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Last Updated: 02/21/2025

EXCERPT FROM PRESS AVAILABILITY OF JANUARY 15, 1980 AT REGINE'S IN NEW YORK

- Q. ARE YOU AWARE THAT YOUR SUGGESTION THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ARM THE PAKISTANI'S WITH AN EYE TO KNOWING THAT SOME OF THE ARMS WOULD FIND THEIR WAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE INSURGENTS IN AFGHANISTAN MAY BE A VIOLATION OF UNITED STATES LAW WHICH STRICTLY PROHIBITS THAT KIND OF SECOND-PARTY ARMING?
- A. WELL...I WOULD THINK THAT WHAT I SAID WAS, THAT WE WOULD VERY OBVIOUSLY KNOW THAT PAKISTAN, WHICH HAS ALREADY SHOWN ITSELF AS AN ALLY OF AFGHANISTAN, IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT ALLOWING THE SOVIET UNION TO COME TO THEIR BORDER, WOULD PROBABLY DO THAT. NOW, THE LEGALITIES AND THE TECHNICALITIES OF WHAT WE'RE SUPPOSED TO DO AFTER WE HAVE SOLD THEM ARMS, FRANKLY I DON'T THINK IS NEARLY AS IMPORTANT AS REOPENING THESE RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN TO LET THE SOVIET UNION KNOW THAT SOMEPLACE DOWN THE LINE THEY MAY CONFRONT THE UNITED STATES.
- Q. DON'T YOU KNOW THOSE SAME TECHNICALITIES AS YOU CALLED THEM ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES FORCING ISRAEL NOT TO USE AMERICAN-MADE WEAPONS FOR THEIR CONFRONTATION AGAINST SOME OF THE ARAB STATES?
- A. WELL IT SEEMS TO ME IN THE SIX DAY WAR THEY SURE WERE FLYING SOME AMERICAN AIRPLANES.
- Q. YOU KNOW WHAT'S HAPPENED SINCE IN TERMS OF THE USE OF AMERICA WEAPONS AND THIS IS THE SAME TYPE OF SITUATION YOUR TALKING ABOUT, ISN'T IT? AMERICAN WEAPONS PASSED BY THE ISRAELIS TO THEIR FRIENDS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON?
- A. ALL I KNOW IS, WE HAVE A TREATY WITH PAKISTAN. WE ARE SELLING THEM ARMS AND BECAUSE OF AN ARGUMENT OVER NUCLEAR FUEL, WE STOPPED SELLING THEM ARMS. I THINK WE SHOULD REINSTATE THE SELLING OF ARMS TO PAKISTAN.

EXCERPT FROM INTERVIEW WITH WTAG RADIO AND BEACON PUBLICATIONS, WORCESTER, MASS.
2/15/80

Q. What is your opinion of the U.S. threat to get Toyota to build a plant here. There is a proposal that if Toyota builds a plant in the U.S., if they don't build one, we may impose trade sanctions against them, heavy duties or importation of Japanese made cars...?

A. Maybe you're talking about something I'm not aware of...I hate to see us even embark on programs of protectionism because its a two way street and then each one starts topping each other. I believe in free trade, I also believe in fair trade. I do believe in this, the one place where government should interject itself in the free marketplace, is where we see dumping. This is when a country lets its manufacturers or producers sell in another country at below cost to undercut and get the market and the government subsidizes the industry for the loss and gives them a profit in order for them to get that market. That's dumping and thats when you lower the boom and do something about it. I don't want to see us get into the types of protectionism that really is an anethema to the free market.

QUESTION ASKED BY DAN ROTHBERG, AP REPORTER, AFTER INTERVIEW WITH COLLEGE EDITORS
WORCESTER, MASS. 2/15/80

Q. There is a report today that the Soviets launched a few weeks ago a submarine launched missile, tested it, and coded the telemetry in violation of whatever understanding we had...continue observing SALT II. Do you have any reaction?

A. That shouldn't have surprised us any. The President had said he asked Breshnev to observe voluntarily the terms of SALT II in this interim and he would also. Breshnev made it plain that they wouldn't. I don't know why that should surprise us. They've got a submarine missile that is superior to anything we've got. And they also have a submarine that is far superior to anything we now have. They have a submarine that can dive to almost 2000 feet which is about double the depth ours can go. It has a titanium hull and it ~~is~~ has a higher reate of speed than ours do.

in response to a question on government intervention both in industry and in our individual activities...

...Wait until the census taker comes around, you will find out, they are not just going to count how many people there are in the house, they are going to ask you all kinds of questions. I am getting to the place that I think maybe its time for us to tell them its none of their business...

AFTER Q & A, A REPORTER POSED A QUESTION...

Q. Were you advocating a policy on non-cooperation with the census takers

A. No, I am not going to actually say that, but I do think that the census has gone beyond what the constitution says it was supposed to find out. There are 20% of the people that are going to have to answer a 19 page list of questions. I do not think the government has to know how many bath tubs you have got in your house.

(Satan's lair)

...I know that in talking to this audience I'm talking to probably a group of people, many of you who are the worst hit by the cost-price squeeze of inflation, the American farmer. The American farmer who has conducted the greatest technological revolution of recent decades of any industry in the world. And that is the improvement that leads to what 3.5 million people can feed 222 million people and then have one fourth of their produce available for shipment overseas to a hungry world.

In these years of inflation, it has gone from 22% down to 17%, the percentage of earnings that are necessary to put food on the American dinner table. All of this, due to the hard work, genius, and the improvement of farming methods for the American farmer. Any reward? No. A government that today has a policy, a cheap food policy that for political purposes is aimed at the consumer and it does not recognize the problem of the farmer.

Under the Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz, the farm subsidies in America went down by billions of dollars, but the net farm income in America went up by 16%. Today, the farm subsidies are going up by billions of dollars, but the net farm income has gone down by 14%. Oh yes, Washington boasts that in 1978, you had a near record year, the record year for earnings with 33 billion dollars in 1973. Five years later said you came close, 32.5 billion dollars. They didn't say that your 32.5 billion dollars in 1973 dollars was only worth 20 billion. Wouldn't bring near as much, only two-thirds as much as the earnings at that time could. And the time has come, I think, for the federal government to find out, not by interfering, not by trying to restore those old programs that robbed you of independence, but to find out where it can be of help to insure that the farmer of this country gets a net income that is fair and equitable with regard to what he is doing for this nation.

Q. I'm puzzled by the continuing attack you are making on what you say is a cheap food policy by the Carter Administration. What exactly is it that you think this administration has done to hold down food prices and what would you do to raise the prices?

A. Well, the farm policy, or the Carter policy, has been one aimed at meeting the needs of the consumer in this inflationary time, and in many instances, at the expense of the farmer. For example, the assistant secretary of agriculture, Carol Foreman, is a consumerist, and all of her interests have been directed toward the food policies for the consumer. But there are other instances of this. There have been the instances of opening the gates of the United States to the imports of beef at the moment when the cattle industry, the beef industry, was beginning to recover from a drought that had wiped out farmers, wiped out many cattle growers, and as the prices began to recover and were reflected then in the beef prices, at one point they opened the floodgates and made available to the United States not a quota, but whatever beef was available in the world for export. We are still rather the farmer is still not getting the help that he should get in foreign markets, in the increasing of export markets for this country because that would tend also to raise domestic prices and in some countries that we are doing business with, it is the farm product that is based on a quota system and we're not allowed, our exports are not allowed in there, and our government has not taken any action with regard to that. I think if you talk to any of the specialized farm groups, you will find that, well there is also the embargo, the grain embargo which has raised the price of wheat by 80%, the price of corn has gone up by almost 50%, or 50¢, I can't say percent instead of cents, and this embargo, if it were really a part of a boycott of the Soviet Union to meet some of our problems, would be one thing. But when it was all by itself and we continued to trade in other things and there was no effort on our part to keep allies or other nations from filling the gap and taking that market over, which they did, we did no harm to the Soviet Union at all with the boycott. We did harm the American farmer greatly.

Q. Do you want to get the government out of the agriculture business entirely?

A. No, there's a place for it. There's a place for the government to do more than it has done in stimulating foreign markets, in helping create foreign markets, in taking action with those countries that export largely to the United States, but which deny in their own countries, the import of American farm products.

Q. What about internal?

A. Internally, as I just finished, I gave you an example of the beef market. We went through a situation a few years ago when the price of beef dropped so low that the cattle industry reduced the breeding herds in order to reduce the supply. And of course, this was reflected then in the market and the price began to come back somewhere near normal. And as the price began to rise, our government opened the floodgates for cheap imports of beef from Australia, from Argentina. We've had agreements on how much of this beef we will allow imported into the United States. And there are any number of ways of violating that with our government opening the floodgates and has done very little to enforce the restrictions on the manner in which it comes into the country.

Q. What about internal?

A. Well, internally we have the plan that doesn't have to do with food, the plan that I cited yesterday. We have a practical plan in which the government works very well with the tobacco industry. Here is a industry that is based not on large growers but on people with an average of less than 4 and 1/2 acre plot of tobacco. But the government has a lending program in which those farmers who come to market with tobacco find no sale, the government at the current sale price gives them a loan. The government then holds the tobacco and sells it at whatever the best time it is to sell it. The money is delivered to the farmer, the farmer repays the loan to the government and actually the government has been making a sizeable profit. So there is no cost to the taxpayer in this program but the tobacco farmer is guaranteed a market.

Q. In light of the fact that the commodity market is buying grain and storing it in elevators all across the U.S., and now a substantial amount of corn and wheat that was embargoed to the Soviet Union is owned by the government, what would you do to get the government out of the grain industry given the fact that they own a lot of grain and that was supposedly to support grain prices?

A. The Commodity Corporation could do more than it has done with regard to making credits available abroad so instead of them buying it there would be an export market for it. But the farmer wants most of all to be independent, he does not want to go back to those days in which the federal government had all the complicated plans of paying him more for not planting than he could get by planting. The farmer wants to produce and wants to be independent to do that. But he does not want his own government to work against that. Now I can't go into chapter and verse of everything that has been done in the policies of the administration to give you each specific example of where they have hurt, but I think you will find, if you talk to some farm experts they will expand on what I have already told you.

Q. What you were talking about the tobacco industry is similar to what the government policy is to grain. They have a loan system and they give the farmers loans.

A. Yes but the market price goes down with the very knowledge that the government has elevators filled with grain that can be dropped on the market. It's the old law of supply and demand. And the government has had record in the past of doing that when there is no more storage capacity, dumping grain on the market and sometimes at a time when the farmer is ready with a new crop to sell.

Q. Would you get them out of the grain business entirely?

A. No I'm not talking about that. I'm talking about their aiming at the idea of the farmer realizing a fair net return on what he produces instead of every decision being more dictated by the interest of the consumer. And I'm not talking about high food prices as someone suggested here recently. I am suggesting that the farmer, when the farmer gets only a nickel out of a 65¢ loaf of bread and he has to buy that loaf of bread also. If one penny were added, that would be a 20% increase for the farmer for one penny added to the loaf of bread so actually we're not talking that benefiting the farmer it is going to skyrocket the food prices. The high price of food is not due to the food you are buying or the farmer who raised it. It is due to what happens between the farm and the marketplace.

TRANSCRIPT OF EXCERPT FROM PRESS CONFERENCE IN INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
MAY 4, 1980

- Q. With unemployment increases and welfare rolls continuing to grow, what is your answer to the Cuban refugee situation?
- A. Well, the other day when we were talking about this, I would think that, I know that there maybe can be some limits on what we can do and yet our tradition as being the refuge for people who are persecuted elsewhere, I think is such that there's no way the United States can deny our responsibility in that area. I do believe however there's been enough evidence from other neighbors of ours in Latin America, who from the very first when they heard of the 10,000 refugees in Peru, volunteered to take various percentages of them, various numbers, in their countries. And I think it is time for the United States, no matter how many we take here, to get together with the Organization of American States and see what we can do to fairly distribute this. There may be many of those people who because of language and culture and custom, would prefer to live in other such countries.

TRANSCRIPT OF NBC NEWS SEGMENT THREE OF MAY 6, 1980

RR ...a stimulant to the economy that will make possible the revenues to do the defense spending.

NBC What if you're wrong?

RR What?

NBC What if you're wrong?

RR Well, could it be worse than it is now?

NBC Reagan has also said that the budget could be balanced easily just by cutting out fraud in government.

RR ...just general fraud in government raises the total to about \$50 billion a year of fat that could be sweat out of the federal government.

NBC Fifty billion dollars in fraud. Where did Reagan get that figure? At first he said it came from the General Accounting Office, the watchdog agency of Congress.

RR The General Accounting Office itself has indicated that there's probably \$50 billion a year in fraud alone, and waste.

NBC But in other speeches Reagan said it was just fraud, and he changed the source of his information.

RR ...and I have been saying the General Accounting Office and I think I'm mistaken, I think it's the Justice Department that has been estimating fraud alone in government at probably \$50 billion or better.

NBC Cautioned by advisors that he might be exaggerating, Reagan toned down his rhetoric.

RR Last year the present Attorney General, before he assumed that post, told Congress that there was something between one and ten percent of the federal budget that he estimated would fall in to the categories of waste and fraud. The time, that meant about \$50 billion dollars.

NBC That's not what the Justice Department says. It was talking about federal programs, which amounted to only half the federal budget. At the time that meant as much as 25 billion or as little as \$2.5 billion. Attorney General Civillitti said it was only a guesstimate, no statistics have ever been kept. Yet Reagan used a guesstimate as a fact, and based his program to balance the budget on it.

The faithful love to hear the statistics with which Reagan peppers his speeches, but many of those statistics have been questioned and called inaccurate.

Reagan admitted he was wrong when he said Vietnam veterans were not eligible to receive GI benefits, but he continues to deny evidence he has exaggerated the role he played in reducing welfare cases in California. The Democratic legislature had a big hand in it.

Or that he has grossly overestimated U.S. oil reserves just to make a point.

2-2-2

NBC The criticism of Reagan is not so much that he makes a few errors, but that he often takes questionable information, as in the case of the \$50 billion fraud figure, and uses it as the basis for proposals to solve America's problems. If the facts are wrong, the solutions don't exist.

APPLICATIONS FOR COMMONWEALTH CLUB MEMBERSHIP

The Commonwealth club thanks all of those who have sponsored friends and associates for membership in the Club. It is hoped that you will continue to take an active role in membership sponsoring.

If no objections have been filed with the Club office prior to Monday, June 2, 1980, the following applicants will stand elected.

ARNOLD, PENELOPE L., CPA, Rooney, Ida, Noli & Ahern
Oakland, Ca. Proposed by Dr. Patricia Sullivan.
ATHENOS, INGA E., avp, municipal bonds, Dean Witter
Reynolds, S.F. Proposed by Joan W. Richardson.
BLACKSTONE, ED G., edp manager, Standard Oil Com-
pany, S. F. Proposed by Renee Rubin.
BONNEY, AURIOL, physicist, Piedmont, Ca. Proposed by J.
Dennis Bonney.
BREHMER, NOBUKO, public relations & curriculum
specialist, DHEW-Public Affairs, S.F. Proposed by Jim
Coplan.
CAIN, SUSAN O., accountant, Post, Marwick, Mitchell &
Company, S.F. Proposed by Paul Terhorst.
COLE, MERIAM E., Moraga, Ca. Proposed by Richard L.
Frank.
DERN, ROBERT J., certified public accountant, S.F.
Proposed by Robert E. Beckett.
DIEDERICH, G. LEONARD, insurance broker, Kuhn and
Company, San Mateo, Ca. Proposed by Eugene M.
Herson.
DUNKER, JOHN, evp, Western Dairy, Novato, Ca. Proposed
by Tom Green.
ECKART, JOAN C., attorney, Joan C. Eckart, Attorney at
Law, S.F. Proposed by Esmond Schapiro.
FIELD, MARILYN, travel agent, Bryan International Travel
Inc., S.F. Proposed by Fred Speier.
FISHER, WILLIAM LAKE, JR., attorney, District Attorney,
Bakersfield, Ca. Proposed by Don Hart, Jr.
GODDARD, NETTY G., management consultant, G-4
Developmental Services Inc., San Jose, Ca. Proposed by
Sybil Logan.
GOLDIE, GEORGE, business manager, Pacific Labs, San
Carlos, Ca. Proposed by John C. Bauer.
HAHN, WOLFGANG, attorney/developer, Diversified
Funding Group, San Diego, Ca. Proposed by Donald R.
Foster.
HAMRE, WILLIAM J., builder, carpenter, Paradise, Ca.
Proposed by Fred W. Schell, II.
HEADRICK, DOROTHY, credit manager, Crown Zeller-
bach, San Leandro, Ca. Proposed by Linda Kniesche.
INGRAHAM, VERN A., banker, Bank of the West, S.F.
Proposed by J. R. Sylla.
KNOLL, ANN M., broker, Business Credit Corp., S.F.
Proposed by Susan Levitin.
LUCAS, HENRY, D.D.S., S.F. Proposed by Membership
Committee.
LYNCH, FLORENCE, R.E. broker/developer, Florence
Lynch R.E., Palo Alto, Ca. Proposed by Georgianne
Fontana.
MACDONALD, ROGER G., research scientist, Smith-Kett-
well Inst., S.F. Proposed by Henry S. Dakin.
MACKENSEN, ROBERT E., architect, Martin and
Mackensen, Inc., Marysville, Ca. Proposed by Ramona
W. Bradley.
MAILLARD, GEORGE L., retired, S.F. Proposed by Hans
Adam Matte.
MARINCOVICH, KAREN, interior designer, KM Associ-
ates, Tiburon, Ca. Proposed by Cyril Magnin.
MAXWELL, D. A., IBM, S.F. Proposed by J. R. Sylla.
MILLER, DAVID E., attorney, David E. Miller Law Corp.,
S.F. Proposed by Leo Armstrong.
NAGEL, ROBERT C., banker, Wells Fargo, S.F. Proposed
by Carlin Waste.
OTT, J.E., retired, Diamond Springs, Ca. Proposed by Frank
E. Doyle.
PEELOR, HARRY N., manager-public activities, Pacific Gas
& Electric, S.F. Proposed by Stanley Blois.
PYTEL, LEONARD P., industrial engineer, SEACOR, El
Cerrito, Ca. Proposed by Charles R. Hake.
ROSENBERGER, ROY, vice president, United Beverage
Company, El Cerrito, Ca. Proposed by Paul Canepa.
SHANKS, PAT L., attorney, Heller, Ehrman, White &
McAuliffe, S.F. Proposed by James B. Atkin.
SMITH, ROBERT DANIEL, education, Novato Unified,
Petaluma, Ca. Proposed by Everett L. Mossman.
STUERMER, SUSAN RAE, attorney, Orrick, Hernington, et
al., S.F. Proposed by Robert P. Feyer.
ZIOMEK, NANCY, management, Macy's California, S.F.
Proposed by Colonel Mergens.
May 19, 1980 E. Roxie Howlett, Secretary

SPECIAL STUDY SECTION NOTICES

The Study Section on Science and Tech-
nology will be having a regularly
scheduled meeting on May 21, in the
Sheraton-Palace Hotel, with Under Sec-
retary of Defense, Dr. William Perry, as
guest speaker. The Sections of Interna-
tional Relations, and National Defense
have been invited. Please make reserva-
tions to guarantee your space.

The Study Section on Health will be
hosting a (C.P.R.) Cardio-Pulmonary
Resuscitation lecture and demonstration in
the Club offices on May 22nd. This ses-
sion is limited to 40 attendees, please call
in your reservations early.

SECTION MEETING SCHEDULE

Club members and their guests may attend any of these meetings by phoning their
reservations to the Club office (362-4903) by noon the day prior to the meeting.
NOTE: If the Club has not received your luncheon reservations 24 hours prior to
the meeting, we will be unable to guarantee your reservations.

Monday, May 19

ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY "A Basis for Rational Decision Making on En-
vironmental Problems," by Dr. Keshavon Nair, Executive Vice President and
Managing Principal of the Environmental Systems Division of Woodward-Clyde
Consultants. Room 573, 681 Market Street, S.F.
ADVANCED FRENCH 12:15. Instructor Linda Cypres. By permission only;
please call (415) 445-8226.

Tuesday, May 20

OPEN CONVERSATION FRENCH 12-2 p.m. Instructors Kim Kerr and John
Paasche. Conference Room, Club office.
ADVANCED SPANISH Noon. Instructor Heather Peto, PG&E Cafeteria, 77
Beale Street, S.F. (Class closed)

Wednesday, May 21

ARTS "The Role of the State in the Arts," by William Kent III, vice president,
Fred S. James & Co., SMR, Club office, 681 Market, S.F.
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY "The Advanced Weapons Systems in Development
by the U.S., and Their Capacity to Meet The Soviet Military Threat in Conven-
tional Nuclear, And Advanced Systems Technology," by Dr. William Perry,
Under-Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, Sheraton Palace Hotel,
2nd Floor, S.F. (Invitation to National Defense Section & International Relations Sect.).
URBAN AFFAIRS "Is The Reorganization of County, City and Regional Govern-
mental Functions Necessary in Light of Proposition 13?" by The Honorable Quen-
tin L. Kopp, Member, San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Room 573, 681 Market
Street, 5th Floor, S.F.

Thursday, May 22

HEALTH "C.P.R. (Cardio-Pulmonary Resuscitation): Didactic Presentation,
Demonstration, Audience Participation," by Leroy Eyheralde, R.N.: C.P.R. Clinical
Instructor; Certified by the American Heart Association. Room 573, 681 Market
Street, S.F. (Session from 11:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. — Limit of 40)
INTERMEDIATE FRENCH Noon, Instructor Suzanne Calio. Conference Room,
Club office.

STUDY SECTION RESERVATIONS

The Club office must receive section luncheon reservations 24 hours prior to the
meetings in order to guarantee your reservation. If you have made a reservation
and are unable to attend, please call the Club office to cancel it. If you do not call
24 hours prior to the meeting you will be billed for the luncheon. Due to non-pay-
ment of luncheons by members with reservations the price of the meals may be
raised.

The
Commonwealth

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San Francisco, California 94105

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May 19, 1980

MAY 20



The Honorable
**EDMUND G.
BROWN, JR.**
Governor of California

Advance Ticket Sale Luncheon
Noon, Tuesday
Grand Ballroom
Fairmont Hotel

Advance Tickets-\$14

Mail check or money order, with
self-addressed stamped envelope to
Commonwealth Club, 681 Market
St., S.F. 94105, or call 362-4903 for
reservations.

No refunds after May 16.

CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

FRIDAY FLASHES—May 9, 1980.
From the Address by The
Honorable Ronald Reagan,
Republican Presidential Candidate.

I don't have to tell you that we have a
great many problems in our country today.
Recently, the President has come before
us, with his fourth plan for fighting infla-
tion. It is now 18 percent and his goal, if
successful, is to bring it down to around
10.7 percent.

I believe that this plan presented is
deceitful and is based very simply on
balancing the budget which the President
has promised to do simply by increasing
taxes. And they are going to increase in
the neighborhood of \$100 billion next year.
That budget will be \$45 billion dollars big-
ger than the present budget. The present
budget is also expanding because Con-
gress voted recently to enlarge it, because
they are meeting more spending needs
than they had estimated; that will probably
be true of next year's budget as well.

The Price of Inflation

It is also said that Senator Kennedy is a
great spender, the biggest spender in the
Senate, and the only thing that he ever
voted to cut was the defense budget. In
addition to this, he has told us, in his
economic report, that we must cool the
economy, reduce the gross national pro-
duct and add one or two percentage points
to the unemployment rate. In order to
bring an end to inflation, we might be
balancing the budget by increasing taxes
at one end, and unemploying people at the
other.

We've just received word that in April
we added 800,000 to the unemployment
rolls. It seems self-defeating when you
think that adding one percentage point to
the unemployment rate adds 25 to 29
billion dollars to the cost of the federal
government. This is in the loss of
revenues from those people not working
and the benefits that must be paid out to
them.

Very shortly we're going to find that

MAY 23



**DOUGLAS
FRASER**

President
United Automobile,
Aerospace & Agricultural
Implement Workers of
America (UAW)

**"Labor Looks
At The '80s"**

Noon, Gold Ballroom
Sheraton Palace Hotel
Tickets-\$8 at the door.

CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

NOTE: A special reminder that all confidential ballots
for the June 3rd election must be in the club office by 9:00
a.m. May 20th. The Ballot is the perforated last page of
the June Ballot Propositions Report Booklet.

business and industry is going to take it on the chin again, because federal funds are running too low to pay the unemployment benefits; therefore, there is talk about some kind of a penalty being imposed on businesses responsible for some of the unemployment.

The Public Blamed

The President has come before us a number of times and talked about energy and inflation. And each time, he intimidated that we are to blame, because we are living too luxuriously, we are spending too much and buying too many things. He has said that we must learn to conserve, if it's cold turn the thermostat down and be miserable or if it is hot turn it up and be miserable. Anyway, we're to stay home and not drive, but if we do, drive slowly and don't drive much.

He has given the impression that we've been profligate with the natural resources in this great land of ours. And, that the only answer we have to the OPEC price monopoly is to conserve and not to buy as much. At the same time, however, we are going to increase foreign buying, because under our present policies, we're declining in our domestic productivity of oil and natural gas.

The truth of the matter is, we're not an energy poor nation. We have not wasted the resources of this land. We could in the

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next 20 or 30 years, with changes in regulations, have nuclear power to meet some of our demands. We also sit on the biggest coal pile of probably any nation in the world. An official of that industry told me recently, that under the present regulations we can't mine coal and we couldn't burn it if we did mine it.

Energy Resources Available

It is a shame that we would allow a crisis to develop while these sources are available. A renowned oil geologist in our land tells us there is more oil and natural gas yet to be found in the United States than we have so far used. However, it is again government that is making it uneconomic for the independents, who find 80 to 90 percent of oil and gas, to do the exploring to find these new sources.

We have so far only explored and drilled three percent of potential off shore oil sites, to say nothing of the sites that are bottled up in the millions of acres that the federal government has taken in public lands. Our situation grows desperate when we think of what could happen if the Soviet Union would now interfere with our sea lanes and prevent oil from coming to us and our allies.

The International Dilemma

Several months after he took office, our President said that we are now free of that inordinate fear of communism which led us to embrace dictators. He said that we were free of that fear of communism which led us to the immorality of Viet Nam. He then proceeded to deplete and diminish what a past president called the "great arsenal of democracy"; cancelling the B-1, holding back the MX, the neutron war head, the cruise missile and cutting the U.S. Navy ship building program in half. The Soviet Navy consists of more than 900 ships, we have something over 300. We are replacing aircraft at a slower rate than we are losing aircraft through old age, accident and obsolescence.

Instituting Plans

Our tax burden and the cost of govern-

ment has reached the highest percentage point of both gross national product and personal earnings in our entire history. To reduce taxes to what they were in the last budget of Gerald Ford would require an 83 billion dollar tax cut. I am not suggesting this, but I am suggesting a 10 percent cut in the income tax rates across the board over a three year period. I believe that this "supply side economics" would result in a re-flow by the stimulation of the economy and would create jobs, and broaden the base of our prosperity. We've done this four times in this century, the last time, under John F. Kennedy. And, every time it was against the advice of economists who believed that government spending was more stimulating to the economy than private spending. However, each time the government wound up with more revenues at the lower rates.

Restoring Incentive

I am convinced that a tax cut would restore incentive to the individual and then move on to the business community removing from the back of the businessman, the shopkeeper and the farmer thousands of useless and unnecessary regulations that slow productivity, increase production costs and change business taxes. The other governments of industrial nations of the world with whom we can no longer compete on equal terms, are only taking 2/3 as much of the total out-put of business and industry in their countries as our government takes. It is time for us to change what has become a hostile relationship on the part of our government toward the business community of America.

I believe that there are two groups in our land today who could officially be put on the endangered species list: the farmer and the family-owned business. This is true principally because of a tax. It cannot be justified on the basis of needed revenue, because it raises less than one percent of the present budget. It is the inheritance tax; when death occurs families find their source of income in the family-owned business or farm, which must be

sold in order to pay the inheritance tax. I think this should be eliminated.

An Energy Marketplace

The U.S. government told the people of this country many years ago, not to expect anymore big oil strikes in America. Two weeks later, we hit Kettleman Hills, the greatest oil strike in the U.S. at the time. In this century since we've had the horseless carriage, we had more oil and gas than any one could ask for and we had it at a lower price than any nation on earth. It has been only in the last few years that we have increasing scarcity and skyrocketing prices.

It is time we looked to see the difference in the last few years, from the first three quarters of this century. All that is different is the injection of government into the energy industry with controls and pricing from wellhead to retail. Is it too much to suggest that we take government out of the energy industry and turn it loose in the market place where it belongs?

A Loss Of Credibility

We know that our international friends and allies no longer depend on us, they can't trust us, and they feel betrayed. Under the guise of human rights, which seems to be the only thing in our foreign policy that we hear about, we have penalized friends for what we call a violation of human rights. At the same time, we've tried to cozy up in a detente with the Soviet Union, where there are no human rights at all. It is hypocrisy at its worse, and it certainly has led to the appearance of appeasement in the fact that a group of revolutionaries could seize 50 Americans and hold them hostage for seven months.

I supported the President in the rescue attempt a short time ago, but I would have also supported him if he had done it six months ago. We lose credibility when the public announcement is made that there is a Russian Brigade in Cuba, and that we won't stand still for the status quo. But, we have stood still for it, and they are still there.

We told the Soviets not to cross the border into Afghanistan with their troops that were massed there. They crossed the border and in vehicles built at the Comma River truck plant, which was built with 335 million dollars of American money, is run by American computers and which the Soviet Union pledged would never be used for military equipment. It is building motorized equipment that their military is using.

Soviet Opportunities

Having depleted our arsenal we find that there is what the military calls a "window of opportunity" for the Soviets. They have gained a lead on us, in both conventional and strategic weapons. They continue to increase that lead, at a rate that allows the window to grow wider. Possibly they can seize that window for more overt moves against this country, although

perhaps not in the sense of actual attack. I have never believed that they have ever intended to attack this country. However, it is possible they can reach a point, if we continue our present policy, where a President would be faced with only one choice; surrender or the death of the American people.

Recognizing Weaknesses

The time has come for us to recognize the weakness of our present volunteer military force. I don't happen to believe in a peacetime draft, and I wouldn't include ladies if there had to be a draft. However, I do believe we could have a realistic pay scale for a volunteer army that is expected to use the most sophisticated material and equipment, and yet is paid at such a low scale that 70 percent of them serve only one term and then leave. We are thousands of petty officers and non-commissioned officers short in every branch of the service, they don't stay in long enough to learn to be officers. If we had to have a draft army, I don't think we've got the personnel to train them. But, we could have a realistic pay scale that would make this a career and give us a volunteer army.

Our organized reserve, which has deteriorated badly, needs a program of incentives to build it up to a million man strength. They must also be trained in the latest of equipment so as to be available to be called up to active duty on a moment's notice.

I don't know what the first priority would be with regard to a weapon. It would be one that most quickly and easily could buy time for us to build up both conventional and strategic forces. But, it seems to me that the answer to our situation today must be our prime objective, the preservation of world peace. It is our responsibility because we are the only nation in the world that can do it. But, we can't do it unless we have a defensive capability so great that no other nation on this earth will dare lift a hand against us.

Change, A Challenge

I think it is necessary to increase our productivity in this country. It is necessary for us to have the investment capital which we don't have today, to modernize industrial plants and equipment so that we can compete. We invented higher technologies, and we were the ones who helped build them up, but, our own com-

panies, here in America, have the highest percentage of out-moded industrial equipment of any of the industrial nations of the world.

The American working man can only save about 1/5th of his earnings that the Japanese worker can, and 1/3 of what the West German worker can. This is because of the collision of the graduated tax system and inflation. It is estimated that next year government will get 38 billion dollars in additional income tax, simply from people getting cost of living pay raises, and being moved up into higher tax brackets and paying a higher percentage of their earnings. We are growing poorer, not richer; yet the President calls for sacrifice.

Government, Back to the People

On the domestic scene, I would like at the federal level to start a planned and orderly program of turning back to states and local communities, programs which the federal government has usurped and which it has proven incapable of managing. The federal government should also turn back the tax sources to pay for them.

I would like, in short, to have a government that had faith once again in the great ability of the American people. There is no one in the world quite like us. We've come from a hundred different corners of the earth, we spoke a hundred different languages, we crossed what had to be the greatest most undeveloped land of all the earth. And, we did without an urban renewal or a redevelopment plan.

To start with, I would like to take with me one practice that worked in California. I believe that the people who take positions in government, should have to step down to take them. You surround yourself with the kind of appointees that are so successful in what they do that what you offer is a step down and they would do it only out of dedication and a desire to be of service.

(DMS)

The answers to the written questions from the audience will appear in The Commonwealth the week of May 26, 1980.

The answers to questions from Anthony Arnold's address and the Jarvis-Berman debate will also appear the week of May 26th.

MAY 29

The Honorable
GEORGE BUSH
Republican Candidate
for President

Advance Ticket Sale Luncheon
Noon, Grand Ballroom
Sheraton Palace Hotel.
Advance Tickets, \$9.00
No refunds after May 27th
CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

FIRING LINE

Aired in Los Angeles: June 8, 1980

Buckley: Ronald Reagan will be nominated President by the Republican Convention meeting in Detroit next July. Already the political talk centers on the question, who will be his running mate? The question is particularly piquant because in 1976 Mr. Reagan took the position the presidential candidate should announce the identity of their running mates ahead of the convention. If he elects to wait until actually nominated, which is the tradition, he's always free to say that voting on the question, the Republican convention overruled him in 1976; but he would take a lot of teasing, and in any event some commentators who are advising Mr. Reagan that an early designation of his vice president and perhaps even key members of his cabinet would be a politically astute thing to do.

That which is politically astute is an expertise with which our guests are conversant. J. Daniel Mahoney founded the Conservative Party of New York, which he continues to serve as Chairman. It holds in any reasonably close election the balance of power in New York state, and in 1970 that party elected a United States senator--the widely acknowledged sainted junior Senator James L. Buckley. Mr. Mahoney, a graduate of Columbia Law School, is a partner of the law firm of Windells and Marks (?).

Patrick J. Buchanan is a graduate of Georgetown, a syndicated columnist who for many years was closely associated with President Nixon, serving as his speech writer and consultant.

Paul Weyrich heads the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, a bi-partisan conservative political action committee devoted to helping to elect qualified candidates for congress. Before coming to Washington where it was associated with broadcasting and journalism in Wisconsin. In Washington, he worked as press secretary for Senator Gordon Allot (?) and as special assistant to Senator Carl Curtis. He founded the Heritage Foundation which he left in 1974 to launch his Free Congress Committee.

I should like to begin by asking Mr. Mahoney whether if he were the principal advisor to Governor Reagan right now he would urge the Governor to go through a victory in every state or whether he would go instead for a sure electoral majority?

Mahoney: I think I'd urge the former because I don't know how to do the latter. The trendy word this year is volatility, but it's certainly apt. One recalls that last fall Kennedy was way ahead of Carter in the polls in all of the southern states much less the northeastern ones. I don't have any diving rod to sit down and say Reagan should look for these sure states and try to carry them. I also think that Reagan's demonstrated the kind of cross-the-board appeal, particularly in some of the cross over votes in some of the northern states to indicate that he has a real shot at carrying some states that you wouldn't traditionally associate with him. And finally, I also think that it would be negative from the point of view of Reagan's entire posture as a presidential possibility for him to be doing anything but look as if he was writing off a part of

the country. So I think he very definitely should be-- I think he can contend in virtually every state, obviously there's some where his prospects aren't as good as others, but I think he very much should be a national candidate looking to a national presidency.

Buckley: Do you agree with that analysis, or would you take the position that to the extent that he succeeds in seducing Massachusetts he'll lose the sun-belt.

Weyrich: I think he ought to be realistic and campaign toward those areas of the country where he has a genuine chance. But, given the third party candidacy of John Anderson, I'm not sure exactly which areas of the country those are at this point because the latest survey research data that I have shows, for example, the three way race that Reagan is furthest behind in the south. Now, one would presume the conservatism of the south would have him at least running even now with Carter, but that is not the case. And that in--as a matter of fact--in a three way race he gets rather close to Carter in the northeast. So, I don't think it's a question of which area of the country but rather which bloc of voters that he goes after. I think it's a question of whether he tries to put together a new majority, consisting of conservative Republicans and conservative Democrats, who have a natural affinity for him, or whether in fact he goes toward trying to appease the wing of the Republican party which lost and a lot of the liberals which have been in power for a long time.

Buckley: And you think it's too early to advise him concretely other than that he should address himself to people you've just finished describing wherever they live?

Weyrich: Yes. I think that you can't really tell at this state where his strength is going to be except in the west. I think it's quite clear that throughout the west he will be a strong candidate whether it's a two or three way race. But in the rest of the country, I don't think it's clear which areas he can carry. But I do think it's clear which people he ought to appeal to.

Buckley: Is it the black vote which causes him to do so poorly in the south?

Weyrich: No, it's the fact that a large number of the Christian white Protestants are still wedded to Carter even though they disagree with a large number of his policies.

Buckley: I see. What is your general opinion on that?

Buchanan: I agree partially with what Paul Weyrich had to say. The swing vote, the decisive vote in the south is clearly not the black vote, which went 90-10 for McGovern and then 90-10 for Carter, the year McGovern was crushed and Carter won 10 of the 11 southern states. It's the increase that Carter had from 28% McGovern got of the white vote to 46% that gave him 10 of 11 states. So this is the swing vote in the south; you've got to appeal to that.

I would disagree with Paul to this extent. You can write off the state of Georgia, for example, and you can write in -- I would put as the A primary states, the ones that you mentioned, the ones that you get in the

plains and the mountain states--you don't even have to campaign there and you can beat Carter. The X-factor is Anderson. If Anderson gets in the race, I think it opens up opportunities, as he mentioned, in the northeast. So I think what you do is use the west as your base, you write off D.C., Georgia, I would take a look at Hawaii with some polls, I would look at some others with some polls that are very probably certain go for Carter, and then concentrate my efforts on the big states in the south and the big states in the industrial areas in the east, depending on what the survey showed. But you can start off with your base in as the states in the west.

Buckley: Before we get down to concrete questions involving the vice president, let's hang on for a moment to the question of the Anderson factor. Is it conceivable that he might be advised to go in a particular direction with the vice president only to have Anderson pull out around Labor Day? Is this a risk that he runs?

Buchanan: It's a risk that he runs, and it's one reason why I again will disagree with Paul on this. I think he needs to be--he cannot chose a vice president who is philosophically incompatable, let's say from the Mathias--Javits--John Anderson wing of the Republican Party. But I do think there will be great pressure on him to chose the vice president from what I would call the center of the Republican Party where you might locate Howard Baker, George Bush, Gerald Ford--the Ford wing--if only as insurance that Anderson won't make inroads into his Republican base. Having secured the base, I would then move in the direction Paul suggests which is for Reagan as the lead candidate to try to put together that blue collar, working class and, ^{have} if you had, say George Bush on the ticket to hold your regular Republican base, while Reagan went to work on that southern swing vote, ^{and} the northeastern Roman Catholics, ethnics, Jewish voters disenchanted with Carter.

Weyrich: I think that far from John Anderson collapsing, unless we are in an international conflict of some kind which is entirely possible given who is in the White House, unless we're in such a conflict come the fall, that it is entirely possible with interest rates being high, with unemployment rising, with Carter's popularity decling that the whole liberal establishment could switch to Anderson, and that we would have a two way contest between Reagan and Anderson with Carter coming in third. I think this cannot be excluded. We may be in a situation, maybe I say, a situation similar to 1912 when incumbent President Taft came in third place to Teddy Roosevelt, running as an independent third party candidate, and Woodrow Wilson, the victor.

Buckley: Do you see that as a possibility, Mr. Maloney?

Maloney: I see anything as a possibility because it's just a brand ... (moment of humor with Buckley) I think there's only one real talent that Carter has: he has no aptitude for being President of the United States, but he is a very cagey and able politician as far as running for office is concerned. I can see him collapsing just in the way Mr. Weyrich described, and I can also see him being re-elected. I think it's a very and extremely fluid situation and the starting of a re-alignment, a general realignment in American politics.

Buckley: Well, what about this Anderson business?

- Mañoney: Again, Anderson could be where Nixon says he's going to be, which is-- and surely Richard Nixon is no mean political observor--and he says he's going to start high and end up below where Wallace came out, or he could --especially if he gets on these three-way debates, and with Garth handling his media, Garth's a very able guy--Anderson could end up making it a three way race or even conceivably although I regard this as less of a possibility, but still a possibility where he would be going head to head against Reagan and people would for get about Carter. But for a number of reasons I don't see that happening, among other things the base in the south that Mr. Buchanan referred to.
- Buchanan: I think it is a practical impossibility. One reason is that those mountain states we talked about and the southern states--the southern quadrant holds more than a fourth of the electoral votes, I believe. Anderson is just dead there; he's dead in the mountain and plain states. Secondly, if Jimmy Carter is the nominee, I doubt if a lot of Democrats are going out and go for John Anderson when what they see is the loss of the whole national executive branch of government, very possibly jeopardizing some of their seats in the House and Senate. I think Anderson is going to diminish; I don't see him as--once push comes to shove, and people start saying a vote for Anderson is a vote that's cast away, I think his base is going to diminish as Wallace did. Wallace got 13%, 10 million votes, 5 states. I would bet now that Anderson won't receive or approach that (?).
- Mañoney: You may be right. As I say, Richard Nixon agrees with you. ...
- Buckley: Well, now let's assume that Anderson stays in the race, but for the sake of discussion, let's assume that the polls show him a fairly ? third, by which I mean 15-20% . Given that, do you have--begin with you, Mr. Weyrich, do you have a favorite vice presidential candidate?
- Weyrich: I think that Ronald Reagan ought to look toward nominating a conservative Democrat as his running mate because one thing that John Anderson is doing is lessening the loyalties to the two-party system which are already at an all time low. And I think that by naming a Democrat he would provide the golden bridge over which millions of these people could cross whom he might not get. You know, he's getting some of the cross-over votes, fine; but when push comes to shove, especially in bad economic times, these people tend to go back to their home base which is the Democratic Party for fear that they will be cut off economically by a conservative Republican president. I think by naming a conservative Democrat he wouldn't sacrifice anything philosophically but he would provide the basis for party realignment which I think is necessary, by the way, if Reagan is going to survive in office. I'm one of those people who believes that Reagan's security is directly dependent on having somebody less acceptable to the establishment and to the media than he is because otherwise--
- Buckley: Less acceptable?
- Weyrich: Less acceptable because if he gets in and if he begins to do the things that are necessary and if there is somebody more palatable--Howard Baker, for example --to the Northeastern establishment, the call is going to come or him to step aside, to resign, and for this person to assume power.
- Mañoney: A particular course they know.

Weyrich: Yes. Well--

Buckley: You're not suggesting they would impeach him?

Weyrich: I don't think that it's beyond the realm of possibilities. I think that if you look at the--

Buckley: That (brings back?) the whole Nixon experience because they obviously preferred Nixon to Agnew, and yet the drive to pull Nixon out was well under way by October of 1973.

Weyrich: Well, I think if Agnew had remained in office, I think if he had not had the problems that he had had, that probably Nixon would have survived.

Buckley: Well, that's a dazzler! All right, let me ask you this: who do you have in mind?

Weyrich: Well, I've been looking at a number of people. None of the conservative Democrats who would have the kind of record that I think would be compatible with Reagan's is well known, but you take Governor Fob James of Alabama, for example. He is a conservative Democrat, he is a non-racist southerner with a very strong identification with the fundamentalist and evangelical Christians. I think he could very well undercut Carter in the South. Former governor and now Senator David Boren (?) of Oklahoma is somebody else that might be considered somehow along the same lines only--

Buckley: Other than that he is a friend of mine, what are his other strengths? (laughter)

Weyrich: As a matter of fact, I'll have to re-evaluate him now...

Buchanan: Did he stand the same way on the canal?

Weyrich: No, he didn't, as a matter of fact, which is one of his strengths. Nevertheless, he comes from a border state which I think maybe one of the key shifting areas in this political battle. He's a fresh face. He is a young, attractive individual who is anti-party establishment; and I perceive as I go around the country, as I'm sure you do, a trend away from party loyalty and toward looking at people who will really solve the problems of the country. That's why John Anderson has the appeal, not because of anything he stands for, but precisely because he is taking an anti-party position, and saying well, you know, neither one of them has been solving problems.

Buchanan: That's too risky a business when Reagan is running as strongly as he is. If Reagan were 30 points behind, you might say well, let's try Pat Moynihan if we can get him to be a little bit more conservative in his voting record. But you can't put a David Boren on the ticket and not expect an explosion at the Republican Convention. The first objective is (a) get the Republican Party together, (b) you start reaching for your conservative Democrats and you can insist or suggest that the Defense Department be headed up by someone like Scoop Jackson or Sam Nunn, that there will be conservative Democrats, we're going to want a coalition government, but your vice president, who could be President of the United States-- you can't have a Democrat right there, and I don't think you should when Reagan's as strong as he is. And as I say the first priority

is to put the party together which means to mollify the moderates in the party, to soothe them ^{to} pick a candidate who is perceived to be presidential and is presidential. Having done that then you start working on I think what Paul does; I think you've just got the cart before the horse.

Mahoney: I might add that I would see--I don't really think ^{that} Reagan is going to need a Democratic vice president to appeal to Democratic cross over votes. And my suspicion would be that you would lose by naming a Democrat the margin that you get--I guess I just saying the same thing as Mr. Buchanan said ⁱⁿ different words--the additional Democrats you would get as a result of that maneuver, to the extent you would get any, would not make up for the damage you would do in terms of centering the Republican Party. I mean, I can see, for instance, in a circumstance like this something I think would be devastating to Reagan's chances and that would be people like Ford and Baker and Bush taking another look at Anderson. Or at least just sitting on their hands.

Buchanan: How would the Republicans--I don't care whether you're ^a conservative or moderate Republican -- feel having a Democrat as heir apparent, sitting there a heart beat away, so to speak. I don't see any Democrats, certainly not one from Oklahoma which Reagan could carry without any effort whatsoever.

Buckley: How about John Connally, mighten he be thought of half each?

Buchanan: Connally's problem is--Connally's problem--I think in terms of ability and competence he's right up there, and if you had to try and put someone through the Senate, chose one, I'd say yes. But the trouble is Connally' got like only Edward Kennedy has such a tremendous negative rating. in other words, when you put Connally on a ticket, there's a lot of people say under no circumstances will I support him. He gave it his best shot in his best state with Strom Thurmond in South Carolina, and I think there were cross-overs there, were there not?

Weyrich: Yes.

Buchanan: 30%, so--he just doesn't have the vote-pulling power, and again I think you get Connally's support in Texas without putting Connally on the ticket. Connally's--another thing I think you've got to indicate would be the type of nationalists you would have in the cabinet. See, I think we can do what Paul's doing without getting the disadvantages of putting a Democrat on the ticket, which would be severe at that convention.

Buckley: What about the question of ideological compatability, given what Reagan has already pronounced on the subject. He has said that he want's somebody with whom he is ideologically at ease, but it doesn't have to have been someone who totally conforms with his positions, say in the past. Now, he was asked one question, namely about abortion, and on that he responded positively in the sense of saying he could not be at home with somebody who didn't share his position on abortion. Question: is Bush's position on abortion close enough to Reagan's so that he could qualify under that requirement (?).

Buchanan: I've talked to the Right to Life people, and while they would not be enthusiastic about Bush, he's acceptable. Howard Baker, however, is not.

And what makes this a serious matter is not only it's a matter of principle and I think of significance as a political and moral issue; but as a political matter the Right to Life, I understand, ^{here} is the fourth largest party in New York. You put Baker on the ticket, you may lose that slot on the ballot which may cost you New York. Secondly, the Right to Life people are by and large Democrats; they can work independently of a candidate. They have independent funds. And, it seems to me, to pick a vice president who would cost you all this support and enthusiasm would be an unwise maneuver unless he brought you a great deal.

Maloney: That nobody else can bring.

Buchanan: That nobody else can bring, and so which makes Howard Baker very problematic. Another problem Baker has is that foolishly he was thrust forward by everyone as the inevitable and the logical choice, and as soon as you're out front and there are 35 others who would like to have that job, every negative thing on you is immediately dropped to the press. That's why George Bush has been wise in not-indicating no interest whatsoever in this vice presidential thing. The proper thing for Reagan to do--and he's going to alienate people; he's going to alienate someone--is to spring them one, to give them a fait accompli, and it's over and done with at the convention.

You mentioned earlier about letting out the name beforehand. Again you do that and they just turn the dogs loose on that particular individual, his competitors will. Hold it until the convention, and let everybody know then.

Weyrich: Well, that's a possibility. I would suggest that he might come up with three or four names and let the convention decide. I think with his having cinched the nomination as early as he did, it's going to be an incredibly dull convention, except, perhaps, for some John Anderson people who will make some ideological points for their candidate. But I think that he might liven up the convention and give the delegates a say in it which I think they would like. And, you know, if you put out three or four names that are possibilities; then the ones that really wash sit to the top. I agree with everything that Pat said about Howard Baker is just that evidently we're talking to different people in the Right to Life movement, because I'll tell you George Bush is not acceptable to the people that I've talked to.

Buchanan: He's unacceptable?

Weyrich: He is really not acceptable.

Buckley: Let's define their positions. Baker's position is that he is personally opposed to abortion but that he's against a constitution amendment that would reverse the Supreme Court decision?

Weyrich: Well, he also votes for federal funds. He has 100% pro-abortion ^{voting} record for the Right to Life movement.

Buchanan: He's (near-all) National abortion Rights Action League; he's --he gets a number one rating I believe from them.

Weyrich: Yes.

Mahoney: I think it was in Human Events that he had done as well as Teddy (Kennedy); they regarded him as on a par (?) with Teddy Kennedy. Just a quick aside: ^{but} is there any politician who said he was personally in favor of abortion. I mean, they all say--

Buchanan: They all want--they qualify (?) to choose.

Weyrich: A lot of them, you see, agree with that.

Buckley: Fr. Drinan--

Buchanan: Packwood is one.

Buckley: --took a position that he--Packwood is one, yeh--he's in favor of abortion, but only for women. (audience shocked murmurs) Now Bush, and I guess it pays to make these distinctions, he opposes a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court, but quotes 'could support' the subjunctive there which may or may not be important to focus on, could support a constitutional amendment undoing the Supreme Court's decision and returning the power to the individual states. His opposition to a constitutional amendment is that he believes as state ought to have the right to authorize an abortion in the event of possible damage to the mother, incest and rape. Now, you say that position is not satisfactory to the Right to Life people you've talked to. (St. Cecelia High School)

Weyrich: That's right because they consider his statement that he 'could' rather than he 'would' support simply too weak.

Mahoney: Would they be happy with it if he said he would?

Weyrich: Well, they would be happier, but, of course, most of them are for a human life amendment as such.

Buchanan: This can be handled, I would think. If that were the problem, he could say 'Governor Reagan and I clearly disagree with that but if the Governor's the President, he goes out in full support of it. Of course, as vice president I'll hold my personal view, but I certainly would not interfere with the Governor's effort to the Congress of the United States to get this out of committee.'

Buckley: But that tends not to appease the American people. I wrote an essay about it once for the Saturday Evening Post. They seem to want internal assent. You may remember in 1976 Carter began by backing right to work laws; he had backed them when he was governor of Georgia. He then said well, he wouldn't veto any measure designed to repeal the provision 14-b, but that did not satisfy the AFL-CIO. They wanted him to come out in favor of it. There 's a sense in which there is a spiritual discipline involved.

Weyrich: Yes.

Buckley: Do you think that Bush could simply say I defer to the President as vice president and satisfy people who are going to want internal commitment

Buchanan: Well, I don't know the answer to that question precisely but that raises s second question which is where would the Right to Life movement go in

New York state if George Bush were picked ...

Weyrich: Well, the leadership is talking about McCormick.

Maoney: Ellen McCormick, that's what they're talking about. As a matter of fact there was a rather spirited exchange in the Wanderer between Ellen McCormick, which, you may be familiar, Ellen McCormick and Professor Charles Rice of Notre Dame Law School, originally from New York as a matter of fact the founding vice-chairman of the Conservative Party--Rice arguing that Reagan was overall acceptable, should be acceptable and that it would be real folly to endanger Reagan's election by entering an independent Right to Life candidate. And, of course, the easiest place for them to do that would be New York where they have instant ballot position. And Mrs. McCormick saying that Reagan was still equivocal on the issue had signed a bill into law in California in '67 which allowed abortion abortion in various instances --

Buckley: Which he regrets having signed.

Maoney: Which he regrets having signed. And saying that, for example, Reagan should support Republican primary opponents to candidates like Javits and Packwood to really establish his credentials with the Right to Life people. So that's , you know, this state of the question in the sense that he support--

Buchanan: But he did not do that, and he is clearly slated to be the Right to Life candidate.

Maoney: In New York, I'm not sure.

Weyrich: Not at this point.

Maoney: Not, certainly at this point. Not at least--

Buchanan: You mean he has to have a vice presidential candidate who is in favor of the constitutional amendment otherwise--

Maoney: All I'm saying is that it's not clear at this point, ^{that} without any problems or doubts that whoever he nominates as vice president, he's got the Right to Life party.

Buchanan: ... if someone like Baker is on the ticket--

Weyrich: If Baker is on the ticket, I think the New York Right to Life party, and I've talked to the leadership, will go for--

Buchanan: Well, that's my understanding; also it's my understanding, it's a question of I 've talked with some leaders--guess we talked to different leaders--is that, you know, Bush would be disappointing, but not disastrous.

Weyrich: Well, I don't get that impression, but, you know, it remains to be seen.

Buckley: What was Weiker's position on abortion?

Weyrich: Weiker? He's 100% pro abortion.

Buckley: But, he was acceptable to Reagan four years ago.

Mahoney: No, wait a minuite; you're saying Weiker; I think you mean Schweiker.

Weyrich: Schweiker is pro. life.

Mahoney: Pro life, yeal.

Buckley: Well, now--is it then the consensus that Howard Baker is eliminated for this reason, or is he eliminated for this and other reasons?

Buchanan: I think as a practical matter, Baker's chances--if he's still being placed in the top categories--I think they're clearly receded unless Reagan gets to the convention and is in deeply serious trouble with the moderate wing of the party, and he feels ^{that} he cannot win unless he makes this move. He would have to weigh one thing against the other. I would say that you'd probably get Baker's benefits without his drawbacks by going to Gerald Ford, for example, if Ford would do it. I think thats--

Mahoney: Pretty remote, isn't it?

Buchanan: Well, it's not remote to the Reagan people. I've talked to a number of them who are in deadly earnest, some of them very conservative, about getting him on the ticket.

Mahoney: Isn't it more likely, though, much more likely to assume that they way you could get Gerald Ford would be a committment wholeheartedly to go out and campaign, and particularly to campaign against the Carter presidency. I just could never, even though some very good friends have mentioned a possibility like this at various times, I've never thought of a former president coming back to run for vice president. It just doesn't strike me as plausible. I do know--

Buchanan: It's ^{only} thirty minutes from burning tree.

Mahoney: (laughter) Of course, there is the fact that Ford is --which I regard as a very favorable development ^{that} after all this dancing around the New York Republican party is having its annual state dinner on June 19th here in Manhattan and Ford and Reagan are attending. And I think Ford's attendance indicates, you know, a very significant--

Buchanan: Well, they made a great gesture in giving him the number one slot at the convention. I think he's going to speak even before the keynoter.

Weyrich & Mahoney: Yes.

Buchanan: So--which I think is a wise move.

Mahoney: I do, too. I do, too.

Buckley: Are you all saying that if Ford had accepted the designation, you, ^{think} he would fortify the ticket more than anyother one, anyone else? ^{cause,} I don't happen to think so.

Mahoney: Neither do I.

Buchanan: You'd bring Michigan to the ticket, which Reagan I don't think otherwise

could count upon. I think he would help it tremendously. He would unify the party--the Ford wing obviously would be behind Gerald Ford. Reagan's problem is lack of national and foreign policy experience; a little bit of nervousness about him. You've got an ex-president sitting across the National Security Council table from him. I've talked to people who've been in the Nixon Administration, and I've talked to people very close to Reagan, and Joe Kraft had a column in which he talked to a number of Reaganites and they would be delighted with Gerald Ford on the ticket.

Weyrich: Well, I wouldn't be. I think that you raise the whole question, once again of Watergate, which is still, believe it or not, if you do survey research, a residual issue among the American voter. And I think you could just--

Buckley: The pardon of Nixon and so forth.

Weyrich: Yes. And you could just have Jimmy Carter handed an issue which he could use in the campaign which otherwise wouldn't be there. I think you're much better off with somebody new.

Mahoney: Well, I don't know why you think Ford wouldn't help the ticket, and I'd be interested to know. But I kind of pick up both reverberations here that there'd just be a sense of wrongness and a sense of deja vu simply on the grounds that he has been president. We tend to think of president as senior statesmen. And--there's something wrong about him getting back into the fray ^{and} running for vice president. I just think for almost any president that that's the case. And I think that Ford could give everything that he's got to give to the ticket by wholeheartedly endorsing it and by becoming a major campaigner in its behalf, and I think that that is critically important that he do so. But I just think that there's just something that's wrong, and I get the two points Mr. Weyrich has made, any general feeling of discordance and just that it's not the way it ought to be put together. And in any event, I think it quite unlikely that he or any other former president is going to run for vice president.

Buckley: Well, my own feeling is that the -- if there is a national decision to go with Reagan, there is something akin to a national decision to take a sharp departure from that direction in which we were comfortably going, and that direction is associated a little bit with Ford. Now, it is true that under Ford inflation sank from 9% to 4½%, but as the Carter people will be reminding the electorate, it's also true that we had the worst recession in 1974-1975 that we had had in a generation ^{and} therefore, I think, stress the pain of that economic retraction. I think there's a sense in which Mr. Ford has the affection of the American people, but nothing like a summons to return to duty; so I think that it would be a kind of capitulation of a sort ^{would rob the event of the drama} that's inherent (within it ?) .

Weyrich: Yes. I agree with that. It's nothing like, for example, the movement that took place in 1960 to have Ike stay on for another term where there was real affection for him on the part of large numbers of people.

Buchanan: There was a movement to have Ike get on the ticket with Nixon, also.

Buckley: Yes, that's right.

- Maloney: Then with Goldwater, believe it or not.
- Buchanan: Then with Goldwater, that's right. Bill, let me ask you who would you think would be--I see your argument very clearly. It's an argument made against the Ford idea which is that it is sort of going back to the past, and Reagan represents a clear break, something new, we're going ahead to the '80s, (... applied ?) economics, we've got the Republican party has a new cutting edge to it--whom would you, who would you list if you had to list the four or five that Paul mentioned?
- Buckley: Well, are you asking who would I be happiest with, or who I think would help the party?
- Buchanan: Both.
- Buckley: It seems to me that Bush is in virtue of a kind of earned seniority the obvious candidate, even as Keefauver was the obvious candidate in 1956 to go with Stevenson.
- Buchanan: Springer (?) of Yale.
- Buckley: Well-- .
- Buchanan: He's done well. He has a certain claim; he's got a certain support that Reagan doesn't have.
- Buckley: That's right and a large experience in foreign affairs. It would also I think be conciliatory in nature. One of the things that offended people most in San Francisco in 1964 was when Goldwater turned to Bill Miller, even though he was chairman of the Republican National Committee. But it was felt to be a kind of a defy hurled in the face of everybody else, saying we can do it all by ourselves.
- Maloney: Well that in connection with his acceptance speech, too. The famous extremism in ^{the} defense of liberty . I mean, as I suppose, on the solid right of Goldwater's support, I went out of my mind with dismay when I heard him say that.
- Buchanan: Neil Sieman wrote, 'Now comes Miller time, and we mean Bill Miller.'
(laughter)
- Weyrich: I think if we have to turn to the Ford wing of the party, and I just don't believe that in this volatile year that has to be done. I think that we are in a time when realignment can be achieved, and we ought to go for it. If we have to turn to the Ford wing of the party, how about somebody like Governor Clement because one the one hand he can carry Texas; on the other hand, he has demonstrated that he can pull blue collar voters and talk to them, which is really the margin of his victory. And on the third hand, he does have foreign policy and defense experience which Reagan lacks. It seems to me it makes more sense to put somebody on there who is at least compatible in the south and compatible with blue collar workers and can talk with them, as opposed to somebody who I think is essentially a preppy Republican with appeal to a narrow group of people who vote in Republican primaries and no place else.
- Buckley: Well, he defeated Reagan in Michigan and did so substantially.

Weyrich: Well--

Buchanan: Pennsylvania and Connecticut, Main and Iowa.

Weyrich: Sure, because Reagan had no funds to expend. Let me tell you, ^{as} somebody who is deep in the practical aspects of politics that you have one candidate spending large bucks on the tube and you have the other candidate spending nothing, the guy who spends the large number of dollars is going to come across--

Buckley: George Wallace spent nothing, and he won Wisconsin.

Weyrich: Well, that, I think, was an extraordinary situation.

Buckley: And Henry Cabot Lodge spent nothing and he won New Hampshire.

Weyrich: Well.

Buckley: It seems to me that when you have as much forward motion as Reagan had the fact that he was only able to spend \$125,000 whereas Bush spent \$300,000 can't wholly account for that victory.

Mahoney: Well, I think Norton was very important, too. Norton is an extremely popular guy and really broke his back...

Buckley: Strom Thurmond wasn't able to help--he broke his back and wasn't able to help Connally in South Carolina. I guess what I'm saying is that Bush is not, in my judgment, somebody that only old Grotonians will vote for. I think his appeal extends beyond that. (laughter)

Buchanan: ... reaching the Trilateral Commission, perhaps.

Buckley: What?

Buchanan: I said reaching the Trilateral Commission (more laughter).

Buckley: That's right.

Mahoney: ... (laughter continues) Kenny Bunkford is behind him (?) I think the--I'm not making a brief for any candidate, but I think the 'preppy' wrap can be overdone with George Bush. I mean, I think he's a pretty substantial citizen, a pretty substantial man, and I think--but there are some other names that you hear mentioned. If, for example, Reagan were going to go in a more conservative direction, names like Jack Kemp and Bill Simon, I guess both of whom could be considered in a sense conservative party favorites--Lugar is another one that hasn't been mentioned yet.

Buckley: Yeah, Lugar is schematically extremely interesting.

Buchanan: I think if you had to name five in Washington now, they would probably put Lugar on the list, would they not?

Mahoney: Oh, sure. Lugar is--

Buckley: You gave him prominent mention in your column. But, here is a question

I'm asking: if, indeed, the mood of the convention is one that seeks to see a palm leaf there, who would qualify to consummate that gesture? Bush obviously--we've gone through him. Ford, presumably, right? Anybody else?

Buchanan: Baker.

Maloney: Baker.

Buckley: Baker, after all withdrew early and came out for Reagan in ?. (himself?)
(implicitly)

Buchanan: But, he's extremely well regarded in Washington. He's probably the first choice of the Ford wing of the party even ahead of Bush right now. His problem is--

Buckley: Would you consider it a gesture of conciliation?

Buchanan: Surely, surely.

Buckley: Because he's considered to the left--

Buchanan: But he's considered to the left of Bush.

Buckley: Oh, with his Panama Canal and abortion, right?

Weyrich: Well, and a whole host of other--

Buchanan: Department of Education, and things like that--domestic issues.

Maloney: Department of Education--

Buckley: Did he vote for that?

Buchanan: Yes.

Maloney: Yes, he favored the Department of Education, did he not?

Weyrich: Oh, yes he did.

Buchanan: Human Events graciously called him the 'tody' of the National Education Association.

Weyrich: I call him the 'assistant majority leader' because he always rolls over and plays dead when there's any critical issue that Republicans ought to oppose.

Buchanan: He has real problems with the right wing of the Republican Party in addition to the Right to Life movement, which is very heavily Democratic. But as a unifying gesture, you'd have to put Baker right at the top of the list.

Maloney: I think the interesting thing about Lugar is that as Baker's campaign manager and as a fellow who, for example, is not a member of the steering committee that's the group that represents the conservative--the profess-
edly conservative Senators in Washington, for instance your brother Jim belonged to that--Lugar is positioned much more into the center. And

certainly a fellow who is Baker's campaign manager, reaching out for him, is a gesture in that direction. And yet his voting record is one with which the Right to Life people have no problem whatever. He votes with the conservative Republicans; so he's an interesting residual (?) possibility.

Buchanan: Lugar votes right and talks central is what he does. I think he has a moderate image, Rhodes scholar, but--

Weyrich: He's a Ripon Republican with a conservative voting record.

Buchanan: The trouble is people would ask the question, is Lugar the most qualified man after Reagan in the party to be president; and do you pick a vice president to help you carry Indiana when you're a Republican, and the answer to that is no. Ah, but he is a clear, compromise choice, now. But, as you can see from the discussion, there is no natural, logical choice, and a lot of people are going to be dissatisfied with whomever is chosen.

Buckley: Well, let me ask Paul here. If they followed your suggestion and let the convention pick as between say four people, who do you think they would pick?

Weyrich: I think if the convention is a Reagan convention, dominated by Reagan delegates, I think they would probably pick the most conservative of the four provided that if the name were released ahead of time, that person wasn't shot down by the media.

Buckley: And how large an interval would you say would be appropriate to see whether that happens?

Weyrich: Oh, a couple of weeks.

Buckley: Couple of weeks?

Weyrich: Yeal.

Buckley: And the most conservative of the likely four would be who? Assuming that he excluded Simon on the grounds that he'd never been elected to office and assuming that he excluded Kemp on the grounds that he was too young, who emerges as the most conservative of the four that he would consent to run with. Connally?

Weyrich: Of Bush and Lugar and Baker?

Buchanan: I think, Paul, I don't mean to interrupt you, I think Bush would because if you start with something like 500 or 600 of his own delegates to begin with--the others don't have any delegates at all--so I would think that Bush would start awfully strong there, and I don't know that the Reagan people would be enthusiastic about Baker; so --and do you think Lugar? or what?

Weyrich: I think Lugar, I suppose, under those circumstances if he was put on the list.

Buckley: In a ^{free} pre-convention?

Weyrich: Yes, in a ^{free} pre-convention, would probably end up being the choice simply

because Bush has a lot of negatives connected with him. You know, the Trilateral Commission thing is funny, but to the average Republican delegate whom I'm sure you understand doesn't have the same views perhaps that you have on matters of that sort, that's a real liability.

Buckley: Well, I'm encumbered by having read the publications of the Trilateral Commission. I suppose that disqualifies me from expressing myself on it.(?) Actually, he's not even in it now, is he?

Mahoney: No. He was in it at one point.

Weyrich: No. He resigned because of the issue--

Buckley: He was in it, wasn't he. I wrote a column in which I said he resigned on account of--CFR on that account ... and it turns out that he resigned from everything, which --Donald Rumsfelt's name hasn't been mentioned, though, you mentioned it--

Mahoney: Yes, yes.

Buckley: And it may or may not amuse you to know that Donald Rumsfelt, whom I met with about two or three weeks ago, I think I was with him the day of the aborted Iranian rescue mission, said that he had been a member of the Council on Foreign Relations for nine years. He said that might disqualify him. He said, on the other hand I suppose I could point out the fact that I've never yet been to a meeting. (laughter) Would that be all right?

Buchanan: The Council on Foreign Relations is not quite a disqualifying factor, I don't think. Bill Casey, Reagan's campaign manager, is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, if I'm not mistaken.

Weyrich: Yes, he is.

Buckley: That's why (?it's not open to suspicion?). (laughter)
That's fascinating; then you think that Lugar's sort of natural properties would make him a probable or at least a conceivable choice of free convention.

Weyrich: Well, you know, coming from my direction, I could honestly say that I would not bolt the ticket, you know, if he were named. On the other hand, the liberals would say the same thing because Lugar has been very careful on key issues to vote conservative but never identify with the conservatives, like the steering committee or like my committee, a number of other activities--

Buckley: Which rate themselves.

Weyrich: Yeal, so that plus he has had administrative experience and he is on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mahoney: And he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Weyrich: --and he was a Rhodes scholar; so that the whole foreign policy issue is a little bit blunted in that regard. I think that if you have to have a compromise candidate, which I don't favor from the outside, but if that were the only choice, he would be the logical one.

Buchanan: Paul, why not Kemp?

Weyrich: Well--

Buchanan: He's young; he's been in Congress ten years; he's associated with Kemp-Roth, the new ideas, the break with the past.

Weyrich: Well, I think Jack's problem, to be perfectly honest about it, is that he has sort of angered some of the Reagan insiders. He has put on such a--although he denies this--he has put on such an intense campaign for vice president that some of the Reagan people have told me that it far exceeds their campaign for president. And, as a result, he has just sort of ruffled feathers to the point where I think he's endangered his own chances.

Buckley: I didn't know that. I had thought the opposition to Kemp was based on youth. And you made the crack in your column about ... an old actor and an old quarterback.

Buchanan: Vaguely; I quoted someone else ... a number have made that the aging actor and the aging quarterback, and they feel that would be a real vulnerability--and while Kemp has demonstrated great strength in blue collar districts ... Well, they say well we can bring New York; but if he could bring New York, why is he not running against Javits and taking New York for himself if he can bring it for Reagan? So, and ^{there} is a measure of redundancy in a Reagan-Kemp ticket, which I think would--I see this as much more improvident than Paul does--which would antagonize the Republican convention.

Buckley: Yes, this wouldn't satisfy that conciliatory problem.

Buchanan: They would feel that they'd been given a ^{rebuff} ^a slap in the face, I think, as they would not with Lugar.

Buckley: What about Rumsfelt; is he too closely associated with Nixon?

Buchanan: Oh, no, he was Secretary of Defense under Ford, as you recall, he was chief of staff. In 1976 I was speaking with Mr. Nixon. We were talking about potential candidates should Reagan go over the top, and we felt that Rumsfelt would be excellent, given his foreign policy background. his reach into the Ford White House, defense and the rest. His problem is he has not won a state-wide race. He's not terribly well known outside of Washington. He's a very tough bureaucratic in-fighter and like George Bush has made some opponents within the party, but--I think a choice of--if you chose Rumsfelt I don't know where he stands on the issues.

Weyrich: This is his biggest asset is he doesn't have a voting record after 1969; so nobody can pin him down on the controversial issues of today.

Buckley: He's probably, practically speaking, the premier hawk in America. Anybody who has read his recent speeches--he would run with a very, very strong dedication to the necessity to re-arm. And, having been the head of a large corporation for the last two or three years, he's had a very, very full taste of government. In fact, he says that his principle affliction is to remember that he's been engaged in government

for a substantial part of his adult life, i.e. having all of a sudden to look at it from the private sector.

Weyrich: I just don't know where he stands on the social issues, and I think the social issues are very important in this whole mix--

Buchanan: But he is considered Presidential timber, I think, by the national press which is going to be very important, because when they come out--get that choice--and they come out and tell the American people whom Ronald Reagan has chosen, if they say Reagan has chosen just another right wing redundancy, I think that could be very damaging. I think Reagan's got a problem with the (seat?)

Buckley: He was considered a good (moderate?) Republican, wasn't he?

Buchanan: He started with 100% voting record; he slipped gradually down to 60--

Maloney: The ACU.

Buchanan: Yeal, and then he went--we sent him over to OEO, where he did a little combat duty ^{I think} in the late 60s, and then he came to ? and he's considered a moderate, Ford Republican now, but tremendous, vast experience: Congress, cabinet, and NATO.

Buckley: How would he be as a campaigner?

Weyrich: Oh, he's an able campaigner, I think. I just, I have real reservations as to whether he would appeal to the blue collar voters whom I feel are absolutely the key. I don't agree that only the President has to appeal to those people because of Ronald Reagan's age. His friends aren't suppose to bring up that subject, but the fact of the matter is, when you have a president that age, people are going to take a much closer look at the number two man than they will under ordinary conditions.

Buchanan: ... the ideal candidate, and I think I would agree with Paul, would be a Roman Catholic, Republican Senator from the northeast who was fairly moderate on domestic issues and conservative on social issues, and who had been denouncing the Soviets for the last 15 years on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Weyrich: You just mentioned Schweiker.

Buchanan: Schweiker is born again.

Buckley: (In my judgment the only one who hurts?)

Maloney: Well, I was thinking of reaching outside of the basic political world and ask about the women's vote in going to someplace like Vassar, but I don't expect-- (laughter)

Buchanan: English Department (more laughter)

Buckley: So--a little bit of recapitulation here. Is it generally assumed among the professionals that he's not going to name his vice presidential candidate before the convention?

Weyrich: I imagine he won't.

Buchanan: I think he has said as much that he's no longer committed to the Schweiker thing, that that was then, now is now.

Maoney: What's left of the convention? He was doing that coming into '76-- what's left to happen at the convention if Reagan should already have named his vice presidential candidate. Would they set up bridge tables. You know, just in terms of the drama of the occasion I think he would be out of his mind to do it.

Buckley: What's going to be the drama of the occasion in the Democratic Convention?

Maoney: Well, there's definitely--

Buchanan: You're going to have a number of platform fights if Kennedy stays in on the issues. It should make it interesting. And all this talk about ... blow it up and Carter letting all his delegates go, which is ridiculous. That will make it interesting. Democratic conventions are customarily interesting, though.

Maoney: Of course, I remember Bill Rusher telling me that the most enjoyable convention he ever attended was the '56 Republican since there was absolutely nothing political at stake, everybody there could concentrate exclusively on the social aspects, and they were in San Francisco, which is delightful (?) .

Buckley: Is the atmosphere in Detroit probably going to affect in any way the choice. People are always saying we must have our convention in Miami or we've got to have it in New York, for this reason or for that. Is, looking back on it, the choice of Detroit very unfortunate?

Weyrich: Yes, I think so.

Buchanan: Yes, it's as unfortunate as it can be.

Maoney: It's ^{terrible} predictably unfortunate: ^{too} It's just a bonehead place.

Weyrich: Well, you know that Bill Brock was actually making calls to Republican house members urging them to vote for the Chrysler bail-out on the grounds that the convention would be in Detroit, that after all we didn't want a lot of demonstrations from these people. I mean--

Buchanan: ..He should have gone to something like Chicago and defied the ERA movement's convention (?) and boycott and say we stand with the people in ^{and} this state against this type of activity. Or Houston, golden buckle, ^{the} sun-belt, something like that. I mean, that had something to it; Detroit just makes no sense. Well even from a logistic standpoint it's a nightmare, they're going to be coming in from Ann Arbor on buses.

Maoney: There's nothing to be said for the choice.

Weyrich: That's right.

Buckley: And is there a danger of a Miami-type situation?

- Buchanan: Well, Clark Reid had one thing to say for it; he said the advantage of Detroit is the hotels are only five minutes from the auditorium, but nobody's ever made it yet. (laughter) As a danger of a Miami thing, the auto workers are in a terrible depression ^{out} there. I'm sure there are going to be demonstrations out there; you've had this tragic situation down there in Miami. I can't predict that that sort of thing is going to be repeated; but it's going to be a very serious economic situation, and they will try to make it felt, and I imagine the mayor will probably speak about that problem at the convention.
- Weyrich: I'm sure he will.
- Buchanan: I wish that--Detroit doesn't make any sense.
- Mahoney: And it's pretty hard to put the present, drop the mantle of the current economic situation around Ronald Reagan or the Republican Party's shoulders, but still you will have some trouble with that out there. The guy who would really have a problem with a convention in Detroit is Carter--that's the only conceivable worse choice-- to put the Democratic Convention there.
- Buckley: But, it's not in your judgment, going to affect the rhetoric of the convention in the sense that more time might be devoted to the economic chaos that has resulted from the policies of the administration.
- Mahoney: Oh, I think that would receive loving attention anyway.
- Buckley: Sure, might it affect the point that Paul was raising that anyone with credentials with the blue collar class would have the credentials strengthened atmospherically?
- Mahoney: I don't know, what do you think?
- Buckley: Is Clement known, for instance, in Detroit.
- Weyrich: No, I don't think he is.
- Buchanan: But, you have raised a possibility. If there is a demonstration of blue collar workers, and Reagan were to walk down there and address them rather dramatically, say to them what the cause of their problems are is this, that, that--you have that opportunity whenever you have that sort of confrontation, situation. But I would prefer not to have it.
- Buckley: Will there be a significant theatrical role for John Connally in Detroit, do you think? Or is it your--or are you saying that he was, in effect, discredited as a result of his failure?
- Buchanan: I don't think he was discredited, but I they gave him a role, you know, in Kansas City, and I guess it was a speaking role, and it did not come off as well as Connally has been known to do. And I don't see any claim he has on any of them, on a major address and prime time at night. I don't know. I don't know why they would not, but I don't know why they would.
- Weyrich: Yeal, I just don't see his playing a major role.
- Mahoney: Would it disrupt whatever you have--I know we have a limited amount (?)

of time left, to discuss for a minute or so the possibility of Reagan naming some of his at least major cabinet appointments early.

Buckley: Go ahead, we have three minutes.

Maloney: Well, just to toss it on the table. It strikes me as there is something to be said for it--you're shaking your head.

Buchanan: No--I've heard the idea before. As soon as you do that, you name your Secretary of Defense, your Secretary of State, then people follow him around until he makes a misquote, and then you've got them all announcing do you agree with what your shadow Secretary of Defense said, 'well, no I don't,'--you create all sorts of problems. What you do is you throw a lot of names out there, none of which you're committed and then they can support you--this is the universe from which I'm going to draw. But if you name the one individual who is going to be Secretary of State and he goes out and says, you know, 'we're sending troops (into? out of?) Afghanistan'--that's it, for you.

Maloney: Well, maybe you can do it with--maybe you're right there, but I would think a fairly restricted circle of names. I think something ought to be done by Reagan to give something of the atmosphere and the flavor of his probable major appointments. Because, one of the things that you've--that I think--and this is somewhere Ford can help a great deal in making this point--one of the points that's going to be made about Carter is that he just hasn't staffed the government with competent people, that he's good at running elections but not running a government. I think the more that Reagan can demonstrate probably without pinning a single person--I'll accept that--

Buchanan: Right, ... by the committees, I think is--

Weyrigh: If he named three or four people on each discipline.

Buchanan: But, if you name three or four then there are eight or ten--

Maloney: I think it would help to have my secretary of state will be one of these three or four--

Buchanan: Well, then you might have seven people who want to be Secretary of State, one or two--the others (may?) say why should I campaign for Ronald Reagan they've already given that job away--that's one I was setting my cap on.

Maloney: I regard your first objection as substantial; I don't think that one means too much.

Buchanan: Suppose you ruled out Henry Kissinger for Secretary of State automatically by naming these three individuals. Now, Kissinger, of course, has disadvantages with the conservative wing of the Republican party, as a matter of fact he's persona non grata, but he can be advantageous to the campaign --

Buckley: Not entirely.

Buchanan: Not entirely, less then he was in '76. But he can be advantageous in a campaign, and why rule various people out, which you do when you start ruling people in; you could have a large advisory committee and have

him speak to it, others speak to it. I just think these--making these decisions when you don't have to, is not smart politics.

Buckley: Gentlemen, thank you very much, sorry. Mr. Paul Weyrich and Mr. Patrick Buchanan, Mr. Daniel Mahoney, ladies and gentlemen from Saint Cecilia's, thank you.

TRANSCRIPT OF TELEPHONE PRESS CONFERENCE WITH JEWISH PRESS ASSOCIATION
JUNE 13, 1980

RR. Well, greetings to all of you. Let me just say, before we get into the questions that the paramount American interest in the Middle East is to insure Western access to the oil supplies of the region, whatever threatens security of access threatens the vital interest of this nation. If Moscow or its radical allies in the region were allowed to establish dominance or acquire a stranglehold on the West's sources of petroleum, the economies of the major industrial states would be jeopardized, the capacity of NATO and Japan to resist Soviet pressure would be dangerously impaired. Indeed, any American government that allowed oil supplies to its allies to be placed in question would almost certainly invite the neutralization of Western Europe and Japan, the encirclement of China, and eventually its own isolation. Together with the interest in securing access to the oil of the Persian Gulf, is the American commitment to preserve the integrity of Israel. This commitment has been reaffirmed by every administration since that of Harry Truman and is rooted in considerations that go well beyond calculations of self-interest. Yet, it also responds to self-interest, since without the presence of a strong Israel, our own position, that of the United States in the area would be markedly weaker today. Alone among the states of the region, Israel has the democratic will, the national cohesion, the stability, the technological capacity and military fiber to stand forth as a trusted and much-needed ally. As the only stable democracy in one of the most troubled areas of the world, Israel's importance as an ally to the United States and as a fundamental element in regional harmony, just can't be overemphasized. Yet we've seen repeated instances of the present administration compromising its resolve to assure the security of Israel. The United States must never let this resolve waver. In pursuit of any Middle East peace settlement, Israel cannot be forced into actions which threaten her security. In concrete terms, this means allowing the parties of the region to pursue agreements of various issues without the threat of a solution being imposed by outside parties. It means that the issue of the West Bank must be settled by direct negotiations. It means continued support for United Nations Resolution 242, and opposition to any effort to dilute or distort it. I think the United States should provide Israel with the means to defend herself, with equipment and technology to protect her survival. Israel is willing to accept its position of numerical inferiority vis-a-vis its neighbors, and only the combination of its determination and its superior fighting skills can provide the necessary level of its security. During these critical years to come, one measure of the United States' credibility will be how faithfully it retains its friendship with Israel. We must change from shifting, unpredictable policies to firm dependable ones which instill again in our allies a sense of confidence and trust in America and its leaders. Anything less than a patient, consistent pursuit of policies which assure the preservation of Israel's security, will result only in damage to U.S. interest in the Middle East. I've said that Israel is a strategic asset for the United States. I believe that we must have policies which give concrete expression to that position. Now that's all I have in the line of opening remarks, and so we can get to the questions.

Q. Sir, you stated in and out, and though you were quite clear throughout, may I suggest that you stay close to that receiver as you respond.

RR. Alright.

2-2-2

REAGAN TELEPHONE PRESS CONFERENCE
JUNE 13, 1980

- Q. Governor Reagan, during the, this question comes from Leo Goldberger, who is the Editor Emeritus from the Hebrew Watchman, Memphis, Tennessee and Leo asks, during the primary campaign, you have expressed strong support for Israel in talks with Jewish organizations and the Jewish press. If you are elected President, will you favor: 1) a united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and 2) will you endorse the move of the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?
- RR. Well, I think this is a matter first for, I believe in the sovereignty of Israel and if Israel declares Jerusalem its capital, then I would think the United States would recognize that. I also have stated that I recognize that the three great religions in the world, all have holy places treasured by them in Jerusalem, and I believe Israel, in the event it would do this, would be magnanimous and that if we look at the situation for example, of the Vatican in Rome, that possibly those holy places, an area could be made, a kind of, similar to the Vatican and open to all the people of the three religions.
- Q. Alright Governor. The next question comes from Milton Firestone, who is Editor of the Kansas City Jewish Chronicle, and reads as follows: Governor Reagan, this morning we attended a White House press conference at which President Carter called Israeli settlements on the West Bank "illegal" and "an obstacle to peace." How do you feel about this?
- RR. Well, it seems to me under 242, I don't see how they can be considered illegal. If I have the correct understanding of the U.N. Resolution 242, it was that the West Bank would be open to anyone who wanted to live there, and for a period of years and then, after those years were up, it would, Israel and Jordan would work out an arrangement with regard to the West Bank. Now if I'm wrong in that, then I have a wrong understanding of 242.
- Q. Now the next question comes from Joseph Holocoss, who is the Washington D.C. bureau chief of the JCA. It has been perceived that commitments made by a presidential candidate during the election campaign are not implemented by his administration when he is in the White House. With all do respect therefore, would you as President continue to advocate that a unified Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty be Israel's capital, that you will oppose, either by vetoes in the United Nation's Security Council or otherwise, movements aimed at establishing a Palestinian state adjoining Israel, that you will support Israel's needs for security against external aggression and terrorism.
- RR. Well, let me say this. First of all, of course you can't negotiate looking down a terrorist's gun, and I think this should be our position any place in the world with regard to terrorism and that kind of violence. I believe the United States, and I'm not trying to duck this I'm not going to change my position, I think I have a record here in California that indicates that I do my very best to keep my campaign promises. I think that the decision about Jerusalem is one, when it is worked out, and as I've said I believe in the sovereignty of Israel, then the United States should recognize that. I believe the United States should stand by, ready to help, at any time, in settling the Middle East's problems. I don't believe the United States should attempt, as I think it has at times, to enforce a settlement or dictate a settlement. And I think that this, we want a fair solution that will not have any time-bombs left that someplace down the road will erupt

JUNE 13, 1980

- RR. ...again and destroy the peace, we want it to be, so therefore its got to be a fair solution for everyone, and I have no intention of changing the positions that I've just outlined to you.
- Q. Alright sir. This question comes Eklen Bogg, who is Editor of the North Shore Jewish Community Journal, who, Jewish Community Journal in Salem, Massachusetts, how do you propose to attract the traditionally Democratic Jewish vote in the upcoming election, and in the event of the reinstitution of the draft, would you support the retention of the conscientious objector status? If your answer to that is yes, what would be your criteria for determining the eligibility of the conscientious objector?
- RR. Well, I believe, number one, I don't believe in a peace-time draft, unless such as in the days immediately before World War II when we instituted it because the rest of the world was in flames and it looked as if it was going to be necessary as it did turn out to be to our national security. But, so technically that was in peace-time, but there was a definite crisis. Outside of that I don't believe in it. With regard to the conscientious objector position, that has worked very well back in this century in our wars, and it has been based on a religious belief in which we would be asking someone to violate their religious tenets. I still believe that we should hold that out, that that should be available for people, but that would be the criteria that I would use, that we've used in the past. I don't think it should just hold true that somebody can come up and say that I have a personal belief against war, and therefore I'm not eligible for the draft or should be excused. I think there has to be some basis of known religious belief, and as I say, its worked well in the past.
- Q. Very good sir. This question, what about, a specific, the specific response to the Jewish vote, Governor?
- RR. Oh, thats right. I'm sorry. I left off the first part of the question there. Well, I'm going to, I believe for a long time that there are certain groups that the Democrats have taken for granted and that I've never been able to understand why that should be, because I think that the tenets of our party and the things I'm espousing and will do in the campaign, would certainly appeal to people of the Jewish faith than the collectivist philosophy that characterizes the leadership of the Democratic party, and I'm not going to have a different message for different groups, but its going to be one of equality and one of equal opportunity, and one certainly of elimination, continued efforts to eliminate any place where there is discrimination, bigotry or prejudice, but other than that, the same things about returning to the free-market place, reducing the awesome power of the federal government, I think more autonomy and authority at local levels than we've had, and I'm going to support economic policies that are on the supply-side, I believe right now the President's program for fighting inflation is disastrous, and I'm going to talk in terms of reducing the size and cost of government, eliminating the waste and so forth, and tax restructuring to aid business and restore incentive, and tax cuts for the individual to restore the individual's incentive to work and produce.

REAGAN TELEPHONE PRESS CONFERENCE
JUNE 13, 1980

Q. Governor, how are we doing on time as far as your schedule is concerned?

RR. Well, I've got a few more minutes.

Q. Alright, well we've got a few more questions.

RR. Alright.

Q. This one comes from Albert Bloom, the Executive Editor of the Pittsburgh Jewish Chronicle. Every past presidential candidate makes strong statements for Israel, but apparently is quickly brainwashed by Arabists in the State Department after election. How will you overcome that, and will you support Israel's security settlement policy?

RR. Well, I'm, as I said before, I believe that, we have a two-way relationship, an alliance with Israel that right now, Israel is the only country that has this same feeling, shares our ideals, has a stable government and so forth that we can depend on, and is beneficial to us, it's a two-way street, we both benefit, and I'm just convinced this has to be. Now I think we all agree that in settling the Middle East's problems, obviously a settlement has got to be fair to everyone concerned. So, but it has to be predicated on the acceptance by the other parties of Israel's right to continue as a nation, and I think the United States has a moral commitment that there is no way that we could violate that, or would we want to violate it.

Q. We'll make this one the last one for this afternoon, Governor. We'll be forwarding additional questions that I have here for response in writing.

RR. Alright.

Q. This one comes from Judith Manulis, Editor of the United Jewish Appeal Record. President Carter has been criticized for both his lack of initiative and aggressiveness in pressing, pressuring for the so-called Arab moderate nations to support the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement and for his need to push for an immediate overall settlement rather than encourage the step-by-step diplomacy favored by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Would you please state your opinion on these issues?

RR. Well, as I've said before, I want the United States to use what influence it has to be of help wherever it can. I would not want that pressure to go into the, to go over the line into dictating in any way or imposing a settlement. But yes, I believe there are other spots in the world as well as in the Middle East where the United States has not been of the help it could be, tragedies such as Cyprus, Lebanon, I would like to see the United States make it plain that we stand ready to be of help and that these problems should be worked out basically between the parties involved, but that we're there and whatever we can do that can encourage this, we should do.

Q. Governor, on behalf of my colleagues of the American Jewish Press who are crowded around me like a rush-hour subway train at the moment, thank you for taking time from a busy schedule. We hope to be seeing you individually.

THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS
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NATIONAL EDITOR

VICE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR
THE HEARST CORPORATION

June 20, 1980

Mr. Edwin Meese
Chief of Staff
Reagan Presidential Campaign
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Suite 1430
Los Angeles, Calif. 90045

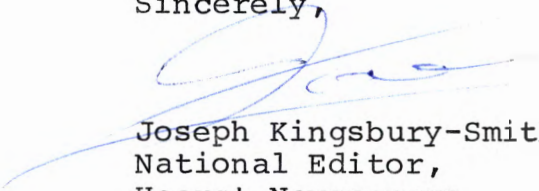
Dear Ed:

Herewith copy of the interview article with
the Governor and the text of the transcript.

It was a pleasure to see you again and meet
your associates. All of our people were very favorably
impressed with the Governor and the way he handled
himself during the interview.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,



Joseph Kingsbury-Smith
National Editor,
Hearst Newspapers

Enclosure

JKS/lp

EXCLUSIVE

By Kingsbury Smith
National Editor, The Hearst Newspapers

NEW YORK _____-Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan told a group of Hearst senior executives and editors that if elected President he will use his veto power to block any new federal spending programs, except for defense.

He also said he would move immediately to reduce the federal budget by two percent. "I don't know a business in the world faced with hardship that could not have a 2 percent reduction in overhead," he added.

Mr. Reagan outlined a plan to revitalize the distressed areas of big cities by providing tax incentives for business to re-locate in those areas and tax breaks for jobless residents who are employed by such business firms.

To cut federal government waste and bureaucratic red tape, he said he would ask private sector leaders to form task forces empowered by presidential order to go into every federal government department to study and recommend how it could be operated more efficiently at less cost, as he did with the California government when he was Governor.

He foresees a continuation of double digit inflation and 9 or 10 percent unemployment during at least the early part of next year. He is confident inflation can be brought down by reducing the federal deficit with elimination of unnecessary expenditures and a lid on new spending programs other than defense. He also believes the jobless can be put back to work by providing tax cuts and credits for business expansion.

On foreign policy, he would strive to create a new western hemis-

phere alliance to block Soviet-Cuban attempts to put communist-oriented revolutionary groups in power in Latin America.

In a conciliatory gesture toward communist China, he said he would not re-establish diplomatic relations with the Taiwan government but would seek to persuade the Peking regime to acquiesce to the establishment of an American government liaison office in the Taiwan capital.

First add Kingsmith....REAGAN x x x capital.

At a luncheon meeting hosted by Frank A. Bennack, Jr., President and Chief Executive Officer of the Hearst Corporation, Mr. Reagan, in an exclusive interview with William Randolph Hearst, Jr., Editor-in-Chief of the Hearst Newspapers and other Hearst editors also said he ~~xxxx~~ favors federal and state aid to enable under-privileged residents of ~~xxx~~ subsidized low-income housing projects to ~~paraphrase~~ become owners of the apartments and houses in which they live.

To protect the ^{Persian Gulf} oil supplies to the west and Japan, the Republican leader would propose that the European allies join with the United States in formulating ^a contingency plans for ^{unified} ~~joint military~~ action to forestall a take-over from within or without of the governments of such countries as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Oman.

Mr. Reagan ~~xxxx~~ and ^{five of his} ~~xxxxxxixfzxxmpxixg~~ aides spent two hours with the Hearst group. He was welcomed at the entrance to the Hearst headquarters building by Mr. Bennack, who escorted him to the Good Housekeeping Institution dining room where the interview, ~~xxxxxxixg~~ conducted by Mr. Hearst and national editor Kingsbury Smith with additional questioning by other Hearst executives and editors, took place.

Among the Hearst executives who attended the luncheon-interview meeting were Gilbert C. Maurer, President, Hearst Magazines; Raymond J. Petersen, Executive Vice President, Hearst Magazines; Harris A. Mitnick, Treasurer and Controller, The Hearst Corporation; Harvey L. Lipton, Vice President, Secretary and General Counsel; Robert J. Danzig Vice President and General Manager, the Hearst Newspapers; K. Robert Brink, Executive Vice President and General Manager, the Hearst Magazine; John Mack Carter, Editor, Good Housekeeping magazine; Harry M. Rosenfeld Editor Capital Newspapers, Albany, N.Y.; Donald H. Forst, Editor, Boston Herald American, Ronald ~~xxxxxxixg~~ D. Martin, Editor, Baltimore News American, and Robert E. Thompson, chief, Washington bureau, the

Second add Kingsmith...REAGAN x x x Newspapers.

The former 2-term California governor, who fell 60 votes short of the republican presidential nomination in 1976, was in a cheerful mood during the luncheon conversation, telling humorous anecdotes about his early years as a radio sports announcer and movie actor. The Illinois-born son of an Irish shoe salesman experienced the hardships of the great depression when the family was so poor that today they would have qualified for welfare support. His father campaigned for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1931 and was rewarded with a welfare job-creating position, which led the son to become and remain a registered democrat until he endorsed republican Dwight Eisenhower in 1951.

Reminded that as governor he developed a reputation for recruiting experienced people without regard to party labels and asked if he would pursue the same policy if elected president, Reagan replied:

"Yes, party would not be a factor with regard to ability. In addition to qualification for the job, I would like to get people who don't want to be in government but would accept the job because of a sense of duty to the country ."

On some subjects, Reagan had specific answers, such as a ten percent over a 3-year period favoring ~~tax cuts~~ across-the-board tax cuts and tax incentives for business expansion; transfer of welfare programs back to the states and local communities along with some federal tax revenues to help finance them, increased pay for the military ~~to~~ to avoid abandoning the ~~military~~ volunteer army for the draft, and, if necessary, a budget deficit to help fund a long-term defense build-up to deter Soviet nuclear blackmail or aggression.

On other subjects, Mr. Reagan had no specific solutions for some of the domestic and foreign problems. He would not venture an estimate as to what the inflation rate might be at the end of the

(more)

Third add Kingsmith REAGAN x x x the first and last year of his first term, if elected. While he felt the United States needs a special weapon for a "fast, on-line deterrent" to bridge the widening strategic gap with the Soviet Union, he said he didn't know what kind of a weapon would do it. On the American hostages in Iran, he thought "we have to take some steps to assure their release," but he didn't have any specific plan in mind at this time "nor would it be proper if I had something in mind because I think there has been too much of doing it publicly with regard to the efforts we have made."

He said he had "no respect whatsoever" for former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who recently attended the so-called "American Crimes" conference in Tehran.

"I remember his adventures with Miss (Jane) Fonda in Hanoi," he added. He said he had been personally told by one of the terribly ~~terrible~~ tortured American war prisoners who was brought before Clark and Fonda that he had tried to make them realize they shouldn't believe what he was forced to say about good treatment but, Reagan ^{quoted} the ex-power as saying: "I talked to ears that refused to hear."

Reagan was scornful of President Carter's wish to prosecute Clark for attending the anti-American conference ^{in Iran} pointing out that the President had previously sent Clark to Tehran to talk to the Ayatollah Khomeini, who refused to see him.

Reminded that some political opponents have contended that if elected President, he might get the country into war, Reagan replied:

"No, I'm not going to get us into war. I've seen too many. There have been four wars in my lifetime. None of them happened because we were too strong. I've always believed that if you have strong enough means of defense, you ~~don't~~ don't have to use them." endit

EQ - This is DICK ALLEN Input on
South Africa
JB

TOPIC: AFRICA

- Q. Governor, one of your advisors, Dr. Joseph Churba, traveling in South Africa last week, said that if you were elected, you would reverse the present policy of an arms boycott on South Africa and that you would station missiles at the Simonstown missile base. Is that your policy?
- A. As I think you are aware, our campaign office stressed that Mr. Churba is apparently there on his own, and is obviously speaking for himself, since he is not speaking for us. I understand that he too indicated that he was not pressuring to speak for us.

We have nearly 100 distinguished advisors in the foreign policy and defense fields, and we've bound to have a wide divergence of opinion from such a group, that's what we wanted. I don't think you'd find unity on any subject much less that one you brought up.

- Q. But Governor, do you agree or disagree with what he has proposed? Are you sympathetic to that point of view?
- A. This isn't the time to make a major pronouncement on foreign affairs. I'll be speaking to a wide range of foreign policy and national security issues in the next 20 weeks (until the election) and you'll all have ample time to analyze in detail the positions I will take.

Of course, we will be concerned with issues that affect our relations with all African nations, from those in the North to those in the South. Africa is a continent of strategic importance to the United States and we want to make sure our relations with African countries reflect that importance.

I wouldn't want to get into any country by country analysis today.

- Q. But just let me ask this. Would you continue our traditional opposition to the policy of apartheid--and wouldn't closer military relations brunt or soften that posture of condemnation of apartheid?
- A. As you know, consecutive U.S. administrations have condemned apartheid. Because it is a gross discrimination, I share that view. My own record is quite clear on that issue.

The Commonwealth

VOL. LXXIV • NO. 21

May 26, 1980

MAY 28

South Bay Forum

General

RICHARD H. ELLIS, USAF

Commander in Chief
Strategic Air Command

"U.S. Strategy for the 80s: Coping with a Changing World"

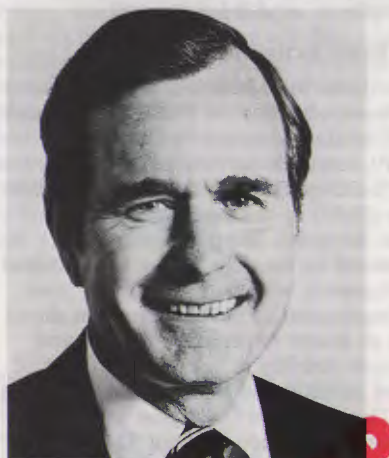
Attorney, pilot and administrator, General Richard H. Ellis has headed the Strategic Air Command at Offutt Air Base, Nebraska, since August, 1977. Ellis and his staff provide the Air Force vision of the future in a volatile and changing world. His South Bay appearance will focus on this military challenge and the interrelationship between the political, economic and military elements of the federal government.

Noon, Palo Alto Room
Rickey's, Hyatt House Palo Alto

Advance Tickets-\$11. Call 362-4903 for reservation information. No refunds after Monday, May 26.

CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

MAY 29



The Honorable
GEORGE BUSH

Republican candidate
for President

Advance Ticket Sale Luncheon
Noon, Grand Ballroom
Sheraton Palace Hotel

Advance Tickets-\$9. Mail check or money order to Commonwealth Club, 681 Market Street, San Francisco 94105, or call 362-4903 for reservation information. Late ticket orders will be taken to the door for pick-up. No refunds after Tuesday, May 27.

CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

MAY 30



JOHN K. EMMERSON

Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace

"Our Asian Interests: Japanese Allies, Chinese Friends"

Noon, Gold Ballroom
Sheraton Palace Hotel

Tickets-\$8 at the door.

CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

INSIDE: 100. Major General Secord talks of the Soviet-American arms race. 101. Club recommendations for the June Ballot Propositions. 102-103. Answers to questions from the floor following the Jarvis-Berman Debate, April 29, and the address by Ronald Reagan, May 9. 104. Questions and Answers by Anthony Arnold, May 2.



FRIDAY FLASHES, May 16, 1980

From Address by Major General Richard V. Secord, USAF, Director, International Programs, U.S. Air Force

Security Assistance is fundamentally linked to our overall collective security efforts and furthers U.S. goals of regional stability in strengthening our friends and allies to resist subversion and external attack.

The Commonwealth

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ANNUAL DUES: Resident dues are \$48 for members less than 65 years of age; members 65 and older \$38; Senior Non-Resident dues are \$30; Junior dues are \$30 annually for members under 30 years of age. **INITIATION FEE:** members 30 years of age or older \$20; members under 30, \$10.

Second class postage paid at San Francisco, California. Subscription rate \$10.00 per year included in annual membership dues.

The protection of American interests and those shared with our allies must continue to be a primary concern. We must strive for international stability and peace, the conditions necessary for self determination and security throughout the world as our goal. In view of Soviet expansionism and aggression there is no doubt that we will continue U.S. Security Assistance programs as a principal instrument of foreign policy.

Foreign policy employment of Security Assistance requires a combination of the economic, political and military instruments of power. Many countries use this tool of foreign policy. Both we and the Soviets have used it for years.

Four Basic Activities

Our Security Assistance programs have four basic activities: an Economic Support Fund, Military Assistance Program (MAP), International Military Education and Training (IMET), and Foreign Military Sales (FMS) by cash or credit.

The Economic Support Fund is administered by the Agency for International Development, with policy direction from the Department of State. It provides direct loans or grants to promote political and economic stability in selected countries of special political and security interest to the U.S. The proposed fiscal year 1980 program worldwide is about \$2 billion, a minor increase from last year's program. About 75 percent of this is for Israel and Egypt. The sub-Saharan Africa portion is \$140 million, up from \$100 million last year.

The Military Assistance Program (MAP) provides defense articles and defense services to foreign governments on a grant basis. MAP is being phased out after 1981. The proposed 1981 program worldwide is \$135 million as compared to \$145.5 million for 1980. In this part of the world only Jordan is currently receiving MAP funds. There is currently no proposed MAP for Jordan for 1981.

International Military Education and Training (IMET) provides military training to selected foreign military or related civilian personnel on a Grant Aid basis. The 1981 program worldwide proposes \$32.5 million with \$10 million for 31 countries in Africa and the Near East. If approved by Congress, the 1980 IMET program worldwide will total \$28.4 million with \$8.8 million for 27 African and Mid-

dle Eastern countries. Worldwide we have about 4200 training spaces programmed for IMET training in 1980. The training is performed in the continental United States, at U.S. military bases overseas or in some cases by highly trained mobile training teams.

The Foreign Military Sales (FMS) financing program provides credits and loan repayment guarantees to enable eligible foreign governments to purchase defense article, services or training. A common misconception about FMS credits is that it is a giveaway program. FMS credits require repayment with interest, except for Israel's \$1 billion credit program in which repayment of \$500 million is waived by Congress. The 1981 proposal requests \$2,840 million worldwide. This proposes FMS financing for 35 countries and includes \$1,920 million for sixteen African and Middle Eastern countries. The 1980 proposed program is \$1,950 million with financing available to 28 countries, including \$1,198 million for 11 African and Middle Eastern countries.

The Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program includes cash sale of defense articles, services or training to eligible foreign governments. In 1981, we are expecting about 24 African and Middle Eastern countries to participate in this program, with Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Israel expected to be the biggest purchasers. A Security Assistance appropriation has not yet been enacted for 1980, and these programs are being implemented at somewhat lower levels under a congressional continuing resolution.

The U.S. arms transfer policy around the world, particularly toward Africa has been marked by restraint. Several considerations account for this policy. The Congress has indicated that the problems of sub-Saharan Africa are primarily those of economic development, and that U.S. policy should assist in limiting military conflict in that region.

Presidential Points

In 1977, the President directed that our worldwide Security Assistance program be formulated and implemented in a manner that was consistent with a policy of restraint in the field of arms transfers. He established specific controls that apply to all arms transfers except our NATO allies, Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

A generalization of the Presidential con-

JUNE 6

MERVIN D. FIELD

Chairman
Field Research Corp.
President
California Poll

Noon, Gold Ballroom
Sheraton Palace Hotel

Tickets-\$8 at the door.

CAROL E. WILDER
Quarterly Chairman

trols would include six points: (1) restrictions on being the first country to introduce advanced weapons systems into an area, (2) a prohibition on development of advanced systems for export only, (3) a prohibition on various types of co-production arrangements, (4) tighter controls on retransfer, (5) a ceiling on the total dollar value of sales, and (6) special controls on sales promotions.

It is often difficult to determine which countries should be considered for a military, Security Assistance relationship with the U.S. A review includes, but is not limited to, these factors: our political relationship with the country, are they supportive of our concerns? Our defense relationships, are they defense treaty partners?; our economic relationship with the country, do we have a market and supplier relationship, or are they a source of natural resources?; access to a country's military leadership, and a cooperation of military to military and diplomatic to military levels; the country's recent record on human rights; and the impact on U.S. national defense activities.

Weighing The Needs

These complex and sometimes conflicting considerations must be evaluated in terms of our national security needs and the political benefits of Security Assistance programs prior to committing our national resources to the programs.

When viewing the world from a NATO projection, the northern tier of Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt) is of interest because of its proximity to NATO and the Mediterranean Sea. As time and events required us to focus our attention on the Middle East, we stated our policy to exclude Africa from great power rivalries. Egypt has continued to receive increased emphasis and is more often addressed as a part of the Middle East. Our current interest in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, as well as increased Soviet activities there, have resulted in an increased U.S. interest in the African continent and the Middle East.

U.S. interests in Africa and the Middle East range from supporting self determination and majority rule to protecting access to oil and other natural resources. Africa and the Middle East are also seen as a sea and air crossroads with a U.S. requirement for both sea and air support facilities in the region. We also recognize that it is our best interest to promote U.S. trade and investments there.

However, there are conflicting views on what our relationship with Africa should be. As an arena for US-USSR competition, Africa is very important to all nations because of its raw materials and as markets for manufactured products. The continent is also of major importance because of its location in relation to the primary trade routes for strategic raw materials.

According to the State Department's latest estimates, Soviet arms transfer to sub-Saharan Africa totaled about \$1,355 million in the five-year period 1973-1977.

CALIFORNIA BALLOT PROPOSITIONS JUNE 1980

Commonwealth count, May 21, 1980

Following a thorough examination of each Ballot Proposition, selected Study Sections prepared arguments in support and in opposition. These were incorporated into a Club Report by James Coplan, Public Relations Director. Recommendations by members of the Commonwealth Club appear below.

No.	Title	Yes	No	% Yes	% No
1.	"Parkland and Renewable Investment Program"	338	1467	18.7	81.3
2.	"Veterans Bond Act of 1980"	798	1074	42.6	57.4
3.	"State Capitol Maintenance"	244	1588	13.3	86.7
4.	"Low Rent Housing"	389	1423	21.5	78.5
5.	"Freedom of the Press"	669	1175	36.3	63.7
6.	"Reapportionment of Districts"	1137	725	61.1	38.9
7.	"Disaster Assistance"	966	884	52.2	47.8
8.	"Alternative Energy Sources Facilities Financing"	775	1036	42.8	57.2
9.	"Taxation-Income"	1000	828	54.7	45.3
10.	"Rent"	967	841	53.5	46.5
11.	"Taxation-Surtax"	260	1505	14.7	85.3

NOTE: Copies of the Club's Report on the 1980 June Ballot Propositions are available in the Club office at a printing fee of \$1.25.

For 1978, their preliminary estimate is \$1,220 million to sub-Saharan Africa and \$1,175 million to North Africa.

There has been another and perhaps more fundamental change in Soviet arms assistance activities in Africa. The Soviets' initial arms transfers to the continent in the '60s were relatively inexpensive, such as second-line ground forces equipment. However, in recent years Moscow has shown little, if any, reticence to providing first-line sophisticated weapons systems from advanced jet fighter aircraft and tanks to missiles, guided missile boats and long-range heavy artillery. This development has increased our concerns about stability of the area as increased concerns of many Africans over the adequacy of their largely Western military equipment for their own defense.

Modifying Our Involvement

The degree of U.S. involvement may be modified due to changing conditions. It is recognized that Africa is of great interest to the U.S. and our allies. We must continue to try to identify our specific interests and needs in detail, as a basis for our foreign policy in that continent.

It is obvious that the environment in the Middle East is changing rapidly; instability and armed hostility are not new in this part of the world. Regional tensions have been exacerbated in part because some regional states now have increased financial resources, thus accelerating the gap between the haves and the have nots in the area. In addition, the western industrial nations which produce modern, technologically advanced arms are heavily dependent upon access to Middle Eastern oil. The maintenance of free access to these critical petroleum resources is a vital interest to the advanced nations of the free world. In Afghanistan, coupled with Soviet and Cuban presence in Angola, Ethiopia and South Yemen and the turbulence in

Iran continues to present a challenge to our overall foreign policy and Security Assistance objectives.

Historic Commitments

The U.S. will continue to honor its historic commitment to the independence and security of Israel. It has been U.S. policy to ensure that Israel's margin of military safety against any combination of threats remains intact. Present estimates are that Israel is secure against any combination of such military challenges in the region at least through the mid-1980s.

The proposed 1981 Security Assistance program for Israel consists of \$785 million in Economic Support Funds and \$1.2 billion in FMS credits. Of these credits, \$200 million are a supplement to the \$2.2 billion in FMS credits authorized in 1979 in connection with the Peace Treaty.

A just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is important in promoting long term stability in the region and ensuring the security of Israel. The Camp David framework is the basis for such settlement. Following the accord, the U.S. began a \$1.5 billion FMS credit assistance program for Egypt. However, a clearer understanding of Egypt's real needs has made it obvious that this initial \$1.5 billion package will only begin to meet Egypt's priority needs. The 1981 budget proposed \$550 million of Foreign Military Credit financing authority for Egypt as a continuation of this program. This large and relatively new military program for Egypt is necessary to modernize President Sadat's forces and to replace their nearly total reliance on aging Soviet equipment, most of which is unusable for lack of spare parts. This is not a give away program, but a credit program.

We do not see any parallels between Egypt and Iranian situations and do not consider assistance to Egypt of the scope contemplated to be destabilizing. Our mili-

tary assistance programs are not designed to give Egypt the capacity to intervene elsewhere in the region; however, our programs will contribute to the internal strength and self-confidence required to enhance Egypt's traditional position of leadership in the region.

Saudi Arabia is currently our largest Security Assistance customer. A large portion of Saudi purchases are directed toward the creation of a basic military infrastructure. Saudi force modernization and expansion are directed toward the achievement of a viable defense capability for protecting its vast territory and oil resources "while improving the stability of the Persian Gulf area."

Saudi Arabia is important to the United States as the largest exporter of oil to the West. Massive financial reserves, political influence with Arab and Third World councils, strategic location along the Red Sea and the limited Saudi manpower base are all factors that support their efforts to opt for higher technology defense systems rather than more labor intensive systems.

The total Saudi programs for the 1970s are valued at a little over \$30 billion. About two-thirds were for programs such as construction, maintenance, training and spare parts.

Recently we have tried to limit foreign military sales to the sale of military equipment, services and training which is or was in the U.S. inventory. The President's restrictions on development of advanced systems for export only, means that we can not sell systems unless they were developed for U.S. use.

The F-X is to be an aircraft designed to meet the foreign requirement with higher performance characteristics than the F-5, but less capable than our current front-line fighters, like the F-15 and F-16. This requirement revolves around the recognition of the need to satisfy valid friendly defense requirements through sale of U.S. produced equipment. This design should help meet the defense requirements of developing Third World nations through the 80's.
(DMS)

Answers to Written Questions from the floor:

Q: Noting the problem that Egypt has with Soviet equipment for which they have no spare parts, is an important motive behind our sales the fact that we control those countries through the control of their spare parts? **A:** This is a major consideration, and our customers know this. It clearly gives us leverage over those countries we supply with equipment. If they violate the terms of conditions under which the systems were sold, we can cut off spare parts and technical support. It is a powerful diplomatic tool.

Q: Please give your opinion of the draft, the volunteer Army, and the possibility of increasing wages to market levels. **A:** I am not in the Army, so I am not qualified to say whether the volunteer Army is working. Obviously there is concern that we

may not have the necessary manpower. I am personally heavily in favor of the draft and I think it was a mistake to have gotten out of the draft mode. With respect to compensation there is legislation now pending which would improve allowances paid to lower ranking soldiers and sailors who are badly affected by inflation.

Q: What is the present state of combat readiness of the U.S. Air Force, and how does it compare with the Soviet Union? **A:** I will take my Air Force over theirs any time, any place. Fortunately, there were marked advancements made in the tactical general force area. Programs started some years ago resulted in the new F-15 Eagle Fighter, the finest fighter in the world, and the F-16 fighter. We do have deficiencies in military air-lift, which may see some improvements in this session of Congress. There has also been criticism of operational readiness, and the possible insufficient spare parts for weapon systems. We are always budgetarily constrained, but we try to make reasoned judgments about their support.
(DMS)

Proposition 9: Questions and Answers

Answers to written questions from the floor from the Commonwealth Club program of Tuesday, April 29.

Howard Jarvis, author of Proposition 9 and Howard Berman, California State Assemblyman debated the initiative before a Club audience in the Grand Ballroom of the Fairmont Hotel. Their initial remarks, and rebuttals, are recorded in *The Commonwealth* the week of May 12, 1980.

Q: Did Proposition 13 reduce local control of government and what effect would Proposition 9 have on local control?

A: Jarvis: No it did not. The reason it didn't was that the California League of Cities and the State Association of Boards of Supervisors had testified on the record, that 94 percent of all the money that local governments spent was mandated by either the federal or the state government. They testified ten years ago that they had no more local control of government at all. So, I tried to correct that. I wrote in the Proposition 13, that the tax would be collected by the counties and distributed within the counties. Unfortunately, they haven't followed that yet. Proposition 13 was the only piece of legislation that has been done in the last 20 years to increase the power of local government.

A: Berman: I don't think that there is an official in local government that would indicate that this is the situation now, with the state providing bail-out funds, financing almost all of public education, directly involved in the financing of all special dis-

tricts and deciding how the one percent tax lift on their Proposition 13 will be apportioned. The state of California is now more directly involved in every aspect of local government than it has ever been before.

A: Jarvis: It is important to comment that Proposition 13 did not effect education. What did effect education was Serrano vs. Priest. Serrano vs. Priest went into effect January 1, 1980. It was passed by the Supreme Court of the state of California and this decision said, that no property tax may be used for schools at all. They could have used part of the money — part of the one percent money under Proposition 13, but Serrano vs. Priest struck that down. So anybody who doesn't like the situation with respect to schools, you lobby the Supreme Court and forget about 13.

A: Berman: I don't know how many times you've read Serrano vs. Priest, but there is nothing in Serrano vs. Priest which says you cannot use the property tax for local school systems. It requires equalization; it requires property evaluation in a district, it does not prohibit the property tax from being used for schools and still maintain part of our school finances out of the property tax.

Q: What percentage of Proposition 9 savings will go directly to Washington in additional income taxes and do you have any idea of the amount of federal funds that we will not be able to get in matching grants as a result of Proposition 9?

A: Berman: At least 1/3 of the savings from Proposition 9 will end up going to the federal government in increased federal taxation. I don't think that one could argue against any kind of tax cut in any level of government on the basis that it will have a corresponding, although less, increase somewhere else. One of the reasons for the state surplus growing is the tremendous increase in revenues as a result of the Proposition 13 reductions, both to the federal government and the state government and the same thing will happen with the federal government if Proposition 9 passes. John Vasconcellos said that under certain assumptions for the first year we might be able to get away without cuts (in services). A very different statement than the over-simplification of Howard Jarvis.

On the question of what federal grant money will we lose, it will depend on how many cuts we have to make. How many cuts we have to make depends on the extent of the state surplus which will be between 2 and 2.6 billion dollars in general fund money, at the end of June, and can be stretched to cover the losses of revenue from Proposition 9.

A: Jarvis: I think I am entitled to revert Vasconcellos statement: "Thus, California could vote themselves Proposition 9's 50 percent income tax reduction without necessarily facing any significant first year reductions in government services."

Q: If contrary to your expectations there were a significant revenue loss as a result of Proposition 9, what specific major

government services do you think should be reduced or terminated?

A: Jarvis: All of them from top to bottom with no exception. Everything that they are doing is basically wrong. Whether we like it or not, not only in California but the people of the U.S., we have to reduce the size of government. We have to reduce the number of public employees, and for a very simple reason. Everybody that works for a living in the U.S. today, pays every nickel he makes, January, February, March, April, May, to the 10th of June for taxes in this country. That is a felony grand theft. If you put that on the basis of a 100 dollar bill, you pay \$55 for taxes and \$45 to live on. When you get to December you haven't any money left, you're poor. And if you're poor, you're broke. This system of taxation in the U.S. is manufacturing poor people and that is all it is doing.

A: Berman: I think Howard Jarvis would support a bill for government to go to jail. We can have a lot of different philosophies of government in our society. I personally think with all the problems and with the undoubted waste at all levels of government, that things like the public schools system, the medical program for medically indigent people, the housing program, the aid to the aged, the blind and the disabled are programs that are meaningful. They are important not just to the individual recipients but to the health of the society as a whole. I concede, the existence and the duty of politicians in a way that they haven't really met before is to deal with the question of waste in the administration of these programs.

(DMS)

From the Address by the honorable Ronald Reagan, May 9, 1980,

Answers to written questions from the floor:

Q: Do you believe that we should issue a clear-cut ultimatum to the Soviet Union regarding meddling in the Iranian turmoil; if so, what should it be? **A:** I think the signal we should send should be further back, maybe Saudi Arabia. It should only be sent with the collaboration of our allies in Europe and Japan, who are so dependent on OPEC oil. It should be known that we would not let the Saudi Arabian government fall either from trouble within or from aggression without.

Q: If the Palestinians were willing to guarantee the existence of Israel, would you be in favor of total autonomy for the residents of the West Bank? **A:** The West Bank under 242 of the United Nations is supposed to be settled between Israel and Jordan, and I think properly so. The propagandists have said that Israelis are responsible for the Palestinian refugees. When the territory that was Palestine, and

never a nation, was divided, 80 percent became the kingdom of Jordan, and 20 percent or less became Israel. The refugees should be recognized as 80 percent Jordan's problem, and 20 percent Israel's problem. I think that this is a problem for them to settle in the Middle East, and though we stand ready to help, we should not put ourselves close to imposing a settlement on anyone in the Middle East.

Q: You have advocated a blockade of Cuba for their invasion of Afghanistan; are you confident that such a step would appear justified to the members of the U.N. who are supporting us on the Afghanistan issue? **A:** This was a hypothetical answer to a hypothetical question, which was what we should do now about getting the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan, besides threats and the Olympic boycott. The U.S. has no strategy or grand plan if the Soviet Union moves. We just wait until they do something, and we are caught by surprise, and we start from scratch. If we had a plan that would

look down the road with contingencies, it might be one that would not leave us with the risk of running the escalation into a war. There must be pressure points that are of interest to the Soviet Union, in which they have the logistical problem. Cuba, their satellite, ninety miles off our shore, can be blockaded until they withdraw their troops out of Afghanistan. The Soviet interests in Cuba would give them pause to think, but would not run the risk of war because it is 9,000 miles away from them, and only 90 miles away from us.

Q: Federal spending presently constitutes slightly more than 20 percent of GNP; do you have a target on how much you would like that reduced? **A:** If we could take it from 22.4 percent back to 20 percent, that would reduce taxes by 83 billion dollars. I would like to see it done faster than 4 years, and I think it could be done if we recognize the tremendous waste in the federal government. I would put a freeze on the hiring of federal employees to replace those who have left or retired. (DMS)

APPLICATIONS FOR COMMONWEALTH CLUB MEMBERSHIP

The Commonwealth Club thanks all of those who have sponsored friends and associates for membership in the Club. It is hoped that you will continue to take an active role in membership sponsoring. If no objections have been filed with the Club office prior to Monday, June 9, 1980, the following applicants will stand elected.

ANDROUS, MELVIN D., attorney, Yuba City, Ca. Proposed by Milton D. Miller.
ARABIAN-KHOSHKOU, GHASSEM, consultant, Bechtel Corp., Menlo Park, Ca. Proposed by Laurence Tenney.
ABRAHAM, WILLIAM J., executive, Shalke Corp., Emeryville, Ca. Proposed by Elmer G. Johnson.
AVERY, RICHARD B., vice President, O'Brien, Spoto, Mitchell, Sebastopol, Ca. Proposed by Wesley C. Newbold.
BECKER, R., president, Becker Machinery, Greenbrae, Ca. Proposed by G. H. Carroll.
BOURNE, RABBI MICHAEL, rabbi, Temple Emmanuel, S.F. Proposed by John R. Shuman.
BRETALL, W. GREEME, investment counselor, Harris, Bretall & McElowney, S.F. Proposed by Michael G. Harris.
BRILES, JUDITH, financial planner, Judith Briles & Company, Palo Alto, Ca. Proposed by E. Roxie Howlett.
BROOKS, ANDREW D., student, Berkeley, Ca. Proposed by K. Sue Bissell.
BROWN, SUSAN, management consultant, Crown Zellerbach, S.F. Proposed by Cheryl Chlene.
BYE, LARRY L., president, Research America, S.F. Proposed by Henry W. Spielman.
CASE, STAN, contractor, Case Pacific Company, Palo Alto, Ca. Proposed by R. F. Santucci.
CHERITKOV, BOREN, general counsel, ALRB, Sacramento, Ca. Proposed by A. N. Mardiros.
COOPER, B. J. W., internist-physician, Alamo Medical Group, Danville, Ca. Proposed by Membership Committee.
CRAWLEY, J. L., executive vice president, Genstar Conservation Systems, Inc., S.F. Proposed by J. L. Holman.
CUTTER, JACK, business executive, Seabright, Ltd., Orinda, Ca. Proposed by John R. Shuman.
DHALL, CERRY, businessman, Culf Machinery Company, S.F. Proposed by Mirja Kajalo.
DOYLE, ELEANOR, housewife, S.F. Proposed by Barbara B. Cowan.
ENGSTROM, WARREN L., executive, Equitec Financial Group, Moraga, Ca. Proposed by Thomas Engstrom.
EVANS, FRANCIS J., attorney, Johnson & Stanton, S.F. Proposed by Gardiner Johnson.
FOLEY, ALEXANDER J., sales, Honeywell, Moraga, Ca. Proposed by Joseph P. Roebuck.
GROBMAN, K.L., consultant, Reel/Grobman & Associates, Foster City, Ca. Proposed by Claire Harrison Reed.
GREUNER, WILLIAM M., construction, retired, Berkeley, Ca. Proposed by Gordon V. Richards.
HAUGSE, HENRY N., urban planner, Bechtel, Inc., S.F. Proposed by Virgil S. Haugse.
HAYDEN, RORY, consultant in health care, Walnut Creek, Ca. Proposed by Nancy Leavens Wright.
HENDRICKSON, ROBERT, attorney, S.F. Proposed by D. B. Huganick.
HUMPHREYS, DENISE, student, U.C. Berkeley, Berkeley, Ca. Proposed by Pamela A. Mills.

LARSON, LINDA L., environmental scientist, U.S. EPA, S.F. Proposed by Richard Procnier.
LEMPHO, SAGA, merchant, Saga of Finland, Sausalito, Ca. Proposed by Mirja Kajalo.
LEVITAN, JACOB, attorney, Oakland, Ca. Proposed by Timothy H. Fine.
LEVY, YVONNE, economist, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, S.F. Proposed by Robert W. Mosher.
LEWIS, DEBRA A., associate, Towers, Perrin, Forster and Crosby, S.F. Proposed by Judy Huret.
MARXHEIMER, RENE B., professor of engineering, San Francisco State University, S.F. Proposed by Renee Rubin.
MATZGAR, DR. H. MICHAEL, political analyst, Northern California Consultative Group on American & World Affairs, Berkeley, Ca. Proposed by Norman R. Ascherman.
MCLEAN, JAMES S., district sales manager, GK Technologies, Walnut Creek, Ca. Proposed by W. W. Alvings.
METZKER, J.K., retired, S.F. Proposed by Membership Committee.
MORI, ALLEN, retired, S.F. Proposed by Sibyl B. Limpert.
MULCARE, BARBARA L., flight attendant, American Airlines, S.F. Proposed by Bonnie Hemmerling.
OGRO, JOHN E., district manager, NCR Corporation, Oakland, Ca. Proposed by William R. Krueger.
PANKRATZ, PAUL M., executive, Dow Chemical, Pittsburg, Ca. Proposed by Jack Jones.
PHILLIPS, GEORGE L., manager, Rhodes-Jamieson, Pleasanton, Ca. Proposed by Billie I. Bowles.
PROSSER, ELIZABETH, senior social worker, S.F. Proposed by Doris Porter.
REED, KATHERINE E., Natural Gas Corporation of California, S.F. Proposed by Membership Committee.
REESE, JILL FRITSCH, teacher, Havens Elementary School, Piedmont, Ca. Proposed by Mr. Gardiner Johnson.
RICHARDSON, L.B., manager, Founders Title Company, Emeryville, Ca. Proposed by Henrietta G. Matta.
ROBERTSON, DENNIS A., manager, Transportation, Crown Zellerbach, S.F. Proposed by John J. Archer.
SELM, CATHERINE, tax secretary, Arthur Young & Company, S.F. Proposed by Robin L. Wondor.
SHEPPARD, NANCY E., government relations, California Bankers Association, S.F. Proposed by Bruce Hasenkamp.
SHERBURNE, JAMES R., consultant, Concord, Ca. Proposed by Robert P. Feyer.
SLICHTER, DONALD A., lawyer, Orrick, et al, S.F. Proposed by Membership Committee.
STEINMAN, JEROME, public relations, Sports Personalities Ltd., Tiburon, Ca. Proposed by Milton L. Stannard, Jr.
STERN, SUSAN DINKELSPIEL, real estate-residential salesperson, Mason McDuffie, Berkeley, Ca. Proposed by Richard Dinkelspiel.
SWEENEY, NORMAN F., engineer, PG&E, S.F. Proposed by Elmer E. Hall.
THEOPHILOS, PAT A., loan officer, Crocker National Bank, S.F. Proposed by Betty Maham.
TRETHER, DOROTHY S., retired, Oakland, Ca. Proposed by Ruth Florence Gallo.
TUHACEK, ROBERT G., banker, Union Bank, S.F. Proposed by Beverly Britton.
UPSON, W.M., vice president, sales, Gazette Press, Berkeley, Ca. Proposed by Dave Roberts.
WILD, NELSON H., lawyer, S.F. Proposed by N. S. Weller.
WILLRICH, MASON, business executive, Pacific Gas and Electric Company, S.F. Proposed by Greg Thomas.
WONG, R. B., electrical engineer, Palo Alto, Ca. Proposed by Membership Committee.
ZEISZ, ALICE J., homemaker, Ranching, S.F. Proposed by Membership Committee.
May 26, 1980 E. Roxie Howlett, secretary.

Mr. Robert P. Feyer, a member whose comments were recorded on Proposition 8 — "Alternative Energy Sources Facilities Financing," on April 7, 1980 during our Club Report Meeting, and subsequently printed in our June Ballot Propositions Report wishes them revised to read as follows:

Having worked with the Legislature on implementation legislation if Proposition 8 passes, I have some background on the issues involved. I want to point out that I think the arguments on both sides are somewhat extreme. The viability of this type of bond program to support alternative energy projects depends upon federal tax exemption for the interest on the bonds. Because of current restrictions in the federal tax law, it is unlikely that very much financing for alternative energy projects will qualify for federal tax exempt status. Therefore, even if Proposition 8 passes, I do not believe that it will provide any large infusion of new financing. I would make a very rough guess that we might see \$50 to \$100 million dollars of bonds annually for this purpose. On the other side of the arguments, I also think the objections to Proposition 8 are overstated. Because the amount of bonds will be relatively small, there will be little or no impact on state revenues or on the market for other California municipal bonds, nor do I think that any new state bureaucracy will be required. Therefore, my overall impression is that, if passed, Proposition 8 will provide a marginal impact on development of alternative energy sources. However, I believe there is good public policy behind supporting development of alternative energy sources. I recommend passage of this proposition, with the understanding that its impact will not be very large one way or the other.

The Afghan, Soviet, American Triangle

Answers to written questions from the audience which followed the address given on May 2, 1980 by Mr. Anthony Arnold, former U.S. Foreign Service Officer. His speech is published in *The Commonwealth* the week of May 12, 1980.

Q: Will Russia eventually establish orderly control over Afghanistan? **A:** I don't think that it is possible, also the U.S. should not take responsibility for any regime that follows. The Afghans are independent and are much better left alone.

Q: Should the U.S. provide arms and military assistance to Afghan rebels? **A:** Yes. We should not only do that, but also insure that this issue is not swept under the table by any other issue that comes along.

Q: Do you believe that Russia will move into Iran if political conditions there become more chaotic? **A:** I don't think that the Soviet Union will do anything that may involve a risk of a direct U.S. armed forces confrontation. I think that we have laid it on the line that any incursion of Iran would involve almost the certainty of that.

Q: Does the average citizen in the Soviet Union feel oppressed, and is there a chance of a popular uprising in that country? **A:** Today, no. The Soviet citizen has a respect for authority, and tends to look down on the dissidents. As the society becomes more modern and has to be responsive to pressures from the outside, dissent will become more respectable.

Q: Would a blockade of Cuba be an appropriate response to the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan? **A:** I can't conceive of a worse policy for us to follow, or one that would cause greater joy for the Soviets. They are hurting now because they are a big power picking on a little power for no good reason. If we did this to Cuba, theoretically we would be in the same position as they are. If we were to succeed, the international pressures on us to cease would be overwhelming, and if we failed we would have egg on our face. (DMS)

SECTION MEETING SCHEDULE

Club members and their guests may attend any of these meetings by phoning their reservations to the Club office (362-4903) by noon the day prior to the meeting. **NOTE:** If the Club has not received your luncheon reservations 24 hours prior to the meeting, we will be unable to guarantee your reservations.

Monday, May 26

MEMORIAL DAY Club Office will be closed

Tuesday, May 27

AGRICULTURE "The Peripheral Canal," by William DuBois, Director, Natural Resources, California Farm Bureau. Section Meeting Room, Club office, 681 Market Street, S.F.

OPEN CONVERSATION FRENCH 12-2 p.m. Instructors Kim Kerr and John Paasche. Conference Room, Club office.

ADVANCED SPANISH Noon. Instructor Heather Peto, PG&E Cafeteria, 77 Beale Street, S.F. (Class closed)

Wednesday, May 28

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE "Should Public Pressure Be Used To Influence Judges?" by James Lassart, San Francisco Chief Assistant Deputy District Attorney. Knight's Restaurant (private dining room) 363 Golden Gate Avenue, S.F.

GOVERNMENTAL FINANCE "Perspective on San Francisco's Fiscal Picture: Can We Keep Our Ship Afloat?" by Hon. Louise H. Renne, Member, Board of Supervisors, City and County of San Francisco. Room 573, 681 Market Street, 5th Floor, S.F.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS "Intelligence Charters Legislation: The Impossible Dream," by Daniel B. Silver, General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency. World Affairs Council, 312 Sutter Street, 2nd Floor, S.F. (Reception — 5-6:45 p.m.)

Thursday, May 29

EDUCATION "Future of American Education," by James Catterall, School of Education, Stanford University. Center for the Study of Educational Policy. Room 573, 681 Market Street, S.F.

INTERMEDIATE FRENCH Noon, Instructor Suzanne Calio. Conference Room, Club office.

Monday, June 2

AFRICA "Foreign Aid and A Turbulent World" by Douglas J. Bennet, Jr., U.S. Agency for International Development. Sir Francis Drake Hotel, Franciscan Room, Mezzanine Floor, S.F. (Reception 5-6:30 pm)

ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY Meeting scheduled for June 2 has been rescheduled for Monday, June 23.

STUDY SECTION RESERVATIONS

The Club office must receive section luncheon reservations 24 hours prior to the meetings in order to guarantee your reservation. If you have made a reservation and are unable to attend, please call the Club office to cancel it. If you do not call 24 hours prior to the meeting you will be billed for the luncheon. Due to non-payment of luncheons by members with reservations the price of the meals may be raised.

The Commonwealth

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