

The original documents are located in Box 41, folder “Presidential Campaign (2)” of the James M. Cannon Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Campaign 76

Cliff White

8/29/75

1) RNC - When does it start
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 Nat to Pres -
 Calhoun - ?

~~2)~~

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2) Pres Ford
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What Means to Reagan's Conservative Ends

With the entry of Ronald Reagan into the Republican presidential race this week, the question of means and ends in the 1976 election is now posed in its sharpest possible form. Bringing that question to the forefront of political consciousness is so important that Reagan's candidacy can be welcomed even by those who do not share his vision of what the American future should be.

The purpose of Reagan's running is very clear: to lead a conservative counterrevolution against the 40-year growth of the bureaucratic welfare state in Washington. He has the singular virtue of stating his objectives in unmistakable terms.

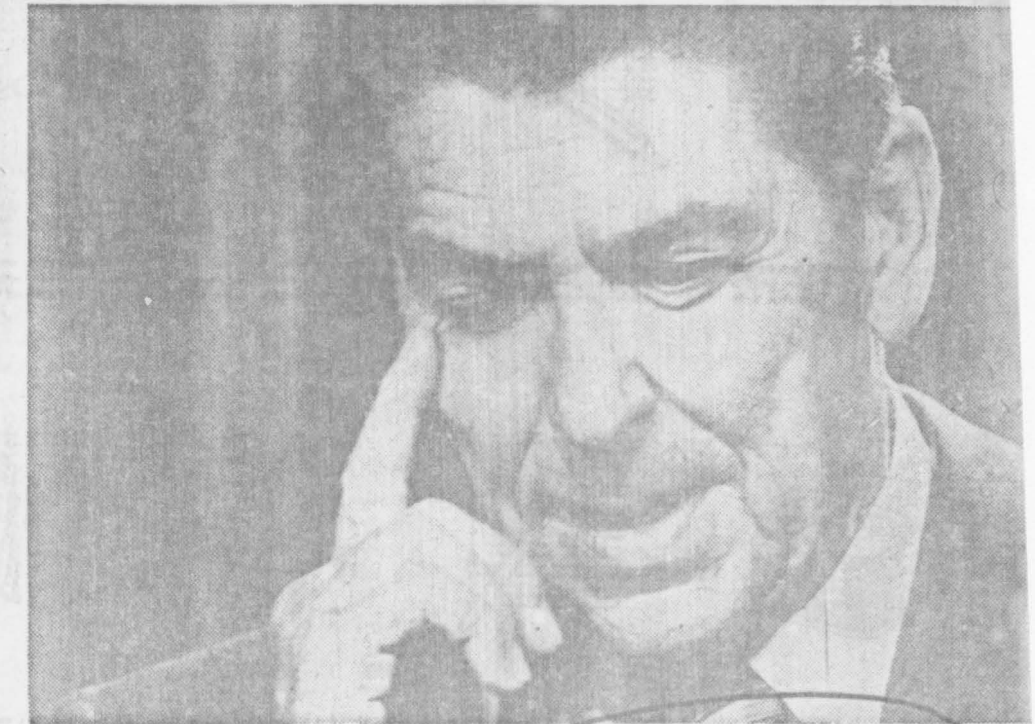
In a speech in Chicago this fall which previewed the main theme of his campaign, the former California governor assailed "Big Brother government in Washington," whose "crushing weight...has distorted our federal system and altered the relationship between the levels of government, threatening the freedom of individuals and families."

He said: "It isn't good enough to approach this tangle of confusion by saying we will try to make it more efficient or 'responsive,' or modify an aspect here or there, or do a little less of all these objectionable things than will the Washington bureaucrats and those who support them...The problem must be attacked at its source."

"What I propose," said Reagan, "is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states—a program of creative federalism for America's third century." As a first installment on that effort, Reagan proposed reducing the federal budget by about \$90 billion, cutting federal taxes about 25 percent and requiring the states to pick up much of the federal burden in areas of welfare, education, housing and community development, medical and food assistance.

Thus, Reagan's ends are admirably clear. By what means does he seek to achieve them? By running for President. Is he realistic in his assessment of the ends-means relationship?

Pat Buchanan, the conservative writer, thinks not. He has accused Reagan of grossly overpromising. Buchanan, who served in the Nixon White House and saw the fierce interest-group, bureaucratic and congressional resistance to Nixon's much



more modest program of decentralization, has an realistic awareness of the limits of a President's power.

The same warning could be given by those in today's White House who are attempting to ease regulatory restrictions on the economy—a program which Reagan endorses but says is insufficient.

They can testify that, contrary to conservative myth-making, private industry in this country is not longing to be freed of government regulations. On the contrary, big business loves the protection from competition which those bureaucratic rules provide.

Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina, a conservative Republican and Reagan supporter, found himself denounced by the voters in his home state when he had the temerity to cosponsor a bill proposing abolition of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Conservatives like Helms and the others who will rally to Reagan's banner have a duty to level with the public about what it will really take to achieve the ends they are seeking. There is no stronger political-economic power in this country than the triangle formed by the congressional committees that authorize and fund a

program and agency, the bureaucrats who administer it, and the interest groups who are its beneficiaries.

That is as true of the welfare triangle, the education triangle, the housing triangle and the transportation triangle as it is of the famous military-industrial complex.

To crack any of those power centers and the spending, regulation and bureaucracy they produce will take an enormous outside force.

That kind of force can be generated—legitimately—in our country only by a sustained mandate from the voters, expressed not merely in the election of an individual as President but in a victory for his party that gives it control of the Congress and Executive for long enough to put its program into effect. To reverse the forces of governmental centralization that began with Franklin D. Roosevelt will take party victories as great as the Democrats won from 1932 to 1952.

If the conservatives of this country are honest with themselves and the voters, they will campaign for that kind of victory—and not just the nomination and election of Ronald Reagan. And if Reagan is more than a personal ego-trip, he will

tell the voters that the program Democrats give him in Congress.

This does not mean that conservatives understand confidence in the nation. The conned age of the w... President reverse the were electe White House

What we is a continu stalemate stalemate w and cynicis process.

If Reagan was, he w frustrated—was. And th least of all tr

That is question no politics.

William Raspberry



Political

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/2/75.

Josh Venensen -

Did you see
this letter.

Especially the
part, pg 3, which
says "400,000
fewer individuals
on welfare than when
he took office
eight years earlier"?

Jim

Ronald Reagan
10960 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90024

November 20, 1975

Dear Fellow American,

As you know, a few days ago I announced that I will seek the office of President of the United States. I am writing to you today to explain why I made that decision.

It is a decision which I did not make easily, but it is one to which I am totally committed.

After months of close consultation with friends and others who are deeply concerned with the future of our nation and that of the Republican Party, I have concluded that if we are to maintain our free society we must change the role which government plays in our lives.

We must again look at the world realistically so that we may understand the grave responsibilities which we must face as the leader of the free world.

I am convinced that 1976 will be a year of decision for our great nation. Events of the last several years--indeed, of the last several decades--make it absolutely necessary that changes be made if we are to survive.

The majority of American citizens still believes in what those in Washington too often refer to as "old-fashioned" virtues and attitudes. Plain, everyday morality is still the bedrock of the typical American's life.

Self-reliance, pride, dignity, and just plain "horse sense" are still vital parts of the ideals of most Americans, despite the fact that those in Washington continue to take more and more of our honest and hard-earned dollars for every conceivable pseudo-social purpose.

The sad fact today is that most of our problems originate in Washington. Too many of those chosen to lead are unable to do so because they have been in Washington so long they have become a part of the problem instead of being a part of the solution.

They represent government instead of the people. They turn to government for all solutions because they honestly believe that the people can no longer solve their own problems.

The time has come to return the power of government to the states, and through the states, back to the local government and to the people. It is the usurpation of power by the federal government which has created a bloated bureaucracy that harasses our citizens and threatens the economic stability of our nation.

Reams of regulations flow from the Washington bureaucrats, designed to control every aspect of our lives. We must stem this tide of red tape before we lose all our individual freedom.

We should begin again to encourage American ingenuity and that marvelous incentive to production, the profit motive, so we can get our economy moving again.

Let's quit tinkering with a free enterprise system which has given this nation the highest standard of living in the history of mankind.

What of inflation, the cruelest tax of all? Unless those in Washington finally learn that inflation is a result of government spending more than it takes in, we will never defeat this vicious economic enemy.

You and I have to live within a budget, yet our Federal Government has failed to balance its own budget for 17 consecutive years! We as a nation cannot afford to provide all things to all people either at home or abroad. Our government must begin assigning priorities and trimming when and where necessary.

The time has come to cut the fat out of federal spending, balance our budget, and begin paying off our massive federal deficit.

It can be accomplished. In California, we took over a state government that was spending a million dollars a day more than it was taking in and heading toward a bankruptcy similar to that now being faced by New York City (but on an even greater scale).

Against the will of an entrenched bureaucracy, we balanced the budget and returned an \$850 million surplus to the people. In total, during my eight years as Governor,

we returned to the people in rebates, tax reductions, and bridge toll reductions \$5.7 billion.

A truly free society is also a safe society. Our courts must stop pampering cold-blooded killers and terrorists. Quite simply, we must return law and order to our streets. We must appoint judges who crack down on the lawbreaker, not the law-abiding citizen.

Repeat offenders must be kept off the streets, and capital punishment must be restored in cases of vicious and premeditated murder. We must return to the concept of swift and sure punishment meted by judges as concerned about the rights of the victim as they are about the rights of the accused.

Welfare, like crime, has gotten out of hand. Programs such as food stamps have become national disgraces.

When I became Governor of California, our state welfare rolls were increasing at the rate of 40,000 per month. Despite opposition from the bureaucracy, the professional welfarists, and the politicians, we were able to implement reforms which resulted in a massive overhaul of the welfare system.

U As a result, when I left office in 1974, there were 400,000 fewer individuals on welfare than when I took office eight years earlier, yet truly needy individuals had received substantial increases in benefits.

I believe the same basic changes and reforms can be made in the federal welfare system, but it will never be done by those in the federal bureaucracy who, because they are a part of the Washington establishment, have a vested interest in keeping government big and wasteful.

In the area of foreign policy, I firmly believe that the United States must protect its own interests. Frankly, I'm skeptical of some of the things we've been doing, or seem close to doing.

Has the free world anything to gain by our recognizing the repressive dictatorships of Cuba or Communist China? Can we afford to give control of the Panama Canal to an antagonistic and unstable Panamanian dictatorship?

What does detente really mean? What are we getting in return when we make "deals" with the Soviet Union?

Have the Communists changed? Can they be trusted? I don't like the answers I come up with.

I believe that in order to guarantee the national security of the United States our strategic military strength must be second to none. And at home we must preserve our institutions which guard against domestic subversion.

We've got a lot of things to be proud of in this country. And I think we'd better start using them as a foundation on which to build. When was the last time you read a newspaper article or saw a television show that talked about the rugged American spirit that doesn't quit or the amazing Yankee ingenuity that built this great nation?

A few weeks ago, I proposed a plan that would transfer to the states those programs that can be better handled on the local level. Some of the major areas affected would be welfare, education, housing, and community development.

All of these activities have become strangled in the Washington bureaucracy. Not only could they be dealt with better at the state level, but the federal income tax burden of every American would be reduced by an average of 23 per cent, adding tremendously to everyone's personal purchasing power.

Besides these gains, we could balance our national budget and begin to pay off the staggering national debt. Interest rates would fall and government would stop competing for private capital. The result would be large increases in building, investments and new jobs.

The time is long past when we can count on someone else to do the job that must be done. It is we who must begin the important task of returning government back into the hands of the people.

I am a candidate for President because I firmly believe that the time has come to get government out of the lives of the citizens.

I am totally committed to that task, and with your help and the guidance of Divine Providence, I am convinced that we will succeed.

Today, I ask for your support. Because big business, big labor and big bureaucracy are all dedicated to

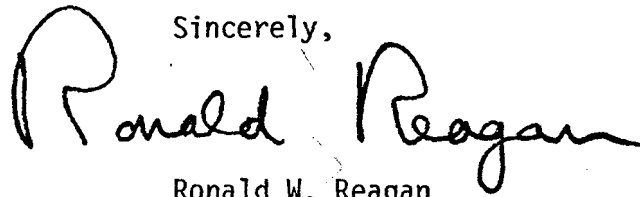
maintaining the status quo, I must count entirely upon the generous financial support of thousands of Americans such as yourself, who are the unwilling victims of this cabal.

If you believe in our cause, then I ask you to send your contribution today. If we are to succeed in the early primaries then I will need your immediate support.

Whatever you can send will be sincerely appreciated and wisely spent. Your dollars may well spell the difference between success or defeat.

I know I can count on your help in this critical effort. Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ronald Reagan". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial 'R'.

Ronald W. Reagan

RWR/kme

P.S. The early polls which I have seen are very encouraging. I am confident that with enough financial support and volunteer effort we will achieve the victory the citizens of our great nation want & need.

Sent to Gov. Ray
1/19/76

Excerpts of remarks of Former Governor Reagan to the
Southern Republican Conference Banquet, Houston, Texas,
December 13, 1975:

"The Soviet Union continues to outspend us in armaments,
by 60% in nuclear weapons and 25% in conventional weapons.
It is obvious they are building not a defensive force, but
one designed for offense. In order to do this they must
forego production of consumer goods and even food for their
own people. In other words, their vaunted economic system,
the utopia of Karl Marx, cannot provide guns and butter.
We, and our free world allies, should face the questions of
whether we are not contributing to the slavery of their
people as well as danger to ourselves by bailing out their
creaking, incompetent system, when it finds itself in trouble.
Would they, without our help, have to abandon arms building
in order to feed their people or face the possibility of an
uprising and revolution by a desperate, hungry populus?
If the answer to this is yes, then we are faced with a
question of national security and pure moral principle.
If our decision is on the side of morality and security,
we cannot ask the farmer to bear the full burden. We, as
a nation, would have to think of his produce as a part of the
national defense and be prepared to offer a market for
what he raises. Perhaps it could even be stored for
future sale when and if the Soviet Union chooses real
detente and abandons its buildup of offensive weapons."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Received by phone from

Agnes Waldron

4:00 p.m.

Jan Van
Nato

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: JIM CONNOR

SUBJECT: Proposed letter from Jim Cannon
to Iowa State Education Association
as requested by President Ford Committee

In view of the concerns raised in your memo of December 24th, we have sent Jim Cannon's proposed letter over to the PFC to be used as a response from the PFC to the Iowa State Education Association. The body of the letter was sent without the salutation and without the signature so that it does not show as a response from Jim Cannon.

cc: Jim Cannon with original letter

File — PFC
~~76~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 29, 1975

TO: ED TERRILL

FROM: JIM CONNOR

On December 10 you wrote to Dick Cheney with regard to the Iowa Political Action Committee for Education's questionnaire. I regret there has been a delay in responding to your request.

Attached is a draft response to the Iowa Committee which it is suggested you send out under the signature of the appropriate official at the PFC. Since the original request was sent to the PFC, it would appear appropriate for the response to go out under PFC letterhead. Also attached is the correspondence file.

Encl.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM CONNOR

FROM:

PHIL BUCHEN

Jim Cannon has brought to my attention the attached materials relating to a request by Mr. George Brown of the Iowa State Education Association to the President Ford Committee concerning questions by that Association to Presidential candidates on national education issues.

It seems to me that inquiries like this to the PFC should carry a response from the PFC rather than from someone in the White House; although, it is appropriate that advice on how to answer particular inquiries based on the President's views on particular issues be supplied by knowledgeable people from within the White House. However, to the extent there is White House involvement, we should avoid participation by people who are subject to the Hatch Act such as Jim Cavanaugh.

Among the issues to be discussed with Bob Visser are the procedures to be followed in cases like this, because presumably there will be other instances where various interest groups inquire of the PFC about the President's views on particular subjects. For that purpose, one person in the White House who is not subject to the Hatch Act should be designated to be the contact person to supply to someone at the PFC the relevant information on the President's policy position. Although Jim Cannon is on the White House roles and therefore is not subject to the Hatch Act, members of his staff who work on such matters are subject to the Act.

In the present instance, a proposed reply to Mr. Brown has been prepared for Jim Cannon's signature and a copy of this draft is attached. Someone at the PFC could take this draft and appropriately reword it to be used as a letter from the PFC to Mr. Brown.

I might add that this situation is different from one where the organization writes directly to the President requesting the Administration's position on issues that have a political impact. A White House response in such cases is, of course, appropriate.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CAVANAUGH
FROM: JIM CONNOR

As you will note from the attached, Dick Cheney has asked that you handle the attached as soon as possible. I'd appreciate it if you would let me know what happens. Thanks.

encl.

Material from PFC

cmte re National Education Issues in Iowa

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Brown:

I am pleased to respond to your recent inquiry asking for comment on a number of issues of interest to your membership. There is just no question that we are all indebted to the large number of truly dedicated teachers who serve our Nation well. Teachers, as leaders in our communities, are concerned with public policy development and I can well appreciate your interest in knowing of the Administration's thoughts.

A good education for all children is clearly a priority concern for this Nation. By law and tradition, however, the primary responsibility for support for elementary and secondary education rests at the State and local level. The Federal government plays, as it should, a key role in assuring equality of educational opportunity. It also provides funds for research and demonstration projects which are of national significance and it helps State and local officials enhance their own capacity to serve their students well.

We do not believe the Federal government should provide as much as one-third of the cost of all public elementary and secondary education. Aside from economic and budgetary considerations, a substantially greater Federal contribution would likely lead to more Federal involvement in local education decisions and this is hardly desirable.

We must not raise expectations beyond what we reasonably believe we can achieve, and a Federal contribution on the order of one-third of all the costs of elementary and secondary education is not likely. This does not bespeak any lack of commitment to the educational needs of our society. On the contrary, we believe the Federal government must assume a leadership role. We do not believe, however, that more Federal dollars is the only, or best, answer.

We share the concern about the importance of retraining teachers to specialize in areas such as the needs of the handicapped and have encouraged and supported such efforts. We believe that the primary focus for such efforts should be at the State and local level. The Federal government is giving money to states to help them in their retraining efforts. Given the constraints of the economy and the need for fiscal responsibility in budget matters we could not support significant new Federal spending in these areas.

We are sensitive to the problem of pension portability and, in particular, the situation which faces many teachers who have served in more than one state. This is a question which clearly does merit careful study and the Congress has initiated a review under the Pension Reform Act of the whole subject of pension portability, as well as a comprehensive study of all retirement plans for public employees. I understand the results of the Congressional study should be available next year. We believe we should await the results of that Congressional study before advocating specific action.

Since education is primarily a State responsibility, we see the question of collective bargaining rights for teachers as a matter of more proper concern for the States. A number of States have taken action on this issue in recent years. Others are considering doing so now and will have, to their advantage, the opportunity to review the experience of a variety of different approaches.

The question of a separate Cabinet level Department of Education has been raised on a number of occasions. The President has indicated that although he is presently disinclined to create a separate Cabinet level Department of Education, he is prepared to listen to those who wish to advance such a proposal. The interrelationship between the programs of the Education part of HEW and those of the Health and Welfare sections is considerable and there is much to be said for a coordinated approach to the "people programs" of the government. Legislation has been introduced to reorganize the Education part of HEW and the Administration intends to work closely with the Congress to achieve appropriate reorganization. Since education is so important in our national life, we want to see the organizational structure in HEW strengthened.

Sex-stereotyping and discrimination against women are both totally unacceptable. The Department of HEW has recently promulgated regulations to implement Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 to insure there is no discrimination on the basis of sex in programs receiving Federal financial assistance. The Department of Labor has redescribed the job categories in its indexing of jobs to remove sex-descriptive labels.

It is important that the Federal government, by its own actions, set the example and make clear that sex-stereotyping is not acceptable. The Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, appointed by the President, is exploring the question of sex-stereotyping as part of its effort to advise the Commissioner of Education.

Finally, let me say we have devoted considerable effort to working on the problem of national health insurance. This is something that has to be thought out very carefully and there is a mood in Congress, as well, to be somewhat more cautious. We believe, however, that whatever approach is finally adopted, it should place primary reliance on the private sector.

I welcome the opportunity to share our views with your membership.

Sincerely,

James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

Mr. George B. Brown
Iowa State Education Association
4025 Tonawanda Drive
Des Moines, Iowa 50312

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. George B. Brown
Iowa State Education Association
4025 Tonawanda Drive
Des Moines, Iowa 50312

DOMESTIC COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			LOG NBR
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR	
12	15	12	15	12	7501380

REFERENCE:

 WHSS _____
 OTHER _____

 TO: PRES
 V.P.
 CANNON
 DUNHAM
 CAVANAUGH
 EX. SEC
 OTHER _____

 FROM: CANNON
 DUNHAM
 CAVANAUGH
 WHSS
 OTHER *Lissy*

 INITIAL ACTION OFFICER *Lissy* SPECIAL CODE _____

 SUBJECT: *Funds reply to Gov Brown Iowa State Educ Assoc
 & encasing to Ed Terrell & D Cheney per request*

LEAD DEPT/AGENCY: _____

SOURCE/DESCRIPTION

DISTR/INITIAL ACTION ASSIGNMENT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION

	ACTION	REC CY FOR
ADVANCE CYS TO JMC		
DEPUTY DIR - POLICY AND RG		
DEPUTY DIR - OPERATIONS		
STAFF SECRETARY		
HEALTH, SOC SCTY AND PUB. ASST.		
CRIME, JUSTICE, CIVIL RTS. AND COMM.		
HOUSING AND COMM'TY AFFAIRS		
ENVIRONMENT		
AGRIC. ECON DEV AND COMMERCE		
LABOR, EDUC. AND VETERANS	<i>✓</i>	
ENERGY AND TRANSPORTATION		
GENERAL GOVERNMENT		
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS		
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT		

ACTION REQUIRED

 MEMO FOR PRES (_____)
 MEMO FOR JMC (_____)
 REPLY FOR *JMC* *✓* (_____)
 APPROPRIATE ACTION (_____)
 ANY ACTION NECESSARY? (_____)
 MEMO: FROM _____ TO: _____ (_____)
 JOINT MEMO (_____)
 REFER TO: _____ (_____)
 FOR: _____ (_____)
 CONCURRENCE (_____)
 _____ (_____)

COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)

DUE

DATES

DUE: _____ AM/PM LDA _____ AM/PM

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
12/15 <i>mon</i>	<i>Lissy Cannon</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Ignored</i>	<i>(due Dec 22 3pm)</i>	
				<i>Computer has closed.</i>	

EXEC SEC DISP INSTR

 DISPATCH _____
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS _____
 NOTIFY _____ AND DATE _____ BY _____
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION _____
 CROSS REF W/ _____
 SUSPENSE COPY ATTACHED _____

FILE RQMTS:

 SA WHCF
 CA DCES
 DY

CRT ID

 OPEN _____
 CLOSE _____