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: David Gergen – Book I (1 of 4)

Box: 238

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/

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A perfect
Book I
A might

BOOK I

A. GENERAL

- 1. Strategy
- 2. Issue Box Score Carter Anderson Reagan
- 3. Anderson

B. MAJOR DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Economy

Carter Reagan Other Issues

- 2. Energy & Environment
- 3. Labor
- 4. Health, Education and Welfare
- 5. Urban Policies
- 6. Social Issues

C. ATTACK MATERIALS

- 1. Carter
- 2. Reagan
- D. CALIFORNIA RECORD

BOOK II

E. OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1. Agriculture
- 2. Anti-Trust
- 3. Consumer Protection
- 4. Crime and Drugs
- 5. D. C. Amendment
- 6. Elderly & Social Security
- 7. Families
- 8. Housing
- 9. Immigration
- 10. Judicial Appointments
- 11. Managing the Bureaucracy
- 12. Political Potpourri
- 13. Puerto Rico
- 14. Religion.
- 15. Returning Power to States
- 16. Science & Technology
- 17. Small Business
- 18. Transportation
- 19. Veterans

F. DEFENSE

BOOK II

D. OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES

- 1. Agriculture
- 2. Aid for Bankrupt Cities x
- ✓3. Anti-Trust -
 - 4. Civil Rights -
- ✓5. Consumer Protection
 - 6. Corruption
- √7. Crime & Drugs □ □ []
- ✓ 8. D.C. Amendment
- ✓ 9. Elderly & Social Security
- 10. Election Funding -
- ll. Families_
- ✓12. Federal Management
- -13. Federalism (Ret. ? over & show)
- ✓ 14. Housing
- ▶15. Immigration __
- ✓ 16. Judicial Appointments
 - 17. Minorities
- 18. Puerto Rico
 - 19. Religion _
 - 20. Role Big Business
- 21. Science & Technology
- 22. Small Business
 - 23. Trade/Export Policy
 - 24. Transportation
 - 25. Urban Policies
- 26. Veterans
 - 27. Voter Registration
- 28. Women's Issues & Abortion
 - Regulation Composed bullarla

BOOK III

E. MAJOR INTERNATIONAL/DEFENSE ISSUES

- 1. Current Crises
 - •Iran
 - •Afghanistan
 - Poland
- 2. USSR and Strategic Balance
- 3. China
- 4. Middle East
- 5. Defense
- 6. Arms Control

OTHER INTERNATIONAL/DEFENSE ISSUES

- 1. Allies
- 2. Global Issues
- 3. Intelligence Capabilities
- 4. International Economic Issues
- 5. Neighbors
- 6. Technology Transfer
- 7. Third World
- 8. Vietnam War

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

TO: Governor Reagan, William Casey and James Baker

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin and Richard S. Beal

DATE: September 12, 1980

RE: First Debate -- Integrating Memorandum

Debate Points

- o Use the debate as an opportunity to expand the Governor's political base to include ticket-splitters, non-partisans and political moderates.
- o Use the issue positions as vehicles for conveying positive image traits:
 - caring, compassionate and safe,
 - reasonableness, moderation and sensitivity,
 - competence and judgment, and
 - strong and decisive.
- o Anticipate Anderson's attack to come principally in terms of the feasibility of Reagan's proposals and that the Governor's foreign/defense policies are dangerous.
 - Use the opportunity to show constrain and sensitivity on the war issue: judgment, sense of balance and moderation.
 - Counter Anderson's attacks only when they are unusually harsh and damaging.
 - Assert that program feasibility is achieved by leadership, consistency, perseverence and a high reliance on the strengths and resources of the American people.
- o Reinforce the Governor's already existing leadership image by demonstrating issue competence and appreciation for alternative approaches to the issues.
- o Governor's attacks on Carter should focus on the theme that there is "nothing in the Carter record that justifies his re-election."

2 . . . Integrating Memo on the First Debate

- Empty chair problem: we need to approach this carefully focusing on the fact that Jimmy Carter has denied the public the opportunity to hear his explanation of the policies of the first term.
- Temper the attacks to avoid the public backlash, i.e. the feeling that "it is unfair to attack Carter that way when he isn't here to protect himself."

o Carter Attack Themes

- Carter Record: the issues are inflation, the economy generally and unemployment; the Carter Administration has no vision and no policy consistency, e.g. the number of Carter economic programs.
- Carter Campaign: Carter will stay in the White House and take the high road while Mondale and the surrogates will take the low road.
- Carter's Policies: in order avoid his record Carter will make futuristic proposals to divert attention from the first term.

ISSUES BOX SCORES Carter-Reagan-Anderson

POSITION	ANDERSON	REAGAN	CARTER
Economy	• spending position contradictions	• cut spending	• maintain spending
	 wants taxes indexed only after budget balanced 	• taxes indexed by 1984	opposes indexing taxes
	 wants tax cuts only after taxes indexed and budget balanced 	tax cuts over the next three years; eliminate fraud and waste	• tax cuts through credits to offset social security
	 opposes constitutional amendment to balance federal budget 	favors constitutional amendment to balance federal budget	against constitutional amendment to balance federal budget
	 favors tying government expenditures to % of GNP 	favors tying government expenditure to % of GNP	opposes tying government expenditure to % of GNP
	• favors wage price incentives program	opposes all forms of wage price controls	strong but voluntary wage price guidelines
	• favors accelerated de- preciation	favors business tax cuts through depreciation change	favors business tax cuts through depreciation change
Energy	• favors 50¢/gallon gas tax	• opposes gas tax	• favors 10¢/gallon gas tax
	 supports windfall profits tax 	• opposes windfall profits tax	• supports windfall profits tax
	• federal funds for synfuels	•	 proposed synfuels program originally
	• no nuclear power without waste disposal	• favors safe nuclear power	favors nuclear power, Dem platform negative

POSITION	ANDERSON	REAGAN	CARTER
Energy (continued)	 favors 55mph limit fill strategic petroleum reserve for 40mpg fuel standard by 1995 	 against 55 mph limit fill strategic petroleum reserve opposes fuel standards eliminate DOE 	 for 55 mph limit stopped filling SPR for 1½ years supports fuel standards generally created DOE
Environment	 co-sponsored Alaska Lands Bill in House (expansive version) supports federal regula- tion of strip mining 	sees Alaska Lands Bill as imbalanced favors more state and local control of strip	supports Alaska Lands Bill supports strong strip mining
	• supports renewal of Clean Air & Water Acts	• supports clean air and water	• supports renewal of Clean and Water Acts
Labor	favors youth differentialopposes repeal of Davis-	 favors youth differential for minimum wage supports repeal of Davis- 	no youth differentialopposes repeal of Davis-
	Bacon • supports OSHA	Baconsupports reformed OSHAsupports collective bargaining	supports OSHA
Health	would require privately offered catastrophic health insurance	encourage private catastro- phic health insurance thru tax incentives	• require privately offered catastrophic health
	• opposes national health insurance	 opposes national health insurance opposes hospital cost con- trols 	 submitted national health insurance proposal favor hospital cost con- trols
Wel e	• establish AFDC minimum benefit level	leave welfare to the states, transfer resources back	establish AFDC minimum benefit level

POSITION	ANDERSON	REAGAN	CARTER
Education	• voted for Dept of Education	against dept of Education; wants local control of schools	• for dept of Education
	• opposes tuition tax credit	• for tuition tax credit	• against tuiton tax credi
	 supports busing as last resort 	• opposes busing	• supports busing
	• supports more loans for middle income families	o eliminate overregulation	
	1		
Agriculture	• reform estate & inheritance taxes	• eliminate estate and inheri- tance taxes	maintain estate and in- heritance taxes
	• improve parity ratio, 100% too expensive	• favors 100% parity through free market	maintain parity ratio as is
	• support grain embargo	• oppose grain embargo	• initiated grain embargo
Aid for Bankrupt Cities	• for	• for	• for
Anti-Trust		• opposes anti-merger legisla- tion	• supports anti-merger le
Civil Rights	• supports DC Amendment	• opposes DC amendment	• for DC voting rights
	 supports handgun re- gistration 	opposes gun control	• no gun control
	allow gays in federal service	opposes special "gay ordinances"	• supports gay rights
Consumer Protection	overturn Illinois Brick decision	do not overturn Illinois Brick decision	•

POSITION	ANDERSON	REAGAN	CARTER
Elderly and Social Security		adequate housing for elderlyeliminate earnings limitation	
	ation on social security	on social security	
	• fund SS through 50¢ gas tax	 defend integrity of social security 	• raise SS tax, lower income tax
		 review SS funding problems no gas tax 	
E-mile	• eliminate marriage penalty	eliminate marriage penalty	• reduce marriage penalty 109
Family	• eminimate marriage penarcy	when fiscally possible	Teduce natifiage polarity 100
	 federal daycare for poor, working parents 	• tax incentives for daycare	limited daycare
4		• opposes busing	
	Individual Retirement Accounts for homemakers	opposes federal inter- ference with families	
Wanen	• supports ERA	• favors equality for women	• supports ERA
	• supports federally funded abortions	 opposes federally funded abortions except rape, in- cest, life threatening 	• opposes federally funded abortions except rape,
	No amendment banning abortion	 amendment banning abor- tion except rape, incest, life threatening 	no amendment banning abortion
		•	

POSITION	ANDERSON	REAGAN	CARTER
Defense	 opposes Carter's proposed 5% increase, but does not propose specific amount opposes MX missle supports Trident sub supports regular naval presence in Persian Gulf 	 increase defense spending; re-establish "margin of safety" supports MX missile supports Trident 	 5% increase in defense spending to sell SALT II, based on 8% expected inflation delayed MX, now supports delayed Trident, now supports supports naval presence in Persian Gulf
	opposes peacetime draft registration	opposes peacetime draft registration and draft	• supports registration, opposes draft
1	supports increased pay and benefits for military personnel	supports increased pay and benefits for military personnel	 recently passed pay increase and benefits increase for military personnel
	supports SALT IIopposed neutron warhead in Europe	opposes SALT II supports neutron warhead in Europe	 supports SALT II opposes neutron warhead in Europe
	• supports modernizing the B-52	new strategic manned bomber	 cancelled B 1, no new bomber planned, revealed STEALTH

POSITION	ANDERSON	REAGAN	CARTER
Foreign Policy	• recognizes Palestinian rights but opposes state between Israel & Jordan	• stand by 242 in Middle East	 negotiated solution under Camp David
	• Jerusalem as capital of Israel. Embassy there.	Jerusalem a free and undivided city	• has not moved embassy
	 supports Olympic boycott, grain embargo, technology boycott, closing US con- sulate in New York 	opposes Olympic boycott, grain embargo, technology	initiated boycotts and embargo
	 Cuba concern should not shape Central American policy 	Cuba a concern	Russian troops in Cuba, Cubans in Africa

JOHN ANDERSON: OVERVIEW

BACKGROUND:

First elected to Congress in 1961. Conservative mid-western congressman has become the most liberal of the main

Presidential candidates.

Declared candidacy in June 1979. Failed to win any primaries. Declared independent

candidacy in July 1980.

FUNDING:

Financial support from traditional

liberal intelligentsia.

Recent FEC decision allows him to borrow

up to \$10M.

SUPPORT:

Attempt to appeal to Jewish vote and to disaffected voters from each major party. Showing stronger in East than in South or West. Not strong with blue collar or Catholics. Stronger with young, white

collar, college educated.

STRATEGY:

Press has recently reported change -going back to confrontational style that won points in Iowa debate. Example: at TRW, company helping to build MX, Anderson attacked MX forcefully.

ANDERSON VULNERABILITIES

- 1. 50¢ gas tax
- 2. "The Anderson Difference" -- Voted against Carter only 8% of time in House (1979)
- 3. Flip flop on Kemp Roth -- supported, now opposes
- 4. Flip flop on wage-price controls -- opposed, now would support if inflation high enough
- 5. Flip flop on nuclear power -- strong supporter, now would impose moratorium until safety ensured
- 6. Flip flop on Afghanistan -- once aghast, now not so serious
- Vows to streamline regulation but voted for Dept. of Education
- 8. Vows to increase coal production while keeping all environmental standards in place
- 9. Castigated independent candidacy of Eugene McCarthy in 1976
- 10. Embarrassment of the 3 "Jesus" Amendments in the 1960's
- 11. Flip flop on Vietnam
- 12. Flip flop philosophy -- conservative to liberal

NOTE: Anderson budget now under study; looks very expensive, inflationary.

In short, John Anderson is not just a man who has never won an election outside Rockford, Illinois (he ran in 23 primaries and caucuses -- and lost them all). He is also a man without a party -- and a man without a philosophy.

ANDERSON VULNERABILITIES: A LONGER LOOK

1. 50¢ Gas Tax

- -- Proposed early in 1980 campaign; said he would use the funds to offset Social Security increases
- -- Tax by Anderson's own admission would raise \$61 billion (Anderson energy position paper); others estimate cost could be much higher
- -- A political loser. Anderson rarely pushes it now.

2. "The Anderson Difference"

In 1979, Anderson

- -- Voted against Carter position only 8% of time. (More anti-Carter in other years).
- -- Among pro-Carter votes:
 - Panama Canal
 - Stand-by gas rationing
 - Against Bl bomber & MX missile
 - Against nuclear aircraft carrier

3. Flip Flop on Kemp Roth

-- "I'm a strong supporter of...Kemp-Roth, a bill that would greatly enhance the nation's economic outlook."

New York Times (?), 5-26-80 (from '78 article)

-- "We cannot fight higher prices with higher unemployment and we cannot combat the decline of purchasing power with inflationary, across-the-board consumption-oriented tax cuts like the Reagan Kemp-Roth proposal."

Anderson platform

4. Flip Flop on Wage Price Controls

-- 1970: Q. Do you favor or oppose wage & price controls? A. Oppose

Texas Advocate July, 1970

-- 1979: "We've got to fight inflation, and voluntary guidelines are the only alternative to mandatory controls. I believe in the market system as the most effective distribution of goods and services."

-- 1980: "I said that a wage price freeze would be a possibility only if, in the entire second quarter, we had an accelerated inflation rate beyond which we had in the first quarter -- which came out at about 16%."

Christian Science Monitor 6-11-80

5. Flip Flop on Nuclear Power

- -- consistant pro-nuclear record
 - -- member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee
 - -- voted for Clinch River Breeder Reactor
 - -- voted for interim licensing for some nuclear plants that had not submitted Environmental Impact Statements to AEC
- -- now supports "preserving nuclear power" BUT HAS STATED that "unless we can maintain adequate safe-guards further expansion of nuclear power must be halted"
- -- his platform declares a moratorium on new nuclear construction permits, until permanent nuclear waste site is begun

6. Flip Flop on Afghanistan

Jan, 1980: "I believe Afghanistan is the real problem in the world today and that Soviet conduct is the red flag we've got to observe."

LA Times 1-17-80

Feb, 1980: "I don't want to see us succumb to cold-war hysteria. We can't let detente go into deep freeze. I don't agree with Carter that Afghanistan represents the single most dangerous Soviet action since World War II."

N.Y. Times 2-17-80

7. Flip Flop on Excess Government Regulation

- -- The Anderson Platform supports annual regulatory reform and review, and repeatedly calls for a reduction of excess regulation.
- -- But the Anderson Platform calls for 21 new programs -- commissions, councils, trust funds, agencies, etc. (see attached)
- -- Anderson voted for the new Department of Education

8. Conflict on Coal Production and Environmental Standards

"I would push much more vigorously than the Carter Administration for a conversion program from oil to coal"

Sunday Gazette Mail 5-18-80

and his platform provides tax incentives for firms that switch to coal

"As impelling as the looming energy crisis is, we simply cannot automatically relax clean air and the pollution standards."

Pittsburgh Press 6-9-80

9. Flip Flop on Independent Candidacy

- -- Declared independent candidacy on July 1, 1980
- -- Yet in 1976 criticized Gene McCarthy's candidacy

"I'm not going to sit here quietly and listen to you denegrate the two party system. It has served this country well over the last 200 years."

Reported in WSJ 4-22-80

10. Flip Flop on Christian Amendment

-- Anderson introduced the "Jesus" Amendment (constitutional amendment to recognize Jesus Christ as Saviour and Ruler of nations) in three Sessions of Congress (June 61, March 63, January 65)

Baltimore Sun 6-18-80 Kilpatrick Column "I vigorously affirm the principle of separation of church and state"

"It was just one of those things I did in the very early months of coming to Congress. And what harm was done?...I have renounced it."

Washington Star 5-23-80

11. Flip Flop on Vietnam

While in Congress, Anderson supported:

- --- Gulf of Tonkin resolution
- --- Appropriations for the war
- --- Nixon's negotiated settlement
- --- Generally supported war effort

In 1970, Anderson denounced the war as "the most tragic error in diplomacy and military policy in our nation's history."

CO 11-3-79

12. Flip Flop Conservative vs. Liberal

- -- Anderson came to Congress as a Midwestern conservative
- -- His record in the 60's was hailed by Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) as one of the most conservative in Congress
- -- Part of Goldwater "Truth Squad" (? Checking)
- -- His recent record deviates significantly from most of his GOP colleagues

CQ 11-3-79

-- Now has the Liberal party line in New York. New York Liberal Party Chairman has said Anderson is "to the left of Teddy Kennedy on foreign policy."

NEW ANDERSON PROGRAMS

- 1. Urban reinvestment trust fund
- 2. Task force to review National Commission on Neighborhoods
- 3 Community Transportation Trust Fund
- 4. Presidential Commission on Education
- 5. White House Conference on Arts and Humanities
- 6. National Art Bank
- 7. Patron Awards Program
- 8. Industrial Development Administration
- 9. Industrial Development Council
- 10. Coal Export Authority
- 11. Wage-Price Incentives Program
- 12. Youth Energy Projects
- 13. Pilot Projects in federally funded state training programs
- 14. Federal program to re-equip R&D labs
- 15. Regional technology centers
- 16. Separate patent court
- 17. Conservation info program
- 18. Agency for International Energy Development
- 19. Agriculture Export Credit Revolving Fund
- 20. UN High Commissioner on Human Rights
- 21. Mexican-American Commission on border Relations

ANDERSON POSITIONS

POLICY POSITIONS:

The following positions were outlined in Anderson's recent National Unity Platform (370 pages), or developed in previous statements by the candidate.

ECONOMY:

Opposes general tax cut

Cut taxes as federal spending is reduced

Index taxes after budget is in balance

Tie government spending to GNP through Congressional Budget Act

Opposes constitutional amendment to balance budget

Accelerated business write-offs for small business

Wage-price incentives program--labor and management agreement on fair wages and prices

Supports Humphrey-Hawkins

Wants youth minimum wage

Reduce corporate tax rate by 2%

Countercyclical Revenue sharing (1.5B over next 2 years)

Brooke-Cranston revival of housing market

Opposes using monetary policy to control inflation

All Americans must sacrifice

Tax credit to improve R&D

Federal money to re-equip R&D labs

Urban Reinvestment Trust Fund

Countercyclical Mortgage Subsidies

Enterprise zones

Withhold federal contracts from labor law violators

Opposes repeal of Davis-Bacon

Supports OSHA

ENERGY:

50¢ gasoline tax, proceeds to cover part of social security, with decrease in social security tax

Decontrol domestic oil and gas prices

Wants synfuels

Supports windfall profits tax

No nuclear construction until site begun

No nuclear power without safe waste disposal

Full strategic petroleum reserve

Strong supporter of energy mobilization board

Interest free loans for home conservation investments

Auto fuel economy standard of 40mpg by 1995 in Congress

Special minimum fuel economy for light trucks

Strict 55mph speed limit

More mass transit

International Energy Agency to forbid large purchases by energy companies in times of tight supply

Reduce demand for electricity

Supports standby gasoline rationing, and Carter's rejected program

Federal money for coal conversion

Tax incentives for coal users

Deregulate Transportation

ENVIRONMENT: Supports renewal of Clean Air and Clean Water Acts
Supports federal regulation of coal strip mining
Co-sponsor of very expansive Alaska Lands bill
Supports superfund for toxic waste and oil spills
Opposes westerners in Sagebrush rebellion
Cost-benefit studies of western water projects

SOCIAL: Supports Fair Housing Legislation

Supports affirmative action in housing area

1) education Supports better education loan system for middle income families

Opposes tuition tax credits

Supports busing, but as a last resort

judicial Bar discrimination of gays in Federal government

Authorize Civil Rights Commission to investigate gay discrimination

Supports DC voting rights

Supports registration of handguns

Would overturn Illinois Brick case (consumer protection issue)

veterans Increase veterans education benefits

Agent Orange Outreach Program

Reimburse employer training and wage costs for vets

family Eliminate marriage penalty

Individual Retirement Accounts for homemakers

Federal daycare funding for poor, working parents

2) health

Would allow choice among Medicare and Medicaid health care options

Tax deductible health care insurance for employers offering optional health plans

Would require privately offered catastrophic health insurance

Expand Medicare and Medicaid

Establish national AFDC minimum benefit level

Raise income limits in certain states

3) welfare

Require state offered AFDC

Continue National Recipient Systems (check erroneous payments)

Full funding of food stamps

women

Supports ERA, supported extension (very vocal
 in women's rights)

Opposes constitutional amendment banning abortion

seniors

Liberalize earnings limitation on social security

Tax deductions for families caring for relatives at home

Aid for rising fuel costs

Public housing for the elderly

AGRICULTURE: Tax reforms to preserve family farms (estate & inheritance)

Expanded gasohol programs

Improve parity ratio, but 100% too expensive

Supports grain embargo

Reduce protectionist barriers overseas

Farmer held reserves for food aid

Rail deregulation to help crop shipments

Priority allocation of fuel for agriculture

Expand Eximbank funding of exports

Reduce taxes of US nationals abroad engaged in export

Duty-free entry of machinery and materials for export production

FOREIGN:

Supports Salt II

Supported Moscow Olympic boycott, technology boycott, and grain embargo. Favored closing Soviet consulate in New York

Opposes official contacts with PLO until UN 242 adopted

Recognizes Palestinian Rights but opposes
Palestinian State between Israel and Jordan

Recognizes Jerusalem as Israeli capital, move embassy there

Force not ruled out if Soviets move in Middle East

U.S. remain guarantor of Egypt-Israeli peace

Military and economic assistance to Israel

Admit Greece, Spain and Portugal to EEC

Encourage Japanese plants in U.S.

Oppose government relations with Taiwan

No arms to China

Extend trade credits to China

Oppose unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea

Support accommodation between North and South Korea

Discourage investments in South Africa

No support of non-democratic Central American governments

Must not allow concerns about Cuba to shape Central America policy

Supports congressional aid to Nicaragua (\$75M)

Opposes normalization of relations with Cuba

FOREIGN: (cont'd)

Supported trade embargo and severing of communications over Iran

Increase foreign aid

Restrict covert use of private U.S. citizens

Limit facilities that use or produce weaponsgrade uranium

DEFENSE:

Opposes Carter's 5% increase, no specifics

Opposes MX

Supports Trident

Opposes peacetime draft registration; draft women for combat

Increased military pay and benefits

Opposes neutron warhead in Europe

Supports modernizing B-52 (as opposed to B-1)

Opposes rapid deployment force

Wants strategic deterrence not superiority

Value for the defense dollar more important than amount

JOHN ANDERSON:

A MOVING TARGET

THAT'S EASY TO HIT

John Anderson: A Metamorphosis

In his earlier years as a Congressman, John Anderson was a Midwestern conservative republican. In the mid-seventies, however, he began to "evolve" into the amalgam of contradictions we see today. Now a Kennedy-style Democrat in Independent clothing, he has named a staunch Kennedy supporter as his running mate; also, he has recently explained that if his presence in the race helps to elect RP, that's ok -- "If Reagan should be elected, the Kennedy wing of the Democratic party would be in the ascendancy...I think that would be a healthy thing." (Washington Post, 8/15/80).

Most of this radical change has come in the last 4 years of his career, culminating in his part platform, a litany of flip flops on his past record and statements, which combined with his campaign statements, provides an interesting policy zig zag. We have documented substantial position fuzzies in the following areas:

Afghanistan
Agriculture
Anderson Difference
Budget
Campaign
Christianity
Consumer Protection
Corporate Assistance
Defense
Energy, Solar, Nuclear, Coal
Environment & Land Use
Federal Regulation

Gun Control
Independent Candidacy
Iran
Kemp-Roth
Labor
Minority Rights
School Prayer
Wage Price Controls
Women's Rights
Vietnam

FLIP

FLOP

GRAIN EMBARGO

"Anderson Tells Iowans He Still Backs Embargo"

> --DesMoines Register 8/21/80

"If elected, I'll end Embargo, says Anderson:

-- same newspaper one day later

"I believe Afghanistan is the real problem in the world today, and that Soviet conduct is a red flag we have to observe."

L.A. Times 1/17/80

"I don't want to see us succomb to cold war hysteria. We can't let detente go into deep freeze. I don't agree with Carter that Afghanistan represents the single-most dangerous Soviet action since WW II."

New York Times 2/17/80

FLIP

FLOP

Anderson is different from Jimmy Carter-- campaign theme.

Anderson only voted with his party 9% of the time in 1979.
--CQA 1980 (148)

Anderson has legislative experience.

Anderson voted on 28% of all votes in 1979, second lowest in the House. Flood, who was ill much of the year had the lowest.

--CQA 1980 (100)

"He didn't know anyone who could balance the budget within 100 days of taking office"

-- L.A. Times 2/22/80

Two weeks later he publicized a list of cuts that would balance the budget.

-- Wash Post 3/8/80

"Anderson vows to stay above negativism"

--Portland Maine Press Herald 8/18/80

- "Anderson talks at 3 colleges, takes potshots at 2 rivals" Balt. Sun 9/9/80
- "Anderson makes scorching attacks on opponents" Balt. Sun 9/2/80

"Anderson Mocking Republican, Denouncing the Democrat" Wash Post 9/2/80 FLIP

FLOP

Constitutional amendment recognizing "the authority and law of Jesus Christ, Savior and Ruler of Nations, through whom are bestowed the b essings of Almighty God."

Anderson proposal 6/19/61

(reintroduced 3/63 and 1/65; staff tried to dissuade him all three times)

"It was a mistake." Washington Post 5/13/80

CONSUMER PROTECTION

FLIP

FLOP

supports consumer protection agency (1975) Congressional Quarterly 6/11/77 voted against consumer protection agency (1977)
Congressional Quarterly
6/11/77

FLIP

FLOP

Bailouts

supported the Lockheed guarantee supported the NYC bailout

opposed Chrysler guarantee (called it corporate socialism) --Philadelphia Enquirer (8/31/80)

Auto Industry

"Just weeks ago... adamently rejected import quotas on foreign cars"

--Detroit News (8/7/80)

said he could support restricting auto imports temporarily to save the American industry from annihilation.

--Ibid

FLIP

FLOP

voted for the neutron bomb

voted for the ABM

"Spending billions on defense ... will not make us strong in the long run."

Anderson Platform (8/80)

voted for the B-1 (later switched)

absent on the MX

Energy Severance Taxes

*"Several states are considering proposals to enact or hike severance taxes on oil, natural gas, or coal. Such beggar thy neighbor policies do not serve the public interest...and divide the nation."

> -- Detroit Economic Club 5/1/80

*" JA's campaign issued a statement Thursday (7/10/80) denying that he has endorsed imposing specific limits on state severance taxes on coal. Statement did not say whether JA would support or oppose Congressional efforts to limit severance taxes on minerals." -- Great Falls Tribune (Montana)

7/11/80

Nuclear Power

*Consistent pro-nuclear record

*Voted for Clinch River Breeder Reactor

*Voted for interim licensing of plants that hadn't submitted EIS's to AEC

*moratorium on new nuclear power plants until waste site begun --Platform

Heating Oil Assistance to Low Income Families

"Anderson called for a 1.4B cut in federal aid that helps low income families buy heating oil." --Washington Post (3/8/80)

*"Our first priority (in Federal low income assistance) must be to help low-income Americans with their home heating bills this winter."

-- Energy issue paper (8/80)

FLIP

FLOP

"on several occasions voted against increased spending for toxic substances control by the EPA..."

Rocky Mountain News 6/9/80

"now tells environmentalists he does not remember why... from now on they can consider him a friend of FPA."

Rocky Mountain News 6/9/80

*Co-sponsored 1979 bill with Udall setting aside 120 million for wilderness in Alaska

FEDERAL REGULATION

FLIP

FLOP

supported Department of Energy "reduce regulation" -- Anderson Platform supported Department of Education (8/80)

supports wage price guidelines
 ("voluntary" with penalties)

supports federal deposit on soda bottles in platform

proposed over 20 new federal programs in platform

FLIP

FLOP

1978 campaign advertisements opposed gun control

Rockford Register Star 3/5/78

1978 campaign argued against gun control in local debates according to hometown newspaper.

Rockford Register Star 3/8/78

now calls advertisements a
 "staff error"

Congressional Record 8/20/80

"Pursue handgun control"

Anderson Platform 8/80

In 1976, criticized Gene McCarthy:

"I'm not going to sit here quietly and listen to you denegrate the two party system. It has served this country well over 200 years."

-- reported in WSJ 4/22/80

Declared independent candidacy July 1, 1980.