

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library  
Digital Library Collections

---

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

---

**Collection:** Reagan, Ronald: 1980 Campaign Papers,  
1965-80

**Folder Title:** Cleveland OH, 10/28/1980 (Reagan – Carter) –  
Transcript (2 of 2)

**Box:** 140

---

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

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.

**fineun-mancini**

THE COURT REPORTERS • CLEVELAND, OHIO

THE LEADER BLDG, 44114 • 216-696-2272

pz

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25

**PRESENT:**

**President Jimmy Carter  
Governor Ronald Reagan**

**PANEL**

**Howard K. Smith, Moderator**

**Harry Ellis  
Marvin Stone  
Barbara Walters  
William Hilliard**

- - -



Tk1GSpz

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

MRS. HINERFIELD: Good evening, I am Ruth Hinerfield 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. Hinerfield. 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.

nd 1



Take 2  
ljz

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.

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

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

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

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

1 responsibility as the leader of the free world,  
2 because we are the only one that can do it; there-  
3 fore, the burden of maintaining the peace falls on  
4 us, and to maintain that peace requires strength.

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

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

21 MR. STONE: Yes.

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



Take 3

jmp

1

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 1983, 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,  
the question of war and peace is the central issue in  
this campaign. You have been criticized in the give  
and take for responding late to aggressive Soviet  
impulses and for insufficient buildup of our armed forces  
and a paralysis in dealing with that in Afghanistan and  
Iran.

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 In the Middle East, we have worked  
16 for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt success-  
17 fully and have tied ourselves together with Israel and  
18 Egypt in a common defense capability.

19 This is a very good step forward for  
20 our nation's security and we will continue to do as we  
21 have done in the past.  
22  
23  
24  
25



pz-1

Tk -4GS

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.

4b

13 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.

4c

26 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.



T4-2pz

1 This I believe has assured that  
2 our interests will be protected in the Persian Gulf  
3 region as we have done in the Middle East and through-  
out the world.

4d  
end 4cpz

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

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. I ques-  
7 tion the figure about the decline in defense spending  
8 under the previous administration in the preceding  
9 eight years to this administration.

10 I would call to your attention  
11 that we were in a war that wound down during those  
12 eight years which, of course, made a change in mili-  
13 tary spending because of turning from war to peace.

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

19 Now, Gerald Ford left a five-year  
20 projected plan for a military buildup to restore our  
21 defenses, and President Carter's administration re-  
22 duced that by 38 percent, cut 60 ships out of the  
23 Navy building program that had been proposed and  
24 stopped the B-1, delayed the cruise missiles, stopped  
25 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

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

22 PRESIDENT CARTER: Well, there  
23 are various elements of defense. One is to control  
24 nuclear weapons, which I hope we will get to later on  
25 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 those 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  
external factors beyond U.S. control, notably the  
more than doubling of oil prices by OPEC last year.

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

4g  
PRESIDENT CARTER: Again, it's  
important to put the situation into perspective.  
In 1974 we had a so-called oil shock wherein the  
price of OPEC oil was raised to an extraordinary  
degree.

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

The recession that resulted this

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

2  
3 In addition, we've brought down  
inflation. Earlier this year, the first quarter,  
4 we did have a very severe inflation pressure brought  
about by the OPEC price increase. It averaged  
5 about 18 percent the first quarter of this year.

6 The second quarter we had dropped  
it down to about 13<sup>4</sup> percent. The most recent figures  
7 the last three months of the third quarter this year,  
the inflation rate is 7 percent, still too high,  
8 but it illustrates very vividly that in addition to  
providing an enormous number of jobs, nine million  
9 new jobs in the last three and a half years, that  
the inflationary threat is still urgent on us.

end 4

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25



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  
time the unemployment rate still hangs high as does  
the inflation rate.

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

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

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  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
end 5



ljz

1

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  
States remains vulnerable to such external shocks,  
can inflation, in fact, be controlled?

If so, specifically what measures  
would you pursue?

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

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

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.

Take 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  
revenues have not kept pace with Government spending.

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

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

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



1 MR. ELLIS: Yes. You have cen-  
2 tered on cutting Government spending in what you have  
3 just said about your own policies. You have also  
4 said that you would increase defense spending.

5 Specifically, where would you  
6 cut Government spending if you were to increase  
7 defense spending and also cut taxes so that presum-  
8 ably federal revenues would shrink?

9 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, most  
10 people, when they think about cutting Government  
11 spending, they think in terms of eliminating neces-  
12 sary programs or wiping out something, some service  
13 the Government is supposed to perform.

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

20 We have had the General Account-  
21 ing Office estimate that there is probably tens  
22 of billions of dollars that are lost in fraud alone  
23 and they have indicated that waste adds even more  
24 than that.

25 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 pre-  
sented to the American public.

He would actually have to cut



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,  
President Carter.

Governor Reagan has the last word  
on this question.

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

The size of government increased  
only one-sixth in California of what it increased in  
proportion to population in Georgia, and the idea  
that my tax cut proposal is inflationary, I would  
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 Congressmen 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  
tax incentives and with cooperation with the private  
sector, that we have development zones, let the local  
entity, the city, declare this particular area based  
on the standards of the percentage of people on  
welfare, unemployed and so forth in that area.

Take 7

jmp

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.

Take  
7-b



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?

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

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

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

PRESIDENT CARTER: Thank you, Mr.  
Hilliard.

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

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

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

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

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

13 We now are planning to continue the  
14 revitalization program with increased commitments of  
15 rapid transit, mass transit. Under the Windfall  
16 Profits Tax we expect to spend about 43 billion dollars  
17 in the next ten years to rebuild the transportation  
18 systems of our country.

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

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

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

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



Take 7-C

ljz

1

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

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

9 MR. SMITH: Follow-up question?

10 MR. HILLIARD: Yes.

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

13 Blacks and other non-whites are  
14 increasing in numbers in our cities. Many of them  
15 feel that they are facing a hostility from whites  
16 which prevents them from joining the economic main-  
17 stream of our society. There is racial confronta-  
18 tion in the schools, on jobs, and in housing as non-  
19 whites seek to reap the benefits of a free society.

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

22 PRESIDENT CARTER: Ours is a  
23 nation of refugees, a nation of immigrants. Almost  
24 all of our citizens came here from other lands, and  
25 now have hopes which are being realized for a better  
life, preserving their ethnic commitments, their  
family structures, their religious beliefs; preserv-  
ing 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

Take 7-C

ljz

1

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

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

9 MR. SMITH: Follow-up question?

10 MR. HILLIARD: Yes.

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

13 Blacks and other non-whites are  
14 increasing in numbers in our cities. Many of them  
15 feel that they are facing a hostility from whites  
16 which prevents them from joining the economic main-  
17 stream of our society. There is racial confronta-  
18 tion in the schools, on jobs, and in housing as non-  
19 whites seek to reap the benefits of a free society.

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

22 PRESIDENT CARTER: Ours is a  
23 nation of refugees, a nation of immigrants. Almost  
24 all of our citizens came here from other lands, and  
25 now have hopes which are being realized for a better  
life, preserving their ethnic commitments, their  
family structures, their religious beliefs; preserv-  
ing 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  
in minority unemployment among young people; and  
therefore, I have been in favor of a separate minimum  
for them.

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

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

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

We have made good progress, and  
there is no doubt in my mind that the commitment to  
Unemployment Compensation, the minimum wage, the  
welfare, national health insurance, those kinds of  
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  
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.

49

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  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25



ljz  
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?

End 7-F

Take 7-G

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

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

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

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

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

What I do think should be done,  
once they are safely here with their families and  
that tragedy is over and we have endured this humilia-  
tion for just lacking one week of a year now, then I  
think it is time for us to have a complete investiga-  
tion as to the diplomatic efforts that were made in  
the beginning; why they have been there so long, and  
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  
authoritarianism, totalitarianism, I should say,  
in the alternative government makes one wonder  
whether you are being helpful to the people, and we  
have been guilty of that because someone didn't meet  
exactly our standards of human rights, even though  
they were an ally of ours.

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

End 7-G



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.

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

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

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. I have no  
quarrel whatsoever with the things that have been done  
because I believe it is high time that the civilized  
countries of the world make it plain that there is no  
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

25



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 nayet, 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 man 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  
Salt II treaty as Mr. Carter and Mr. Mondale sug-  
gested I have. It had been blocked by a Senate in  
which there was a democratic majority.

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

8b MR. SMITH: Governor, I have to  
interrupt you at this moment. The time is up for  
that. The same question now to President Carter.

MR. STONE: Yes. President  
Carter, both of you have expressed the desire to end  
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  
supported any of those arms control agreements,  
the limited test ban, Salt I, nor the anti-ballistic  
missile treaty, nor the Vladivostok treaty negotiated  
with the Soviet Union by President Ford, and now  
he wants to throw into the waste basket a treaty to  
control nuclear weapons on a balanced and equal basis  
between ourselves and the Soviet Union, negotiated  
over a seven-year period by myself and my two  
republican predecessors.

26 The Senate has not voted yet on  
27 the strategic arms limitation treaty. There have  
28 been preliminary skirmishes in the committees of the  
29 Senate, but the treaty has never come to the floor  
30 of the Senate for either a debate or a vote.

31 It is understandable that a  
32 Senator in the preliminary debate can make an



8-3pz

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  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

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

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

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

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

Tk9GSpz

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

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

MR. SMITH: President Carter?

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



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  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

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

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

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

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

Tk9GSpz

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

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

MR. SMITH: President Carter?

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



Tk9 - 4pz

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

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

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

10 9b This would mean the resumption  
11 of a very dangerous nuclear arms race. It would be  
12 very disturbing to American people. It would change  
13 the basic tone and commitment that our nation has  
14 experienced ever since the Second World War with all  
presidents, democratic and republican, and would  
also be very disturbing to our allies, all of whom  
support this nuclear arms treaty.

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

18 9c MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

19 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I know the  
20 president is supposed to be replying to me, but  
21 sometimes I have a hard time connecting what he's  
22 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.

23 My point I have made already,  
24 Mr. President, with regard to negotiating, it does  
25 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



Tk9 - 6pz

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

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

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

8 PRESIDENT CARTER: I don't think  
9 there is any doubt that in the future the cost of  
10 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.

11 It can only be done in two ways:  
12 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.

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

16 This commitment has been opening  
17 up a very bright vista for our nation in the future,  
because with the windfall profits tax as a base, we  
18 now have an opportunity to use American technology  
and American ability and American natural resources  
19 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  
20 American energy.

21 We will drill more oil and gas  
wells this year than any year in history. We will  
22 produce more coal this year than any year in history.  
We are exporting more coal this year than any year  
23 in history, and we have an opportunity now with im-  
proved transportation systems, improved loading  
24 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.  
25



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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.

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

MR. SMITH: President Carter,  
your comment.

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

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



Tk9 - 9pz

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

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

9gh

19 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

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

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

It hasn't produced a quart of  
oil or a lump of coal or anything else in the line  
of energy, and for Mr. Carter to suggest that I  
want to do away with the safety laws and with the  
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  
United States, the strictest air quality law that  
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  
federal government had one in place, and to this day,  
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-  
5 try and that are contributing their part to inflation,  
6 and I would like to see us a little more free as we  
7 once were.

8  
9  
10 MR. SMITH: President Carter,  
11 another crack at that?

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

17  
18 Also, recently, when someone  
19 suggested that the Occupational Safety and Health  
20 Act should be abolished, Governor Reagan responded  
21 "Amen."

22  
23 9i The offshore drilling rights  
24 is a question that Governor Reagan raises often.  
25 As a matter of fact, in the proposal for the Alaska  
land legislation, a hundred percent of all the  
offshore lands would be opened for exploration.  
95 percent of all the Alaska lands where it is sus-  
pected or believed that minerals might exist, we  
have with our five-year plan for the leasing of off-  
shore lands proposed more land to be drilled than has  
been opened up for drilling since this program first  
started in 1954. So we're not putting restraints  
on American exploration. We're encouraging it in  
every way we can.

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

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

9j  
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.

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

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

9k  
Now it is trillions of dollars  
out of balance, and the only answer that has come so  
far, it is the biggest single tax increase in our  
nation's history, the payroll tax increase for  
Social Security which will only put a band-aid on  
this and postpone the day of reckoning by a few years

1 at most.

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

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

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

20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
end 9



ljz

1

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

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

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

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

17 Although Governor Reagan has  
18 changed his position lately on four different occa-  
19 sions, he has advocated making the Social Security  
20 system a voluntary system, which would, in effect,  
21 very quickly bankrupt it.

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

End 10-A

Take 10-B

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

39 That's the way it will stay.

40 MR. SMITH: And Governor Reagan?



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

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

( End10-b 13 I too am pledged to a Social  
14 Security program that will reassure the senior citizens  
15 of ours they are going to continue to get their  
16 money.

Take 10-C 15 There are some changes I would like  
16 to make. I would like to make a change that  
17 discriminates in the regulations against the wife who  
18 works and finds that she then is faced with a choice  
19 between her father or husband's benefits, if he  
20 dies first, or what she has paid in, but it does not  
21 recognize that she has also been paying in herself  
22 and she is entitled to more than she presently can get.  
23 I would like to change that.

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

22 PRESIDENT CARTER: These constant  
23 suggestions that the basic Social Security system  
24 should be changed does cause concern and consterna-  
25 tion among the aged of our country.

24 It is obvious that we should have  
25 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



1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

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

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

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.

End 10-C



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

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

8 The allusions to basic changes in  
9 the minimum wage is another and the deleterious comments  
10 that Governor Reagan has made about unemployment compen-  
11 sation, these commitments that the Democratic party  
12 has historically made to the working families of this  
13 nation, have been extremely important to the growth in  
14 their stature and in the better quality of life for them.

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

21 So it is good for the American  
22 people to remember there is a sharp basic historical  
23 difference between Governor Reagan and me on these  
24 crucial issues, also between the two parties that we  
25 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 your-  
selves, 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

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

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25



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  
year, or in some instances to project American  
forces into a fishing dispute against the small nation  
of Ecuador on the west coast of South America, this  
is typical of his long-standing inclination on the  
use of American power, not to resolve disputes dip-  
lomatically and peacefully, but to show that the  
exercise of military power is best proven by the  
actual use of it.

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



51  
Tk10F  
LADpz

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

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

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

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

24 Now, as to why I should be and  
25 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.

10G



Take 10-G  
ljz

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.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

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.

End 10-G



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 herd  
22 on those regulations and start eliminating those  
23 discriminations in the Federal Government against  
24 women.

25 MR. SMITH: President Carter?

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

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

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

In addition to that, I believe  
this element of discrimination is something that the  
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  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25



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: Gentlemen, 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  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

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

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

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

End 10-I



lpz

10JLADpz

1 As I have studied the record be-  
2 tween myself and Governor Reagan, I have been im-  
3 pressed with the stark differences that exist between  
4 us. I think the result of this debate indicates  
5 that that fact is true.

6 I consider myself in the main-  
7 stream of my party. I consider myself in the main-  
8 stream, even of the bipartisan list of presidents  
9 who served before me.

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

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

21 I have done that with moderation,  
22 with care, with thoughtfulness, sometimes consulting  
23 experts, but I have learned in this last three and a  
24 half years that when an issue is extremely difficult,  
25 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  
good that at least once all three of us were heard  
by the people of this country.

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

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

10LLADpz

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

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.

- - -