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Reagan Bush Committee

memorandum

29 October 1980

TO: Ed Meese

FROM: Bob Garrick *BG*

Here is a transcript of the Reagan/
Carter Debate.

For your review.

x x x

D E B A T E

between

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

and

GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN

Public Music Hall

Cleveland, Ohio

October 28, 1980

9:30 P.M.

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PRESENT:

President Jimmy Carter
Governor Ronald Reagan

PANEL

Howard K. Smith, Moderator

Harry Ellis
Marvin Stone
Barbara Walters
William Hilliard

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MRS. WINERFIELD: Good evening, I am Ruth Winerfield of the League of Women Voters Education Fund. Next Tuesday is Election Day. Before going to the polls, voters want to understand the issues and know the candidates' positions.

Tonight voters will have an opportunity to see and hear the major party candidates for the presidency state their views on issues that affect us all.

The League of Women Voters is proud to present this presidential debate. Our moderator is Howard K. Smith.

MR. SMITH: Thank you, Mrs. Winerfield. The League of Women Voters is pleased to welcome to the Cleveland, Ohio, Convention Center Music Center President Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Party candidate for reelection to the presidency and Governor Ronald Reagan of California, the Republican Party candidate for the presidency.

The candidates will debate questions on domestic, economic, foreign policy and national security issues.

The questions are going to be posed by a panel of distinguished journalists who are here with me. They are Marvin Stone, the editor of U.S. News and World Report; Harry Ellis, national correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor; William Hilliard, assistant managing editor of the Portland Oregonian; Barbara Walters, correspondent, ABC News.

The ground rules for this as agreed by you gentlemen are these: Each panelist down here will ask a question, the same question to each of the two candidates. After the two candidates have answered, a panelist will ask follow-up questions to try and sharpen the answers. The candidates will then have an opportunity each to make a rebuttal. That will constitute the first half of the debate, and I will state the rules for the second half later on.

end 1

1 Some other rules, the candidates
2 are not permitted to bring prepared notes to the
3 podium, but are permitted to make notes during the
4 debate.

5 If the candidates exceed the
6 allotted time agreed on, I will reluctantly but
7 certainly interrupt.

8 We ask the Convention Center
9 audience here to abide by one ground rule. Please do
10 not applaud or express approval or disapproval during
11 the debate.

12 Now, based on a toss of the coin,
13 Governor Reagan will respond to the first question
14 from Marvin Stone.

15 MR. STONE: Governor, as you are
16 well aware, the question of war and peace has emerged
17 as a central issue in this campaign, and in the give
18 and take of recent weeks, President Carter's been
19 criticized for responding late to aggressive Soviet
20 impulses, for insufficient build up of our armed
21 forces and a paralysis in dealing with Afghanistan
22 and Iran.

23 You have been criticized for being
24 all too quick to advocate the use of lots of muscle,
25 military action to deal with foreign crises.

26 Specifically, what are the dif-
27 ferences between the two of you on uses of American
28 military power?

29 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I don't know
30 what the differences might be, because I don't know
31 what Mr. Carter's policies are.

32 I do know what he has said about
33 mine, and I'm only here to tell you that I believe
34 with all my heart that our first priority must be
35 world peace, and that use of force is always and only
36 a last resort when everything else has failed, and
37 then only with regard to our national security.

38 Now, I believe also that in meet-
39 ing this mission, this responsibility for preserving
40 the peace, which I believe is a responsibility pecu-
41 liar to our country, that we cannot shirk our

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responsibility as the leader of the free world, because we are the only one that can do it; therefore, the burden of maintaining the peace falls on us, and to maintain that peace requires strength.

America has never gotten into a war because we were too strong. We can get into a war by letting events get out of hand, as they have in the last three and a half years under the foreign policies of this administration of Mr. Carter's until we are faced each time with a crisis, and good management in preserving the peace requires that we control the events and try to intercept before they become a crisis. But I have seen four wars in my lifetime. I'm a father of sons. I have a grandson. I don't ever want to see another generation of young Americans bleed their lives into sandy beachheads in the Pacific or rice paddies and jungles in Asia or the muddy, bloody fields -- battlefields of Europe.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Stone, do you have a follow up question for the Governor?

MR. STONE: Yes.

Governor, we have been hearing that the defense build up that you would associate yourself with would cost tens of billions of dollars more than is now contemplated, and assuming that the American people are ready to bear this cost, they nevertheless keep asking the following question: How do you reconcile huge increases in military outlays with your promise of substantial tax cuts and a balancing of the budget, which in this fiscal year, the one that just ended, ran more than 60 billion dollars in the red?

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1 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Mr. Stone, I have
 2 submitted an economic plan that I have worked out in
 3 concert with a number of fine economists in this
 4 country, all of whom approve it and believe that over a
 5 five year projection, this plan can permit the extra
 6 spending for needed refurbishing of our defensive
 7 posture, that it can provide for a balanced budget by
 8 1981, if not earlier, and that we can afford along with
 9 the cuts that I have proposed in Government spending,
 10 we can afford the tax cuts that I have proposed and
 11 probably, mainly, because Mr. Carter's economic policy
 12 has built into the next five years and on beyond that,
 13 a tax increase that will be taking \$86 billion more next
 14 year out of the peoples' pockets than was taken this year
 15 and my tax cut does not come close to eliminating that
 16 \$86 billion increase.

17 I am only reducing the amount of the
 18 increase. In other words, what I am talking about is
 19 not putting Government back to getting less money than
 20 Government has been getting, but simply cutting the
 21 increase in spending.

22 MR. SMITH: The same question now
 23 goes to President Carter. President Carter, would you
 24 like to have the question repeated?

25 MR. STONE: Yes, President Carter,
 26 the question of war and peace is the central issue in
 27 this campaign. You have been criticized in the give
 28 and take for responding late to aggressive Soviet
 29 impulses and for insufficient buildup of our armed forces
 30 and a paralysis in dealing with that in Afghanistan and
 31 Iran.

32 Governor Reagan, on the other hand,
 33 has been criticized for being all too quick to advocate
 34 the use of a lot of muscle, military action, to deal
 35 with foreign crises such as I mentioned.

36 Specifically, what are the differ-
 37 ences between the two of you on the use of American
 38 military power?

39 PRESIDENT CARTER: Mr. Stone, I have
 40 had to make thousands of decisions since I have been
 41 President, serving in the Oval office, and with each one
 42 of those decisions that affect the future of my country,
 43 I have learned in the process.

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I think I am a much wiser and more experience man than I was when I debated four years ago against President Ford.

I have also learned that there are no simple answers to complicated questions. H. L. Mencken said that for every problem, there is a simple answer. It would be neat and plausible and wrong. The fact is that this nation in the eight years before I became President, had its own military strength decrease. Seven out of eight years, the budget commitments for defense went down, 37 percent in all.

Since I have been in office, we have had a steady, carefully planned, methodical, but very effective increase in our commitment for defense, but what we have done is to use that enormous power and prestige in military strength of the United States to preserve the peace. We have not only kept peace for our own country, but we have been able to extend the benefits of peace to others.

In the Middle East, we have worked for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt successfully and have tied ourselves together with Israel and Egypt in a common defense capability.

This is a very good step forward for our nation's security and we will continue to do as we have done in the past.

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1 I might also add that there are
2 decisions that are made in the Oval Office by every
3 president which are profound in nature.

4 There are always trouble spots
5 in the world, and how those troubled areas are ad-
6 dressed by a president alone in that Oval Office
7 affects our nation directly.

8 The involvement of the United
9 States and also our American interests, that is a
10 basic decision that has to be made so frequently by
11 every president who serves. That's what I have tried
12 to do successfully by keeping our country at peace.

13 4b. MR. SMITH: Mr. Stone, do you
14 have a follow-up?

15 MR. STONE: Yes. I would like
16 to be a little more specific on the use of military
17 power, and let's talk about one area for a moment.
18 Under what circumstances would you use military forces
19 to deal with, for example, a shutoff of Persian oil
20 Gulf if that should occur or counter a Russian expan-
21 sion beyond Afghanistan into either Iran or Pakistan.

22 I ask this question in view of
23 charges that we are woefully unprepared to project
24 sustained, and I emphasize the word "sustained,"
25 power in that part of the world.

26 4c. PRESIDENT CARTER: Mr. Stone,
27 in my State of the Union address earlier this year, I
28 pointed out that any threat to the stability or
29 security in the Persian Gulf would be a threat to
30 the security of our own country.

31 In the past, we've not had an
32 adequate military presence in that region. Now we
33 have two major area task forces, we have access to
34 facilities in five different areas of that region,
35 and we've made it clear that working with our allies
36 and others that we are prepared to address any fore-
37 seeable eventuality by interacting commerce with
38 that crucial area of the world, but in doing this
39 we have made sure we address this question peacefully,
40 not injecting American military forces into combat
41 but letting the strengths of our nation be felt in
42 a beneficial way.

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This I believe has assured that our interests will be protected in the Persian Gulf region as we have done in the Middle East and throughout the world.

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MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan, you have a minute to comment or rebut.

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes, I question the figure about the decline in defense spending under the previous administration in the preceding eight years to this administration.

I would call to your attention that we were in a war that wound down during those eight years which, of course, made a change in military spending because of turning from war to peace.

I also would like to point out that republican presidents in those years faced with a democratic majority in both houses of the Congress found that their requests for defense budgets were very often cut.

Now, Gerald Ford left a five-year projected plan for a military buildup to restore our defenses, and President Carter's administration reduced that by 38 percent, cut 60 ships out of the Navy building program that had been proposed and stopped the B-1, delayed the cruise missiles, stopped the production line for the Minuteman missiles, stopped the Tridents or delayed the Trident submarine and now is planning a mobile military force that can be delivered to various spots in the world, which does make me question his assaults on whether I am the one that is quick to look for use of force.

4e

MR. SMITH: President Carter, you have the last word on this question.

PRESIDENT CARTER: Well, there are various elements of defense. One is to control nuclear weapons, which I hope we will get to later on because that is the most important single issue in this campaign.

Another one is how to address troubled areas in the world. I think habitually

1 Governor Reagan has advocated the injection of mili-
2 tary forces into troubled areas when I and my prede-
3 cessors, both democrats and republicans, have ad-
4 vocated resolving these troubles and those difficult
5 areas of the world peacefully, diplomatically and
6 through negotiation.

4F
7 In addition to that, the buildup
8 of military forces is good for our country because
9 we've got to have military strength in order to pre-
10 serve the peace, but I'll always remember that the
11 best weapons are the ones that are never fired in
12 combat and the best soldier is the one who never
13 has to lay his life down on the field of battle.

14 Strength is imperative for peace,
15 but the two must go hand in hand.

16 MR. SMITH: Thank you, gentlemen.
17 The next question is from Harry Ellis to President
18 Carter.

19 MR. ELLIS: Mr. President, when
20 you were elected in 1976, the Consumer Price Index
21 stood at 4.8 percent. It now stands at more than 12
22 percent. Perhaps more significantly, the nation's
23 broader underlying inflation rate has gone up from
24 7 to 9 percent.

25 Now, a part of that was due to
26 external factors beyond U.S. control, notably the
27 more than doubling of oil prices by OPEC last year.

28 Because the United States remains
29 vulnerable to such external shocks, can inflation
30 in fact be controlled? If so, what measures would
31 you pursue in a second term?

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32 PRESIDENT CARTER: Again, it's
33 important to put the situation into perspective.
34 In 1974 we had a so-called oil shock wherein the
35 price of OPEC oil was raised to an extraordinary
36 degree.

37 We had an even worse oil shock in
38 1979. In 1974 we had the worst recession, the
39 deepest and most penetrating recession since the
40 Second World War.

41 The recession that resulted this

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time was the briefest we've had since the Second World War.

In addition, we've brought down inflation. Earlier this year, the first quarter, we did have a very severe inflation pressure brought about by the OPEC price increase. It averaged about 18 percent the first quarter of this year.

The second quarter we had dropped it down to about 13 percent. The most recent figures the last three months of the third quarter this year, the inflation rate is 7 percent, still too high, but it illustrates very vividly that in addition to providing an enormous number of jobs, nine million new jobs in the last three and a half years, that the inflationary threat is still urgent on us.

end 4

1 I notice that Governor Reagan
2 recently mentioned the Reagan-Kemp-Roth proposal,
3 which his own running mate, George Bush, described
4 as voodoo economics and said that it would result in
5 a 30 percent inflation rate.

6 In Business Week, which is not
7 a democratic publication, said that this Reagan-
8 Kemp-Roth proposal, and I quote them, I think,
9 "was completely irresponsible and would result in
10 inflationary pressures which would destroy this
11 nation."

12 So, our proposals are very sound
13 and very carefully considered to stimulate jobs,
14 to improve the industrial complex of this country,
15 to create tools for American workers, and at the
16 same time would be anti-inflationary in nature.

17 So, to add nine million new
18 jobs, to control inflation, and to plan for the future
19 with an energy policy now intact as a foundation is
20 our plan for the years ahead.

21 MR. SMITH: Mr. Ellis, do you
22 have a follow-up question for Mr. Carter?

23 MR. ELLIS: Yes.

24 Mr. President, you have mentioned
25 the creation of nine million new jobs. At the same
26 time the unemployment rate still hangs high as does
27 the inflation rate.

28 Now, I wonder, can you tell us
29 what additional policies you would pursue in a second
30 administration in order to try to bring down that
31 inflation rate, and would it be an act of leadership
32 to tell the American people they are going to have
33 to sacrifice to adopt a leaner lifestyle for some
34 time to come?

35 PRESIDENT CARTER: Yes. We have
36 demanded that the American people sacrifice, and
37 they have done very well. As a matter of fact, we
38 are importing today about one-third less oil from
39 overseas than we did just a year ago.

40 We have had a 25 percent reduction.

1 since the first day I was in office. At the same
2 time, as I said earlier, we have added about nine
3 million net new jobs in that period of time, a
4 record never before achieved.

5 Also, the new energy policy has
6 been predicated on two factors: One, conservation,
7 which requires sacrifice, and the other one, increase
8 in production of American energy, which is going
9 along very well. More coal this year than ever
10 before in history; more oil and gas wells drilled this
11 year than ever before in history.
12

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1 The new economic revitalization
2 program that we have in mind which will be implemented
3 next year will result in tax credits which will let
4 business increase in new tools and new factories
5 to create even more jobs, about a million in the next
6 two years, and we have also planned a youth employ-
7 ment program which would encompass 600,000 jobs for
8 young people.

9 This has already passed the
10 House and has an excellent prospect to pass the
11 Senate.

12 MR. SMITH: Now, the same ques-
13 tion goes to Governor Reagan. Governor Reagan, would
14 you like to have the question repeated?

15 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes, please.

16 MR. ELLIS: Governor Reagan,
17 during the past four years, the consumer price index
18 has risen from 4.8 percent to currently over 12 per-
19 cent and perhaps more significantly the nation's
20 broader underlying rate of inflation has gone up from
21 7 to 9 percent.

22 Now, a part of that has been due
23 to external factors beyond U. S. control and notably
24 more than doubling of OPEC oil prices last year,
25 which leads me to ask you whether, since the United
26 States remains vulnerable to such external shocks,
27 can inflation, in fact, be controlled?

28 If so, specifically what measures
29 would you pursue?

30 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Mr. Ellis, I
31 think this idea that has been spawned here in our
32 country that inflation somehow came upon us like a
33 plague, and, therefore, is uncontrollable and no
34 one can do anything about it, is entirely spurious
35 and it is dangerous to say this to the people.

36 When Mr. Carter became President,
37 inflation was 4.8 percent, as you said. It had been
38 cut in two by President Gerald Ford. It is now
39 running at 12.7 percent.

40 President Carter also has spoken

1 of the new jobs created. Well, we always, with the
 2 normal growth in our country and increase in popu-
 3 lation, increased the number of jobs, but that can't
 4 hide the fact that there are eight million men and
 5 women out of work in America today and two million
 6 of those lost their jobs in just the last few months.

ake 6-B
 7 Mr. Carter had also promised that
 8 he would not use unemployment as a tool to fight
 9 against inflation and yet his 1980 economic message
 10 stated that we would reduce productivity and gross
 11 national product and increase unemployment in order
 12 to get a handle on inflation because in January, at
 13 the beginning of the year, it was more than 18 percent.

14 Since then, he has blamed the
 15 people for inflation, OPEC. He has blamed the
 16 Federal Reserve System. He has blamed the lack of
 17 productivity on the American people.

18 He has then accused the people of
 19 living too well, and that we must share in scarcity,
 20 we must sacrifice and get used to doing with less.

21 We don't have inflation because
 22 the people are living too well. We have inflation
 23 because the Government is living too well and the
 24 last statement just a few days ago was a speech to
 25 the effect that we have inflation because Government
 26 revenues have not kept pace with Government spending.

27 I see my time is running out here
 28 and I have to get this down very fast. Yes, you can
 29 lick inflation by increasing productivity and by
 30 decreasing the cost of Government to the place that
 31 we have balanced budgets and are no longer grinding
 32 our printing press money, flooding the market with it,
 33 because the Government is spending more than it takes
 34 in and my economic plan calls for that.

35 The President's economic plan
 36 calls for increasing the taxes to the point that we
 37 finally take so much money away from the people that
 38 we can balance the budget in that way, but we will
 39 have a very poor nation and a very un sound economy,
 40 if we follow that path.

41 MR. SMITH: A follow up, Mr.
 42 Ellis?

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MR. ELLIS: Yes. You have centered on cutting Government spending in what you have just said about your own policies. You have also said that you would increase defense spending.

Specifically, where would you cut Government spending if you were to increase defense spending and also cut taxes so that presumably federal revenues would shrink?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, most people, when they think about cutting Government spending, they think in terms of eliminating necessary programs or wiping out something, some service the Government is supposed to perform.

I believe that there is enough extravagance and fat in Government. As a matter of fact, one of the secretaries of HEW under Mr. Carter testified that he thought there was \$7 billion worth of fraud and waste in welfare and in the medical programs associated with it.

We have had the General Accounting Office estimate that there is probably tens of billions of dollars that are lost in fraud alone and they have indicated that waste adds even more than that.

We have a program for a gradual reduction of Government spending based on these theories, and I have a task force now that has been working on where those cuts could be made.

I'm confident that it can be done and that it will reduce inflation because I did it in California and inflation went down below the national average in California, when we returned money to the people and reduced Government spending.

MR. SMITH: President Carter?

PRESIDENT CARTER: Governor Reagan's proposal, the Kemp-Roth proposal, is one of the highly inflationary ideas that has been presented to the American public.

He would actually have to cut

4
1 Government spending by at least \$130 billion in
2 order to balance a budget under this ridiculous
3 proposal.

4 I noticed that his task force
5 that is working for his future plans had some of
6 their ideas revealed in the Wall Street Journal this
7 week.

8 One of those ideas was to repeal
9 the minimum wage and several times this year, Governor
10 Reagan has said that the major cause of unemployment
11 is the minimum wage.

12 This is a heartless kind of
13 approach to the working families of our country,
14 which is typical of many Republican leaders in the
15 past, but I think that it has been accentuated under
16 Governor Reagan.

17 In California, and I am surprised
18 Governor Reagan brought this up, he had the three
19 largest tax increases in the history of that state
20 under his administration. He more than doubled
21 state spending while he was governor, a 122 percent
22 increase, and had between a 20 and 30 percent increase
23 in number of employees in California.

24 Thank you, sir.

25 MR. SMITH: Sorry to interrupt,
26 President Carter.

27 Governor Reagan has the last word
28 on this question.

29 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. The
30 figures that the President has just used about Cali-
31 fornia is a distortion of the situation there because
32 while I was governor of California, our spending in
33 California increased less per capita than the
34 spending in Georgia while President Carter was
35 governor of Georgia in the same four years.

36 The size of government increased
37 only one-sixth in California of what it increased in
38 proportion to population in Georgia, and the idea
39 that my tax cut proposal is inflationary, I would
40 like to ask the President: Why is it inflationary

1 to let the people keep more of their money and spend
2 it the way they would like and it isn't inflationary
3 to let him take that money and spend it the way he
4 wants?

5 MR. SMITH: I wish that question
6 need not be rhetorical, but it must be because we
7 have run out of time on that.

8 Now, the third question to
9 Governor Reagan from William Hilliard.

10 MR. HILLIARD: Yes. Governor
11 Reagan, the decline of our cities has been hastened
12 by the continual rise in crime, strained race rela-
13 tions, the fall in the quality of public education,
14 persistence of abnormal poverty in a rich nation,
15 and a decline in the services to the public.

16 The signs seem to point toward
17 a deterioration that could lead to the establishment
18 of a permanent underclass in the cities.

19 What specifically would you do in
20 the next four years to reverse this trend?

21 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I have been
22 talking to a number of Congressman who have much
23 the same idea that I have, and that is that in the
24 inner city areas, that in cooperation with local
25 government and with national government, and using
26 tax incentives and with cooperation with the private
27 sector, that we have development zones, let the local
28 entity, the city, declare this particular area based
29 on the standards of the percentage of people on
30 welfare, unemployed and so forth in that area.

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1 And then through tax incentives, induce the creation of
2 businesses providing jobs and so forth in those areas.

3 The elements of Government through
4 these tax incentives, for example, a business that
5 would not have for a period of time an increase in the
6 property tax reflecting its development of the unused
7 property that it was making wouldn't be any loss to the
8 city because the city isn't getting any tax from that
9 now, and it would simply be a delay. And on the other
10 hand, many of the people that would then be given jobs
11 would be simply wards of the Government and it wouldn't
12 hurt to give them a tax incentive because they -- that
13 wouldn't be costing Government anything either.

14 I think there are things to do in
15 this regard.

16 I stood in the South Bronx on the
17 exact spot that President Carter stood on in 1977.

18 You have to see it to believe it.
19 It looks like a bombed out city, great gaunt skeletons
20 of buildings, windows smashed out, painted on one of
21 them "Unkept promises," on another, "Despair," and this
22 was the spot at which President Carter had promised
23 that he was going to bring in a vast program to rebuild
24 this department. There are whole -- or this area, there
25 are whole blocks of land that are left bare, just
26 bulldozed down flat, and nothing has been done, and they
27 are now charging to take tourists through there to see this
28 terrible desolation.

29 I talked to a man just briefly
30 there who asked me one simple question: Do I have
31 reason to hope that I can someday take care of my
32 family again? Nothing has been done.

33 MR. SMITH: Follow up, Mr. Hilliard?

34 MR. HILLIARD: Yes.

35 Governor Reagan, blacks and other
36 non-whites are increasing in numbers in our cities.

37 Many of them feel that they are
38 facing a hostility from whites that prevents them from
39 joining the economic mainstream of our society.

1 There is racial confrontation in
2 the schools, on jobs and in housing, as non-whites seek
3 to reap the benefits of a free society.

4 What do you think is the nation's
5 future as a multi-racial society?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I believe in it,
7 I am eternally optimistic and I happen to believe
8 that we have made great progress from the days when I
9 was young and when this country didn't even know it had
10 a racial problem.

11 I know these things can grow out of
12 despair in an inner city when there is hopelessness at
13 home, lack of work and so forth, but I believe that all
14 of us together, and I believe the Presidency, is what
15 Teddy Roosevelt said it was; it's a bully pulpit, and
16 I think that something can be done from there, because
17 the goal for all of us should be that one day things
18 will be done neither because of nor in spite of any of
19 the differences between us, ethnic differences or
20 racial differences, whatever they may be, that we will
21 have total equal opportunity for all people, and I
22 would do everything I could in my power to bring that
23 about.

24 MR. SMITH: Mr. Hilliard, would you
25 repeat your question for President Carter?

26 MR. HILLIARD: President Carter, the
27 decline of our cities has been hastened by the continual
28 rise in crime, strained racial relations, the fall in
29 the quality of public education, the persistence of
30 abnormal poverty in a rich nation, and a decline in
31 services to the public.

32 The signs seem to point toward a
33 deterioration that could lead to the establishment of
34 a permanent underclass in the cities.

35 What specifically would you do in
36 the next four years to reverse this trend?

37 PRESIDENT CARTER: Thank you, Mr.
38 Hilliard.

39 When I was campaigning in 1976,
40 everywhere I went the mayors and local officials were in

1 despair about the rapidly deteriorating central cities
of our nation.

2
3 We initiated a very fine urban
renewal program working with the mayors, the governors,
and other interested officials.

4
5 This has been a very successful
effort. That's one of the main reasons that we have had
such an increase in the number of people employed.

6
7 Of the nine million people put to
work in new jobs since I have been in office, 1.3
million of those has been among black Americans, and
another million among those who speak Spanish.

8
9 We now are planning to continue the
revitalization program with increased commitments of
10 rapid transit, mass transit. Under the Windfall
Profits Tax we expect to spend about 43 billion dollars
11 in the next ten years to rebuild the transportation
systems of our country.

12
13 We also are pursuing the housing
programs. We have had a 73 percent increase in the
allotment of Federal funds for improved education.

14
15 These are the kinds of efforts
worked on a joint basis with community leaders, partic-
ularly in the minority areas of the central cities
16 that have been deteriorating so rapidly in the past.

17
18 It's very important to us that this
be done with the full involvement of minority citizens.

19 I brought into the top levels of
Government, into the White House, into administrative
offices of the executive branch, into the judicial
20 system, highly qualified black and Spanish citizens
and women who in the past had been excluded.

Take 7-C

ljx

1

I noticed that Governor Reagan said that when he was a younger man there was no knowledge of a racial problem in this country. Those who suffered from discrimination because of race or sex certainly knew we had a racial problem.

We have gone a long way toward correcting these problems, but we still have a long way to go.

MR. SMITH: Follow-up question?

MR. HILLIARD: Yes.

President Carter, I would like to repeat the same follow-up to you.

Blacks and other non-whites are increasing in numbers in our cities. Many of them feel that they are facing a hostility from whites which prevents them from joining the economic mainstream of our society. There is racial confrontation in the schools, on jobs, and in housing as non-whites seek to reap the benefits of a free society.

What is your assessment of the nation's future in multi-racial society?

PRESIDENT CARTER: Ours is a nation of refugees, a nation of immigrants. Almost all of our citizens came here from other lands, and now have hopes which are being realized for a better life, preserving their ethnic commitments, their family structures, their religious beliefs, preserving their relationships with their relatives in foreign countries, but still pulling themselves together in a very coherent society which gives our nation its strength.

In the past those minority groups have often been excluded from participation in the affairs of government. Since I have been President, I have appointed, for instance, more than twice as many black federal judges as all previous presidents in the history of this country.

I have done the same thing in the appointment of women, and also Spanish-speaking

1 Americans, to involve them in administration of
2 government and a feeling that they belong to the
3 societal structure that makes decisions in the judi-
4 ciary and the executive branch is a very important
5 commitment which I am trying to realize and going
6 to continue to do so in the future.

Take 7-D

7 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan, you
8 have a minute for rebuttal.

9 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. The
10 President talks of Government programs, and they
11 have their place, but as Governor, when I was at that
12 end of the line and receiving some of these grants
13 for Government programs, I saw that so many of them
14 were dead end and they were public employment for
15 these people who really want to get out into the
16 private job market where there are jobs with a
17 future.

18 Now, the President spoke a moment
19 ago about -- that I was against the minimum wage. I
20 wish he could have been with me when I sat with a
21 group of teenagers who were black and who were telling
22 me about their unemployment problems, and that it was
23 the minimum wage that had done away with the jobs that
24 they once could get, and indeed, every time it is
25 increased you will find that there is an increase
26 in minority unemployment among young people; and
27 therefore, I have been in favor of a separate minimum
28 for them.

29 With regard to the great progress
30 that has been made with this Government spending, the
31 rate of black unemployment in Detroit, Michigan is
32 56 percent.

33 MR. SMITH: President Carter, you
34 have the last word on this question.

35 PRESIDENT CARTER: Well, it's
36 obvious that we still have a long way to go in fully
37 incorporating the minority groups into the mainstream
38 of American life.

39 We have made good progress, and
40 there is no doubt in my mind that the commitment to
41 Unemployment Compensation, the minimum wage, the
42 welfare, national health insurance, those kinds of
43 commitments that have typified the Democratic Party

1 since ancient history in this country's political
2 life, are a very important element of the future.

3 In all those elements, Governor
4 Reagan has repeatedly spoken out against them, which,
5 to me, shows a very great insensitivity to giving
6 deprived families a better chance in life. This,
7 to me, is a very important difference between him
8 and me in this election, and I believe the American
9 people will judge accordingly.

10 There is no doubt in my mind that
11 in the downtown central cities with the new commit-
12 ment on an energy policy, with a chance to revital-
13 ize homes and to make them more fuel efficient,
14 with a chance for synthetic fuels program, solar
15 power, this will give us an additional opportunity
16 for jobs which will pay rich dividends.

17 MR. SMITH: Thank you, gentlemen.
18 Now for the fourth question to President Carter from
19 Barbara Walters.

20 MS. WALTERS: Mr. President, the
21 eyes of the country tonight are on the hostages in
22 Iran. I realize this is a sensitive area, but the
23 question of how we respond to acts of terrorism goes
24 beyond this foreign crisis.

25 Other countries have policies
26 that determine how they will respond.

End 7-D

1 Israel, for example, considers
2 hostages like soldiers, and will not negotiate with the
3 terrorists. For the future, Mr. President, the country
4 has the right to know: Do you have a policy for deal-
5 ing with terrorism wherever it might happen, and what
6 have we learned from this experience in Iran that might
7 cause us to do things differently if this or something
8 similar happens again?

9
10 PRESIDENT CARTER: Barbara, one of
11 the blights on this world is a threat and the activities
12 of terrorists.

13
14 At one of the recent economic
15 Summit conferences between myself and the other leaders
16 of the Western World, we committed ourselves to take
17 strong action against terrorism.

18
19 Airplane hijacking was one of the
20 elements of that commitment. There is no doubt that
21 we have seen in recent years, in recent months, addition-
22 al acts of violence against Jews in France and, of
23 course, against those who live in Israel by the PLO and
24 other terrorist organizations.

25
26 Ultimately, the most serious
27 terrorist threat is, if one of those radical nations
28 who believe in terrorism as a policy, should have
29 atomic weapons, both I and all my predecessors have had
30 a deep commitment to controlling the proliferation of
31 nuclear weapons in countries like Libya or Iraq.

32
33 We have even alienated some of our
34 closest trade partners because we have insisted upon
35 the control of the spread of nuclear weapons to those
36 potentially terrorist countries.

37
38 When Governor Reagan has been asked
39 about that, he makes a very disturbing comment that
40 nonproliferation or the control of the spread of
41 nuclear weapons is none of our business, and when he was
42 asked specifically recently about Iraq, he said there is
43 nothing we can do about it.

44
45 This ultimate terrorist threat is
46 the most fearsome of all, and is part of a pattern
47 where our country must stand firm to control terrorism
48 of all kinds.

1 MR. SMITH: Ms. Walters, a follow
2 up?

3 MS. WALTERS: Yes. While we are
4 discussing policy, had Iran not taken American hostages,
5 I assume in order to ~~preserve~~ our neutrality we would
6 have stopped the flow of spare parts and vital war
7 materials once war broke out between Iraq and Iran.
8
9
10

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1

1 Now we are offering to lift the
2 ban on such goods if they let our people come home.
3 Does this not compromise our neutrality and possibly
4 antagonize nations now friendly to us in the Middle
5 East?

6 PRESIDENT CARTER: We will main-
7 tain our position of neutrality in the Iran and Iraq
8 war.

9 We have no plans to sell addi-
10 tional material or goods to Iran that might be of a
11 war-like nature.

12 When I made my decision to stop
13 all trade with Iran as a result of the taking of our
14 hostages, I announced then and have consistently
15 maintained since then that if the hostages are
16 released safely, that we would make delivery on those
17 items which Iran owns, which they have bought and
18 paid for. Also that the frozen Iranian assets would
19 be released. That's been a consistent policy, one
20 I intend to carry out.

21 MR. SMITH: Would you repeat
22 the question now for Governor Reagan, please,
23 Ms. Walters?

24 MS. WALTERS: Yes, Governor,
25 the eyes of the country tonight remain on the hos-
26 tages in Iran, but the question of how we respond
27 to acts of terrorism goes beyond this.

28 There are other countries that
29 have policies that determine how they would respond.

30 Israel, for example, considers
31 hostages like soldiers and will not negotiate with
32 terrorists.

33 For the future, the country has
34 the right to know, do you have a policy for dealing
35 with terrorism wherever it might happen, and what
36 have we learned from this experience in Iran that
37 might cause us to do things differently if this or
38 something similar should happen again?

39 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Barbara, you

1 have asked that question twice. I think you ought
2 to have at least one answer to it.

3 I have been accused of lately
4 having a secret plan with regard to the hostages.

5 Now, this comes from an answer
6 that I made at least 50 times during this campaign
7 to the press, which is that the question would be
8 Have you any ideas of what you would do if you were
9 there?
10

11 And I said, "Well, yes," and I
12 think that anyone that's seeking this position, as
13 well as other people, probably have thought to them-
14 selves, "What about this? What about that?"

15 These are just ideas of what I
16 would think of if I were in that position and had
17 access to the information in which I would know of
18 the options that were open to me.

19 I have never answered the ques-
20 tion, however, second, the one that says, "Well, tell
21 me, what are some of those ideas?"

22 First of all, I would be fearful
23 that I may say something that was presently underway
24 or in negotiations, and thus expose it and endanger
25 the hostages, and sometimes I think some of my ideas
26 might involve quiet diplomacy where you don't say
27 in advance or say to anyone what it is you are think-
28 ing of doing.

29 Your question is difficult to
30 answer, because in the situation right now, no one
31 wants to say anything that would inadvertently delay
32 in any way the return of those hostages if there is
33 a chance of their coming home soon, or that might
34 cause them harm.

35 What I do think should be done,
36 once they are safely here with their families and
37 that tragedy is over and we have endured this humilia-
38 tion for just lacking one week of a year now, then I
39 think it is time for us to have a complete investiga-
40 tion as to the diplomatic efforts that were made in
41 the beginning; why they have been there so long, and
42 when they come home what did we have to do in order to

1 bring that about? What arrangements were made, and
2 I would suggest that Congress should hold such an
investigation.

3 In the meantime, I'm going to
4 continue praying that they'll come home.

5 MR. SMITH: Follow-up question?

6 MS. WALTERS: I would like to say
7 that neither candidate answered specifically the ques-
8 tion of a specific policy for dealing with terrorism,
9 but I will ask Governor Reagan a different follow-up
10 question.

11 You have suggested that there
12 would be no Iranian crisis had you been president
13 because we would have given firmer support to the
14 Shah, but Iran is a country of 37 million people who
15 are resisting a government they regarded as dicta-
16 torial.

17 My question is not whether the
18 Shah's regime was preferable to the Ayatollah's, but
19 whether the United States has the power or right to
20 try to determine what form of government any country
21 will have, and do we back unpopular regimes whose
22 major merit is that they are friendly to the United
23 States?

24 GOVERNOR REAGAN: The degree of
25 unpopularity of a regime when the choice is total
26 authoritarianism, totalitarianism, I should say,
27 in the alternative government makes one wonder
28 whether you are being helpful to the people, and we
29 have been guilty of that because someone didn't meet
30 exactly our standards of human rights, even though
31 they were an ally of ours.

32 Instead of trying patiently to
33 persuade them to change their ways, we have, in a
34 number of instances, aided a revolutionary overthrow
35 which results in complete totalitarianism instead
36 for those people, and I think that this is the kind
37 of hypocritical policy, when at the same time we are
38 maintaining a detente with the one nation in the
39 world where there are no human rights at all, the
40 Soviet Union.

1 Now, there was a second phase in
2 the Iranian affair in which we had something to do with
3 that, and that was we had adequate warning that there
4 was a threat to our embassy and we could have done what
5 other embassies did, either strengthen our security
6 there or remove our personnel before the kidnap and the
7 takeover took place.

8 MR. SMITH: Governor, I am sorry.
9 I must interrupt.

10 President Carter, you have a minute
11 for rebuttal.

12 PRESIDENT CARTER: I didn't hear
13 any comment from Governor Reagan about what he would do
14 to stop or to reduce terrorism in the future, but what
15 the Western allies did decide to do is to stop all
16 air flights, commercial air flights to any nation
17 involved in terrorism or the hijacking of airplanes or
18 the harboring of hijackers.

19 Secondly, we all committed ourselves,
20 as have all my predecessors in the Oval office, not to
21 permit the spread of nuclear weapons to a terrorist
22 nation or to any other nation that does not presently
23 have those weapons or capabilities for explosives.

24 Thirdly, not to make any sale of
25 materials or weapons to a nation which is involved in
26 terrorist activities.

27 And lastly, not to deal with the
28 PLO until and unless the PLO recognizes Israel's right
29 to exist and recognizes UN Resolution 242 as a basis
30 for Middle East peace.

31 These are a few of the things to
32 which our nation is committed and we will continue with
33 these commitments.

34 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan, you
35 have the last word on that question.

36 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. I have no
37 quarrel whatsoever with the things that have been done
38 because I believe it is high time that the civilized
39 countries of the world make it plain that there is no
40 room worldwide for terrorism.

1 There will be no negotiation with
2 terrorists of any kind, and while I have a last word
3 here, I would like to correct a misstatement of fact by
4 the President.

5 I have never made the statement that
6 he suggested about nuclear proliferation and nuclear
7 proliferation or the trying to halt it would be a major
8 part of a foreign policy of mine.

9 MR. SMITH: Thank you, gentlemen.
10 That is the first half of the debate.

11 Now the rules for the second half
12 are quite simple. They are only complicated when I
13 explain them.

14 In the second half, the panelists
15 with me will have no follow-up questions. Instead,
16 after the panelists have asked a question, the
17 candidates have answered, each of the candidates will
18 have two opportunities to follow up to question; to
19 rebut or just to comment on his opponent's statement.

20 Governor Reagan will respond in
21 this section to the first question from Marvin Stone.

22 MR. STONE: Governor Reagan, arms
23 control. The President said it was the single most
24 important issue.

25 Both of you have expressed the
26 desire to end the nuclear arms race with Russia, but
27 by methods that are vastly different.

28 You suggest that we scrap the Salt II
29 Treaty already negotiated and intensify the buildup
30 of American power to induce the Soviets to sign a new
31 treaty, one more favorable to us.

32 President Carter, on the other hand,
33 says he will again try to convince a reluctant Congress
34 to ratify the present treaty on the grounds it's the
35 best we can hope to get.

36 Now, both of you cannot be right.
37 Will you tell us why you think you are?

End 7-h

1 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. I think
2 I am right because I believe that we must have a
3 consistent foreign policy, a strong America and a
4 strong economy and then, as we build our national
5 security, to restore our margin of safety, we, at
6 the same time, try to restrain the Soviet buildup
7 which has been going forward at a rapid pace and for
8 quite some time.

9 The Salt II treaty was the
10 result of negotiations that President Carter's team
11 entered into after he had asked the Soviet Union for
12 a discussion of actual reduction of nuclear strategic
13 weapons and his emissary, I think, came home in 12
14 hours with having heard a very definite "yes," but
15 taking that one no from the Soviet Union, we then
16 went back into negotiations on their terms because
17 Mr. Carter had canceled the B-1 bomber, delayed the
18 MX cruise missile, shut down the missile man, the
19 minute men missile production line, and whatever
20 other things that might have been done.

21 The Soviet Union sat at the table
22 knowing that we had gone forward with unilateral
23 concessions without any reciprocation from them what-
24 soever.

25 Now, I have not blocked the
26 Salt II treaty as Mr. Carter and Mr. Mondale sug-
27 gested I have. It had been blocked by a Senate in
28 which there was a democratic majority.

29 Indeed, the Senate Armed Services
30 Committee voted 10 to zero with seven abstentions
31 against the Salt II treaty and declared that it was
32 not in the national security interest of the United
33 States, besides which, it is illegal because the
34 law of the land, passed by Congress, says that we
35 cannot accept a treaty in which we are not equal,
36 and we are not equal in this treaty for one reason
37 alone. Our B-52 bombers are considered to be
38 strategic weapons. Their backfire bombers are not.

39 MR. SMITH: Governor, I have to
40 interrupt you at this moment. The time is up for
41 that. The same question now to President Carter.

42 MR. STONE: Yes, President
43 Carter, both of you have expressed the desire to end
44 the nuclear arms race with Russia, but through vastly

1 different methods.

2 The governor suggests we scrap
3 the Salt II treaty, which you negotiated in Vienna
4 or signed in Vienna, and intensify the buildup of
5 American power to induce the Soviet to sign a new
6 treaty, one more favorable to us.

7 You, on the other hand, say you
8 will again try to convince a reluctant Congress to
9 ratify the present treaty on the grounds it is the
10 best we can hope to get from the Russians.

11 You cannot both be right. Will
12 you tell us why you think you are?

13 PRESIDENT CARTER: Yes, I'll be
14 glad to. Inflation, unemployment, the cities, all
15 very important issues, but they pale into insignifi-
16 cance in the light and duties of a president, when
17 compared with the control of nuclear weapons.

18 Every president who has served
19 in the Oval Office since Harry Truman has been
20 dedicated to the proposition of controlling nuclear
21 weapons, to negotiate with the Soviet Union, balanced,
22 controlled, observable, and then reducing levels of
23 atomic weaponry.

24 There is a disturbing pattern
25 in the attitude of Governor Reagan. He has never
26 supported any of those arms control agreements,
27 the limited test ban, Salt I, nor the anti-ballistic
28 missile treaty, nor the Vladivostok treaty negotiated
29 with the Soviet Union by President Ford, and now
30 he wants to throw into the waste basket a treaty to
31 control nuclear weapons on a balanced and equal basis
32 between ourselves and the Soviet Union, negotiated
33 over a seven-year period by myself and my two
34 republican predecessors.

35 The Senate has not voted yet on
36 the strategic arms limitation treaty. There have
37 been preliminary skirmishes in the committees of the
38 Senate, but the treaty has never come to the floor
39 of the Senate for either a debate or a vote.

40 It is understandable that a
41 Senator in the preliminary debate can make an

1 irresponsible statement or maybe an ill-advised state-
 2 ment. You have got 99 other Senators to correct that
 3 mistake, if it is a mistake, but when a man who hopes
 4 to be president says, "Take this treaty, discard it,
 5 do not vote, do not debate, do not explore the issues,
 6 do not finally capitalize on this long negotiation,"
 7 that is a very dangerous and disturbing thing.

8
 9 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan,
 10 you have an opportunity to rebut that.

11 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. I would
 12 like to respond very much. First of all, the Soviet
 13 Union -- if I have been critical of some of the
 14 previous agreements, it is because we have been out-
 15 negotiated for quite a long time and they have man-
 16 aged, in spite of all of our attempts at arms limita-
 17 tion, to go forward with the biggest military build-
 18 up in the history of man.

19 Now, to suggest that because two
 20 republican presidents tried to pass the Salt treaty,
 21 that puts them on its side, I would like to say that
 22 President Ford, who was within 90 percent of a
 23 treaty that we could be in agreement with when he left
 24 office, is emphatically against this Salt treaty.

25 I would like to point out also
 26 that Senators, like Henry Jackson and Hollings of
 27 South Carolina, they are taking the lead in the fight
 28 against this particular treaty.

29 I am not talking of scrapping.
 30 I am talking of taking the treaty back and going
 31 back into negotiations, and I would say to the Soviet
 32 Union we will sit and negotiate with you as long as
 33 it takes to have not only legitimate arms limita-
 34 tion but to have a reduction of these nuclear weapons
 35 to the point that neither one of us represents a
 36 threat to the other.

37 That is hardly throwing away a
 38 treaty and being opposed to arms limitation.

39 MR. SMITH: President Carter?

40 PRESIDENT CARTER: Yes.
 41 Governor Reagan is making some very misleading and
 42 disturbing statements. He not only advocates a
 43 scrapping of this treaty, and I don't know that these

1 men that he approached are against this treaty in
2 its final form, but he also advocates the possibili-
3 ties.

4 He said it's a missing element
5 of playing a trump card against the Soviet Union of
6 a nuclear arms race and insisting upon nuclear
7 superiority by our own nation as a predication for
8 negotiation in the future with the Soviet Union.

9 If President Brezhnev said we
10 will scrap this treaty negotiated under three American
11 presidents over a seven-year period of time, we
12 insist upon nuclear superiority as a basis for future
13 negotiations, and we believe that the launching of a
14 nuclear arms race is a good basis for future negotia-
15 tions, it's obvious that I as president and all
16 Americans would reject such a proposition.

17 This would mean the resumption
18 of a very dangerous nuclear arms race. It would be
19 very disturbing to American people. It would change
20 the basic tone and commitment that our nation has
21 experienced ever since the Second World War with all
22 presidents, democratic and republican, and would
23 also be very disturbing to our allies, all of whom
24 support this nuclear arms treaty.

25 In addition to that, the adver-
sarial relationship between ourselves and the Soviet
Union would undoubtedly deteriorate very rapidly.
This attitude is extremely dangerous and belligerent
in its tone, although it's said with a quiet voice.

MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: I know the
president is supposed to be replying to me, but
sometimes I have a hard time connecting what he's
saying with what I have said or with what my posi-
tions are. Sometimes I think like the witch doctor
gets mad when the good doctor comes along with a
cure that will work.

My point I have made already,
Mr. President, with regard to negotiating, it does
not call for nuclear superiority on the part of
the United States. It calls for a mutual reduction
of these weapons, as I say, to the point that neither

1 of us can represent a threat to the other. And to
2 suggest that the Salt II treaty that your negotia-
3 tors negotiated was just a continuation and based on
4 all of the preceding efforts by two presidents is
5 just not true.

6 It was a new negotiation because,
7 as I say, President Ford was within about 10 percent
8 of having a solution that could be acceptable, and
9 I think our allies would be very happy to go along
10 with a fair and verifiable Salt agreement.

11 MR. SMITH: President Carter,
12 you have the last word on this question.

13 PRESIDENT CARTER: I think to
14 close out this discussion, it would be better to put
15 into perspective what we are talking about.

16 I had a discussion with my
17 daughter, Amy, the other day before I came here to
18 ask her what the most important issue was. She said
19 she thought nuclear weaponry and the control of
20 nuclear arms.

21 This is a formidable force.
22 Some of these weapons have 10 megatons of explosion.

23 If you put 50 tons of TNT in
24 each one of railroad cars, you would have a carload
25 of TNT -- a trainload of TNT stretching across this
26 nation. That's one major war explosion in a warhead.

27 We have thousands equivalent
28 of megaton or millions of tons of TNT warheads. The
29 control of these weapons is the single major respon-
30 sibility of a president, and to cast out this commit-
31 ment of all presidents because of some slight tech-
32 nicalities that can be corrected is a very dangerous
33 approach.

34 MR. SMITH: We have to go to
35 another question now from Harry Ellis to President
36 Carter.

37 MR. ELLIS: Mr. President, as you
38 have said, Americans through conservation are import-
39 ing much less oil today than we were even a year ago.
40 Yet, U.S. dependence on Arab oil as a percentage of
41 total imports is today much higher than it was at the

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time of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, and for some time to come, the loss of substantial amounts of Arab oil could plunge the U.S. into depression.

Now, this means that a bridge must be built out of this dependence.

Can the United States develop synthetic fuels and other alternative energy sources without damage to the environment, and will this process mean steadily higher fuel bills for American families?

PRESIDENT CARTER: I don't think there is any doubt that in the future the cost of oil is going to go up. What I've had as a basic commitment since I've been president is to reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

It can only be done in two ways: One, to conserve energy, to stop the waste of energy; and, secondly, to produce more American energy. We've been very successful in both cases.

We've now reduced the importing of foreign oil in the last year alone by one-third. We import today two million barrels less than we did the same day just a year ago.

This commitment has been opening up a very bright vista for our nation in the future, because with the windfall profits tax as a base, we now have an opportunity to use American technology and American ability and American natural resources to expand rapidly the production of synthetic fuels, yes, to expand rapidly the production of solar energy, yes, and also to produce the conventional kinds of American energy.

We will drill more oil and gas wells this year than any year in history. We will produce more coal this year than any year in history. We are exporting more coal this year than any year in history, and we have an opportunity now with improved transportation systems, improved loading facilities in our ports to see a very good opportunity on the world international market to replace OPEC oil with American coal as a basic energy source.

1
2 This exciting future will not only
3 give us more energy security but will also open up
4 vast opportunities for Americans to live a better
5 life and to have millions of new jobs associated
6 with this new and very dynamic industry now in pros-
7 pect because of the new energy policy that we've
8 put into effect.

9
10 MR. SMITH: Would you repeat the
11 question now for Governor Reagan?

12 MR. ELLIS: Governor Reagan,
13 Americans through conservation are importing much
14 less oil today than we were even a year ago, and, yet,
15 U.S. reliance on Arab oil as a percentage of total
16 imports is much higher today than it was during the
17 1973 Arab oil embargo, and the substantial loss of
18 Arab oil could plunge the United States into de-
19 pression.

20 The question is whether the
21 development of alternative energy sources in order
22 to reduce this dependence can be done without damaging
23 the environment, and will it mean for American families
24 steadily higher fuel bills?

25
26 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I'm not so
27 sure that it means steadily higher fuel costs, but
28 I do believe that this nation has been portrayed for
29 too long a time to the people as being energy poor
30 when it is energy rich. The coal that the president
31 mentioned, yes, we have it, and yet one-eighth of
32 our total coal resources is not being utilized at
33 all right now.

34 The mines are closed down. There
35 are 22,000 miners out of work. Most of this is due
36 to regulations which either interfere with the mining
37 of it or prevent the burning of it.

38 With our modern technology, yes,
39 we can burn our coal within the limits of the Clean
40 Air Act.

41 I think as technology improves,
42 we'll be able to do even better with that.

43 The other thing is that we have
44 only leased out and begun to explore two percent of

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1 our outer continental shelf for oil where it is
2 believed by everyone familiar with that fuel and that
3 source of energy that there are vast supplies yet
4 to be found.

5 Our government has in the last
6 year or so taken out of multiple use millions of
7 acres of public lands that once were, while they
8 were public lands, subject to multiple use explora-
9 tion for minerals and so forth.

10 It is believed that probably 70
11 percent of the potential oil in the United States
12 is probably hidden in those lands, and no one is
13 allowed to even go and explore to find out if it is
14 there.

15 This is particularly true of
16 the recent efforts to shut down part of Alaska.

17 Nuclear power, there were 36
18 power plants planned in this country, and let me
19 add the word "safety." It must be done with the
20 utmost of safety. But 32 of those have given up
21 and canceled their plans to build and, again, because
22 government regulations and permits and so forth
23 take -- make it take more than twice as long to
24 build a nuclear plant in the United States as it
25 does to build one in Japan or in Western Europe.

26 We have the resources here. We
27 are energy rich, and coal is one of the great poten-
28 tials we have.

29 MR. SMITH: President Carter,
30 your comment.

31 PRESIDENT CARTER: Yes, sir.
32 To repeat myself, we have this year the opportunity
33 which we'll realize to produce 800 million tons of
34 coal, an unequalled record in the history of our
35 country.

36 Governor Reagan says that this
37 is not a good achievement, and he blames restraints
38 on coal production, on regulations, regulations
39 that affect the life and the health and safety of
40 miners and also regulations that protect the purity
41 of our air and quality of our water and our land.

1 We cannot cast aside those regu-
 2 lations. We have a chance in the next 15 years of
 3 insisting upon the health and safety of workers in
 4 the mines and also preserving the same high air
 and water pollution standards to triple the amount
 of coal we produce.

5 Governor Reagan's approach to
 6 our energy policy, which has already proven its
 7 effectiveness, is to repeal or change substantially
 8 the windfall profits tax, to return a major portion
 9 of \$227 billion back to the oil companies, to do
 10 away with the Department of Energy, to short-circuit
 our synthetic fuels program, to put a minimal emphasis
 on solar power, to emphasize strongly nuclear power
 plants as a major source of energy in the future.
 He wants to put all our eggs in one basket and give
 that basket to the major oil companies.

11 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

12 GOVERNOR REAGAN: That is a
 13 misstatement, of course, of my position. I just
 14 happen to believe that free enterprise can do a
 better job in producing the things that people need
 than government can.

15 The Department of Energy has a
 16 multi-billion-dollar budget in excess of \$10 billion.

17 It hasn't produced a quart of
 18 oil or a lump of coal or anything else in the line
 19 of energy, and for Mr. Carter to suggest that I
 20 want to do away with the safety laws and with the
 21 laws that pertain to clean water and clean air
 and so forth, as governor of California, I took charge
 of passing the strictest air pollution laws in the
 22 United States, the strictest air quality law that
 23 has ever been adopted in the United States, and
 we created an OSHA, an Occupational Safety and Health
 Agency, for the protection of employees before the
 24 federal government had one in place, and to this day,
 25 not one of its decisions or rulings has ever been
 challenged.

So I think some of those charges
 are missing the point. I am suggesting that there
 are literally thousands of unnecessary regulations.

1 that invade every facet of business and, indeed,
2 very much of our personal lives that are unnecessary,
3 that government can do without, that have added
4 \$130 billion to the cost of production in this coun-
try and that are contributing their part to inflation,
and I would like to see us a little more free as we
once were.

6 MR. SMITH: President Carter,
another crack, at that?

8 PRESIDENT CARTER: Sure. As a
7 matter of fact, the air pollution standard laws that
were passed in California were passed over the objec-
8 tions of Governor Reagan, and this is a very well
known fact.

10 Also, recently, when someone
suggested that the Occupational Safety and Health
Act should be abolished, Governor Reagan responded
11 "Amen."

91 12 The offshore drilling rights
is a question that Governor Reagan raises often.
13 As a matter of fact, in the proposal for the Alaska
land legislation, a hundred percent of all the
14 offshore lands would be opened for exploration.
95 percent of all the Alaska lands where it is sus-
15 pected or believed that minerals might exist, we
have with our five-year plan for the leasing of off-
16 shore lands proposed more land to be drilled than has
been opened up for drilling since this program first
17 started in 1954. So we're not putting restraints
on American exploration. We're encouraging it in
18 every way we can.

19 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan,
you have the last word on this question.

20 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. If it
21 is a well known fact that I opposed air pollution
laws in California, the only thing I can possibly
22 think of is that the president must be suggesting
the law that the federal government tried to impose
23 on the State of California, not a law, regulations,
that would have made it impossible to drive an auto-
24 mobile within the city limits of any California city
or have a place to put it if you did drive it against
25 their regulations.

1 It would have destroyed the
2 economy of California, and I must say we had the
3 support of Congress when we pointed out how ridiculous
4 this attempt was by the Environmental Protection
5 Agency. We still have the strictest air control
6 or air pollution laws in the country.

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7 As for offshore oiling,
8 only two percent now is so leased and is producing
9 oil. The rest, as to whether the lands are going
10 to be opened in the next five years or so, we're
11 already five years behind in what we should be doing.

12 There is more oil now in the wells
13 that have been drilled than has been taken out in the
14 121 years that they've been drilled.

15 MR. SMITH: Thank you, Governor.
16 Thank you, Mr. President.

17 The next question goes to Governor
18 Reagan from William Hilliard.

19 MR. HILLIARD: Governor Reagan,
20 wage earners in this country, especially the young,
21 are supporting a Social Security system that continues
22 to affect their income drastically. The system is
23 fostering a struggle between the young and the old
24 and is drifting the country toward a polarization
25 of these two groups.

26 How much longer can the young
27 wage earner expect to bear the ever increasing burden
28 of the Social Security system?

29 GOVERNOR REAGAN: The Social
30 Security system was based on a false promise with
31 regard to how fast the number of workers would in-
32 crease and how fast the number of retirees would
33 increase. It is actuarially out of balance, and
34 this first became evident about 16 years ago, and
35 some of us were voicing warnings then.

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36 Now it is trillions of dollars
37 out of balance, and the only answer that has come so
38 far, it is the biggest single tax increase in our
39 nation's history, the payroll tax increase for
40 Social Security which will only put a band-aid on
41 this and postpone the day of reckoning by a few years

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at most.

What is needed is a study that I have proposed by a task force of experts to look into this entire problem as to how it can be reformed and made actuarially sound but with the premise that no one presently dependent on Social Security is going to have the rug pulled out from under them and not get their check.

We cannot frighten, as we have with the threats and the campaign rhetoric that has on in this campaign, our senior citizens, leave them thinking that in some way they are endangered and would have no place to turn.

They must continue to get those checks, and I believe that the system can be put on a sound actuarial basis, but it's going to take some study and some work and not just passing a tax increase to let the load or the roof fall in on the next administration.

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MR. SMITH: Would you repeat that question for President Carter?

MR. HILLIARD: Yes. President Carter, wage earners in this country, especially the young, are supporting a Social Security system that continues to affect their income drastically. The system is fostering a struggle between young and old and is drifting the country toward a polarization of these two groups.

How much longer can the young wage earner expect to bear the ever-increasing burden of the Social Security system?

PRESIDENT CARTER: As long as there is a Democratic president in the White House, we will have a strong and viable Social Security system, free of the threat of bankruptcy.

Although Governor Reagan has changed his position lately on four different occasions, he has advocated making the Social Security system a voluntary system, which would, in effect, very quickly bankrupt it.

I noticed also in the Wall Street Journal earlier this week that a preliminary report of his task force advocates making Social Security more sound by reducing the adjustments in Social Security for the retired people to compensate for the impact of inflation.

These kinds of approaches are very dangerous to the security and the well-being and the peace of mind of the retired people of this country, and those approaching retirement age, but no matter what it takes in the future to keep Social Security sound, it must be kept that way, and although there was a serious threat to the Social Security system and its integrity during the 1976 campaign, when I became President, the action of the Democratic Congress working with me has been to put Social Security back on a sound financial basis.

That's the way it will stay.

MR. SMITH: And Governor Reagan?

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GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, that just isn't true. It, as I said, delayed the actuarial imbalance falling on us for just a few years with that increase. We have had increases in taxes and I don't believe we can go on increasing the tax because the problem for the young people today is that they are paying in far more than they can ever expect to get out.

Now, again, this statement that somehow I wanted to destroy it, and I just changed my tune, and I was for voluntary Social Security which would mean the ruin of it, Mr. President, the voluntary thing that I suggested many years ago was that a young man, orphaned and raised by an aunt who died, his aunt was ineligible for Social Security insurance because she was not his mother and I suggested that if this is an insurance program, certainly the person who is paying in should be able to name his own beneficiaries, and that's the closest I have ever come to anything voluntary with Social Security.

I too am pledged to a Social Security program that will reassure the senior citizens of ours they are going to continue to get their money.

There are some changes I would like to make. I would like to make a change that discriminates in the regulations against the wife who works and finds that she then is faced with a choice between her father or husband's benefits, if he dies first, or what she has paid in, but it does not recognize that she has also been paying in herself and she is entitled to more than she presently can get. I would like to change that.

MR. SMITH: Now, President Carter's rebuttal.

PRESIDENT CARTER: These constant suggestions that the basic Social Security system should be changed does cause concern and consternation among the aged of our country.

It is obvious that we should have a commitment to them, that Social Security benefits should not be taxed and that there would be no preemptory change in the standards by which Social

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Security payments are made to the retired people.

We also need to continue to index the Social Security payments so that if inflation rises, the Social Security payments would rise a commensurate degree, to let the buying power of the Social Security check continue intact.

In the past, the relationship between Social Security and Medicare has been very important to provide some modicum of aid for senior citizens in the retention of health benefits.

Governor Reagan, as a matter of fact, began his political career campaigning around this nation against Medicare.

Now, we have an opportunity to move toward national health insurance with an emphasis on the prevention of disease, an emphasis on outpatient care, not inpatient care, an emphasis on hospital cost containment, to hold down the costs of hospital care for those who are ill, an emphasis on catastrophic health insurance, so that if a family is threatened with being wiped out economically because of a very high medical bill, then the insurance would help pay for it. These are the kind of elements of a national health insurance important to the American people.

Governor Reagan again typically is against such a proposal.

MR. SMITH: Governor?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: There you go again. When I opposed Medicare, there was another piece of legislation meeting the same problem before the Congress. I happened to favor the other piece of legislation and thought that it would be better for the senior citizens and provide better care than the one that was finally passed.

I was not opposing the principle of providing care for them. I was opposing one piece of legislation as versus another.

There is something else about Social Security, of course, that doesn't come out of

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the payroll tax, it comes out of the general funds, that something should be done about.

I think it is disgraceful that the disability insurance fund in Social Security finds checks going every month to tens of thousands of people who are locked up in our institutions for crime or for mental illness, and they are receiving disability checks from Social Security every month while a state institution provides for all of their needs and their care.

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MR. SMITH: President Carter, you have the last word on this question.

PRESIDENT CARTER: I think this debate on Social Security, Medicare, National Health Insurance, typifies as vividly as any other subject tonight the basic historical differences between the Democratic party and the Republican party.

The allusions to basic changes in the minimum wage is another and the delsterious comments that Governor Reagan has made about unemployment compensation, these commitments that the Democratic party has historically made to the working families of this nation, have been extremely important to the growth in their stature and in the better quality of life for them.

I noticed recently that Governor Reagan frequently quotes democratic presidents in his acceptance address and otherwise. I have never heard a candidate for president, who is a Republican, quote a Republican president, but when they get in office they try to govern like Republicans.

So it is good for the American people to remember there is a sharp basic historical difference between Governor Reagan and me on these crucial issues, also between the two parties that we represent.

MR. SMITH: Thank you, Mr. President.

Governor Reagan, we now go to another question, a question to President Carter by Barbara Walters.

MS. WALTERS: Thank you. You have addressed some of the major issues tonight, but the biggest issue in the mind of American voters is yourselves, your ability to lead this country.

When many voters go into that booth just a week from today, they will be voting their gut instincts about you men. You have already given us your reasons why people should vote for you.

Now, would you please tell us for this, your final question, why they should not vote for your opponent, why his presidency could be harmful to

1 the nation and having examined both your opponent's
End of record and the man himself, tell us his greatest
10-d 2 weakness?

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1 PRESIDENT CARTER: Barbara, reluc-
2 tant as I am to say anything critical about Governor
3 Reagan, trying not to be critical of Governor Reagan,
4 I will try to answer your questions.

5 First of all, as the historical
6 perspective that I have just described, this is a
7 contest between a Democrat in the mainstream of my
8 party, as exemplified by the actions that I have
9 taken in the oval office the last four years, as
10 contrasted with Governor Reagan, who in most cases
11 does typify his party, but in some cases there is a
12 radical departure by him from the heritage of Eisen-
13 hower and others.

14 The most important crucial dif-
15 ference in this election campaign, in my judgment,
16 is the approach to the control of nuclear weaponry
17 and the inclination to control or not to control
18 the spread of atomic weapons to other nations that
19 don't presently have it, particularly the terrorist
20 nations.

21 The inclination that Governor
22 Reagan has exemplified in many troubled times since
23 he has been running for President, I think since 1968,
24 to inject American military forces in places like
25 North Korea, to put a blockade around Cuba this
26 year, or in some instances to project American
27 forces into a fishing dispute against the small nation
28 of Ecuador on the west coast of South America, this
29 is typical of his long-standing inclination on the
30 use of American power, not to resolve disputes dip-
31 lomatically and peacefully, but to show that the
32 exercise of military power is best proven by the
33 actual use of it.

34 Obviously, no president wants
35 war and I certainly do not believe that Governor
36 Reagan, if he were President, would want war, but a
37 President in the oval office has to make a judgment
38 on almost a daily basis about how to exercise the
39 enormous power of our country for peace, through
40 diplomacy, or in a careless way, in a belligerent
41 attitude, which has exemplified his attitudes in the
42 past.

MR. SMITH: Barbara, would you repeat the question for Governor Reagan?

MS. WALTERS: Yes. Thank you. Realizing that you may be equally reluctant to speak ill of your opponent, may I ask why people should not vote for your opponent, why his presidency could be harmful to the nation, and having examined both your opponent's record and the man himself, could you tell us his greatest weakness?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, Barbara, I believe that there is a fundamental difference and I think it has been evident in most of the answers that Mr. Carter has given tonight, that he seeks the solution to anything as another opportunity for a federal government program.

I happen to believe that the federal government has usurped powers, autonomy and authority that belongs back at the state and local level. It has imposed on the individual freedoms of the people and that there are more of these things that could be solved by the people themselves, if they were given a chance, or by the levels of government that were closer to them.

Now, as to why I should be and he shouldn't be, when he was a candidate in 1976, President Carter invented a thing he called the Misery Index. He added the rate of unemployment and the rate of inflation and it came at that time to 12.5 under President Ford, and he said that no man with that size Misery Index had a right to seek re-election to the presidency.

Today, by his own decision, the Misery Index is in excess of 20 percent and I think this must suggest something but when I have quoted the democrat president, as the president says, I was a democrat.

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1 I said many foolish things back in
2 those days, but the President that I quoted had made
3 a promise, a Democrat promise, and I quoted him
4 because it was never kept, and today you would
5 find that that promise is at the very heart of what
6 Republicanism represents in this country today, and
7 that's why millions of Democrats that are going to vote
8 with us this time around, because they too want that
9 promise kept.

10 It was a promise for less govern-
11 ment and less taxes and more freedom for the people.

12 MR. SMITH: President Carter?

13 PRESIDENT CARTER: Yes. I men-
14 tioned the radical departure of Governor Reagan from
15 the principles or ideals or historical perspective of
16 his own party. I don't think this can be better
17 illustrated than in the case with guaranteeing women
18 equal rights under the Constitution of our nation.

19 For 40 years, the Republican Party
20 platforms called for guaranteeing women equal rights
21 with a Constitutional amendment. Six predecessors
22 of mine who served in the Oval office called for this
23 guarantee of women's rights.

24 Governor Reagan and the new
25 Republican Party has departed from this commitment,
26 a very severe blow to the opportunity for women
27 finally to correct discrimination under which they
28 have suffered.

29 When a man and a woman do the
30 same amount of work, a man gets paid a dollar, a
31 woman only gets paid 59 cents, and the Equal Rights
32 Amendment only says that equality of rights shall
33 not be abridged for women by the Federal Government
34 or by the State government.

35 That's all it says, a simple
36 guarantee of equality of opportunity, which typifies
37 the Democratic Party and which is a very important
38 commitment of mine as contrasted with Governor
39 Reagan's radical departure from the long-standing
40 policies of his own party.

MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

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GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. Mr. President, once again I happen to be against the amendment because I think the amendment will take this problem out of the hands of elected legislators and put it in the hands of unelected judges.

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1 I am for equal rights and while
2 you have been in office for four years, and not one
3 single state, and most of them have a majority of
4 democratic legislators, has added to the ratification
5 or voted to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

6 While I was governor, more than
7 eight years ago, I found 14 separate instances where
8 women were discriminated against in the body of
9 California law and I had passed and signed into law
10 14 statutes that eliminated those discriminations,
11 including the economic ones that you have just men-
12 tioned, the equal pay and so forth.

13 I believe that if in all these
14 years that we have spent trying to get the amend-
15 ment, that if we had spent as much time correcting
16 these laws as we did in California, and we were the
17 first to do it, if I were president I would also now
18 take a look at the hundreds of federal regulations
19 which discriminate against women and which go right
20 on while everyone is looking for an amendment.

21 I would have someone ride hard
22 on those regulations and start eliminating those
23 discriminations in the Federal Government against
24 women.

25 MR. SMITH: President Carter?

26 PRESIDENT CARTER: Howard, I am
27 a southerner and I share the basic beliefs of my
28 region about an excessive government intrusion into
29 the private affairs of American citizens and also into
30 the private affairs of the free enterprise system.

31 One of the commitments that I
32 made was to deregulate the major industries of this
33 country. We have been remarkably successful with the
34 help of a democratic Congress.

35 We have deregulated the air indus-
36 try, the rail industry, the trucking industry, finan-
37 cial institutions, now working on the communications
38 industry.

39 In addition to that, I believe
40 this element of discrimination is something that the
41 south has seen so vividly as a blight on our region

1 of the country, which has now been corrected, not
2 only racial discrimination, but discrimination
3 against people that have to work for a living, because
4 we have been trying to pick ourselves up by our boot-
5 straps, since the long depression years and lead
6 a full and useful life in the affairs of this country.
7

1 We have made remarkable success. It
2 is part of my consciousness and of my commitment to
3 continue this progress, so my heritage as a southerner,
4 my experience in the Oval office, convinces me that what
5 I have just described is a proper course for the future.

6 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan, yours
7 is the last word.

8 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, my last
9 word is again to say that we were talking about this
10 very simple amendment and women's rights and I make
11 it plain again, I am for women's rights, but I would
12 like to call the attention of the people to the fact
13 that that so-called simple amendment could be used by
14 mischievous men to destroy discriminations that
15 properly belong by law to women, respecting the
16 physical differences between the two sexes, labor laws
17 that protect them against doing things that would be
18 physically harmful to them.

19 Those could all be challenged by
20 men and the same would be true with regard to combat
21 service in the Military and so forth.

22 I thought that was the subject
23 we were supposed to be on, but if we are talking
24 about how much we think about the working people and
25 so forth, I am the only fellow that ever ran for this
26 job who was six times president of his own union
27 and still has a lifetime membership in that union.

28 MR. SMITH: Gentleman, each of
29 you now has three minutes for a closing statement.

30 President Carter, you are first.

31 PRESIDENT CARTER: First of all,
32 I would like to thank the League of Women Voters for
33 making this debate possible.

34 I think it's been a very con-
35 structive debate and I hope it has helped to acquaint
36 the American people with the sharp differences between
37 myself and Governor Reagan.

38 I also want to thank the people of

1 Cleveland and Ohio for being such hospitable hosts
2 during these last few hours in my life.

3 I have been President now for
4 almost four years. I have had to make thousands of
5 decisions and each one of those decisions has been
6 a learning process.

7 I have seen the strength of my
8 nation and I have seen the crises that it approached
9 in a tentative way, and I have had to deal with those
crises as best I could.

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As I have studied the record between myself and Governor Reagan, I have been impressed with the stark differences that exist between us. I think the result of this debate indicates that that fact is true.

I consider myself in the mainstream of my party. I consider myself in the mainstream, even of the bipartisan list of presidents who served before me.

The United States must be a nation strong. The United States must be a nation secure. We must have a society that is just and fair and we must extend the benefits of our own commitment to peace, to create a peaceful world.

I believe that since I have been in office, there have been six or eight areas of combat evolve in other parts of the world. In each case, I alone have had to determine the interest of my country and the degree of involvement of my country.

I have done that with moderation, with care, with thoughtfulness, sometimes consulting experts, but I have learned in this last three and a half years that when an issue is extremely difficult, when the call is very close, the chances are that the experts would be divided almost 50/50 and the final judgment about the future of our nation, war, peace, involvement, reticence, thoughtfulness, care, consideration, concern, has to be made by the man in the Oval Office.

It is a lonely job, but with the involvement of the American people in the process, with an open government, the job is a very gratifying one.

The American people now are facing next Tuesday a lonely decision.

1 Those listening to my voice will
2 have to make a judgment about the future of this
3 country, and I think they ought to remember that
4 one vote can make a lot of difference.

5 If one vote per precinct had
6 changed in 1960, John Kennedy would never have been
7 President of this nation, and if a few more people
8 had gone to the polls and voted in 1968, Hubert
9 Humphrey would have been President, Richard Nixon
10 would not.

11 There is a partnership involved
12 and our nation, to stay strong, to stay at peace, to
13 raise high the banner of human rights, to set an
14 example for the rest of the world, to let our deep
15 belief in commitments be filled by others in all
16 nations, is my plan for the future.

17 I ask the American people to join
18 me in this partnership.

19 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

20 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. I would
21 like to add my words of thanks, too, to the ladies of
22 the League of Women Voters for making these debates
23 possible. I'm sorry that we couldn't persuade the
24 bringing in of the third candidate so that he could
25 have been seen also in these debates, but still it is
26 good that at least once all three of us were heard
27 by the people of this country.

28 Next Tuesday is election day.
29 Next Tuesday all of you will go to the polls, will
30 stand there in the polling place and make a decision.

31 I think when you make that deci-
32 sion, it might be well if you would ask yourselves:
33 Are you better off than you were four years ago? Is
34 it easier for you to go and buy things in the stores
35 than it was four years ago? Is there more or less
36 unemployment in the country than there was four years
37 ago? Is America as respected throughout the world
38 as it was? Do you feel that our security is as safe,
39 that we are as strong as we were four years ago? If
40 you answer all of those questions "yes," why, then,
41 I think your choice then is very obvious as to who
42 you will vote for.

1 If you don't agree, if you don't
2 think that this course that we have been on for the
3 last four years is what you would like to see us fol-
4 low for the next four, then I can suggest another
5 choice that you have.

6 This country doesn't have to be
7 in the shape that it is in. We do not have to go
8 down, go on sharing in scarcity with the country
9 getting worse off, with unemployment growing.

10 We talk about the unemployment
11 lines. If all of the unemployed today were in a
12 single line, allowing two feet for each one of them,
13 that line would reach from New York City to Los
14 Angeles, California.

15 All of this can be cured and all
16 of it can be solved.

17 I have not had the experience
18 that the President has had in holding that office,
19 but I think in being Governor of California, the most
20 populous state in the union, if it were a nation,
21 it would be the seventh ranking economic power in
22 the world. I too had some lonely moments and
23 decisions to make.

24 I know that the economic program
25 that I have proposed for this nation in the next few
26 years can resolve many of the problems that trouble
27 us today. I know because we did it there.

28 We cut the cost, the increased cost
29 of government, the increase, in half, over the eight
30 years. We returned \$5.7 billion in tax rebates,
31 credits and cuts to our people.

32 We, as I have said earlier, fell
33 below the national average in inflation when we did
34 that, and I know that we did give back authority
35 and autonomy to the people.

36 I would like to have a crusade
37 today and I would like to lead that crusade with
38 your help and it would be one to take government
39 off the backs of the great people of this country
40 and turn you loose again to do those things that I
41 know you can do so well, because you did them and
42 made this country great.

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Thank you.

MR. SMITH: Gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen, for 60 years, the League of Women Voters has been committed to citizen education and effective participation of Americans in governmental and political affairs.

The most critical element of all in that process is an informed citizen who goes to the polls and who votes.

On behalf of the League of Women Voters now, I would like to thank President Carter and Governor Reagan for being with us in Cleveland tonight and, ladies and gentlemen, thank you and good night.
