraction of enterprise zone employees to be residents of the zone is one option Gov. Reagan suggested in his speech before the National Urban League. However, Gov. Reagan has always opposed the idea of racial quotas, and therefore he could not approve of a provision which required participating firms to hire some specified percentage of blacks. However, since most of the enterprise zones are likely to be in our near minority communities, blacks would often constitute a large proportion of the labor force of the firms locating in those zones. Indeed, putting disadvantaged people back to work is a major purpose of the enterprise zone concept.

5. Educational Quality

While Gov. Reagan agrees that there is a pressing need for quality education, especially for the most disadvantaged Americans. He has long been interested in exploring an educational voucher system as an alternative to municipal education monopolies. A voucher system would put effective purchasing power in the pockets of all parents, who could then buy the kind of public or private education which seems to them most appropriate for their children. The educational voucher system has never had a full test. The Reagan Administration will work diligently to see that such a test becomes a reality.

If it works, black parents could win a realistic chance to choose effective private schools, like Chicago's Westside Academy, to make sure their youngsters get the skills they must have to succeed in today's world.

Gov. Reagan will speak out on voucher experiments as well as tuition tax credits and other education issues during

the course of his campaign.

6. States Rights and Decentralization of Power

While Gov. Reagan believes that it is necessary to transfer far more governmental responsibility and decision-making to states, cities, and communities closer to the people, it is essential that federal law continue to protect the rights of those who have been discriminated against.

Gov. Reagan believes in states' rights, but he also believes in states' responsibilities. Chief among those responsibilities is that of providing equal justice to all their citizens.

7. Federal Economic Regulation

Gov. Reagan does not propose to "abandon federal governmental involvement in the economic arena." No corporation can be allowed to perpetrate fraud, or achieve monopoly, or poison our environment with its wastes, for instance. On the other hand, Gov. Reagan rejects the idea of increased federal interference with the legitimate competitive activities of all businesses, large and small. The most important source of accountability for economic success is not the government, but the marketplace. The task of government should be to make the marketplace more effective, rather than destroying it with heavyhanded controls.

8. Local Taxation

Gov. Reagan has long advocated the return of federal service programs to the state and local level, along with the tax sources to pay for them. Such a program would enlarge the base of wealth which state and local governments could tap to meet their increased responsibilities. It would not create a new tax burden for the poor.

It is not at all clear that the property tax is regressive, or that it impacts disproportionately upon black citizens. Research by Dr. Henry Aaron of the Brookings Institution suggests that, over long periods of time, the property tax may be mildly progressive. Further, the value of property owned per capita by blacks is lower than that owned by whites, a fact that suggests that property-tax financed programs may actually shift resources from white to black communities. This is subject deserving further exploration.

9. Minimum Wage Differential

Gov. Reagan recognizes the possibility that sub-minimum wage youths might supplant older workers. There is little real evidence on this point, drawn from the existing apprentice wage program. In any case, Gov. Reagan is so concerned about young entrants to the labor force finding no opportunity to get started in the world of work that he is willing to try it and see what happens. If it does appear that older workers are being replaced by low-wage youths, then that problem would have to be dealt with in some equitable way.

However, as Dr. Walter Williams has pointed out very effectively, the existing minimum wage law actually allows white employers to indulge racist preferences. If all entry-level workers must be paid a governmentally-set amount, an employer is free to hire whites and reject blacks. Less skilled black youths can gain work only if they can work at a pay scale commensurate with their abilities, which due to inadequate schooling and skills training may be below those of their white competitors. Once hired, they then have the chance to learn new skills and climb the job ladder to economic security. But when their employer is required to pay a wage above the productivity level of black youths, there is a real chance that he will simply hire whites, denying young blacks the chance to get their start.

10. Political Responsibility

Where Republicans, in the past, have failed to contribute to solving the nation's economic problems, it has most often been because they embraced the economic philosophy of the Democratic Party. Since it has been 26 years since Republicans controlled both the Presidency and even one House of Congress, however, the Republican share of the responsibility has been relatively small.

11. Foreign Policy

Gov. Reagan's address did not make mention of foreign policy issues, because he was asked to address the National Urban League. Therefore he attempted to speak to issues of particular concern to urban America, rather than to Americans generally. In the months ahead Gov. Reagan will address foreign policy questions, and their interrelationships with domestic issues.

12. Black Campaign Advisors

Gov. Reagan is very proud of his record of appointing black Californians to executive and policy making positions during his eight years as Governor. He is now in the process of bringing black Republicans into a far more active role in his campaign, and in reaching out to black scholars and leaders for advice and counsel, even if they do not choose to serve on the campaign staff. Attached is a copy of the section of the platform on "Black Americans" which devotes far more than "one line" to that subject. On the question of the Klan, Gov. Reagan has made his views as clear as possible in a statement released after his visit with Rev. Jackson and in a subsequent statement rejecting a Klan endorsement (attached).

October 31, 1980 1630

To: Halper

From McLaughry

Re: Hansen Reprt, Iran

George Hansen reports that Carter might ask RR to accompany him to Geneva or West Germany to meet the returning hostages Monday.

If so, we should be very high minded and bipartisan about it - but there is a danger that by going without qualifications the Arabs could conclude that RR knew and accepted the deal Carter may have made.

Since we don't know the terms of that deal, we should either ask to know the full deal, or make some kind of disclaimer indicating that we are not approving terms we know not of.

Now if that last line wasn't a grammatical jewel, I've never seen one.

Hansen also says that Mack Anderson's Iran -tracker, Jack Mitchell, does not believe the hostages will return before election day.

October 22, 1980

From: McClaghry

Re: Carter's Goofball Schemes

In Niagara Falls on October 1, Carter said that Governor Reagan "offers us an uncertain kind of future based on improbable promises and ill considered proposals."

Here is a selection of "ill considered" Carter proposals which were abandoned, rejected, or laughed out of the Democratic Congress:

1. Postcard Voter Registration, 1977

Carter asked the Congress to pass this scheme for instant voting early in 1977. The House Administration Committee reported a bill ; a rule was granted for floor action; but the measure was never debated and has not been heard of since.

2. \$50 Tax Rebate Plan, 1977

This was Carter's plan to distribute \$50 tax rebates to all taxpayers. It was laughed out of Congress in 1977.

3. 50c a Gallon Gas Tax , 1977

In his 1977 "moral equivalent of war" speech Carter proposed a one cent rise in the Federal gas tax whenever petroleum imports increased by one percent, to a maximum of 5c tax increase per year for ten years. This could have led to a 50c a gallon gas tax in 1986. Congress declined to take action on it.

4. Guaranteed Annual Income, 1977

Carter's 1977 "welfare reform" proposal amounted to a guaranteed annual income for able-bodied, under-65 people. It was never acted upon by Congress.

5. Urban Development Bank, 1978

This was the centerpiece of Carter's much heralded "urban policy" of 1978. It was a three-headed monstrosity with no clear function. Congress declined to act on it. Ultimately (1979) it was succeeded by massive increases in EDA Title IX loan programs. This proposal was killed in 1980 by the failure of the Democrat-dominated conference committee to agree on a bill.

6. Real Wage Insurance, 1978

Under this Carter scheme, workers who held their wage increases below 7% a year would receive a tax rebate to protect their real wages if inflation rose above 7%. After providing some temporary amusement, it disappeared without action.

7. Agency for Consumer Advocacy ,1978

This was Carter's vaunted consumer protection agency, so favored by Ralph Nader. It was killed on the House floor 189-227 on February 8, 1978.

8. Oil Import Fee , 1980

This Carter scheme was a complicated way of imposing a 10c per gallon tax on gasoline. The Democratic Congress promptly adopted a rider to the debt limit bill to prohibit Carter from collecting the tax. Carter vetoed the bill, and Congress enacted it over his veto by 68-10 and 335-34 margins in June, 1980.

9. Withholding Tax on Dividends and INterest, 1980

In his March 1980 budget message, Carter proposed to impose withholding on dividends and savings interest. The Senate Finance Committee promptly reported SCR 92, cosponsored by 66 Senators of both parties, denouncing the plan. It has not been heard from since.

10. Withholding Tax on Independent Contractor Payments, 1980

Carter's Treasury Department proposed to impose a 10% withholding tax on payments made to independent contractors. The plan died in the House.

11. Draft Registration for Women, 1980

In his enthusiasm for frightening the Soviets following their invasion of Afghanistan, Carter proposed draft registration for both men and women. The House immediately discarded the idea of registering the daughters of America for the draft.

12. Money Police, 1980

The Carter Treasury Department asked Congress to make it a crime to take more than \$5000 in undefined "monetary instruments" out of the country without reporting to the Treasury; to set up an informant reward system; and to authorize search and seizure without warrant of persons suspected of transporting funds without disclosure. The bill was reported in the House but was decisively killed on a rules suspension motion when it failed to get even a majority vote. (HR 5961)

13. Energy Mobilization Board, 1980

This was Carter's super-bureaucracy to sort out the damage caused by his regular energy bureaucracies. The House killed the conference report in July, 1980.

October 10 1980

To: Anderson, Teele, Bradley, Fletcher

From: McClaughry

Re: Republicans and Civil Rights

In Flint, Michigan on 10/1 Carter said:

"When the time came for giving black people a guaranteed right to vote and to have equality of opportunity in getting jobs and going to public buildings (sic) and going to the same schools, the Democrats under President Kennedy and President Johnson were in the forefront of saying, "Let's treat all American fairly." This is another very important difference (between the Republican and Democratic Parties)."

Here are some facts:

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 (equal employment, public accomodations, etc.) passed the House 290-130. Republicans: 138-34 = 80% ; Democrats 152-96 = 61%)

The measure passed the Senate 54-37 after Republicans took the lead in breaking a Democratic filibuster. (Republicans 20-8 = 71%; Democrats 34-29 = 54%).

The Civil Rights Act of 1965 (voting rights) passed the House 333-85 (Republicans 112-24 = 82%; Democrats 221-61 = 78%.) The bill passed the Senate 78-18; (Republicans 31-1 = 97%; Democrats 47-17 = 73%.)

For more than a year before the House took up the Civil Rights Act, a group of 49 Republican House members led by William McCulloch and John V. Lindsay repeatedly appealed to Attorney General Robert Kennedy to testify on civil rights legislation. He refused. Meanwhile, the Democratic National Committeeman in Alabama, Bull Connor, was turning his police dogs loose on black demonstrators.

According to Art Fletcher, all five of the black lawyers who brought the historic Brown vs Board of Education suit were Republicans. (Topeka, Kansas).

day file

August 27, 1980

To: Anderson, Garrick, Hopkins , Badow, Gray, Meese

From: McClaughry

Re: Davis Bacon

As you know, RR has on several radio commentaries, and perhaps elsewhere, advocated repeal of the Davis Bacon Act.

We have not, however, formulated a statement on this delicate subject - a statement that the Governor can make and defend without appearing to be scurrying for cover.

Frankly, it is pretty hard to say anything other than outright repeal, or repeal as it applies to low-income housing, that makes any substantive sense. But any diminution of the sweep of Davis Bacon produces an hysterical negative response among Building Trades activists. UNfortunately, these construction workers are precisely the kind of voters that RR should be attracting by his jobs rhetoric.

The Democrats will make every effort to win these workers back from RR, and his position on Davis-Bacon is the single most obvious issue for them to use for this purpose.

We must come to grips with this question - soon, before the Governor has it thrown in his face.

To : Martin Anderson
From: John McClaughry

September 23, 1980 1:30 pm

Far'd to Michael, Reagan plane
604-357-8997, 1:40 pm, 9/23
Bill Hart

To Marty Anderson
From John McClaughry
Re: El Paso 9/24

El Paso is the home of the "Tortilla Curtain" the fence erected by the Border Patrol to keep out illegal aliens.

The Governor's position on the "Berlin Wall" approach to Mexican immigration is well known.

The "Tortilla Curtain" is controversial in El Paso. Our local contact believes that most see it as futile; ineffective. Some who live near the border, however, are very hostile to illegals overrunning their property etc.

The original version of the fence had razor sharp wires on the top to maim people trying to climb over. The present version does not have this.

REQUEST:

- 1) Do you want the Governor to reiterate his views on illegal aliens at the Farah slacks plant (90+% Mexican American)?
- 2) Do you want the Governor to criticize the "Berlin Wall/Tortilla Curtain" approach?
- 3) Or do you want to avoid the whole issue, insofar as possible?

Immediate reply requested

685 3713

not
received
jme

October 6, 1980

To: Meese

From: McClaughry

Re: Housing Speech, Green Bay 10/2

The text of this speech, as delivered, contains two factual errors.

The text states that the median price of new homes in August 1977 and August 1980 were \$54,900 and \$88,700.

These are not median prices. They are average prices.

These numbers were not in any text I sent to the plane. The numbers in my drafts are supported by sound data and are accurate.

I can not take responsibility for errors other people insert into speeches or statements for which I have responsibility.

October

FOR / Marty Anderson
From / Bob Garrick

OK
run
30 Sept

Del'd to New York
9/30/80
Russ Miller

September 30 1800

To: Anderson

From McClaughry

Re: RR Meeting with Small Business leaders 10/1

Here are four questions the Governor may get from the small business group, with suggested answers :

1. Will your administration review all regulations in the pipeline, particularly OSHA and EPA, before issuing them?

A. Yes

2. Will your administration examine alternatives to formal regulation, such as "consensus standards" established by cooperative discussions between regulators and industry personnel?

A. Yes

3. Will your administration examine the cost effectiveness of regulations to make sure public benefits exceed private costs?

A. Yes

4. Will your administration consider the international effect of US regulations, i.e., the edge given the competition in countries that have less stringent regulation?

Example: Toxic Substances Control Act requires pre-manufacturing notice for new products, or new uses for old products. Most foreign countries require only a pre-marketing notice. This gives foreign competitors 2-3 year head start.

A. Yes

These questions are likely to be asked by persons who will be attending the meeting - if questions are allowed.

August 28, 1980

To: ^{From} ~~Meese~~ Anderson, Wirthlin

→ ~~From~~ McClaghry

Re: Civil Service Retirement

We have a questionnaire from one of the Federal employee unions which inquires whether the Governor favors a merger of the Social Security and Civil Service Retirement funds. He has taken no position on the question to date. ✓

Congressman Jim Leach (R-Iowa), who serves on the House Civil Service Committee, tells me that this is an extremely hot issue with millions of federal employees. Their system presently provides benefits superior to social security. These benefits are established by Congress, not collectively bargained. The civil servants are violently opposed to being merged in with social security recipients, and if the Governor were to take that position Jim thinks it would be worth hundreds of thousands of votes if aggressively marketed.

Support for the merger idea is apparently not widespread, or organized effectively. Some Republicans, like Barber Conable, lean toward a merger on the grounds that it will strengthen the precarious social security system, although the civil service retirement system is itself not fully funded. Others believe that civil servants do not deserve a better deal than social security workers. The man in the street probably has no thoughts whatever on the matter unless he happens to work for the government.

The National Federation of Federal Employees has offered to read a two-page message from the Governor at their September 15 (?) convention. Carter and Anderson have already responded to their questionnaire and the results have been printed in their newsletter. We did not respond in time for their printing deadline (although the request was received July 10.)

We can: Ignore the group

✓ Call for more study of the merger idea
Denounce the merger idea

8/29/80

If we denounce the merger, we need to (a) have strong background paper defending our position and (b) aggressively market our position. There is no point opposing the merger and then not cashing in on the vote getting opportunity that position offers.

Please advise promptly.

July 12, 1980

To: Reagan, Meese, Anderson, Hannaford, Casey, Timmons

From: McClaughry

Re: Governor Rhodes Political Advice

At our meeting today, Governor Rhodes offered the following comments as to the 1980 Presidential campaign:

1. RR should come out of the chute quick and strong Thursday night in acceptance speech. It should be positive - emphasize hope for Americans. (Yes)
2. Vital for RR to make a strong point in acceptance speech about the importance of reindustrializing America's inner cities - creating good jobs for inner city people, particularly minorities. This approach can win significant black support, vital in key industrial states.
3. Reagan campaign should announce and pursue a Great Lakes strategy. RR can win belt of industrial states from Wisconsin to New York (all with Republican Governors, except NY) - but to do so RR must come out strong on jobs issue.
4. RR should also emphasize energy production instead of defensive response to energy shortages. America has the energy resources - particularly coal. Problem is senseless government overregulation masterminded by dozens of environment group members who Carter has put in key positions in his administration. (Yes)
5. RR should start work on a "100 days" plan to implement his policies, including particularly the jobs in inner city policy. Important to give nation the impressio- that he will move into White House in high gear.
6. Rhodes' choice for VP is Bush - no particular affinity for Bush, but Bush would be best choice for carrying Ohio in November. Rhodes does not like Rumsfeld for VP.
7. Rhodes advises against debating Jimmy Carter; Carter told something like 148 lies in his debates with Ford. Can't win debating somebody who has so little respect for the truth.

September 5, 1980

Ms. Joan Bradderman
Coalition for a People's Alternative
29 West 21st Street
New York, NY 10010

Dear Ms. Bradderman:

As I promised on Charlotte Street last month, I am sending you an excerpt from the 1980 Republican platform on women's rights. You will note that it does not condemn ERA, but merely leaves that question open for individual decision.

I do not expect you to run right out and join the nearest Republican Women's Club after reading this, but I thought you might be interested.

Also enclosed is a brief description of the neighborhood Improvement Credit plan that Governor Reagan has said kind things about in the past. I rather like the idea of channeling urban aid directly to the people and letting them decide how it can best be spent in their own interest, rather than filtering that aid through a long chain of politicians, bureaucrats, and other absorbers of funds who may or may not have a lot of interest in transferring economic power back to the people.

You might also want to look at Robert Poole's book Cutting Back City Hall, which shows how contracting out "public" services can not only save money, but also decentralize political power to subcity levels like neighborhoods, where neighborhood people can exercise it directly.

I hope the receipt of this letter does not compromise you too badly with your comrades.

Yours truly,

John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

September 11, 1980

Mr. Loebe Julie , President
Julie Research Laboratories
211 West 61st Street
New York, NY 10023

Dear Mr. Julie:

Thanks for sending us your horror story. I agree - it is horrible.

I'm sending it on to Cap Weinberger, former head of OMB and Secretary of HEW, who heads Governor Reagan's task force on waste, fraud, etc. I hope we can make something of it - or at least, get this process straightened out beginning in 1981.

Please accept my compliments on an excellent presentation!

Yours truly,

John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

October 1, 1980

Mr. Michael Forsyth
Editorial Page Editor
The Times Picayune
3800 Howard Avenue
New Orleans, LA 70140

Dear Mr. Forsyth:

I am enclosing for your consideration an op-ed piece by Governor Reagan, which I hope you will find suitable for publication.

Governor Reagan has long been interested in expanding the opportunities for property ownership. Since Senator Long has had the same interest in recent years, we thought it might be appropriate to submit this to the leading paper in Louisiana.

If you do run this, would you be kind enough to send us a tear sheet?

Yours truly,

John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

703 685 3713

Not published

October 14, 1980

Mr. John T. Schnebly, Chairman
Passive Solar Products Association
350 Endicott Building
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mr. Schnebly:

On Behalf of Governor Reagan, and on my own behalf as a member of the Solar Association of Vermont, please accept our best wishes for a highly successful Passive Solar Conference.

As you probably know, Governor Reagan's energy program would be highly beneficial to solar energy. His program is to remove all price controls from competing fossil fuels so that the true price of energy prevails in the marketplace. This is, I recall, the position of the New England Solar Energy Association.

Governor Reagan also believes that the federal government should continue to purchase solar and other alternative energy products for appropriate applications, and that the solar tax credit should be continued.

Governor Reagan thinks that the building standards required for governmentally-insured housing should be fully responsive to the opportunities for passive solar design as an energy saving measure.

I personally wish I could be at UMass for your conference, which promises to be excellent.

Yours truly,

John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

GARRY DAVIS

CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD PARLIAMENT

Suite 440 - National Press Building

Washington, D.C. 20045

Telephone: (202) 638-2662 Telex: 842468 WGOV

October 17, 1980

Mr. John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor
Reagan & Bush
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Va. 22204

Dear Mr. McClaughry:

Thank you for your letter of the 8th current.

I am gratified that you agree that my letter of September 24, 1980 raises "some vital issues which candidates should address."

To date, however, none of the candidates, Governor Reagan included, have addressed the real issue of world peace. Perhaps the Governor's upcoming address to the nation scheduled for Monday, as reported in today's Washington Post, on the issue of war and peace, will candidly accept that challenge involving as it does, a process of world law.

I note in your letter that you believe Governor Reagan would agree with my statement that "peace in the world can only result when war is eliminated between nation states." The seeming banality of such a statement belies the revolutionary notion that nationalism per se is not only outmoded but, if unbridled by a legislative world authority, is suicidal.

Seymour Melman writes in today's New York Times on "The Limits of Military Power" that "Military superiority is meaningless in the age of overkill." On the same page, Elliott L. Richardson's column, "With A 'But,' Americans Still Back The U.N.," claims that a nationwide Roper poll conducted in August for the United Nations Association revealed that 74 per cent of the American public "want to work either with friends to protect our common interests...or to work with both friends and enemies to develop more effective international rules and organizations, even though that would at times mean going along with decisions we disagree with..." (My emphasis.)

According to Richardson, fifty-three per cent of the U.S. public think the U.N. is doing a poor job. But their principal criticism, he writes, "reflect sober concerns about the organizational weaknesses rather than nationalistic reactions to third-world hostility or lop-sided anti-American resolutions adopted there."

He concludes forcefully that "Americans want and require leaders who will articulate ways of strengthening international institutions and identify areas of common interest among nations. The public is ready. It is time for our leaders to respond." (My emphasis.)

Melman concludes that "The major candidates hardly differ in their militarism. Jimmy Carter cynically pursues military superiority and 'limited' nuclear wars, and Ronald Reagan speaks for primitive nationalism and nostalgia for a replay of World War II."

I now return to your letter with regard to "an honest, verifiable reduction in nuclear weapons by both the U.S. and the USSR etc." which the Governor claims to seek.

Since 1943, when the Moscow Declaration on General Security, preceeding the San Francisco Conference, was signed by representatives of the U.S.A., USSR, Great Britain and China, both the U.S.A. and the USSR, in the absence of a global authority to verify a viable disarmament between nation-states, have necessarily competed in an unobtainable and illusory armed "superiority." Ironically, Article 5 of the Moscow Declaration refers specifically to "the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security..." (My emphasis)

In brief, Governor Reagan's as well as President Carter's advocacy of "superiority" in military strength while, on the other hand, giving lip-service to real world peace requirements, is the grossest deception. The American public neither deserves nor can tolerate such hypocrisy much longer.

This writer was a bomber pilot in World War II. He is also the father of four. Like the Governor, he was once a professional actor. Now he is a deeply concerned citizen of the one world we all inhabit.

I have sought in good faith the endorsement of your candidate for an election without which, I am convinced, there will be no world peace. You neither considered this initiative positively nor did you indicate what the Governor's response would be. Contrarily, you referred to it as a "foreign election" which you claim "could cause (Americans) to lose their citizenship, under the US Code."

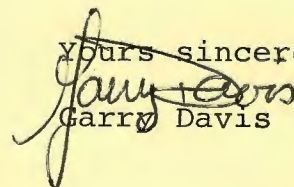
To set the record straight, Section 349(a)(2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act dealing with oaths of allegiance not only does not prohibit voting in a global election, but does not, and cannot, prohibit any U.S. citizen from pledging his or her allegiance to a world government! Indeed, the ninth amendment to the U.S. Constitution implicitly sanctions such an extension of citizenship just as the Founding Fathers extended their citizenship to the national level in 1787.

Further, article 21(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights mandates a "universal" election in that "The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government."

I am making this letter available to Governor Reagan's fellow candidates, to the press and to our world constituency.

Copy: President Jimmy Carter
John Anderson
Ed Clark

Yours sincerely,


Garry Davis

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 20, 1980

Mr. Ric Davidge
National Association of Property Owners
1200 New Hampshire Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ric:

I am pleased to respond to your inquiry about Governor Reagan's views on federal land ownership, especially as it concerns national parks and recreation areas.

Governor Reagan fully agrees with the 1980 platform plank, which says in part:

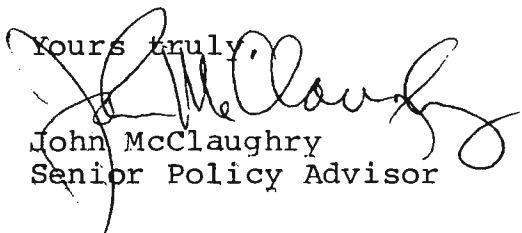
Under Democratic rule, the federal government has become an aggressive enemy of the human right to private property ownership. It has dissipated savings through depreciation of the dollar, enforced price controls on private exchange of goods, attempted to enforce severe land use controls, and mistreated hundreds of thousands of national park and forest inholders.

The next Republican Administration will reverse this baneful trend. It will not only protect the cherished human right of property ownership, but will also work to help millions of Americans - particularly those from disadvantaged groups - to share in the ownership of the wealth of their nation.

I can assure you that a Reagan Administration will want to take a very careful look at the land acquisition policies of the National Park Service and other agencies, and I think I can safely predict that there are likely to be some fairly important changes made, for the better.

I am enclosing a recent article by the Governor on small towns, which mentions the Cuyahoga River problem.

Yours truly,


John McLaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

CAMPAIGN '80

Honorary Chairmen

Senator Strom Thurmond
Governor James B. Edwards
Commissioner G. Bryan Patrick
Mr. Harry S. Dent

John Courson, Chairman
Doug Clark, Field Director

October 24, 1980

Mr. John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor
Reagan Bush Committee
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204

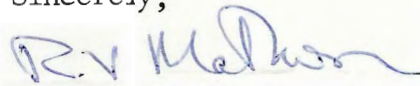
Dear Mr. McClaughry:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 10th, 1980, and I found the review of the enclosures to be very rewarding. As you will know from this stationery, my efforts since my letter of September 12th to you have been largely devoted to an even bigger picture than housing problems.

I do, however, anticipate being in Washington on other business from November 5th through November 7th, and it could be productive if we were to get together. Hopefully, we will have something at that time to celebrate, and this visit could present an opportunity to make some meaningful plans.

With thanks again for your note, and looking forward to meeting you, I am,

Sincerely,



R. V. Mathison, Chairman
"Campaign '80"/Beaufort County
P. O. Box 5271
Hilton Head Island, S.C. 29938

RVM:af

Enclosures

October 27, 1980

Ms. Anne P. Cooney
8 Townsend Street
Malden, Mass . 02148

Dear Ms. Cooney:

Your letter to Governor Reagan dated October 7 just came to my desk and I thought I'd better reply directly rather than try to get it to the Governor, who is presently preparing for tomorrow's debate.

I have checked with our Senior Advisor for Foreign Policy, Richard V. Allen, and can assure you that no "private arrangement" has been made between Governor Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher about the sale of arms to the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

As a descendant of Matthew McClaughry, who emigrated from Northern Ireland in 1765, I am personally distressed at the continued violence and brutality in the homeland of my ancestors. There is not much any U.S. administration can do directly to solve those problems, but we should certainly not do anything that would make them worse.

Best wishes for the Festival of Samhain (Celtic New Years Eve).

Yours truly,

John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

JMc/nf

8 Townsend Street
Malden, Massachusetts, 02148
October 7, 1980

Governor Ronald Reagan
Reagan for President Committee
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear Governor Reagan:

As a member of the Massachusetts Irish National Caucus, an organization which is dedicated to a non-violent campaign of making the violations of HUMAN RIGHTS in Ireland an American issue, I have been urged by fellow members, who are staunch Regan supporters, to contact you concerning the confirmation or denial of a rumor that has filtered down to them from a reliable conduit.

The rumor has it that a "private arrangement" has been made between you and Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of Britain, to reinstate the sale of arms to the R.U.C. (the Royal Ulster Constabulary). The R.U.C. has been charged by responsible organizations (Amnesty International, the Bennett Commission and others) of violating the human rights of political prisoners and prison suspects in Northern Ireland. The U.S. Department of State suspended sales and shipments of U.S. arms to this police body in keeping with the established American policy of not furnishing aid to any country found guilty of violating the human rights of its citizenry.

It should not be diplomatically embarrassing to any prospective presidential candidate to support the laws of the United States even though an applicant for aid "says" that former abuses have been eliminated. Daily reports of shocking treatment of these political prisoners have been received by dependable citizens throughout the world.

Governor Reagan, we should appreciate an immediate response to this rumor.

Respectfully yours,

Anne P. Cooney
Anne P. Cooney

October 27, 1980

Ms. Sheila Dwyer
Celtic League, American Branch
168 State Street
Brooklyn NY 11201

Dear Ms. Dwyer:

Thanks for sending me the announcement of the Celtic
New Years Eve celebration.

I would dearly love to attend, and bring along my favorite
Irishman, Governor Reagan. Unfortunately, I can't.

The Governor is planning to sacrifice an Englishman on
November 4, and perhaps he can come next year wearing
the skin.

Yours truly,

John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

Home address: Concord, Vermont 05824

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 29, 1980

Mr. Christopher Lovell
Lovell for Congress
327 Smith Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11231

Dear Mr. Lovell:

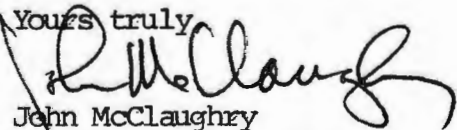
Senator Laxalt has passed on to me your recent letter and your suggestions about reopening the Brooklyn Navy Yard to build the AEGIS guided missile frigates.

Governor Reagan is really concerned about the chronic unemployment of inner city areas like Bushwick and Bed-Stuy and Williamsburgh. While our whole national economy is currently afflicted with unemployment averaging nearly eight percent of the labor force, the unemployment rate in these areas can be five to seven times that national average. This is not only a loss of productive capacity, but a human tragedy of alarming proportions.

Our first effort, in a Reagan Administration, will be to get the national economy on track again, and our unemployed people back to work. But we will have to do more for the kind of disadvantaged inner city areas you have in the 14th CD. The Governor has strongly favored the idea of creating enterprise zones in such areas, where taxation and business regulation would be relaxed to encourage new enterprises to spring up and hire unemployed local people. We are committed to a test of this concept early in the Reagan administration (it is now being tested in six locations in Great Britain) and it seems obvious that the old Navy Yard would be a first-rate location for a test.

At this time we can't make any promises about reopening specific facilities. But I am confident that your district would be an excellent site for some kind of demonstration project. I hope we have the opportunity to develop this idea further with you as a Member of Congress from the 14th CD.

Yours truly,


John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

cc: Sen. Paul Laxalt

MEMO TO: Richard Williamson, Deputy to the Chairman

FROM: Paul Laxalt, Chairman

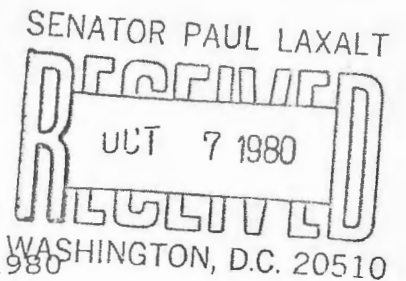
DATE: October 9, 1980

Attached is a copy of a letter I recently received from Christopher Lovell, who I spoke with on the telephone at some length last week.

I think Mr. Lovell has some excellent ideas, and I'd like to see his suggestions pumped into the campaign if at all possible.

Copy to: Mr. Christopher Lovell

LOVELL FOR CONGRESS
327 Smith Street
Brooklyn, NY 11231



October 1, 1980

Honorable Paul Laxalt
Room 317
Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Laxalt:

Pursuant to telephone conversation this afternoon, I write to solicit your support and Governor Reagan's for my proposal to reopen and refurbish the Brooklyn Naval Yards, as a naval yard, and construct 10 Aegis class cruisers there.

Located on the edge of terrible urban poverty, the Brooklyn Naval Yards have the largest dry docks in the United States and are presently used by small civilian contractors. My proposal would not hurt these contractors and would make economic, military, urban revitalization and political sense.

This proposal makes economic sense because of all Navy yards, the Brooklyn Naval Yards are closes and have least costly access to Pittsburgh's steel and RCA's (New Jersey) technology which will be the prime raw materials for the Aegis. Moreover, Brooklyn has the industrial base required. And the Brooklyn Naval Yards (largely idle since closed by L.B. Johnson in 1965/66) can be converted to the automated modular technology appropriate to build 10 cruisers at less cost than could other yards.

The proposal makes military sense because our carrier based Navy presently needs nothing more than the Aegis to improve carrier defenses against air attack. (Thus, Congress has already appropriated money and RCA has already perfected the phased array, three dimensional radar technology essential to this program). Also, it would add to our military security by improving and broadening the technological and industrial base of skilled workers, by reviving such skills and training in Brooklyn, and by creating an additional naval yard (high technology work should be performed in Navy, not civilian yards) when we need new high technology shipbuilding and when all other naval yards with sufficiently large dry docks are operating at or near full capacity.

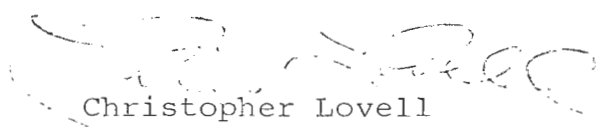
Hon. Paul Laxalt
October 1, 1980
Page 2

The proposal makes urban revitalization sense because the Brooklyn Naval Yards adjoin Beford-Stuyvesant, Bushwick and Williamsburgh, three of the largest, most depressed, destroyed and needy ghettos in the United States. (Of course, thousands of apprentice jobs are created in every Naval yard and this would fold right into the chronic problems of untrained work force.)

Finally, the proposal may make political sense because it will definitely help Reagan, local Republicans and the inner city in Brooklyn, thereby reinforcing our claims to be the real Party of hope. I sincerely hope it makes political sense from the larger perspective.

Thank you, Senator Laxalt. Please contact me at (212) 625-7382 or (212) 832-2310.

Sincerely,



Christopher Lovell
Republican Nominee for
Congress (14th C.D.)

CL:pc

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 29, 1980

Mr. W. Clement Stone
Combined Insurance Companies
5050 North Broadway
Chicago, Illinois 60640

Dear Clem:

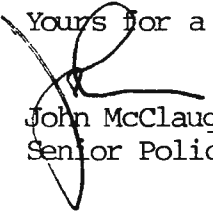
Enclosed is a copy of the speech insert on motivational training I sent out to Gov. Reagan on the plane today. I have been looking for the right forum to introduce this subject, but our scheduling has been such that the perfect opportunity has not materialized. So I sent it out with the suggestion that the travelling staff give it to the Governor wherever a suitable forum presents itself.

Please thank Jack Early for me, for providing the raw material for this. Personally, I think the subject deserves fuller treatment, and that our Administration should plan to launch a major experiment comparing test groups of welfare recipients, one with PMA training, the other without.

I'm enclosing a letter I recently received via the Governor, from Charles Mueller, a Florida publisher who I know. It is about the people of the black community of Gifford, Florida, who want to become entrepreneurs, get off welfare, and make something of their poor community. I know this is the kind of thing that makes your juices run. If you were to send someone to Gifford to make a presentation on PMA and assess their opportunities, you might be able to accomplish a great deal.

Thanks , also , for the resume for Dr. Feng. I shared it with Don Chau, who is spearheading our campaign among Asian Americans, and it will go into our transition file with your recommendation.

Yours for a smashing victory next Tuesday,



John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor

W. CLEMENT STONE
CHAIRMAN

CLEMENT STONE
PRESIDENT

TELEPHONE 275-8000
AREA CODE 312
CABLE ADDRESS-COMBINED
TELETYPE NO. 253364



October 8, 1980

Mr. John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor
Reagan-Bush Campaign
901 South Highland
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear John:

Enclosed is an updated report on the Achievement
Motivation Program at San Francisco State University.

If you need additional information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Jack J. Early
Executive Director of Education
Chairman's Office

JJE/kay
Enc.

MAXIMUM INSURANCE PROTECTION AT MINIMUM COST

W. CLEMENT STONE
5050 NORTH BROADWAY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60640

October 15, 1980

Mr. John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor
Reagan-Bush Campaign
901 South Highland
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear John:

While I was attending the meeting of the International Council on Education for Teaching in Argentina I met a young Chinese teacher, Dr. Alan Feng from Cheyney State College in Pennsylvania. Dr. Feng expressed an interest in working in the Reagan-Bush Campaign.

Dr. Feng was born in Shanghai and has been in the United States since 1949. At the present time he is Chairman, Department of Related Social Sciences/Afro-American Studies, Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania. He is very articulate and I believe that he would be an asset in working with minorities.

I am enclosing biographical data for Dr. Feng. He can be contacted at the following address:

Dr. Alan C. J. Feng
429 West Union Street
West Chester, Pennsylvania 19380
(215) 758-2424

Keep up the good work and have a Positive Mental Attitude (PMA)... everyday!

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'WCS' or 'W. Stone', written in a cursive, flowing style.

WCS/kay
Enc.

The Achievement Motivation Program at
San Francisco State University --
A Program to Provide Skills,
Then Jobs to Welfare Recipients

History

The program was initiated as a pilot program in skills training for welfare recipients. The Summer of 1968 saw 15 trainees in the pilot program. With funds from the W. Clement & Jessie V. Stone Foundation, the program was extended from September 1969 through June, 1970, and the program was expanded to include the Achievement Motivation Program. Between June, 1970 and June, 1974, the program was funded by various agencies, including the State of California's Department of Employment Development and through the City and County of San Francisco's Social Services Department. Since July, 1974, the program has operated through funding from the City and County of San Francisco's Mayor's Office of Employment and Training (MOET), which serves as the City and County's CETA prime sponsor.

San Francisco State University provided the classroom space and many other support facilities and services from 1969 through August, 1979, when, because of expanding enrollment of "regular 'academic' pursuits," the dearth of classroom space, the Program was asked to seek off-campus facilities. The program is still under the aegis of the University, although the program is conducted in facilities rented from Cogswell College at 600 Stockton Street, San Francisco, CA. The original program directors have continued in their roles since the program's inception.

Program Description

Trainees attend classes five days a week, eight hours a day, for twelve weeks. Courses include mathematics, typing, and business English. The program's version of the Achievement Motivation Program enjoys prime scheduling, since the first two days are devoted to positive attitudes, motivation, getting along, identifying one's support system, etc. These positive attributes are reinforced daily in the classes and outside the classroom.

Training has been limited to 12-18 persons in each cycle. We have been invited to conduct training programs in clerical skills, in stenographic skills, and in word processing, but lack of space has afforded us opportunity to teach only one program at a time. We have taught clerical training alternately with stenographic skills.

Statistics

Over 1,200 trainees have completed the SFSU-AMP programs. A MOET-CETA sponsored third-party report shows the following data on the program's performance evaluation for the 72 months from July, 1974 through June, 1980:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|--------|
| (1) | Total positive placements | = | 71% |
| (2) | Job retention | | |
| | 30 days | = | 96% |
| | 180 days | = | 80% |
| | 365 days | = | 81% |
| (3) | Cost benefit factor | = | 2.404* |

*The cost benefit factor is the ratio of the total annualized salary of those trainees now working to the total cost of funds expended for selecting, training, and placing graduates. For each dollar expended during training (including welfare stipends, plus special child-care and transportation allowances during training) the graduates now earn \$2.40. Stated another way, trainees who were taking out in welfare \$1 from the economy, as program graduates, now contribute \$2.40 to the economy.

prepared by Dr. Jack Yuen
Professor of Business

W. CLEMENT STONE
CHAIRMAN

CLEMENT STONE
PRESIDENT



5050 BROADWAY CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60640

September 19, 1980

TELEPHONE 275-8000
AREA CODE 312
CABLE ADDRESS-COMBINED
TELEX NO. 253364

Mr. John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor
Reagan-Bush Campaign
901 South Highland
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Dear John:

It was good to visit with you, Bob Wright and Art Teele on Wednesday, September 17, 1980 at the Reagan-Bush Headquarters in Arlington, Virginia.

At the suggestion of Mr. W. Clement Stone, I am enclosing information on various projects in which the private sector has provided leadership for the improvement of the quality of life for many Americans. Most of the projects have been related to the Blacks and other minorities.

If I can provide additional information on these projects, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Jack J. Early
Executive Director of Education
Chairman's Office

JJE:gm
encl.

MAXIMUM INSURANCE PROTECTION AT MINIMUM COST

INTER-OFFICE MEMO

000670-B

CC:

Date: September 19, 1980

To: MR. W. CLEMENT STONE

From: Jack J. Early

Subject: EXAMPLES OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR WORKING WITH
THE PUBLIC SECTOR

We have been able to secure the data for various projects involving the private sector from the files of the Foundation. The report on the MESBIC Program was secured from Wallace J. Buya. I hope that information will be helpful in preparing a statement for John McClaghry.



J.J.E.

/kad
Attachments

Mr. John McClaughry
Senior Policy Advisor
Reagan-Bush Headquarters
901 South Highland
Arlington, VA 22204

(202) 685-3400

APPALACHIAN LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY OUTREACH, INC. (ALCOR, INC.)

Alcor Inc. was a three year project on the part of six educational institutions of higher learning in the Central Appalachian area of Eastern Kentucky. In the Summer of 1971 Alcor Inc. placed 325 students in 72 isolated communities in a 20 county area to conduct programs in recreation, education, nutrition and health and community development. One cornerstone of the program was the utilization of Appalachians to reach Appalachians with motivational material. Motivational materials were translated into the language of the area and made available by the college students.

The W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation provided a grant to cover a five point program:

1. Implementing a special reading program to upgrade the reading skills of 9,000 children in these communities.
2. Placing before 16,000 men, women and children a wider variety of carefully selected reading materials designed to build up skills and handling motivational and leadership material more effectively.
3. Instituting a special research program that would develop a motivational program by identifying special patterns of the area and then translating proven effective materials into the language of the area.
4. Moving beyond the presentation of leadership and motivation techniques in written form and placing proven techniques in oral form through the use of tape recorders. (The W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation provided tape recorders, motivational tapes and books, etc.)
5. Study the results for effectiveness in the Central Appalachian area and other areas with large concentrations of people from the rural South.

Mr. Dwight M. Hendrix, President of Alcor Inc., indicates the following results of the program:

1. The program as designed and implemented was a positive motivational (learning) factor and was appropriate in that era.
2. The tapes were used extensively in the 22 county service area which may be the reason they cannot be located. The assumption is, they were used until worn out, broken, etc.
3. The SRA kits are and still remain in the majority of the college libraries. Only one college used the kits this summer where they continued to work with approximately 350 kids for eight weeks. The assumption here is that some colleges have "Learning Labs" and use different material and others have experimented with using different models.
4. The results from this limited research is all positive. No negative responses can be found. One comment from my sources indicate, at that time, for the purposes intended, the material was excellent.

AUSTIN COLLEGE TEACHER PROGRAM

In 1967 a grant from the W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation assisted in the launching of The Austin Teacher Program at Austin College, Sherman, Texas. The basic components of the program include a four-year, liberal arts foundation, continuous field experience, and a fifth professional year terminating in the Master of Arts degree; but the essential difference is a creative mix of behavioral and factual learning that results in a competent and effective teacher.

As of August, 1980, 321 Austin Teacher Program students had received the Master of Arts degree and had been certified to teach in Texas elementary and secondary schools. Over 90 percent of these graduates have been placed in teaching positions.

BLACK MINISTERS PROJECT AT THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

The Black Ministers Project at the Interdenominational Theological Center was funded initially by the W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation in the early 70's. The following data are related to the impact of the Black Ministers Project:

1. Approximately 520 pastors were directly engaged in the training program sponsored by the Interdenominational Theological Center. Another 700 pastors were involved at various levels of exposure to the training.
2. In the report on August 23, 1974, to the Stone Foundation, "many of the pastors are better preachers as a result of the training experience."
3. Trust in and support of other ministers and community leaders have been rewarding products for most of the participants.
4. A new understanding of human behavior and how to move people through conflict to desirable goals developed as a result of the training program.
5. Communities where the groups have "solidified" are reaping the benefits which accrue from enlightening, awakened, turned-on Christians according to the report of August 23, 1974.

INSTITUTE FOR MOTIVATIONAL AND CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS

A critical gap remains in the American Criminal Justice System. The majority of criminals are not incarcerated for life. Approximately 95-98% of all convicted criminals earn parole and subsequently, return to streets and suburbs. However, 85% of all incarcerated prisoners return to prison. In 1962 the Institute for Motivational and Correctional Programs began the "GUIDES FOR BETTER LIVING" Course in several correctional institutes. The Institute was funded initially by the W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation. Several thousand prisoners have participated in the "GUIDES FOR BETTER LIVING" Programs. Many former prisoners are involved in teaching prisoners.

The Jones and Kiger 1979 Study of a sample of over 500 inmate graduates concluded that the Institutes graduates "perform better on parole than the typical releasee." In one study, approximately 85% of the prisoners who had participated in the "GUIDES FOR BETTER LIVING" Course were not returned to prisons. The data on prisoners would indicate that the reverse would be true for the general prisoner population.

MESBIC

The Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBIC) are an excellent example of a program involving joint effort between Government and the Private Sector. They were introduced in 1969 during a Republican Administration and adopted formally in November, 1972, by an amendment to the Federal Small Business Investment Act of 1958.

Combined Opportunities, Inc. is one of ninety-nine (99) MESBICs operating under license from the United States Small Business Administration. The purpose of Combined Opportunities, Inc. is indicated by these excerpts from the charter:

" ... the corporation is organized ... to perform the functions and conduct activities ... under the Federal Small Business Investment Act of 1958 as amended ... to provide assistance solely to small business concerns by persons whose participation in a free enterprise system is hampered because of social or economic disadvantages ... "

The Congress of the United States made an important judgment when the program was established that the Private Sector was best equipped to meet the need for capital resources. A partnership was formed whereby public policy was formulated to encourage business corporations to form capital pools to be made available to minority entrepreneurs. The Government Sponsorship took the form of economic incentives for those who would provide the capital; the focus, however, was kept on keeping the primary risk on those corporations which were providing capital resources.

It is thus a partnership of Government incentives with private at-risk investors.

One interesting aspect of Combined's MESBIC is that for several years Combined has teamed up with a second Chicago MESBIC, The Urban Fund, in order to pool our resources and enabling our providing funding to somewhat larger minority business enterprises.

The portfolio contains seven investments totalling about \$500,000. In 1979 we achieved profitable operations showing a profit of almost \$40,000 before taxes.

SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY CLERICAL TRAINING PROGRAM

The Clerical Training Program of San Francisco State began in 1968. As of January 10, 1974, 332 persons have graduated from the program, mostly women. Almost all of the students were on Welfare when selected for training. Of the trainees, 70% were black, 20% were Latin or Asian and the rest were White. 90% of the women trainees were heads of families on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). Many had never held a job in their lives. They were given extensive courses in typing, business English, office procedures, etc. However, in addition they were given what is known as Achievement Motivational Training consisting of heightening self-image and instilling pride and a feeling of self-worth. This training, based on the teachings of W. Clement Stone, is what has made the course unique. The Program costs roughly \$1,000 per trainee. Upon completing the course, 92% are employed at once and 86% remain employed. The ultimate saving to taxpayers is enormous. But even more important is the saving of people from lives of dependency and hopelessness.

WASHINGTON LIFT

The Washington Lift Program is related to the Church of The Saviour in Washington, D.C. The core of the Washington Lift strategy is the Leadership Laboratory where using the best resources of education, industry and behavioral sciences, scores of youth leaders - those in daily touch with the city - are discovering new ways to release their full potential. Included in the Washington Lift strategy is the components of the Achievement Motivation Program made possible through the resources of the W. Clement and Jessie V. Stone Foundation. The Washington Lift Program emerged as a result of the 1968 riots. Hundreds of youth leaders have participated in the Washington Lift Program and have provided positive leadership as they have worked with youth in the inner city.

"The Washington Lift provides some of the many essential experiences required for the development of young people as capable individuals and participating citizens. A beautiful complement to the existing school system because of its residential living, working, educating, spiritual and motivating dimensions; its opportunity for self-management and self-discipline are excellent." -- Catharine V. Richards, Chief, Youth Division, U.S. Dept., Health, Education and Welfare.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 31, 1980

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Chairman
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I learned today that the Leadership Conference has issued a news release critical of the Reagan Bush Committee for failing to respond to your letter of October 8, inquiring as to Governor Reagan's civil rights agenda. That letter was addressed to me as Campaign Manager.

I have never seen the letter. My office logs in every letter received, and we have no record of receiving a letter from you. That is why you have not received a timely reply. This is not the first time, by the way, that letters sent to this address have failed to materialize.

I truly regret that we did not have an opportunity to respond to the important concerns of the Leadership Conference. Let me say only that Governor Reagan is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity for all, and to using the prestige and moral authority of the Presidency to eliminate the blight of racism in American life. He has, as you know, strongly condemned the beliefs and the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and will continue to do so as President.

Following the election, we would be pleased to arrange a meeting with your leadership and some of the key officials of a Reagan Administration. We look forward to cooperating with you in advancing a cause that should command the respect and support of every American.

Yours truly,

William J. Casey
Campaign Manager

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-667-1780

October 8, 1980

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Roy Wilkins

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Msgr. George Higgins

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.

Benjamin L. Hooks

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

Ronald Ikejiri

Japanese American Citizens League

Vernon Jordan

National Urban League

Janice Klissner

Zeta Phi Beta Sorority

Iris Mitgang

National Women's Political Caucus

Gilbert Padilla

United Farm Workers of America

Reese Robrahn

American Coalition of Citizens
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John Shattuck

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Governor Ronald Reagan
Reagan/Bush Campaign Committee
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204

Attn: Mr. William Casey
• Campaign Manager

Dear Governor Reagan:

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, as you know, is a coordinating and planning body for the approximately 150 national organizations listed on the reverse side of this letterhead. All of these organizations are committed to the Conference's goal of "equality in a free, plural, democratic society" and are eager to know the strategies and approaches that you would pursue if elected to advance that goal.

Accordingly, we would very much appreciate your advising us of your civil rights agenda, indicating in specific and detailed terms the steps you would take as President, both legislatively and through executive action to further equality in employment, education, housing, health and in access to federal programs and services for: 1) racial, ethnic and religious minorities; 2) women; and 3) handicapped.

Extension of the Voting Rights Act will be a major civil rights issue in the 97th Congress. We believe that the Supreme Court decision in the City of Mobile v. Bolden case has significant adverse effect on this vital law. We would very much like to know, therefore, what you would recommend to counter the negative impact of that decision.

We are sending identical letters to President Carter and Congressman Anderson and we respectfully ask that we receive your response by October 20, 1980, so that all the replies can be made available simultaneously to our constituent organizations and to the public at-large.

Sincerely,

Clarence Mitchell

Clarence Mitchell
Chairman

Arnold Aronson

Arnold Aronson
Secretary

"Equality In A Free, Plural, Democratic Society"

#1 M. 9/26

(Rejected - does not support NYC enough)

In 1978 Congress enacted legislation designed to provide for the fiscal needs of New York City over the ensuing five fiscal years. That legislation imposed strict requirements upon the City's finances, in exchange for Treasury guarantees of city bonds.

New York City has made steady progress in putting its fiscal house back in order. But it has faced sudden difficulty in planning its capital budget needs for fiscal years 1983 and 1984 - when the federal loan guarantees will no longer be available.

The anticipated source of funds in those years is city bonds sold in the bond market, backed up by bonds issued by the New York Municipal Assistance Corporation. Unfortunately, because of the economic problems caused by the Carter Administration's mismanagement of the economy, MAC is now unable to promise that it can raise the full amount of money required by the city in 1983 and 1984 at reasonable interest rates. In addition, the bond rating agencies have stated their unwillingness to rate the city's bonds on the basis of only one balanced budget year.

The City has thus proposed that it draw upon the standby loan guarantee authority in the Act, and in effect use the \$900 million thus raised in 1981 and 1982 to meet its capital needs in 1983 and 1984.

Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin has strongly objected to the use of this standby authority in this way, calling it a "back door extension" of the Act without Congressional approval.

This is obviously an enormously complicated issue with valid arguments on both sides. But one thing is clear: the people of New York City should not be made to suffer from municipal fiscal

problems caused not by New Yorkers, but by a declining economy engineered by the Carter Administration in Washington.

I believe that rather than engage in the kind of financing the City now proposes ,and rather than cut New York adrift for 1983 and 1984, the Banking committees of the Congress should hold hearings immediately with the aim of fashioning a responsible solution to New York's problems. One such solution would be an extension of the Loan Guarantee Act for one or two more years. There may be other alternative solutions. The important thing is for both the City and Congress to sit down together and work out a mutually acceptable arrangement, as was done in 1978. Senator Proxmire has offered to hold such hearings on legislation proposed to deal with this problem. It is an offer the Treasury and New York ought to accept.

The inability of the Carter Administration to work closely with Congress in dealing with New York's problems in an orderly way lies at the bottom of the present controversy. A Reagan Administration would make it a point to work closely with all parties involved, to make sure that New York is not handicapped in its efforts to achieve a sound fiscal footing, and the preservation of all needed municipal services.

Since enactment of the New York City Loan Guarantee Act of 1978 the city has made steady progress toward the restoration of fiscal soundness. That progress has now been threatened by the projected inability of the Municipal Assistance Corporation to market bonds, due to unsettled market conditions and continuing high inflation resulting from mismanagement of the economy by the Carter Administration.

The city has devised a plan to help it meet its capital budget by drawing on the standby guarantee authority contained in the 1978 act. But Senator Proxmire has authored a rider to an appropriations bill which would defeat that plan and leave the City some \$300 million short of meeting its planned-for capital expenditures in the coming years. Failure to meet those expenditures means that streets and bridges and other public works throughout the city will fall further into disrepair, and that the city will be less likely to obtain the full benefit from the job-creating economic policies which I expect to implement as President in 1981.

I urge the Senate-House conference committee to reject the Proxmire rider. The city of New York should not be made to suffer the municipal fiscal consequences caused not by New Yorkers, but by the Carter Administration's economic failures in Washington. As President in 1981, I would work closely with the city and with Congress to develop a mutually acceptable solution to the city's long range financing problems. In the meantime, however, we can not let the Proxmire rider pull the rug out from under New York.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Saturday, September 27, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

GOVERNOR REAGAN ANNOUNCES SUPPORT FOR NEW YORK CITY LOAN GUARANTEES

LOS ANGELES, Calif. -- Republican presidential nominee Ronald Reagan today urged Congress to reject an appropriations bill amendment that would leave New York City some \$300 million short of meeting planned-for capital expenditures in 1980 and \$600 million short in coming years.

"The City of New York should not have to suffer fiscal damage caused not by New Yorkers, but by the Carter Administration's economic failures in Washington," Governor Reagan said. "I believe that to pull the rug from under New York City half-way through the financing program approved by the Congress would be a mistake."

New York City "has made steady progress toward the restoration of fiscal soundness," but "that progress has now been threatened by the projected inability of New York City to market bonds, due to unsettled market conditions and continuing high inflation resulting from mismanagement of the economy by the Carter Administration," Governor Reagan said.

If Congress adopts the amendment undercutting New York City's plan to meet its capital budget by drawing on the standby guarantee authority of the 1978 Act, it will "impair New York's chances to obtain full benefit from the job-creating economic policies which I expect to implement as President in 1981," he said.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Saturday, September 27, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN
TO MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE
OF THE U.S. CONGRESS
ON THE NEW YORK CITY LOAN GUARANTEE ACT OF 1978

Since enactment of the New York City Loan Guarantee Act of 1978, which I then opposed as a matter of principle, the City has made steady progress toward the restoration of fiscal soundness. That progress has now been threatened by the projected inability of New York City to market bonds, due to unsettled market conditions and continuing high inflation resulting from mismanagement of the economy by the Carter Administration.

The City has devised a plan to help it meet its capital budget by drawing on the standby guarantee authority contained in the 1978 Act. But Senator Proxmire has authored a rider to an appropriations bill which would undercut that plan and leave the City some \$300 million short of meeting its planned-for capital expenditures this year and \$600 million short in the coming years. Failure to meet those expenditures means that the streets in Brooklyn and bridges in Queens and other public works throughout the City will fall further into disrepair. It would also impair New York's chances to obtain full benefit from the job-creating economic policies which I expect to implement as President in 1981.

- more -

I urge the Senate-House Conference Committee to reject the Proxmire rider. The City of New York should not have to suffer fiscal damage caused not by New Yorkers, but by the Carter Administration's economic failures in Washington. As President in 1981, I will work closely with the City and with Congress to develop a mutually acceptable solution to the City's long-range financing problems. In the meantime, I believe that to pull the rug from under New York City half-way through the financing program approved by the Congress would be a mistake.

#

Since enactment of the New York City Loan Guarantee Act of 1978 the city has made steady progress toward the restoration of fiscal soundness. That progress has now been threatened by the projected inability of the Municipal Assistance Corporation to market bonds, due to unsettled market conditions and continuing high inflation resulting from mismanagement of the economy by the Carter Administration.

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September 29, 1980

To: Casey, Meese

From: McClaughry

Re: New York bailout- Proxmire amendment

Our 9/27 statement on the Proxmire amendment says in part:

"Senator Proxmire has authored a rider to an appropriations bill which would undercut (the City's) plan and leave the City some \$300 million short of meeting its planned-for capital expenditures this year and \$600 million short in the coming years."

I have discussed this statement with Michael C. Smith, Assistant Director for Finance of the Emergency Fiscal Control Board for the City of New York. He says it is "slightly misleading" and "not true".

Between the City and MAC, it is expected that the City can meet its capital borrowing needs for FY 81 and FY 82 without the federal loan guarantee authority.

The City's concern is that in so doing it may be necessary to use all of MAC's capacity to issue bonds for FY 83 and FY 84, leaving the City without capital budget funds in those years.

In other words, the City is concerned about "robbing the future to pay the present". It wants to issue federally guaranteed bonds in FY 81 and FY 82, along with MAC bonds, and stockpile part of the MAC bond proceeds for FY 83 and FY 84. The Proxmire Amendment would prohibit this.

This statement is a modification of the draft statement I prepared on 9/26.

August 28, 1980

9/1
for RW

To: Meese, Anderson, Wirthlin

From: McClaughry

Re: Civil Service Retirement

We have a questionnaire from one of the Federal employee unions which inquires whether the Governor favors a merger of the Social Security and Civil Service Retirement funds. He has taken no position on the question to date.

Congressman Jim Leach (R-Iowa), who serves on the House Civil Service Committee, tells me that this is an extremely hot issue with millions of federal employees. Their system presently provides benefits superior to social security. These benefits are established by Congress, not collectively bargained. The civil servants are violently opposed to being merged in with social security recipients, and if the Governor were to take that position Jim thinks it would be worth hundreds of thousands of votes if aggressively marketed.

Support for the merger idea is apparently not widespread, or organized effectively. Some Republicans, like Barber Conable, lean toward a merger on the grounds that it will strengthen the precarious social security system, although the civil service retirement system is itself not fully funded. Others believe that civil servants do not deserve a better deal than social security workers. The man in the street probably has no thoughts whatever on the matter unless he happens to work for the government.

The National Federation of Federal Employees has offered to read a two-page message from the Governor at their September 15 (?) convention. Carter and Anderson have already responded to their questionnaire and the results have been printed in their newsletter. We did not respond in time for their printing deadline (although the request was received July 10.)

We can: Ignore the group

Call for more study of the merger idea

Denounce the merger idea

in the past about the "unfairness" of Ham not

If we denounce the merger, we need to (a) have strong background paper defending our position and (b) aggressively market our position. There is no point opposing the merger and then not cashing in on the vote getting opportunity that position offers.

Please advise promptly.

*Gov has
I recall
commented
being under*

I am right?

September 23, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED MEESE
RICHARD WIRTHLIN

FROM: ED GRAY

This following represents a synthesis of ideas expressed by colleagues within the last twenty four hours.

1. Speeches are fine. But, the campaign seems to be overly preoccupied with speeches at the expense of actions which visualize and demonstrate what Ronald Reagan is saying in those speeches.
2. We should continue to make speeches, but the schedule also should have Gov. Reagan doing things which bring home to the voter we're counting on actions which "dramatize" his concerns as expressed in speeches.

Ronald Reagan is a thoughtful, compassionate leader. He cares about the home, the family, the neighborhood. He cares about what ordinary people feel, their everyday frustrations, their hopes and aspirations.

He talks with ordinary people. He cares about them. He communicates with them in their own little world.

Speeches are fine. Rallies are fine. Podiums are fine. Fund-raisers are fine.

But so are events which bring his message home -- literally -- and complement the speech texts and the crowds of enthusiastic supporters.

The following is a list of "news events" which could -- particularly for television -- help accomplish the thrust of what I have said above: Compassion, Caring, Family, Home, Neighborhood

1. GARAGE SALE. Almost everyone holds a garage sale at one time or another. It's an all-American tradition. It's a family tradition. It's the kind of thing that's held by lower-middle income families. And, it's something of a social event for the family which holds it. It's a marketplace at the neighborhood level.
2. PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PTA MEETING. This would provide a setting for us to identify with parents (in this suggested instance Catholic parents) to talk about tuition tax credits, etc.
3. BOY SCOUT/GIRL SCOUT TROOP MEETING. These identify with family, teaching values to youth -- God and country, personal initiative, self-reliance.

4. FAMILY FARM. This provides the opportunity, again, to highlight visually the work of the family -- together -- on the farm, the chores, working in the harvest together, FFA activities, etc. Lunch in the farmhouse. Visit to the barn, talk about the problems of the small farmer -- but in a family context.
5. SHOPPING IN THE SUPERMARKET. Family goes to the supermarket. Shocked by rising prices for food, discussion about how inflation ravages ordinary families for food alone.
6. EVENING WITH COUPLE STARTING OUT IN APARTMENT. Couple, perhaps with small children, or a baby on the way, discussing problems surrounding desired purchase of a house, effects of inflation economy on family starting out.
7. SATURDAY AFTERNOON KIDS SOCCAR EVENT. This is a family event, with kids, the future of our country. Another opportunity to show RR with family and identify with very family/children oriented event.
8. HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL GAME. Entire family goes. Small town. Americana. Hot dogs. Young people. Family aspirations for child(ren). It's not just a school event. It's a family event.
9. VISIT TO A SALVATION ARMY/ST. VINCENT DE PAUL STORE. Possible opportunity to talk with unemployed family members now shopping here instead of department store they used to know. Also focuses on self-help (for employees who rehabilitate items to be sold) and charitable (non-government aspects) theme. In best tradition of America.
10. SMALL TOWN CHURCH PICNIC. Family. Fun. Americana.
11. ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD BLOCK PARTY. I understand that in the Northeast-Midwest many of these are held. They, again, are neighborhood/family affairs. Opportunity to highlight neighborhood self-help, self-pride.
12. NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH MEETING. Emphasis on neighbor helping neighbor to fight burglaries/crime.
13. FAMILY RECREATION. Many lower middle income families have camper vehicles which they use on weekends. In many parts of the country, the camper is standard to the driveway of the lower middle class neighborhood. Hotels are too expensive. Cost of air transportation prohibitive except on very special occasions. Gov. could visit a camper recreational area to talk with family about problems of economy, cost of living, etc.

PAGE THREE
ED MEESE
RICHARD WIRTHLIN
September 23, 1980

The above are just examples of ideas of ways in which we could indentify with families and family/neighborhood symbols. There are, no doubt, many more.

I believe that people, especially the voters who are, or might choose, to be with us in this election are concerned down deep about the directions they see the country moving to. They are concerned about family, about the deterioration of moral values. They have a feeling that slowly the country is going to pot. They are uneasy. This isn't to say they're particularly moralistic. But, whatever their own personal behavioral practices, they are worried about the continuing signs of a moral breakdown and the breakdown of the family. They are uneasy about where this will all lead...what effect it's having on their children, etc.

The ideas for ways in which Gov. Reagan can identify with this unease, this somewhat pessimistic concern for the health of our society and our children, are laid out above.

It is time for us to send messages through symbols that our voters and potential voters can understand. Words are good. Symbols are instantly understood and perceived. Combined, they will help us succeed.

October 20, 1980

To: Garrick
From: McClaughry and Bandow
Re: Fair Housing Amendments of 1980

These amendments, which have passed the House and are pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee, purport to strengthen Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (open housing act),.

In cases of alleged racial discrimination in the sale or rent of housing, the present law provides for conciliation and mediation by HUD, and, if that fails, an individual civil action in Federal district court. Where a system of racial discrimination is alleged to exist, the Justice Department is authorized to join the action. If a plaintiff prevails, an injunction may issue to prevent the continuation of the practices.

This system has proven to be ineffective. HUD has had a long backlog of cases. So have the courts, since such cases are not high priority. Thus civil rights groups have sought a stronger enforcement mechanism. Their preferred mechanism is a system of administrative law judges under the jurisdiction of HUD. House Republicans argued for a magistrate system under the jurisdiction of the Justice Department, but lost in a close floor vote.

The real question is whether a Federal enforcement system would have any real value to offset its obvious shortcomings. We seriously doubt it. This proposal has the look of a symbolic issue more than a practical method of extirpating the alleged evil.

Alternative methods exist to deal with this problem. The Oak Park (Ill.) Equity Assurance Program offers what amounts to home owners equity insurance: if rapid racial changes in a neighborhood cause panic selling and distress sale prices, the home owner can recover the full value of his equity from the Program, for which he has paid a modest premium. At last report (1978) the program had been little used, if at all, because its existence quelled fears of property depreciation due to changing racial patterns. In Baltimore, the Northeast Baltimore Organization has successfully integrated seven city neighborhoods by actively promoting them as desirable places to live, and handling real estate transactions to keep them that way. These examples, though limited in scope, probably promise to overcome racial discrimination in housing far better than ponderous federal legislation of the kind proposed in the present bill.

We think our position, on the merits, should be (a) emphasis on our commitment on open housing (cf. D'Onofrio letter on bussing) (b) Presidential leadership to break down discriminatory practices, akin to that Eisenhower showed in integrating Washington theatres. (c) aggressive prosecution of cases under existing law where a clear pattern of discrimination exists (d) encouragement of local solutions on the Baltimore or Oak Park models, etc.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

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✓

McClaughey

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Meese and Pete Dailey
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin
DATE: September 16, 1980
RE: Speech Material for Ronald Reagan

1. In sequence (given the Governor's travel schedule through October 18th), I've listed new needed speech inputs. It must be understood that these may be ~~changed~~ depending on the changing political environment, but the list provides some needed structuring and sequencing:
 - Fighting inflation through a balanced budget
 - Decrease government spending, waste and fraud
 - Fight inflation and increase jobs through increasing investment and cutting taxes
 - Agricultural/western spin
 - Agricultural/California spin
 - Government: Servant not master
 - Farm speech/Midwest spin
 - ✶ - Jobs/urban spin
 - Housing
 - A review of the Carter record--promises and performance
 - Problems and hopes of the aged
 - 1980's...a bright future if...(urban spin)
 - 1980's...a bright future if...(non-urban spin)
 - Energy: A case study of Presidential failure
 - Peace: Re-establishing our margin of safety.
2. Note: My memo of August 8th outlined the suggested series of radio talks. These should be reviewed, updated, produced and aired.
3. It may also have some advantage to have the Governor go "live" television on 5-minute segments just before the news five days a week. Let's brainstorm this. There are some real political pluses for us in this.