### The original documents are located in Box G05, folder "Reagan, Ronald, 1/1976-2/1976 (1)" of the President Ford Committee Campaign Records at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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January 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

BO CALLAWAY FRED SLIGHT

Reagan's Proposed \$90 Billion Plan and Its Impact On New Hampshire

In follow-up to my memorandum to you of December 30, 1975, I attach a breakdown of actual Federal outlays in New Hampshire for FY 1975, which would appear to be affected by Ronald Reagan's proposal to reduce the FY 1976 budget by \$90 billion.

Several observations are warranted:

- 1. Reagan's proposal has been "floated" but not released, consequently the specifics which are necessary for a thorough and accurate analysis are non-existent.
- Our understanding of the proposal's elements is based on news articles such as those authored by Stout, Ottenad, and Buchanan.
- 3. Actual state outlays for FY '76 will not be available for almost another 12 months, therefore Reagan's plan has been evaluated on the basis of its apparent impact on the FY '75 disbursements.

Using the conclusions of Dick Stout in terms of programs terminated or drastically altered by the Reagan proposal, approximately \$27,694,000 in Federal funds to New Hampshire in FY '75 would have been affected. This figure is especially significant given the fact that New Hampshire's state budget this year is only \$330.4 million. Let me emphasize that this is probably a conservative figure as an additional \$85,045,000 could very well be involved in part or in whole. Programs that would appear to be directly impacted on are indicated with an asterisk (\*).

Before we go public with any of this, I think it is crucial that these figures and conclusions be reviewed by appropriate individuals. This can be an added topic for tomorrow's meeting.

Attachments

cc: Stu Spencer Bob Marik Peter Kaye Bruce Wagner



## ACTUAL FEDERAL OUTLAYS TO NEW HAMPSHIRE FOR FISCAL YEAR 1975

## I. EDUCATION, MANPOWER, & SOCIAL SERVICES

B

	Department	of Health, Education & Welfare
Amount		Program Category
<b>★</b> \$1,087,000 65,000		Child Development Head Start Educ. Deprived Children Urban & Rural School Grants
378,000 84,000		Educ. Deprived Children Handicapped Educ. Deprived Children In State Institutions
150,000		Educ. Deprived Children State Adminis- tration
2,744,000 95,000		Educ. Deprived Children LEAS Upward Bound
(\$	4,603,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
\$ 392,000 20,000 65,000		Handicapped Pre-School & School Programs Handicapped Teacher Education Handicapped Early Childhood Assistance
(\$	477,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
\$ 205,000 225,000 12,000 2,333,000 30,000 111,000 22,000 * 39,000	2,977,000 -	<pre>Higher Educ Land Grant Colleges &amp; Universities Higher Educ Strengthening Develop. Inst. Higher Educ State Post Secondary Educ. Higher Educ Work Study Higher Educ Cooperative Education Higher Educ Graduate Facilities Higher Educ (other outlays from OE) Special Services Disadv. Students in Higher Education SUB-TOTAL)</pre>
\$ 14,000 2,563,000 119,000 1,606,000		National Defense Student Loan Cancell. National Direct Student Loans Student Loan Insurance Fund Supple. Education Opportunity Grants
(\$	4,302,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
\$ 37,000 2,998,000 2,000		Rehabilitation Services & Facilities Special Projects Rehabilitation Services & Facilities Basic Support Rehabilitation Training
(\$	3,037,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )

11

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I. EDUCATION, MANPOWER, & SOCIAL SERVICES (cont'd)

Department of Health, Education & Welfare (cont'd) <u>Amount(cont'd)</u> <u>Program Category(cont'd)</u> \$ 694,000 Special Programs for the Aging (\$ 694,000 - SUB-TOTAL) \$16,090,000 ----- TOTAL (H.E.W.)

II. COMMUNITY & REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

			Department of Commerce	
A	mount		Program Category	
*\$	619,000 115,000	•• •••	Regional Action Planning Commission Economic Develop. Administration (Dev. Grants & T/A)	
\$	734,000		TOTAL	
			ACTION	

Ar	nount	Program Category	
*\$	30,000	Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)	
\$	30,000	 TOTAL	

## Community Services Administration

Amount

### Program Category

*\$	855,000	Community Action
	150,000	Community Economic Development
*	155,000	Community Food and Nutrition
*	308,000	Emergency Energy Conservation
*	350,000	Legal Services
*	146,000	State Economic Offices
*	28,000	Summer Youth Recreation

\$1,992,000 -----

TOTAL

III. COMMERCE & TRANSPORTATION

#### U.S. Postal Service

Amount	Program Category
	0

\$46,263,000 Postal Fund

\$46,263,000 ----- TOTAL

#### Department of Transportation

Amount	Program Category
408,000 1,318,000	Grants-in-Aid for Airports Urban Mass Transportation Fund
\$ 1,726,000	TOTAL

Department of Agriculture

#### Program Category

*\$	151,000	Watershed Works of Improvement
*	85,000	Resource Conservation & Develop. Operations
*	179,000	Resource Conservation & Development
*	212,000	River Basins Surveys & Investigations
*	547,000	Soil and Water Conservation
**	131,000	Soil Survey
*	125,000	Watershed Planning
×	379,000	Watershed & Flood Prevention Oper.

\$ 1,809,000 ----- TOTAL

Department of Interior

<u>Amount</u> \*\$ 38,000

Amount

Program Category

Construction, Corps of Engineers (Civil)

\$ 38,000 ----- TOTAL

#### IV. INCOME SECURITY

Department of Agriculture

#### Amount

Program Category

\*\$11,434,000
\* 537,000

Food Stamp Bonus Coupons Other Food Stamp Program Costs



1

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#### IV. INCOME SECURITY (cont'd)

#### Department of Agriculture (cont'd)

Program Category (cont'd) Amount (cont'd) \*\$ 3,318,000 National School Lunch Program (Cash) 207,000 Non-Food Assistance to Schools 16,000 Food Distribution -- Other Program Costs 88,000 School Breakfast Program 199,000 743,000 42,000 Special Food Service Program for Children Special Milk Program Supple. Food -- Women, Infants & Children State Administrative Services (FNS) 36,000 \$16,620,000 TOTAL

#### Department of Labor

A	mount		Program Category
<b>₩</b> \$	85,000	••	Food Stamps Assistance
\$	85,000		TOTAL

V. LAW ENFORCEMENT & JUSTICE

- A	Department of Justice
Amount	Program Category
*\$ 3,006,000	Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Grants
\$ 3,006,000	<u>TOTAL</u>
VI. REVENUE SHARING	
	Department of the Treasury
Amount	Program Category
\$19,953,000	Local Assistance to State and Local Governments

\$19,953,000 TOTAL

11

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## VII. NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Dollar amounts in this category not capable of being calculated.)

## VIII. HEALTH

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• .	<u>D</u>	epartment o	of Health, Education & Welfare
A	mount		Program Category
<b>*</b> \$	735,000 48,000 292,000 *8,000 56,000 45,000		Health Facilities Construction Grants Health Maintenance Organization Service Health Professions Capitation Grants Health Professions Scholarships Health Professions Student Loans Health Services Develop Project Grants
	( \$1	,184,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
*\$	100,000 531,000 58,000 592,000		Mental Health Hospital Improvement Grants Mental Health Training Grants Mental Health Children Services Mental Health Community Mental Health Centers
	463,000		Mental Health Research Grants
	( \$1	,744,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
\$	203,000 32,000 125,000 *34,000 89,000		Nurse Train Improvement Special Projects Nurse Traineeships Nursing Capitation Grants Nursing Scholarships Nursing Student Loans
	(\$	483,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
*	316,000 666,000		Family Planning Projects Maternal and Child Health Services
	(\$	982,000 -	SUB-TOTAL )
\$4	,393,000		TOTAL (H.E.W.)

11 FOR

January 6, 1976

John Breen ---

de.

The following figures are based on news reports of Reagan's plan and how programs would be altered or terminated.

They are based on the FY 1975 disbursements.

On this basis, about \$27,694,000 in federal funds to New Hampshire would be affected. This year's state budget is \$415.1 million. However, an additional \$85,045,000 could be involved. The programs directly involved are indicated with an asterisk (\*).

FO

# REAGAN/WALLACE IN '76?

Dear Friend,

What role should American conservatives play in the 1976 elections? You must help answer this important question.

The answer you give...the conclusion reached on this extremely crucial issue by the Conservative Movement may determine the future of our free society.

The very foundations of our nation are under severe attack. Time is running out. But there is hope.

All across the nation, conservatives are beginning to organize and plan for the 1976 elections. They are working now to insure the election of a conservative to the Presidency of the United States!

They realize that freedom in America hangs in the balance.

That is why Young Americans for Freedom recently cosponsored a Political Action Conference in Washington, D.C. At this meeting, more than 500 conservative leaders from every state in the nation gathered to chart a course of action for the 1976 elections.

The delegates listened to conservative favorite Ronald Reagan and they organized the COMMITTEE ON CONSER-VATIVE ALTERNATIVES.

I am privileged to serve on this Committee headed by U.S. Senator Jesse Helms which includes active supporters of Alabama Governor George Wallace and Ronald Reagan.

One of the most important tasks of this Committee is to reach a decision on the following question:

HAS THE TIME COME FOR CONSERVATIVES TO FORM A NEW CONSERVATIVE PARTY?

The answer reached by this Committee may well determine the fate of our nation. I want you to participate in this decision. I will present your views and those of other American conservatives directly to the Committee.

The Committee is already meeting to make its decision. For that reason, <u>I urge you to complete the enclosed poll</u> and return it to me at once.

We are putting absolute top priority on the tabulation of these polls in order that conservatives from across the nation may have a voice in this crucial issue.

So...complete the enclosed poll and do me one more favor...include your check payable to the CONSERVATIVE MOVE-MENT FUND.

Young Americans for Freedom has created this Fund to underwrite the cost of organizing conservatives across the nation and to poll thousands of conservatives for their answer to the enclosed question.

We must face the fact that unless the essential organizational work is completed now, conservatives cannot be successful in the 1976 elections.

PLEASE...give my request top priority. Complete the enclosed poll, and return it along with your contribution to the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT FUND.

Remember. The months are slipping by. Time is very short. Whatever you can send, \$10 or \$1,000 (or more!) is urgently needed today!

The conclusion reached by American conservatives on this issue and the extent of funds received may well determine the future of our nation.

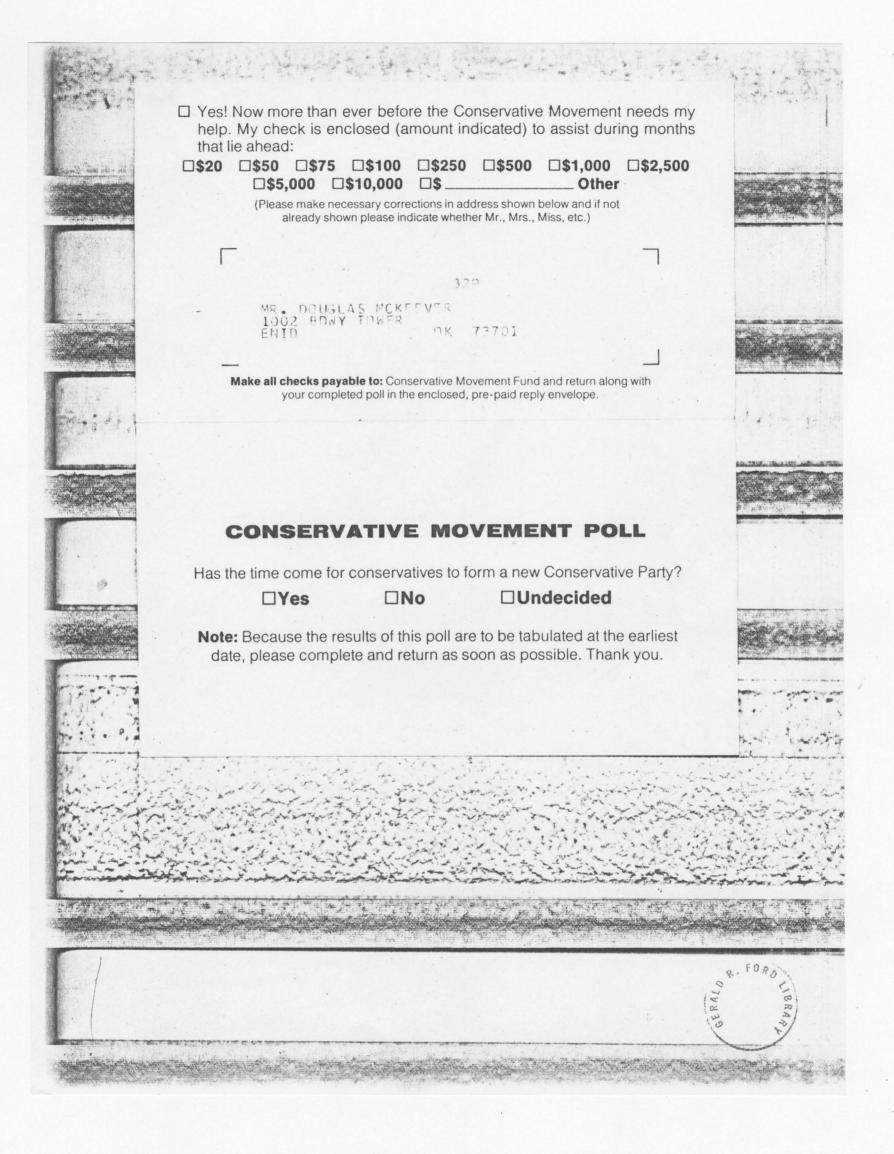
Sincerely,

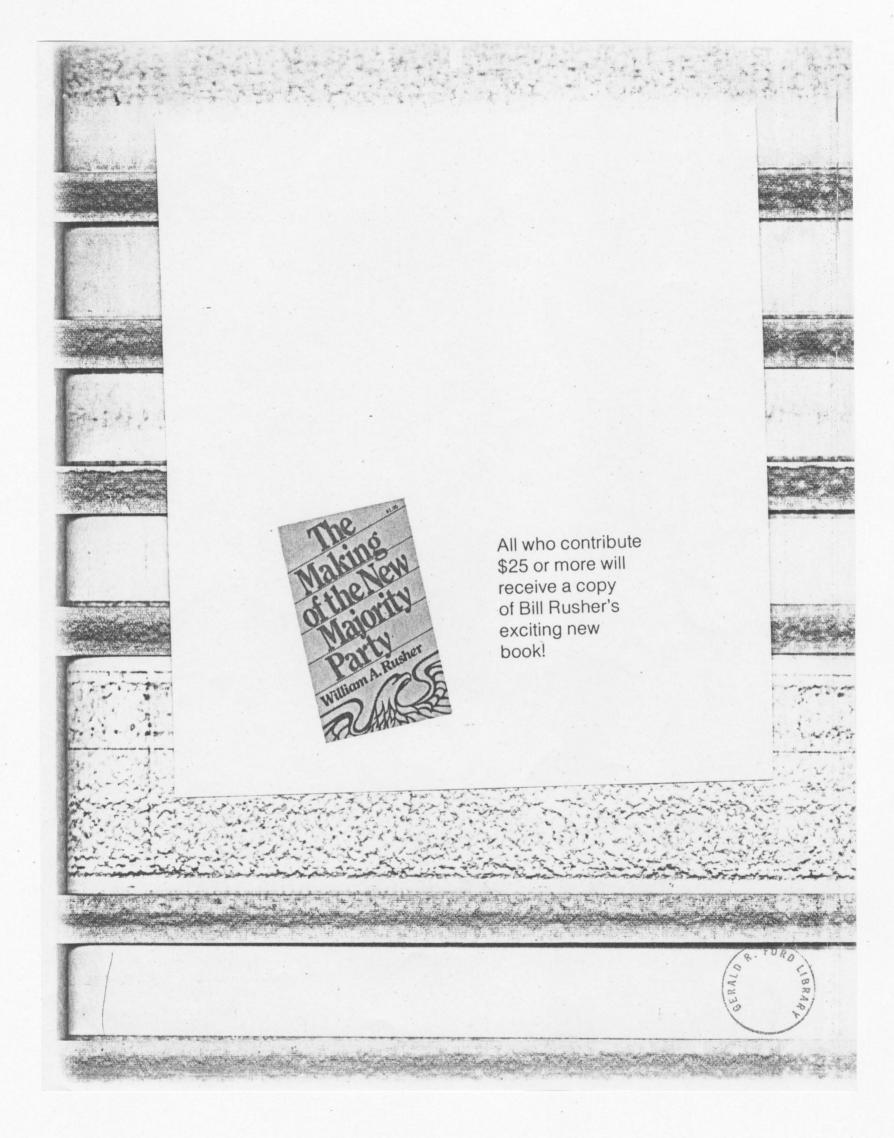
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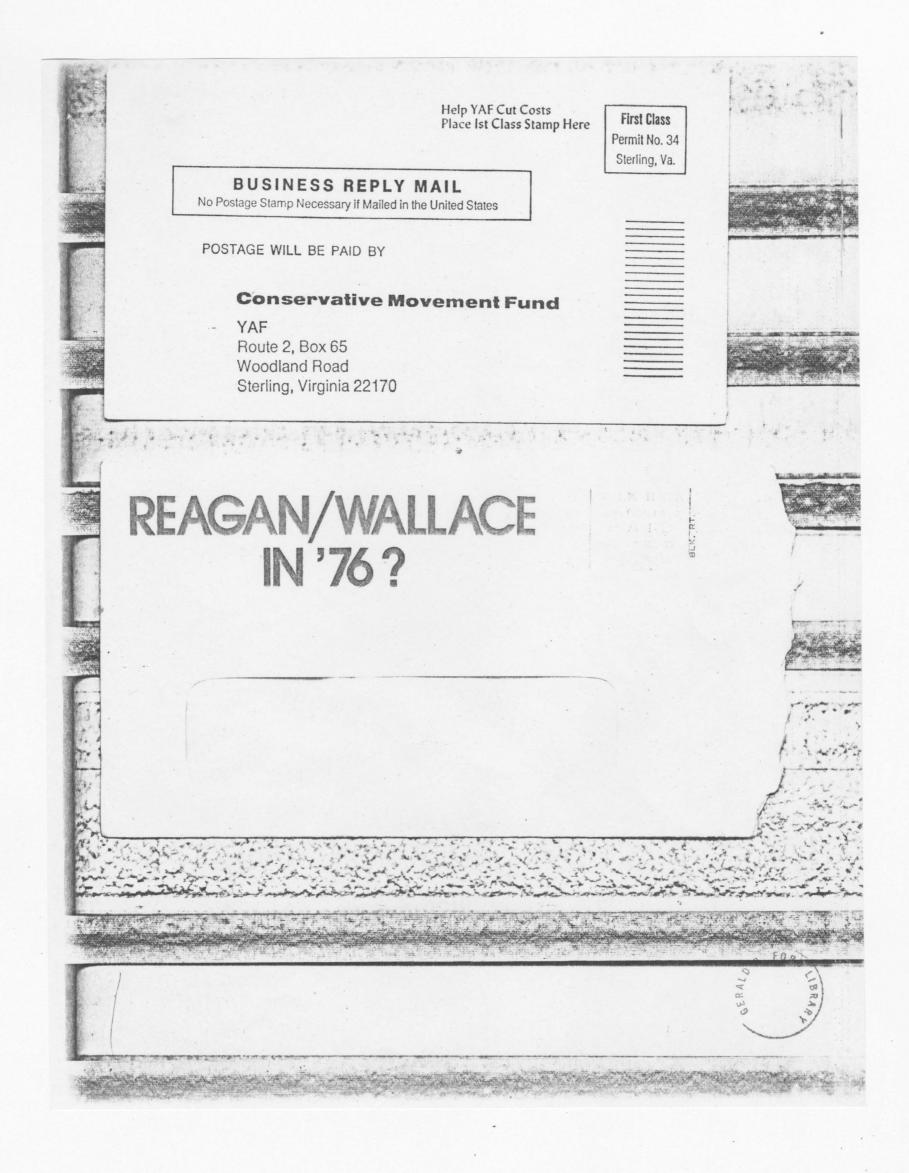
Ronald F. Docksai YAF National Chairman

P.S. In order that you may keep informed on the state of the Conservative Movement and the decision reached on the enclosed question, I am going to put your name on the list to receive a special issue of the YAF newsletter <u>Dialogue</u> which will report on these events. <u>However</u>, in order for me to do so you <u>must complete and return the enclosed poll</u>. <u>Please do it today</u>. Thank you.

P.P.S. I am going to send a copy of William Rusher's exciting new book, "The Making of the New Majority Party" to all donors of \$25 or more.



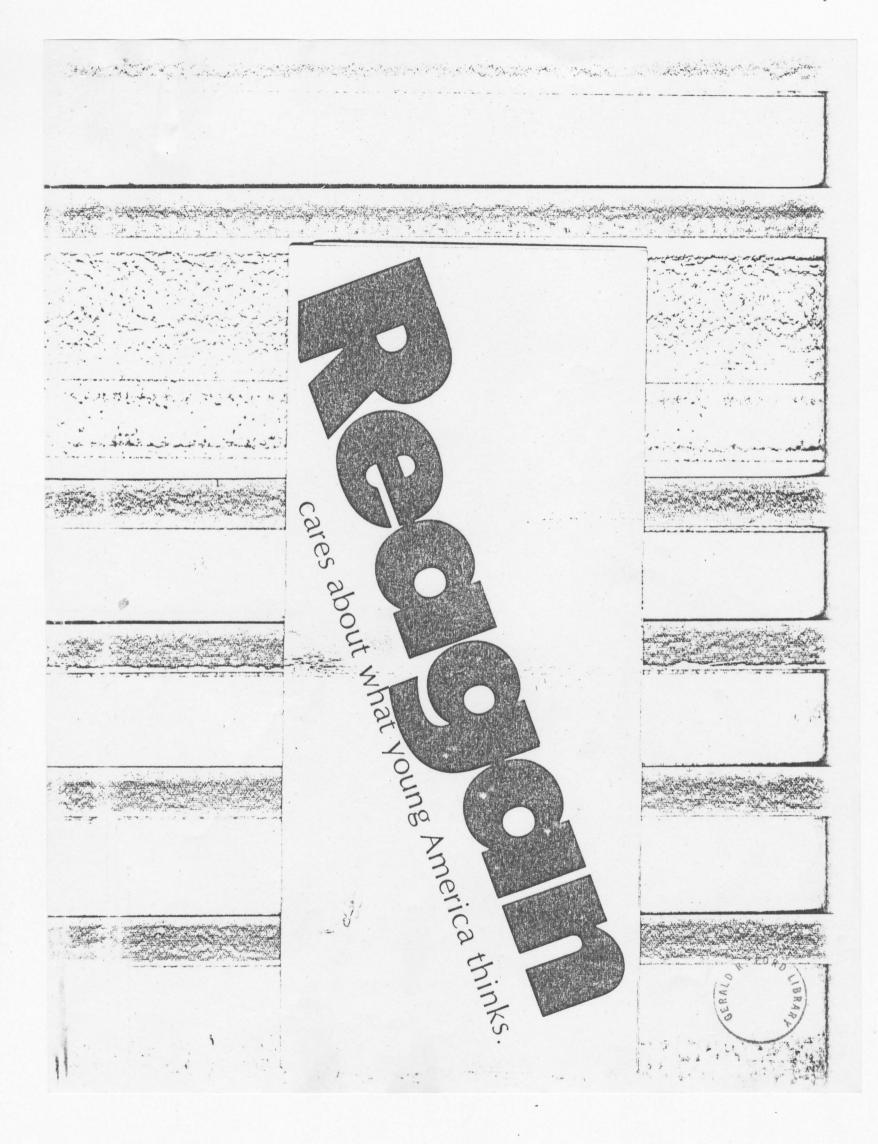


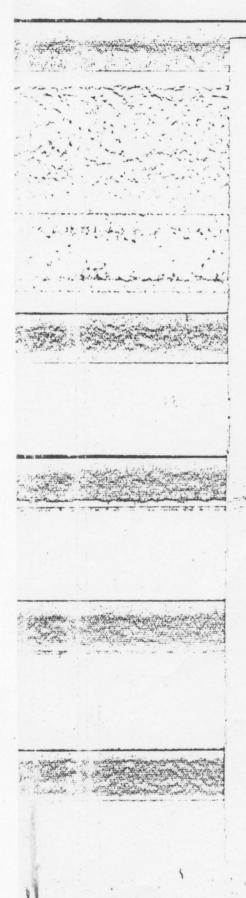


January 14, 1976 TO: PETER KAYE FROM: FRED SLIGHT

Attached is a copy of a brochure which the Reagan Committee has recently prepared and which will probably be circulated in mass at the YRLC.







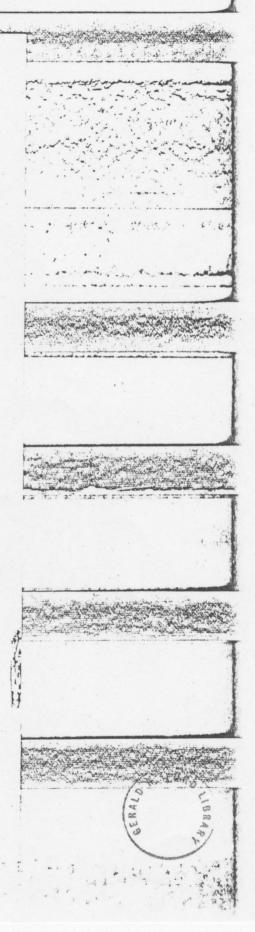
1976 is supposed to be a great year for America. At home, there aren't enough jobs for young people. Senseless government quotas and bureaucracy threaten to strangle our economic and personal freedom. Every day our government becomes less and less deserving of our trust, and more and more unconcerned with our real needs.

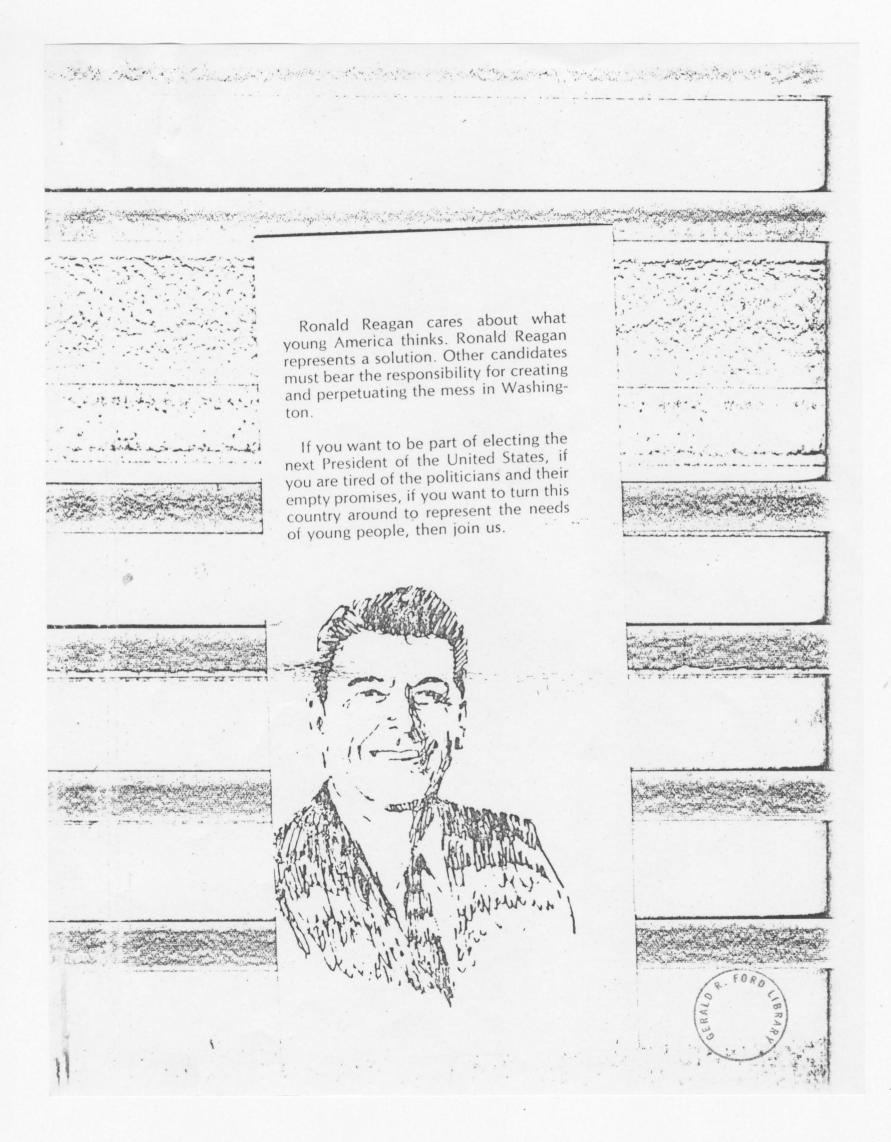
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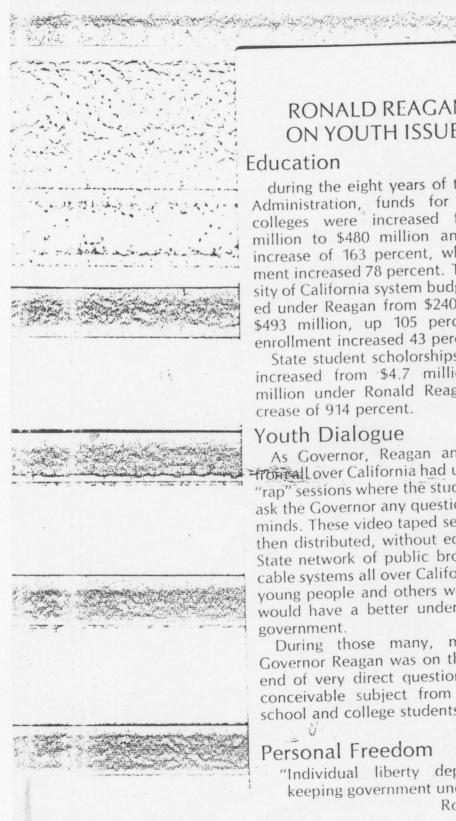
It seems as if no one in government really cares anymore, particularly about the needs of young people. Jobs, individual liberty, faith in government, have all become cliches for politicians to use in their campaigns, and forget after their election.

A recent national poll showed that the number of young people who think our government is run by special interests, believe government doesn't care what they think, and who have lost faith in our elected officials has doubled in the last ten years.

In California, Ronald Reagan said he was going to reverse the trend toward bigger and more expensive government, and he did. Ronald Reagan said he was going to make government more responsive to young people, and he did.







# RONALD REAGAN ON YOUTH ISSUES

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## Education

during the eight years of the Reagan Administration, funds for the State colleges were increased from \$167 million to \$480 million annually, an increase of 163 percent, while enrollment increased 78 percent. The University of California system budget increased under Reagan from \$240 million to \$493 million, up 105 percent, while enrollment increased 43 percent.

State student scholorships and loans increased from \$4.7 million to \$43 million under Ronald Reagan, an increase of 914 percent.

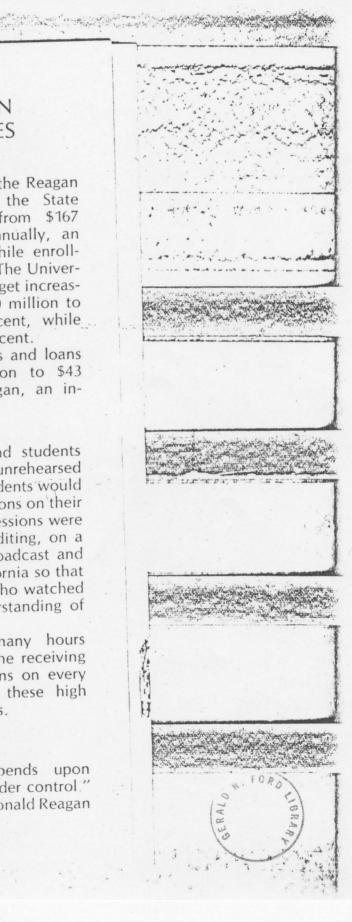
# Youth Dialogue

As Governor, Reagan and students fromal over California had unrehearsed "rap" sessions where the students would ask the Governor any questions on their minds. These video taped sessions were then distributed, without editing, on a State network of public broadcast and cable systems all over California so that young people and others who watched would have a better understanding of government.

During those many, many hours Governor Reagan was on the receiving end of very direct questions on every conceivable subject from these high school and college students.

# Personal Freedom

"Individual liberty depends upon keeping government under control." **Ronald Reagan** 



# Mail this form to: YOUTH DIVISION-CITIZENS FOR REAGAN 1835 K Street NW; Washington, D.C. 20006

□ Yes, I want to help elect Ronald Reagan.

Name\_\_\_\_\_

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GERAI

44981

and the state

12.00

School Mailing Address\_

Permanent Home Address

School Phone\_

 Yes, I want to set up a Youth for Reagan Unit in my town/campus.
 Please forward names of other young people who support Ronald Reagan. You will receive official YFR materials and instructions.

# What can you do?

- You can join thousands of other young Americans and work for 'Ronald Reagan, right in your own area. We'll tell you how.
- You will be able to play a vital role in winning your state for Ronald Reagan by helping your statewide Citi-----zens for Reagan committee.
- You will receive special Youth for Reagan leadership memos, organizational manuals and campaign materials to maximize your effectiveness in your town or campus.
- You can be an important part of the most exciting and challenging Presidential Campaign in this century.
- You can work for Ronald Reagan at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City.

## YOUTH DIVISION CITIZENS FOR REAGAN 1835 K Street NW Washington, D.C. 20006

Paid for by the Citizens for Reagan, Sen. Paul Laxale Chin. Henry M. Buchanan, Treas.

P. Kaye

FYI

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# **The Reagan Record**

As a two-term governor of California, one of the largest political entities in the world in terms of both population and budget, Ronald Reagan proved to even the most skeptical that his common sense philosophy of government works. He also demonstrated beyond any doubt that he possesses the leadership and the administrative skill to govern effectively. His accomplishments benefited everyone in the state.

During Ronald Reagan's eight years as governor of California...

- the number of people on the welfare rolls decreased by 400,000, saving taxpayers \$2 billion. At the same time the truly needy received a 30% increase in benefits.
- <u>an inherited \$900 million deficit was</u> turned into a \$500 million surplus.
- in spite of tremendous population growth and a corresponding increase in state services, the size of state government remained virtually unchanged.
- legislation was passed which brought massive tax relief to California's property owners—resulting in a \$378 million saving to homeowners and a \$110 million saving to renters.
- government positions were filled not with political "buddies" but with experienced, highly qualified individuals who were not seeking government careers but could be counted on to tell the governor if they found their job or department unnecessary—which a number of them did.

A recent article in *The Richmond News Leader* described Governor Reagan's record as "astoundingly successful," adding:

"The catalogue of Reagan's accomplishments as governor is important because it is so uncommon. And it suggests that what has been done in California could be done nationally."



Nancy and Ronald Reagan outside their home in California.

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born on February 6, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois. He married the former Nancy Davis in 1952. The couple has two children: a daughter, Patricia Ann, and a son, Ronald Prescott. Reagan also has two other children, Maureen and Michael.

He attended public schools in Illinois and was graduated from Eureka College in Eureka, Illinois, with a degree in economics and sociology. In college he was president of the student body, captain of the swimming team, and a threeyear letterman in football.

A second lieutenant in the U.S. Cavalry Reserve before World War II, he served for four years in the Air Force from 1942 to 1946. He was discharged with the rank of captain.

Ronald Reagan began his career as a sports announcer. He became a film actor in 1937 and appeared in 50 feature pictures and on television. He served as president of the Screen Actors Guild for six terms, and was president of the Motion Picture Industry Council fortwo terms.

He was elected governor of California on November 8, 1966, and was re-elected on November 3, 1970. He did not seek re-election to a third term.

Since leaving office Reagan has done a daily commentary on approximately 300 radio stations, written a syndicated weekly newspaper column and spoken to numerous civic, business and political groups around the nation.

Paid for by Citizens for Reagan.

Chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt, Treasurer, Henry M. Buchanan.

"We must offer progress instead of stagnation; the truth instead of promises; hope and faith instead of defeatism and despair." A statement made by Ronald Reagan at a press conference in Washington, D.C. on November 20, 1975.



#### Thank you for coming.

I've called this press conference to announce that I am a candidate for the Presidency and to ask for the support of all Americans who share my belief that our nation needs to embark on a new, constructive course.

I believe my candidacy will be healthy for the nation and my party.

I am running because I have grown increasingly concerned about the course of events in the United States and in the world.

In just a few years, three vital measures of economic decay-inflation, unemployment, and interest rates-have more

than doubled, at times reaching 10 per cent and even more.

Government at all levels now absorbs more than 44 per cent of our personal income. It has become more intrusive, more coercive, more meddlesome and less effective.



Our access to cheap and abundant energy has been interrupted, and our dependence on foreign sources is growing.

A decade ago, we had military superiority. Today, we are in danger of being surpassed by a nation that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for.



Through détente we have sought peace with our adversaries. We should continue to do so, but must make it plain that we expect a stronger indication that they also seek a lasting peace with us.

In my opinion, the root of these problems lies right here—in Washington, D.C. Our nation's capital has become the seat of a "buddy" system that functions for its own benefit—increasingly insensitive to the needs of the American worker who supports it with his taxes.

Today it is difficult to find leaders who are independent of the forces that have brought us our problems—the Congress, the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, big business and big labor.

If America is to survive and go forward, this must change. It will only change when

the American people vote for a leadership that listens to them, relies on them, and seeks to return government to them. We need a government that is confident not of what *it* can do, but of what the people can do.

For eight years in California, we labored to make government responsive. We worked against high odds—an opposition legislature for most of those years and an obstructive Washington bureaucracy for all of them. We did not always succeed. Nevertheless, we found that fiscal responsibility *is* possible, that the welfare rolls *can* come down, that social problems *can* be met below the Fed-

eral level.

In the coming months I will take this message to the American people. I will talk in detail about responsible, responsible, responsive government. I will tell the people it is they who should decide



how much government they want.

I don't believe for one moment that four more years of business-as-usual in Washington is the answer to our problems and I don't think the American people believe it either.

We, as a people, aren't happy if we are not moving forward. A nation that is growing and thriving is one which will solve its problems. We must offer progress instead of stagnation; the truth instead of promises; hope and faith instead of defeatism and despair. Then, I am sure, the people will make those decisions which will restore confidence in our way of life and release that energy that is the American spirit.



# Did you know?

that during Ronald Reagan's eight years as Governor of California...

- ★ the number of individuals on the welfare rolls decreased by 400,000, while at the same time those truly needy individuals received a 43% increase in benefits!
- a predicted \$750 million deficit became an \$850 million surplus which was then returned to the taxpayers!
- ★ in spite of a tremendous population growth and a corresponding increase in state services, the size of state government remained virtually unchanged!
- ★ a trail-blazing bill was passed which brought massive tax relief to California's property owners resulting in a \$378 million saving to home owners and \$110 million saving to renters!
- ★ swift, decisive action by the Governor prevented radical elements from seizing control of the University of California!

With these and many more solid accomplishments under his belt, it should be readily apparent to everyone that Ronald Reagan is the **one** individual with the expertise, the administrative savy to return the United States to the position of greatness it once occupied.

A Reagan economic policy dictated by restraint will provide top return for our tax dollars as contrasted with the bureaucratic blunders and general ineptness of many previous administrations—America has had enough rampant inflation and crippling recession.

Freedom has enemies—foreign and domestic Ronald Reagan will maintain a constant vigilance to protect American interests at home and abroad. Liberto can exist only if tempered with responsibility.



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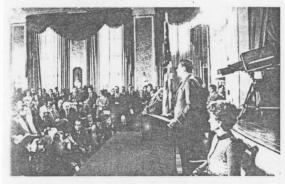
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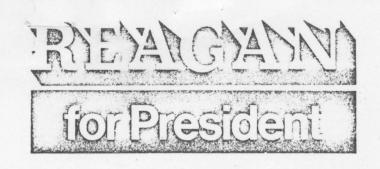
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FLORIDA CITIZENS FOR REAGAN 2715 LEE ROAD • P.O. BOX 1419 WINTER PARK, FL. 32789 305-647-7070

GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN'S

STAND

ON ISSUES

JANUARY 5, 1976

TEDAR GDAN The Spirit of '76!

#### GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN'S STAND ON ISSUES

#### 1. AMERICA

"Three and a half centuries ago, peoples from across the sea began to cross to this great land, searching for freedom and a sense of community they were losing at home. The trickle became a flood, and we spread across a vast, virtually unpeopled continent and caused it to bloom with homesteads, villages, cities, great transportation systems, all the emblems of prosperity and success. We became the most productive people in the history of the world."

"Two hundred years ago, when this process was just beginning, we rebelled when, in our eyes, a mother country turned into a foreign power. We rebelled not to overturn but to preserve what we had, and to keep alive the chance of doing more. We established a republic, because the meaning of a republic is that real leadership comes not from the rulers but from the people, that more happens in a state where the people are the sculptors and not the clay."

"Two hundred years ago it was London that turned into a foreign power. Today, and it is a sad thing to say, it is Washington. The coils woven in that city are entrapping us all, and, as with the Gordian knot, we cannot untie it, we must cut it with one blow of the sword."

#### 2. ABORTION

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Governor Reagan is philosophically opposed to abortion on demand. He allowed modified legislation to become law to cover instances of medical necessity.

#### 3. BALANCED BUDGET

At Governor Reagan's Washington News Conference on November 20, 1975, he was asked:

"Would you accept a \$40 billion deficit next year?"

After outlining some of his ideas for how Federal expenditures should be reduced, Governor Reagan concluded:

"I believe we have no choice. This government must get back as quickly as possible to a balanced budget. I think the only difference between the national government at the moment, and New York City, is the national government has a printing press."



On a recent Florida visit, Governor Reagan commented:

"Yes, you can balance the budget. I have described balancing the budget as difficult, but not impossible. It's like protecting your virtue -- you have to learn to say no!"

#### 4. BUSING

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Governor Reagan is opposed to forced busing. "Busing failed in its intended purposes, and did nothing but cause bitterness on both sides." "It is insulting and demeaning to infer that a black child can only get an education by sitting between two white students.\*" (\*Quotation by a prominent Black leader, used by the Governor in his speeches.)

#### 5. CALIFORNIA RECORD

While Governor Reagan was in office, his policy was one of "cut, squeeze and trim." He froze the hiring of employees as replacements for people retiring and for those leaving state services.

While the state had a tremendous growth rate, government remained essentially the same size. It managed to absorb a work-load increase of as much as sixty-six percent (66%) in some departments, without an increase in taxes.

The Governor inherited a deficit from his Democratic predecessors and turned it into an \$850 million surplus. He then took that money and returned it to the people in a one-time tax rebate.

Due to his good fiscal common sense practices, forty (40) of the state's fifty-eight (58) counties were able to reduce their property taxes.

All of these things he was able to accomplish while working with a hostile Democrat State Assembly.

Critics point to the fact that the actual budget went up thirty percent (30%) while he was in office. These figures are misleading in that over that same eight (8) year period, inflation went up over forty percent (40%), and at that time California was the fastest growing state in the Union.

Governor Reagan gives the following details:

"The California budget did increase during the eight years that I was Governor. But, I think you have to understand that every state has its own system and its own way of doing



things with regard to budgeting. Some states don't show in their budget the same things that others do. Now the truth of the matter is, a great part of California's budget consists of money that must show in the budget as income and outgo because it is collected by the state, but it is then (this great portion of the budget) returned directly in subventions to school districts and to local governments. In the case of California, when we began nine years ago, only one-half of the California budget was in subventions to local government. When we finished, more than two-thirds of the California budget was going back to local government and to the school districts. The actual portion of the budget which runs the state of California, over which was have administrative control or legislative control for that matter, that portion of the budget over a period of eight years, only increased thirty percent (30%). Inflation alone over that period was forty percent (40%). You add to that the fact that California was one of the fastest growing states in the Union and you have the situation that in constant dollars the actual administration of the state of California was costing less at the end of eight years than it did eight years before."

The critics don't like to admit that Reagan's budgets balanced and that his accomplishments were despite the bitter resistance of a hostile legislature and an entrenched bureaucracy. Only the people were on his side!

#### 6. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Governor Reagan is for capital punishment, believing that it is an important deterrent to crime.

#### 7. COMMON SITUS PICKETING

In his nationally syndicated radio broadcast on November 5, 1975, news conference, Governor Reagan took a strong slap at compulsory unionism and how this would be enhanced if President Ford allowed the Common Situs Picketing bill to become law. He said flatly that the bill should be vetoed and concluded: "At stake is a person's right to a living, whether or not he chooses to join a union." President Ford and his Secretary of Labor, John Dunlop, supported the bill, apparently more concerned with pleasing big labor bosses than in protecting the rights of workers. The President then made a 180 degree turnabout and vetoed the bill, only after extreme pressure from adverse public - opinion and the threat of Governor Reagan's soaring popularity in the polls.

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#### 8. CUBA

"According to some estimates, the Soviet Union is spending a million dollars a day to keep Castro afloat, as a result mainly of our trade ban. So the issue is not simply a U.S.-Cuban issue, but a U.S.-Soviet issue as well. My own belief is that if the Soviets want to continue to have Cuba as a political and military base in this hemisphere, they should continue to pay for the privilege."

#### 9. DECENTRALIZATION

"So long as the system continues to function the way it does now, we are going to see expenditures at every level of government soar out of sight. My goal is to reverse this: to tie spending and taxing functions together wherever feasible, so that those who have the pleasure of giving away tax dollars will also have the pain of raising them."

"We can and we must <u>reverse</u> the flow of power to Washington; not simply slow it, or paper over the problem with attractive phrases or cosmetic tinkering. This would give the appearance of change, but would leave the basic machinery untouched. What I propose is nothing less than a systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states -- a program of creative federalism for America's third century."

"The proposals I have outlined will bring howls of pain from those who are benefiting from the present system, and from many more who think they are. But we must turn a deaf ear if this nation and this way of life are to survive."

"The simple fact is the producing class in this nation is being drained of its substance by the non-producers -the taxpayers are being victimized by the tax consumers. We may be sure that those in Washington and elsewhere whose life style depends on consuming other people's earnings while working people struggle to make ends meet, will fight to the last limousine and carpeted anteroom."

#### 10. DEFENSE

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"Some people will always say that when so much destructive power is involved, numbers do not matter. But I've never been able to understand why those who say numbers don't matter are invariably the same people who are most anxious to limit the numbers via a SALT agreement. In the real world, balance of destructive power matters greatly, both factually and psychologically. If we are going to have a SALT II agreement, the President should order his negotiators to get <u>real</u> equality in <u>every</u> area. If not, it would be better to start from scratch."

"When you think about it, of all the functions of government, defense is the only one that is 'uncontrollable' in the sense that our requirements depend wholly on the actions of others. In periods of extreme peril such as World War II, over 90 percent of all federal expenditure went to the military; at other times when there was far less visible threat, it's been less than 10 percent. If we are really serious about getting arms agreements, the only way to do so on the basis of equality is to be ready to surpass the Soviets, should negotiations fail. If the Soviets are sure we'll continue to spend less on defense than they do, they have no rational reason to permit parity in nuclear weapons or any other kind."

He is for a strong defense budget. Some reorganization may be necessary to cut wasteful spending. "You spend what you have to spend to maintain superiority." "If you're second, you're last."

"In general, the Soviets are increasing their investment in defense at a rate of three-to-five percent annually, while we are decreasing our effort by three-to-five percent each year."

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"Their single-minded obsession with military power is even more starkly apparent in their strategic nuclear program. For all we know the security of Europe is intimately bound up in the capabilities of U. S. strategic forces. Soviet planners continue to invest massive resources in every major arena of the nuclear competition."

"They have outdistanced the forecasts of even the most worried observers who all too often were looked upon as unreasoning doom criers. In fact, in the mid '60's we were assured optimistically by many that the Soviets had accepted a position of nuclear inferiority."

"In the later '60's, it was confidently predicted that growth in Soviet strategic forces would stop at parity."

"Today, the motives of the Soviets are being questioned by many analysts who see them investing ever-greater sums in their strategic program with apparently no natural limit short of total superiority."

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"Why? What purpose do they have for their mushrooming nuclear force? Prestige? Diplomatic leverage? Or (and we have to ask this) first strike capability?"

#### 11. DETENTE

"Too often in our pursuit of detente, we act as if a concession on our side is automatically helpful to the process as a whole. But if you think about it, nothing could make detente less meaningful, either to the United States or to the populations of the communist nations, than an unending series of one-sided American concessions. If our adversaries can get what they want -- formal recognition, liberalized trade, technical help, what have you -- without making any modifications in their foreign or domestic policies -- then the basis for true friendship is erased."

"It's only by a change in the nature of communism -a movement away from the policies of aggression abroad and repression at home -- that communism and the west will be able to live together in harmony. If the communists get the prestige and material aid they want without having to change any of their own policies, the seeds of future conflict will be continually nourished, ready to sprout anew with little or no warning."

"We must always remember that the Soviet Union, through the Communist parties of the world, is an international corporation, complete with an extensive apparatus not only of subversion but of public relations. A black eye such as the expulsion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn harmed Soviet interests around the globe. The more we focus our attention on internal Soviet repression, and focus our demands in this area, the better chance that over the years the Soviet society will lose its cruelty and secrecy. Peace could then be ensured, not only because the Soviets fear our deterrent, but because they no longer wish to blot out all who oppose them at home and abroad."

"The general idea was that those discussions would reduce or eliminate the sources of international tension and mutual suspicion. Anticipating the effects of such efforts, every nation of our Alliance has reduced its real efforts in defense ever since and in spite of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Perhaps we've indulged in wishful thinking. Our understanding of detente was evidently not the same as the Soviet's understanding of detente. A few figures make the point. In the three years 1972, '73 and '74:



- -- The Soviets increased their forces deployed in Eastern Europe from 525,000 to 625,000, while both Europe and America reduced theirs.
- -- The Soviets produced 9,000 new Main Battle Tanks; our country produced fewer than 1,400.
- -- The Soviets produced 13,200 armored personnel carriers; we produced 2,500.
- -- The Soviets out-produced us nine-to-one in artillery pieces, 3,600 to 400.
- -- They added ten (10) new divisions; the U.S. added a single brigade -- one-third of a division."

#### 12. EDUCATION

"The United States built the greatest system of public education the world has ever known -- not at the federal level, not even at the state level, but at the level of the local school district. Until a few years ago, the people had direct control over their schools -- how much to spend, what kind of courses to offer, whom to hire. Is it an accident that as this local control gave way to funding and control at the federal and state levels, reading and other test scores have declined? The truth is, a good education depends far more on local control and accountability than on the amount of money spent."

#### 13. ENERGY

"The one thing we shouldn't forget is this: if we relax government controls on natural gas, nuclear plants, oil shale, and offshore drilling, we won't have to talk about invading the Middle East. Instead, we could <u>surpass</u> the Middle East as the world's chief exporter of energy."

Governor Reagan favors incentives for those who would explore and develop new sources of energy. He favors building up our nuclear power plants, gassification of coal and oil and developing solar energy technology. He opposed the Democrat sponsored energy bill recently signed by President Ford. That bill will increase our vulnerability to the OPEC monopoly, through decreased domestic production and increased dependence on imports of at least one million barrels a day. President Ford made another of his

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complete turnarounds on this bill, first opposing and later switching to support it despite the long range damage to our goal of energy independence.

#### 14. EXTREMISM/POLLS

Some of Governor Reagan's opponents are trying to bill him as an extremist. To that he answers that they should look to his California record. There is nothing extremist in the way he ran the state, which is reflected in the fact that he was elected by the people of California -- who represent a diverse range of opinions similar to the entire population of the country, and these same people <u>re</u>-elected him to a second consecutive term.

A California poll taken immediately after he left office showed more than seventy percent (70%) of the California citizens rated him favorably.

More recent national polls show him the frontrunner in the presidential race among both Republican and Independent voters. He obviously appeals to many Democrats too, since the same polls show Governor Reagan leading Democrat contenders nationwide among all voters. His record and philosophy clearly represent the thinking of a broad cross-section majority of Americans. It is common sense and responsible, exactly the opposite of extremist.

#### 15. E.R.A.

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Governor Reagan has endorsed strong statutory legislation to correct any remaining legal inequalities between the sexes. He does not believe a constitutional amendment (ERA) is the answer to the problem. The amendment is open to too broad an interpretation by the Supreme Court, and he feels that in the long run it would take away privileges currently provided to women. (Example: factory privileges and certain other working provisions which would be eliminated on the grounds of discrimination against men.) Governor Reagan feels the ERA would "open a Pandora's Box."

#### 16. FEDERALISM

"This country is bursting with ideas and creativity, but a government run by bureaucrats in Washington has no way to respond. If we send the power back to the states and localists, we'll find out how to improve education, because some districts are going to succeed with some ideas and other districts are going to fail with others, and the word will spread like wildfire. Successful programs and good local governments will attract bright people like magnets, because the genius of federalism is that people can vote with their feet."

"I am calling for an end to giantism, for a return to the human scale -- the scale that human beings can understand and cope with; the scale of the local fraternal lodge, the church congregation, the block club, the farm bureau. It is the locally-owned factory, the small businessman who personally deals with his customers and stands behind his product, the farm and consumer cooperative, the town or neighborhood bank that invests in the community, the union local. It is this activity on a small, human scale that creates the fabric of community, a framework for the creation of abundance and liberty. The human scale nurtures standards of right behavior, a prevailing ethic of what is right and what is wrong, acceptable and unacceptable."

## 17. FEDERAL SPENDING

"Every minute I speak to you the federal government spends another \$700,000. I'd stop talking if they'd stop spending, but Washington is spending a billion dollars every day and goes into debt a billion and a third dollars every week. As a result, real spendable weekly income of the average American worker is lower than it was a decade ago -- even though in these ten years that same worker has increased his productivity twenty-three percent (23%). In the words of Jefferson, that is taking from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

"The absorption of revenue by all levels of government, the alarming rate of inflation, and the rising toll of unemployment all stem from a single source: the belief that government, particularly the federal government, has the answer to our ills, and that the proper method of dealing with social problems is to transfer power from the private to the public sector, and within the public sector from state and local governments to the ultimate power center in Washington."

"Nationally, we must return to a balanced budget. If people must run their households on a balanced budget, the government should be made to do the same. We must reverse the trend of the federal government running everything and return the powers to the state and local

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governments, where they belong. The best government is still that government closest to the people."

"When government gets involved where it has no business, things go wrong. Government should not be trying to protect us from ourselves, it should only protect us from others. Too often government is not the solution to the problem -- government is the problem."

"The Democrats need only to look at New York to see what the full implementation of their philosophy can achieve."

### 18. FOREIGN POLICY

"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 recognition of 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 <u>detente</u> 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."

## 19. GUN CONTROL

The Governor feels that the present proposals do nothing to stop guns from getting into the hands of criminals. He proposes some kind of legislation similar to that adopted in California: when a person is convicted of a crime using a hand gun or other deadly weapon, five (5) to fifteen (15) years is added on to his sentence, and judges are prohibited from giving probation to these individuals.

## 20. JUDICIARY

Regarding judicial appointments, Governor Reagan has strongly supported the concept of judicial restraint and strict interpretation of the constitution. He said: "We need some one to interpret, not legislate."

## 21. LAW AND ORDER

"A truly free society is also a safe society. Our courts must stop papering 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 <u>capital</u> <u>punishment</u> 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."

### 22. MARIJUANA

Governor Reagan is against legalization of marijuana or further reduction of penalties.

## 23. MONOPOLY

"Monopoly is evil -- whether by government, by business or by labor."

### 24. NEW YORK CITY

When Governor Reagan was asked how he felt about bailing out New York City, he responded:

"New York City has given us a picture on the wall of where the nation is heading if we don't quit following the same path they followed. I think it is wonderful that the Democrats are holding their convention there. They'd better take a look and see that this is what their philosophy has brought about. New York City for the last twenty (20) years or so has been increasing its revenues by about eight percent (8%) a year. Before anyone talks about bailing out New York City, we'd better wait and find out if New York City will revamp its style and set up a program to live like the rest of us and get themselves out of trouble." The Governor pointed out that all the rest of the cities of over a million in population operate at an average annual cost per capita of about \$650, while in New York City it is an astronomical \$1,466. He concluded: "They have four times as many public employees, which is the largest, most populous state in the Union. They've brought trouble on themselves."

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When President Ford recently switched his stand on New York City, his bail out bill narrowly passed in Congress. Ironically, all of Florida's G.O.P. congressmen, including Ford's state campaign chairman, Lou Frey, voted against the bill.

## 25. NINETY BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL SPENDING CUT

Governor Reagan has proposed a program to reduce federal spending and return control of many social welfare programs to state and local governments. The program is based on Governor Reagan's experience in California, such as the reorganization of welfare programs, resulting in improved efficiency and very important savings to the taxpayers.

Federal authority has clearly failed to do the job. It has created more problems in welfare, education, housing, food stamps, medicaid (welfare medical care), community and regional development, and revenue sharing, to name a few. The sums involved and the potential savings to the taxpayers are large. Transfer of authority in whole or in part in all these areas could reduce the outlay of the federal government by more than \$90 billion, using the spending levels of Fiscal 1976.

With such savings, it would be possible to balance the budget, making an initial \$5 billion payment on the national debt, and cutting the federal personal income tax burden of every American by an average of twenty-three percent (23%).

Note well: Not included in this proposal are transfer of governmental functions which are national rather than local in nature and others such as social security and medicare, which are handled through trust arrangements outside the general revenue structure and should be left under federal administration.

Opponents and liberal bureaucrats have been quick to criticize Governor Reagan's program to cut the federal bureaucracy and save the taxpayers billions. They cannot deny that net savings to taxpayers would be enormous, even in cases where increased state and local funding might be needed. Programs not needed or wanted by state or local citizens could be dropped entirely. The programs that continued would eliminate the massive and costly federal bureaucracy. The government closest to the people would administer programs more effectively and economically, providing better services at reduced cost.



## 26. PANAMA CANAL

Governor Reagan favors retention of sovereignty over the Panama Canal. He met recently with Panamanian exile leaders who oppose the current leftist military dictatorship. He strongly opposes the efforts of the Ford administration to negotiate a new canal treaty with Panama, replacing the pact of 1903.

## 27. REGULATION

"In our regulatory agencies dealing with nonmonopoly industries, we must set a date certain for an end to federal price fixing and an end to all federal restrictions on entry."

## 28. SOCIALISM

"Let's take a good look at a huge nation that's had fifty (50) years to put into practice a completely socialist system: the Soviet Union, which has more territory than the United States, a larger population, and vast natural resources. Now, you know we could match their socialist Utopia. It would take a little doing. We'd have to cut our paychecks by seventy-five percent (75%), move sixty (60) million workers back to the farm, abandon two-thirds of our steel-making capacity, destroy forty (40) million TV sets, tear up fourteen (14) out of every fifteen (15) miles of highway, junk nineteen (19) out of every twenty (20) autos, tear up two-thirds of our railroad track, knock down seventy percent (70%) of our houses, and rip out nine-tenths of our telephones. Then all we'd have to do is find a capitalist country that would sell us wheat on credit to keep us from starving."

## 29. SOCIAL SECURITY

"We must reform our major trust funds to ensure solvency and accountability. Particularly important is the need to save social security from the colossal debt that threatens the future well-being of millions of Americans, even while it overtaxes our workers at a growing and exorbitant rate."

## 30. TAXES

"Government taxes forty-four percent (44%) of every dollar -- that is too much, and wrong. Regarding taxes, we should index taxes so that the wage earner is not required to pay more because of inflation. And we should rewrite the tax laws so that you don't need a lawyer to fill out your tax return."

(In California) "We also turned over -- for the first time in almost a quarter century -- a balanced budget and a surplus of \$500 million. In those eight years, we returned \$5.7 billion to the people in rebates, tax reductions and bridge-toll reductions. All this is contrary to the will of those who deplore conservatism and profess to be liberals -- yet all of it is pleasing to the citizenry."

## 31. TAX REFORM

"We must radically simplify our method of tax collection, so that every American can fill out his return in a matter of minutes without legal help. Genuine tax reform would also make it more rewarding to save than to borrow, and encourage a wider diffusion of ownership to America's workers."

## 32. WELFARE

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"For years, the fashionable voices have been calling for a federal take-over of welfare. If there is one area of social policy that should be at the most local level of government possible, it is welfare. It should not be nationalized -- it should be localized. If Joe Doaks is using his welfare money to go down to the pool hall and drink beer and gamble, and the people on his block are paying the bill directly, Joe is apt to undergo a change in his life style."

## 33. WELFARE REFORM

(Before Governor Reagan in California): "We were the welfare capital of the world, with sixteen percent (16%) of the nation's caseload. California's caseload was increasing by 40,000 a month."

The Reagan administration initiated major welfare reform programs which reduced waste, excessive bureaucracy and abuses such as fraud, overpayments and underpayments.



These reforms resulted in improved programs for the truly needy, while reducing the overall burden on the taxpayers. Governor Reagan summarized:

"Today, the needy have had an average increase of forty-three percent (43%) in welfare grants in California, but the taxpayers have saved \$2 billion by the caseload not increasing by 40,000 a month. Instead, there are some 400,000 fewer on welfare today than then."

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## RONALD REAGAN ON SOCIAL SECURITY

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"The flagship of the liberal cause is social security." "Social security dues are a tax for the general use of the government and payment of that tax does not automatically entitle anyone to the receipt of the benefits. The benefits are a welfare program which can be cancelled ar curtailed by Congress at any time."

> Speech, Amarillo, Texas March 2, 1964

"Do not exchange freedom for the soup kitchen of compulsory .insurance."

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Arizona Republic, May 23, 1964

"At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen to do better on his own, to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provisions for the non-earning years?"

> A lime for Gnoosing, celevision speech for Goldwater, November, 191



Social security has "changed from an insurance concept when it started to a welfare concept now. It should be made voluntary." Los Angeles Times, Jan. 22, 1965

Reagan said he had never favored social security being voluntary but had favored "excusing an individual from contributing to social security if he proved he had made adequate provision for his retirement years."

> Campaign tour, Fresno, Sacramento Bee, Oct. 16, 1966

Reagan says he supports social security, but "I am critical of some aspects. For example, you cannot name your beneficiaries as you want to. Also, I think we could explore the idea, perhaps to permit those who want to go on private plans to do so, provided they "Submit a record each year of such participation."

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KNX Firing Line call-in show. Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. October 25, 1966

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"I still believe we could explore whether a man who could do better on his own" should be allowed to purchase a voluntary private retirement plan in lieu of the federal compulsory program. KNX Firing Line call-in show, Los Angeles Times, Oct. 25, 1966

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"Every wealthy young people (sic) under forty-years of age in this country are paying in probably more than twice as much as they can hope to get back from social security. If they have the money, in their own hands, they could go into the open insurance market today and buy an insurance (policy) that would pay them more than double and give them a life protection policy from the first day at the same time. There are plans that are being discussed by a number of economists. One very interesting plan is one that would legitimize that imbalance . . . I just offer this as an example of the thinking of some knowledgeable people. This one would stop the payroll tax, and make the employer's share of social security be given in the paycheck to the worker, so that he would have in effect a raise of pay. He's no longer paying the tax. But, you then create int. bonds that have an annuity effect, in other words an insurance .. feature with them. Retirement bonds, the worker would have to buy ten percent of his income in bonds or \$2,500 worth, whichever was

less. Those who have been paying in would be given bonds in the amount of the money they have already paid in, and start from there on the buying of additional bonds. But another feature of this system that once they have those bonds, under this plan it is proposed that they could if they saw a better chance to invest those bonds in say a private pension plan, they could do it, which would make the government competitive with private pension plans and there's never anything wrong when you've got competition instead of monopoly.

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Speech, Houston, Texas, Dec. 2, 2

"Maybe someplace down the road someday, there might come a time where you could introduce some other features into it, but right now all of the plans that I know of being talked about by economists are based on plans in which the complusory features of participation would remain."

> Speech, Conway, New Horstand Jan. 5, 1976

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## Reagan ituns Into Trouble in Florida Over Issues of Abortion, Social Security

### BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ T.m. & Political Writer

DAVTONA DEACH, Fla.-The issues of Social Security and abortion laws gave Renald Reagan trouble Saturday when he breweld his Republican presidential campaign back to Firmla.

cism in this state, where retirees make up an imperiant segment of the GOP.

When first asked about his former views, Reagan told a news conference that his quotes had been taken "somewhat out of context." He added that, among other improvements in the system, he had believed the Social Se-"curity program "could have made provision for those who

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scourity official and Leen the said unidentit fund and said "as a matter of fact, it isn't there available in cash for the people: " .... of it is in government bonds." "I don't know how the evernment justifies raying itself an 'I-owe-me.'"

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Reagan frequently has and he considers abortion "the taking of a human life" and that he is unalterably opposed to it-even to the point of supporting a proposed constitutional amendment if necessary to stop "abortions on demand."

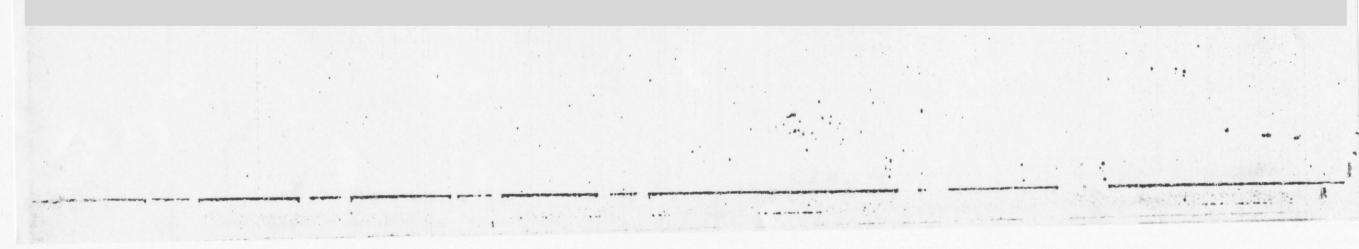
But Saturday, for the first time, Reagan discussed with newsmen why he had signed a liberalized abortion bill as governor of California, a law now in effect in the state.

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tue 600 ermidate war, in ausstrined sharp'n startt fare fraud -- a woman in Chargo who he said, of tared as much as \$150,000 in one scar in fraudulent welfare claims, using S0 different namer and 20 different addresses.

A copy of the Reagan staff briefing paper on the incident, obtained by newsnien, shewed that Reason already had been informed that the woman had, in fact, been charged with only one count of fraud totaling \$7,-000, that the prosecutor in charge of the case feit it was the only care trong enough to warrant prosecution.

Reagan said he knew this. "Maybe I have been careless at times in not saving 'reported fraud.' " he added.



Daytona Beach News Journal

Sunday February 8

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Reagan said the growing deficit in the social security system might be alleviated by investing its trust funds in the stock market. He said he hasn't come up with a firm plan for where the money would come from to make the changes he says are necessary in social security, but said; "I know of no persion fund outside social security where people are totally dependent on the money they contribute."

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Miami Herald Sunday, February 8

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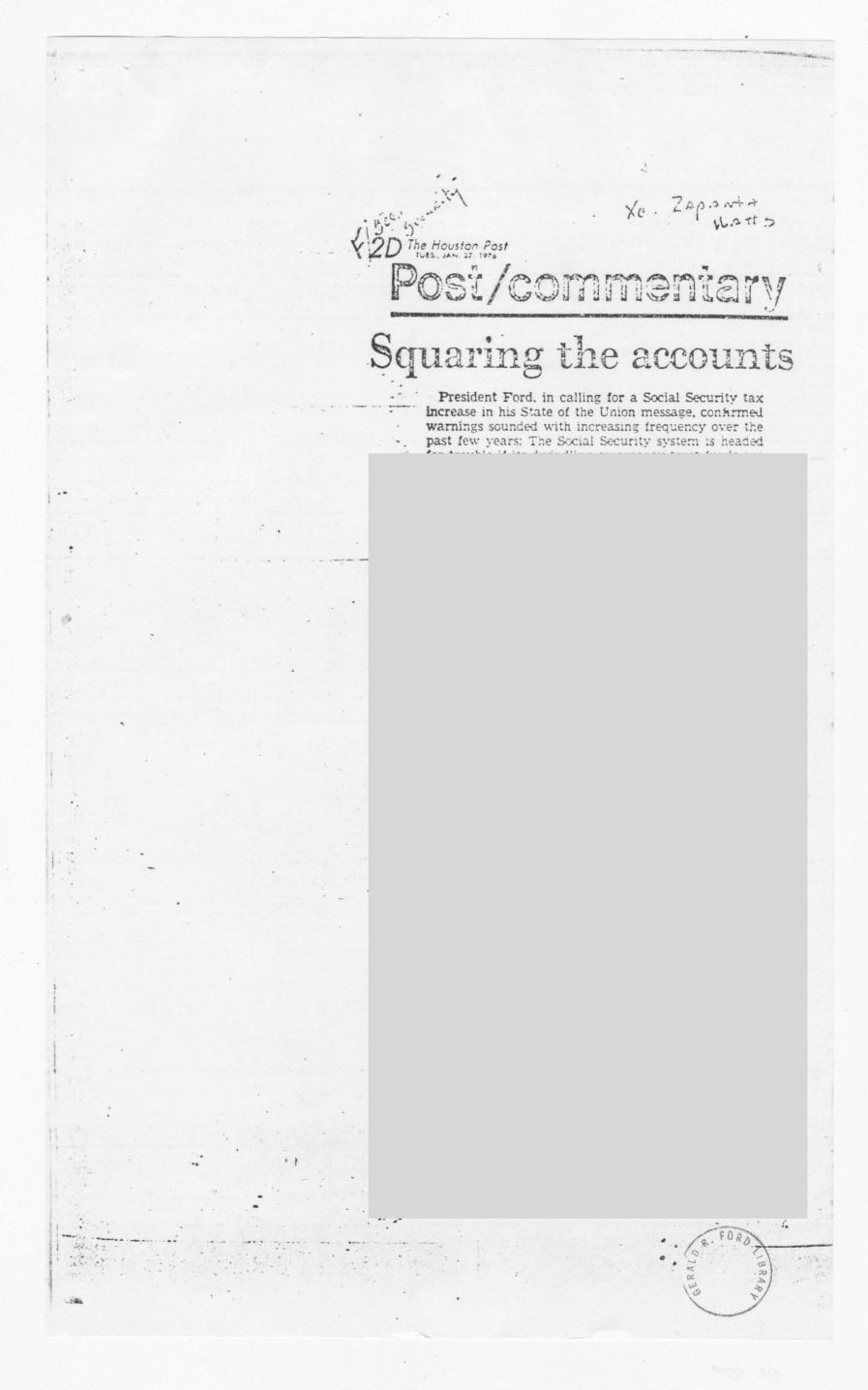
Republican Presidential candidate RR Saturday suggested investing social security money in the stock market as a possible solution to a deficit he says is growing in the social security system.

Reagan said that he had not yet come up with a firm plan for where the money would come from to make the changes in social security that he says are needed. But he said that one alternative could be "investing social security trust funds in industry."

(made following a state JC convention meeting at which RR spoke)

FORD SERVIC

The Pallas Alorning Velus Friday, January 23, 1973 New ...... ZAPANTA XC: WAtts, ainful Truth on Social Security people who are dependent on Social Se-AND THE long and short of the prob-By JIM WRIGHT Assistant Editorial Director curity, and the anti-Goldwater twist lem is that as the amount drawn out worked like a charm. Regardless of grows long, the amount paid in grows IF THERE were such a thing as a short. The American people are living longer, but having fewer children than in whatever points in common they might Presidential Medal of Honor. it should have had with Goldwater ideologically go to Gerald Ford, for courage above or politically, those who could not get by years past. If you reduce this great soand beyond the call of political expedienwithout their Social Security checks cietal system down to a familial cne-cy. He has volunhelped to bury Goldwater at the polls. the original Social Security-the trend is \*\* 1 ... 8.10% . ALW • • 4 5. \*\* E. 147 1 .



**News**  $\square$  President Ford Committee  $\square$  1828 L Street, N.W.  $\square$  Suite 250  $\square$  Washington, D.C. 20036

For release: IMMEDIATELY, Contact: Peter Kaye (202) 457-6430

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MIAMI--Ronald Reagan's vaunted welfare reform program was a failure that ended up costing Californians an additional \$100 million, HEW Under Sec. Marjorie Lynch said today.

"During the 8 years of Reagan's governership," Mrs. Lynch told a news conference here, "welfare rolls for families nearly doubled--from 729,357 to 1,384,400 recipients and the cost went from \$32.3 million to \$104.4 million.

"Under Reagan, Californian's welfare costs went up 143 per cent; under his predecessor, Edmund G. Brown Sr., they were up 83 per cent."

Mrs. Lynch said Reagan's prepaid health plan idea for Medicaid recipients was scandal-ridden and has been investigated by a number of federal and state agencies.

His Community Work Experience Program, she added was poorly designed, incompetently run and touched only .6 of one per cent of welfare recipients. In taking issue with Reagan's claim that he reduced welfare rolls in California by 400,000, Mrs. Lynch said he takes credit for a decline in the national unemployment rate which lowered welfare rolls across the country.

"His policies did little to cause or assist that," she said.

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The President Ford Committee, Howard H. Callaway, Chairman, Robert C. Moot, Treasurer. A copy of our Report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463.

## THE REAL RONALD REAGAN WELFARE RECORD

One of the cornerstones of Ronald Reagan's campaign is the image of him as a strong, effective reformer of California's welfare system.

This theme was set in a letter from Senator Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., Chairman of Citizens for Reagan:

"...as Governor of California he was successful in reducing the number of individuals on welfare rolls by 400,000, while at the same time those truly needy individuals received a 43% increase in benefits."

That's the rhetoric. The truth is that Reagan created a worse situation -- one which cost Californians an additional \$100 million.

The deception in Reagan's claims is that he takes credit for a decline in the national unemployment rate which lowered welfare rolls across the country. His policies did little to cause or assist that.

In fact, most of his major reforms were failures. His prepaid health plan idea for Medicaid recipients was scandal-ridden and has been investigated by a number of Federal and State agencies. The General Accounting Office found Medicaid prepaid health programs to be so poorly run by the Reagan Administration that more than 50 percent of the



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money went to administrative costs instead of health care.

- 2 -

Reagan's plan to force welfare recipients to work was a total failure. Yet he now apparently proposes to institute his welfare philosophy all over the country.

Let's look more closely at Ronald Reagan on his welfare record.

Q. In general, how successful was Reagan's record on welfare?

A. Not very. The Reagan plan was never fully enacted by the Legislature. Much of what did become law either was invalidated by State and Federal courts or by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as being illegal. The programs that remained did not clean up the welfare mess. In some instances, they were incompetently run and scandal-ridden. Forty major lawsuits were lodged against the plan and 32 were successful. In addition, class action lawsuits overturned most of the regressive provisions of the proposals. In general, the only major provision that remained was the "flat grant" schedule, and that increased benefits for 80 percent of the caseload. Q. Did Reagan's plan actually reduce the welfare rolls by 400,000?

A. No. In 1971 and 1972 the nationwide unemployment rate declined and welfare rolls across the country dropped. California got extra help through a simultaneous decline in the migration of the unemployed into the State.

When Reagan took office in 1967, the annual migration rate into the State was 233,000 persons. By 1971, when Reagan instituted his policies, the rate had declined to 44,000.

Welfare rolls likewise were already well on the decline when the Reagan welfare policies went into effect in October, 1971. Between March and October, 1971, welfare rolls in California declined by more than 110,000 from 1,638,816 to 1,527,601 recipients. Ronald Reagan takes credit for this decline, although his policies were not even in effect yet. When unemployment began to rise in 1974, extended unemployment insurance benefits kept the welfare rolls from rising rapidly.

An additional factor contributing to overestimations of the caseload reductions was the fact that 20,000 "recipients" were removed from

- 3 -

the rolls due to a correction in the accounting procedures in the largest county, Los Angeles, where persons had previously been counted twice if they received general assistance and emergency AFDC in the same month.

During the eight years of Reagan's governship, welfare rolls for families nearly doubled; from 729,357 to 1,384,400 recipients and the cost went from \$32.3 million to \$104.4 million. The aged blind and disabled programs went from a caseload of 397,400 in January, 1967, when he took office to 609,000 when he left in January, 1975. Q. But didn't Reagan's policies save the California taxpayers \$1 billion as he claims? A. No. The record indicates that the Reagan plan cost California taxpayers an additional \$100 million. These increased expenditures were in such areas as training, job development, day care, family planning, etc. Beyond that, the cost of reinstating those illegally eliminated from welfare has been estimated at \$25 million.

When Reagan instituted his plan in 1971, welfare costs were averaging about \$90 million per month. For his program to save \$1 billion in two years,

- 4 -

welfare costs would have to have been reduced by \$46 million per month. In other words, they would have to average \$44 million dollars per month in 1972 and 1973. Yet, in 1972 and 1973 the monthly average was about \$90 million. Simple arithmetic alone demonstrates that the Reagan plan generated no dramatic savings and the claims of its supporters are clearly wrong. A. Alan Post, California's respected Legislative Analyst, pointed out that under Reagan, California's welfare costs went up 143 percent; under his predecessor, Edmund G. Brown, Sr., they were up 83 percent.

Q. To put welfare recipients to work, Reagan instituted a Community Work Experience Program. How well did this work?

A. It didn't. This was a poorly designed program and it was incompetently run. It was difficult to administer and never touched more than six-tenths of one percent of welfare recipients. Finally, it was strongly resisted by California's counties.

Although the program was intended to have 59,000 participants in the first year in 35 counties, it barely managed 1,100 participants in 10 counties, mostly in rural, farm areas.

- 5 -

While intended to move welfare recipients into regular jobs, only 262 participants found work as a result of the program. The additional cost of running this program was.\$1.5 million. To significantly affect the welfare caseload, CWEP would have had to add \$2.5 billion to California's welfare costs. In effect that would triple those costs. Two years after its inception, the Legislature moved to abolish CWEP as a total failure.

Q. What about Reagan's reforms for the Medicaid program?

A. A major Reagan program was the prepaid health plan concept for Medicaid. The program was a scandal. It was mismanaged and poorly regulated by the Reagan Administration. It has been investigated by the Legislature, by the Justice Department, by the General Accounting Office and by other Federal and State agencies. They found it to be a total rip-off.

Most of the money never got to the poor in the form of medical care. Instead, it was siphoned off on the way down by "administrators." In Los Angeles, for example, less than 50 percent of the program funds went to health care. Of the \$56.5 million paid over a two-year period to 15 plans by the State,

- 6 -

only \$27.1 million was spent for health care services. Typical was a plan which received \$9 million from the State. Of this, \$5.5 million went for administrative expenses and profit.

Welfare recipients were tricked or coerced into joining many prepaid plans. The medical care often was of very low quality, even though many doctors were earning more than \$100,000-plus salaries. Q. Given this situation in California, haven't Reagan's views on welfare changed since he has become a national candidate?

A. Apparently not. To implement what he calls "creative federalism," Reagan would cut from the Federal budget most of the appropriations for social welfare and medical services for the poor.

It then would be up to the States to decide whether they wanted to continue these services with their own revenues or to abandon them.

As for the poor, he added, they could migrate to States that have adequate welfare programs.

"You can vote with your feet in this country," he said. "If a State is mismanaged, you can move elsewhere."



One of the biggest myths in American politics is the image of Ronald Reagan as a tight-fisted fiscal conservative.

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In reality, Reagan was the biggest taxer and spender of any governor in California's history.

Lou Cannon, a political writer for the Washington Post and author of a Reagan biography, wrote in a recent article:

"At times Reagan seems to be the various things his advocates and his adversaries say about him. What Reagan says and what Reagan does are frequently contradictory. And he left a conflicting legacy after two four-year terms in the governorship."

Nowhere are the Reagan rhetoric and the Reagan record in more conflict than in the field of fiscal policy.

Let's compare the rhetoric and the record.

A letter from Sen. Paul Laxalt, R-Nevada, who is chairman of Citizens for Reagan, set the theme of the campaign.

--creating and returning an \$850 million surplus to the California taxpayers.

-keeping the size of the California state government constant.
-originating and signing a massive tax relief bill which
resulted in a \$378 million saving to California's property owners
and a \$110 million saving to renters."

That's the rhetoric. In detail, let's look at the record.

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Q. What about the Reagan campaign claim that as governor, he created and returned an \$850 million surplus to the California taxpayers?"

A. The \$850 million surplus was not the result of any savings in state government. Rather, it was a serious miscalculation. In 1967, Reagan, in effect, 'overtaxed' Californians through an enormous \$943 million tax increase. While the tax increase was permanent, the rebate was a one-shot temporary form of relief in 1969 -- the year preceding his bid for reelection.

Q. And the claim of a "massive tax relief bill which resulted in a \$378 million saving to property owners and a \$110 million saving to renters?"

A. This was in no way the result of sound management of the state. The property tax relief was achieved by other federal and state revenues. Specifically, they were a federal revenue sharing surplus, a major increase in the state sales tax and a strong business climate.

Q. What about the Reagan campaign boast that he kept "the size of California state government constant?"

A. Under Reagan, the state budget more than doubled in eight years from \$4.6 billion to \$10.2 billion. The number of state employees increased from 113,779 in 1967 to 127,929 in 1975. Q. Yes, but don't inflation and the growth of California's population contribute to that budget increase?

A. Doubtless they do. But it is significant to note that under Reagan the state budget increased an average of 12.2% yearly. Under his successor, Edmund G. Brown, Jr., the increase has been 6%. And while California's population grew 1% a year during Reagan's eight-year administration, it grew 3% a year during the 14 preceding years under Governors Edmund G. Brown, Sr. and Goodwin J. Knight.

Q. How did Reagan balance the state budget during those years that it more than doubled? By practicing fiscal economies?

A. By no means. Under Reagan, there were three huge tax increases totalling more than \$2 billion. In 1967, there was an increase of \$967 million -- the largest state tax hike in the nation's history. Of this, \$280 million went for a one-time deficit payment and future property tax relief. In 1971, the increase was \$488 million with \$150 million for property tax relief. In 1972, the increase was \$682 million with \$650 million for property tax relief. Much of this property tax relief was short term. But the overall tax increases were permanent.

Q. How was this money raised?

A. By all sorts of taxes. State personal income tax revenues went from \$500 million to \$2.5 billion, a 500% increase. Top bracket levies were increased from 7% to 11%. The size of FORO the brackets was reduced so that taxpayers reached the highest

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bracket more quickly. And personal exemptions were reduced. Finally, after adamantly denying he would ever do so, the governor agreed to a system of withholding state income taxes.

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Bank and corporation taxes went up 100%. The state sales tax rose from 4% to 6%. The tax on cigarettes went up 7 cents a pack and the liquor tax rose 50 cents per gallon. Inheritance tax rates also were increased and collections more than doubled.

Q. But didn't taxpayers benefit from local property tax relief?

A. Hardly. Under Reagan, the average tax rate for each \$100 of assessed valuation rose from \$8.84 to \$11.15. Under predecessor Pat Brown the increase was much less in dollars and percentage -from \$6.96 to \$8.84. And in the six years of Republican Knight's administration it was still less -- from \$5.94 to \$6.96. One reason for the big increase under Reagan -- from \$3.7 billion to \$8.3 billion -- is that the state paid a steadily smaller percentage of school costs -- one of the biggest reasons for local property taxes.

Despite periodic efforts to provide relief, there has been a substantial increase in the burden carried by most property owners. Inflation and higher assessments have helped wipe out any savings. Only \$855 million of the record \$10.2 billion budget in Reagan's final year was for tax relief for homeowners and renters.

Q. What did Reagan have to say about all this spending?

A. Nothing very consistent. In his first inaugural message

on January 5, 1967, he said "we are going to squeeze and cut and trim until we reduce the cost of government."

On July 9, 1967, he said in a televised speech that as long as California grows in population and as long as the country is in an inflationary spiral "we will have a record breaking budget every year...and that is roughly 8%."

-5-

On Oct. 2, 1967, Reagan was asked in Milwaukee about his comment that he balanced the budget without new taxes. He replied: "We raised the old ones about \$1 billion."

Q. Many of Reagan's supporters claim that the reason for the huge budget increases in his administration was because of increases in assistance to local governments?

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A. That's true. And under the same logic, we could eliminate about \$60 billion from the federal budget spent for assistance to the states. Extending that bookkeeping system to foreign aid and assistance to individuals, nearly three-fourths -of-the federal budget could be disregarded. If Reagan is going to continue to criticize the growth of the federal budget, he has to accept similar criticism on the growth of California's budget while he was governor. He can't have it both ways.



Jack Anderson Mr. Ford, Backstage

The experience of ascending the pinnacle of power can change a man. At the President's beck, civilian and military leaders gather to listen to his counsel. Assistants materialize at the

Plic Constants

Those who know Ford intimately say he is a most considerate and compassionate person. On a visit to Los Angeles, he stayed in an upper floar of the Century Plaza botel. During a ride downstairs to a

## DETROIT SUNDAY NEWS FEB. 1, 1976 Democrais are failing to yield a real winner; Even Ford critics - plus his doctor Reagan is having trouble in N.H. find good things to say

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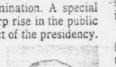
### By WILBUR ELSTON News Associate Editor

For a few days at least, things seem to be coming up roses for President Ford.

He gets a clean bill of health on his annual physical examination. A special NBC poil shows a sharp rise in the public approval of his conduct of the presidency. And he regains the

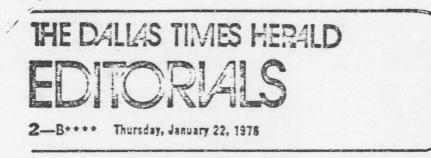
lead over Ronald Reagan in the public

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change, keyhole-peeper Jack Anderson quotes a pro-Ford source in the White House. And even the Washington Post finds Mr. Ford cannot be all bad because his Democratic critics are beginning to - sound like the President himself on some issues.

THE PRESIDENT GETS GOOD marks for his handling of the budget briefings for the press and his presentation to the public. Even more important, his reports on



# Mr. Ford's budget

**THE ISSUE:** The need for Congress to join the President in making some hard spending choices.

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if Congress refuses to stay within the 1977 limitation of \$394.2 billion proposed by Mr. Ford.

HIS 1977 BUDGET. President

And Congress may well do so. For many of the cuts in spending



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SAM S. McKEEL, President CREED C. BLACK, Editor

DAVID GELSANLITER, General Manager EUGENE L. ROBERTS JR., Executive Editor

Friday, January 23, 1976

Page 10-A

FORD

# President Ford's budget: A sound, brave challenge

For all its ponderous pages of detail, its charts, tables and appendices, an American President's annual budget is no more or less than a set of proposals to the Congress, which in turn must dispose. Thus in the nature of the democratic dialectic-and in President Ford's hudget for fiscal year

put a significant portion of the presently unproductive one-quarter of its industrial capacity back to work--and is going to provide substantial and enduring relief for its millions of unemployed citizens--it first must stabilize the national economy. For all the humane intentions of the proliferating

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## Budget Speech Gives Ford the Last Laugh

The Atlanta Constitution, Jan. 26,76

Just efore the President presented his budget at a press conference last week, a reporter asked a White House alde whether Ford was going to have to stand

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ment programs and spending. The underlying philosophy, as enunciated in the Economic Report last week, is that private business activity will assure steady growth in years to come. Accordingly, the federal govern-

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him against the Reagan assault and help him win the nomination.

LIBRA

The Democrats, in obedience to the national mood, have also eschewed the politics of big spending. The brightest new faces in the party - Jimmy priation committees. In effect, the centrists in both parties are in a kind of collusion to deny the presidential nomination to the extremists in both parties.

The price for all this harmony, how-

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The Los Angeles Times, Jan 26,76

## Let 'em Eat Cake-While Migrating

The more Ronald Reagan tries to explain his proposal to shift \$90 billion in federal obligations to the states, the worse it becomes.

To implement what he calls "creative federalism," Reagan would cut from the federal budget most of the appropriations for social welfare, medical serwhere."

That's hokum. We suspect that Reagan would regard those states that are most frugal with welfare dollars as the best managed.

But that aside, vast numbers of the Southern poor have, for many years, been doing exactly

New Marks Times January 12, 1976

## REAGAN SUGGESTS POOR CAN MIGRATE

Says Needy and Minorities Might Have to Flee States Resistant to Social Aid

By JON NORDHEIMER

DUBLIN, N.H., Jan. 16—Ronald Reagan said today that the poor and minorities living In states resistant to social action might have to migrate elsewhere if these states failed to In Washington, meanwhile, President Ford's campaign organization began today an attempt to link Mr. Reagan's position on Social Security to the stand that proved costly to Barry Goldwater in the 1974 Presidential race. Mr. Goldwater suggested that wage earners be permitted the choice of Social Security or private retirement plans. [Page 31.]

Mr. Reagan, responding to a question about the South and the region's history of racial discrimination, said it was pos-

## The Washington Star, teb. 4,76 eagan Trips Over Sally By John J. Fialka Velfare Queen Washington Star Stall Writer

Few people realize it, but Linda Taylor, a 47-year-old Chicago wel-

fare recipient, has become a major campaign issue in the New Hampshire presidential primary.

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan has referred to her at nearly every stop, using her as part of his "Citizens' Press Conference" format.

"There's a woman in Chicago,"

Reagan said last week to an audience at Gilford, as part of his free-swinging attack on welfare abuses. "She has 80 names, 30 addresses, 12 Social Security cards and is collecting veterans benefits on four nonexisting deceased husbands.

"And she's collecting Social Se-curity on her cards she's got Medicaid, getting food stamps and she is collecting welfare under each of her names. Her tax-free cash income alone is over \$150,000."

REAGAN NEVER mentions the woman by name. But the effect is the same wherever he goes. During Reagan's second campaign swing through the state in mid-January, for example, peoples' jaws dropped in Dublin and Jeffrey and Peterborough and Salem and all the other little towns where the candidate appeared. They were angry at "welfare chislers." Reagan had hit a nerve.

The problem is that the story doesn't quite check out.

According to Illinois welfare authorities, Reagan has based his anecdotes on newspaper accounts of Miss Taylor, who became known in the headlines as the "welfare queen" after sensational revelations about her case were made by state Sen. Don A. Moore, chairman of a committee that has been going after alleged welfare abuses.

According to a spokesman for his committee, the story is not quite as exciting as Reagan put it. "We figure she (Taylor) probably made between \$100,000 and \$150,000 during the year we checked," he said, "but we could never be sure because the welfare department wouldn't cooperate with us.

And according to James Piper, the assistant state's attorney who is prosecuting Miss Taylor, the story is not even as exciting as that.

AFTER A SERIES of indictments. each one of which was replaced by

another indictment, winnowing down the number of charges, Miss Taylor is now charged with using not 80 aliases but four. The amount the state is charging that she received from her alleged fraud is not \$150,000, but

\$8,000. "You have to go with what you can prove," explains Piper. And so far, nobody has proven anything because Miss Taylor, he says, is still awaiting trial

> The "welfare queen" item in Reagan's repertoire is one of several that seem to be at odds with the facts. Reagan fairly bristles with facts, figures and statistics demonstrating what he thinks is wrong with welfare, big government and America.

> The national press entourage following Reagan usually is prevented from pinning him down on the specifics because citizen press conferences are reserved for questions from local audiences.

THE FOLLOWING items were taken from a report-er's notebook after attending 18 citizen press conferences on Jan. 15, 16 and 17, all of them in small towns in southern New Hampshire.

• Item: Reagan usually showcases his welfare re-form program in Califor-nia. "We lopped 400,000 off of the welfare roles," he asserted at several stops.

· Fact: According to a spokesman for California's Department of Benefit Payments, the all-time peak California welfare case load. was 2,292,945 cases during March 1971, six months before Reagan's welfare reform package became law. The only provable low point during the following period is a level of 2,060,875 cases reached during January 1975, the month after Reagan left office, making it a total of 232,070 who were "lopped" off the rolls.

California welfare fig-ures during 1974 are under dispute, according to the spokesman, because of confusion caused by the debut of Social Security's problem-ridden Supplemental Security Income program.

• Item: After first noting that his audience is com-posed of "hard working people" who pay their bills and put up with high taxes, Reagan frequently tells them about Taino Towers, a four-building subsidized housing project in New

York. "If you are a slum dwell-er," Reagan has asserted, you can get an apartment with ll-foot ceilings, with a 20-foot balcony, a swimming pool and gymnasium, laundry room and play room, and the rent begins at \$113.20 and that includes utilities.'

· Fact: According to Robert Nichol, project coordinator for the development, which is situated in a primarily Puerto Rican section of East Harlem, only 92 of 656 units in the development have 11-foot ceilings. These are the six-bedroom units for large families and the high ceiling (which is only over the kitchen and living room) is to allow a space configuration that saves what would otherwise be wasted corridor space.

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There is no way, according to Nichol, that you could get one for \$113.20. The going rent would either be \$450 a month or one quarter of a family's income. The large family that would need such a unit, he adds. probably would be receiving enough welfare benefits so that its rent would work out to around \$300 a month.

If New Hampshirites decided to move down and live in Taino Towers, he adds, they would find they have to share the pool. gymnasium and other amenities with the a community of 200,000 Puerto Ricans and blacks who live around the project because these amenities were built for community use.

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# Our Opinion Nazhua Telegraph Reagan's Radicalism

Ronald Reagan, as his burnished delivery on the hustings shows, is not a simple - minded man. But Ronald Reagan seems incurably enamored of simplistic solutions to complex problems. Coming from anyone else it would sound like unalloyed demagoguery.

However mellifluous or grating it sounds, however, the upshot is the same. Mr. Reagan, who is supposedly a conservative hero, is the advocate of radical schemes.

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Ronald Reagan's radicalism is the same kind of radicalism that sank Barry Goldwater in 1964 — not the radicalism of left-wing politics but the radicalism of drastic measures whose consequences are not fully calculated. By contrast, the diligent if unglamorous efforts of President Ford show true conservative principles at their undramatic best.

The albatross Mr. Reagan has draped around his own neck is his sweeping solution to the ills of big government: He would slash federal spending in the current fiscal year by \$90 billion. That type of sure-cure is like sawing off a leg to lose weight fast.

As soon as Mr. Reagan's miracle cure was publicized, his aides found it necessary to analyze and explain, and then clarify again and again, what effects the radical proposal would have on the nation's economic and social life.

The explanations have been less

for community - facilities water and sewer projects, for the Economic Development Administration, the Community Services Administration, for help to American Indians.

Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for urban renewal and for Appalachian regional development. Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for the mass transit program, for subsidies to the Postal Service, ship operators and builders, and noninterstate highway construction.

Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for water resources and power programs, which would suspend the majority of domestic projects of the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Soil Conservation Service.

Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for the Food Stamp program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (welfare), and the school lunch program. Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (which apportions grants to local and state police departments), and Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for revenue sharing.

Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for Medicaid, for hospital construction, and for health scholarships.' Mr. Reagan would chop off funds for programs that provide maternal and child health care, family planning, alcohol and drug abuse treatment, and mental health care.