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1 spewing money out through 448 spokes in
2 uncoordinated profusion. If you want me to be
3 specific, Ms. Shanahan, let's look at LEAA, a
4 program where we are spending \$500 to \$600 million
5 a year. It's very nice for the Federal Government
6 to be able to provide shiny squad cars and nice
7 new communications equipment for local police
8 departments; but the time may be here, and indeed
9 I believe it has arrived when that responsibility
10 is going to have to remain at home.

11 MR. SMITH: Mr. Connally?

12 GOVERNOR CONNALLY: I agree
13 that until we can actually return to the states
14 much of the responsibility for the administration
15 of many of these programs, that we should greatly
16 expand general revenue sharing, suggested by
17 Senator Baker. I personally carried that legis-
18 lation through the Congress when I was Secretary
19 of the Treasury in 1971. I think it's a very
20 excellent program because the real problem that we
21 have with many of these programs is not the ability
22 or the purpose of the program but the cost of
23 delivery systems.

1 Many of these programs consume two thirds of
2 all the money appropriated by the Congress just in
3 the delivery system. Only one third ever gets to
4 the intended beneficiary. That's where we need to
5 work. For instance, I would abolish the Department
6 of Education. We just created it. It's created
7 with a budget of \$15.1 billion and 18,000 employees.
8 It has already one employee for every school board
9 in America. If you give it a few more years, you
10 will have three employees for every school board in
11 America; and that's a good place to start.

12 MR. SMITH: Mr. Crane?

13 CONGRESSMAN CRANE: First of
14 all, I think we have got to address the problem of
15 inflation, which plays a major role in contributing
16 to the built-in escalation of costs in many of
17 these social programs. Secondly, we have got to
18 determine that we're not going to launch upon any
19 new programs. I think, thirdly, we can tighten up
20 on the waste that is involved in so many of the
21 existing programs.

22 Ben Civiletti told us that the Feds may
23 be wasting, squandering or stealing up to

1 private sectors through productive tax cuts. I
2 disapprove of the grain embargo, \$2.8 billion.
3 I don't like countercyclical revenue sharing.
4 I do strongly support revenue sharing.

5 I would look at consolidating some of these
6 welfare programs and eliminate this dual and
7 triple delivery system that exists. I like this
8 program of grading programs that I mentioned. I
9 like the Leach Amendment that puts limits on
10 Federal employment.

11 RM. SMITH: Thank you very
12 much, gentlemen. The next question is mine and is
13 directed to Senator Dole, and it changes the
14 subject completely. The age ratio of our population
15 is changing radically. There are ever more retired
16 people relatively, ever fewer people in their
17 earning years, relatively; and there is the pension
18 bomb ticking away. The first wave of that post-
19 World War II baby boom will become 33 years old
20 this year, closer to retirement than it is to
21 birth. Shouldn't a prospective President have plans
22 now for the huge strain on Social Security and
23 pension funds that that will inevitably bring?

1 there is another problem which calls upon a
2 President and the Congress to be courageous. And
3 that's to eliminate some of the benefits that have
4 been tacked onto the Social Security program over
5 the years.

6 President Carter sent us six. I might add
7 that the Finance Committee didn't adopt one. Six
8 reforms to cut spending; he knew we wouldn't adopt
9 them, but at least he sent us six. And now I can
10 say that we didn't act. So I believe we have a
11 double responsibility; one, to make certain the
12 system is intact so the beneficiaries will have
13 their money. The same is true in pension funds,
14 but the other is to take a look at some of the
15 growth in the Social Security system itself and
16 the benefits on the Social Security system. We
17 are all for benefits. We are all in politics; but
18 there comes a time, if we're really concerned about
19 the people that it serves, that we're going to have
20 to call a halt.

21 MR. SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

22 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I think that
23 time bomb is ticking for the generation of young

1 people here that are paying in; unless something
2 is done besides Band-Aids, very expensive Band-
3 Aids, such as the President put on with the biggest
4 single tax increase we've ever had, the Social
5 Security tax increase, there is going to be a
6 generation that finds the cupboard bare.

7 Actuarially, on a 75-year basis, Social Security
8 is trillions, trillions of dollars out of balance.
9 The whole premise that the number of workers would
10 increase faster than the retirees doesn't fit.
11 So my own proposal has been that immediately we
12 should appoint a task force of actuarial insurance
13 and pension experts to go into this program but
14 first with the statement that no one dependent on
15 Social Security to date is going to have the rug
16 pulled out from under them. They are going to get
17 the payments that they are living on and expecting,
18 but we must solve that long-range problem. I
19 would advocate a task force for the purpose of
20 looking into it and doing it, rather than just
21 increasing the tax every once in a while to stall
22 it and put it off on someone else's back.

23 MR. SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

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CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: Mr.

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Smith, my energy plan, when adopted by the Congress,

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will not only cut the Social Security tax of the

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average American working man and woman 50 percent,

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but it will actually leave around \$10 billion to

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bolster and strengthen that fund. The other point

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that I would make is that the Social Security

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Advisory Commission reports every four years and

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has just reported recently; and they have recom-

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mended that we ought to take the hospital insurance

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trust fund, the part of the tax that is assessed

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for that purpose, and we ought to take it out of

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the Social Security administration. It has no

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actuarial basis. It ought to be funded out of

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general revenues instead. I think that would be

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a worthy improvement.

17

I simply want to add that the other conclusions

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that the Commission reaches is that the fund is

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sound. The 35 million American men and women who

20

depend on that fund for their retirement income

21

don't have to worry. That fund is sound.

22

MR. SMITH: Mr. Connally?

23

GOVERNOR CONNALLY: I think

1 the fund is sound in the short run. In the long
2 run, it certainly is unsound. It is unsound because
3 politicians of the Congress can't resist the lure
4 of extending additional benefits, knowing that
5 someone else down the road is going to have to pay
6 for it. That's what's happened to us.

7 What we really need to do is take a very
8 comprehensive look at this society in the early
9 1980's and recognize that with the miracles of
10 medicine being performed today, that in the early
11 part, the first quarter of the next century, we
12 are going to have people living to an average age
13 of 110 years old. Are we still going to retire
14 them at 65?

15 We are going to have to be realistic in
16 planning what kind of a nation we're going to have
17 in America, what kind of provision we're going to
18 make, both in the private pension systems and in
19 the Social Security systems. We haven't done that
20 because the Congress again wants -- and the
21 President, every administration wants to solve the
22 immediate problem; and they do not want to take the
23 time to look at it on a long-range basis.

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MR. SMITH: Mr. Crane?

CONGRESSMAN CRANE: What our Democratic friends have managed to do with that program is to create anti-Social in-Security; anti-social in the sense that it's creating generational conflict, the young people protesting paying in because they think they're being ripped off. There is the older generation complaining over the fact that the young people complain about paying in. The insecurity is the threat that the program will come to a halt, and someone will be denied benefits.

The first thing I think we've got to do is reassure all pensioners that they are not going to lose their benefits. I think we have an obligation to do that as people. I think those that can make no other alternatives should be reassured as well. We have taken testimony on the Social Security Subcommittee that indicates that actuaries can come up with the satisfactory solution based upon the same principle as a bona fide retirement plan in the private sector. And it may take until the middle of the next century to get out from under

1 that trillion dollar liability, but that's what
2 we're obliged to do.

3 MR. SMITH: Mr. Bush?

4 CONGRESSMAN BUSH: Social
5 Security started as a supplement to retirement.
6 It's become largely a welfare program, or has side
7 benefits to it. My view is that the Medicare part,
8 to the degree that it needs more financing, be
9 financed as some of it now is out of general
10 revenues. I oppose one of the recommendations of
11 this Commission, which was to tax Social Security
12 benefits. I think that's bad. I think it's not
13 keeping the trust with those people that have
14 saved. I guess the bottom line is just keep that
15 Social Security Trust Fund sound. We can do it,
16 and I don't believe it's going to be bankrupt.

17 MR. SMITH: Mr. Baker?

18 SENATOR BAKER: Mr. Smith, it
19 is an absolute obligation of this and future
20 Presidents to make sure that the trust fund for
21 Social Security does stay sound because we owe
22 that obligation to the men and women who have paid
23 into it. I think the principal challenge is to

1 resist engrafting future programs onto it.

2 If we do put other programs other than retire-
3 ment and disability annuity, we should appropriate
4 the funds from the Treasury to do it. We should
5 not engraft them onto the payroll tax. I disagree
6 with John Anderson on his provision for a 50-cent-
7 a-gallon gasoline tax. That may be well and good
8 for people who don't have a car in New York; it's
9 going to play havoc with people in New Hampshire
10 and Tennessee who have to drive. I do not think
11 we should have a specialized tax on fuel or any-
12 thing else as a supplement to Social Security. It
13 should be kept sound. If there are new programs
14 added to it, it should come from the general
15 Treasury as a general contribution to the country.

16 MR. SMITH: Now, a question
17 from Mr. Kraft to Governor Reagan.

18 MR. KRAFT: Governor Reagan,
19 I'm going to also change the subject rather
20 violently. As you know, the Secretary of the
21 Treasury, G. William Miller, has acknowledged that,
22 while he was head of the Textron Company, that
23 company bribed foreign officials. Mr. Miller says

1 you have trusted and someone in your administra-
2 tion or in your employ has done something wrong.
3 And yet, you know that there is no way that you,
4 in the daily running of a business, could know
5 that or could find that out until the roof falls
6 in.

7 The other thing that I have wondered about
8 this so-called bribery abroad: Are we corrupting
9 the morals of the other countries, or are we in
10 the field of international trade faced with a
11 custom that is world wide, except for here in our
12 own country, and that in order to do business you
13 find that you have to, in a sense, employ an agent
14 there to help you do the business? Should we give
15 that trade to the rest of the world to say, "Okay,
16 we won't trade with the rest of the world if we
17 can't do it without that middleman in between"?
18 Shouldn't this be something that we face up to?

19 We sit down, government and business together,
20 and say, "All right, let's find out about this."
21 If all the rest of the world would join us and say,
22 "No more will we pay one of these go-betweens,"
23 fine. If we're going to refuse to sell our

1

products and they're going to be able to go to
some one else who doesn't have the same constraints,
if I found that Mr. Miller---

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MR. SMITH: Could you please
round out your answer, sir; your time is up.

5

6

GOVERNOR REAGAN: You rounded
it out.

7

8

MR. SMITH: Mr. Anderson,
do you have a comment?

9

10

CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: Of
course, all we know about this particular case is
what we read in the press; but at the same time,
I admire and respect Senator Proxmire. He's been
known at times, I believe, as the conscience of
the Senate; and he has said that Mr. Miller ought
to resign. He ought to resign because he himself,
in the second set hearings that were held on this
question, admitted that he should have known. Here
he was, a careful, careful manager of that company;
and yet, \$5 million, millions of dollars were paid
out in outright bribes.

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That isn't the full extent of the story
because, in addition to the bribery, it is clear

1 that something like \$600,000 was paid out to
2 entertain officials of the Department of Defense
3 in order to get defense procurement orders, to get
4 defense business. I think the evidence is quite
5 specific on that, that those particular expendi-
6 tures were very deliberately concealed on the
7 books of that company. I think we should expect
8 a higher standard of conduct than that from those
9 who are serving in the cabinet positions.

10 MR. SMITH: Mr. Connally?

11 GOVERNOR CONNALLY: I think,
12 clearly, irregular activities occurred in the
13 company that was presided over by Mr. Miller. I
14 wouldn't pass judgment on whether or not he knew
15 or whether or not he should have known. That's
16 something that I don't have the information on
17 which to base an informed judgment. I think, if
18 there is any group that should be looking into it,
19 it's probably the Senate itself. The committee
20 that confirmed him probably should call him back
21 for hearings and go into it exhaustively because,
22 indeed, if they had been misled in the confirmation
23 proceedings, then they have a right, it seems to

1 me, to ask him to withdraw or to retire. If
2 indeed he told them the truth, that's something
3 that they can determine at that time. I certainly
4 would not want to pass judgment on that.

5 MR. SMITH: Mr. Crane?

6 CONGRESSMAN CRANE: First, I
7 would agree that there should be an investigation
8 again by the Senate to find out what Mr. Miller
9 did know and didn't know; but I am certainly in no
10 position to attempt to prejudge that case, nor do
11 I think that you can necessarily assume that,
12 because irregularities occur, that the person who
13 is in charge should be removed because he had the
14 obligation to be held ultimately accountable for
15 it.

16 I think that's a false standard. You could
17 argue as effectively that those Senators that
18 investigated Mr. Miller's background in the first
19 instance should be removed from the Senate because
20 they didn't catch it. I think that same kind of
21 logic suggests that, if you're President of the
22 United States and some underling in some department
23 is guilty of an irregularity, that you should

1 remove the President from office for that. That is
2 John Gardner's Common Cause mentality; and Gardner
3 violated the principles of his own organization,
4 and he maligned me and Chuck Percy and several
5 other Congressmen and wouldn't accept respon-
6 sibility for it as head of Common Cause. And I
7 reject that kind of ethics.

8 MR. SMITH: Mr. Bush?

9 CONGRESSMAN BUSE: I'd like to
10 identify with what Phil Crane said about passing
11 judgment. On the second part of your question,
12 how do you guard against it, it's extraordinarily
13 hard; and the best answer, I guess, is the finest
14 management procedures. And the way you put into
15 effect the finest management procedures is to have
16 men and women of excellence attracted to Federal
17 service. Beyond that, I don't have all the facts
18 on Mr. Miller; nor am I inclined to pass judgment
19 on it.

20 MR. SMITH: Mr. Baker?

21 SENATOR BAKER: Mr. Smith, I
22 think there is a terrible temptation in American
23 politics and government in these days to be

1 righteous. I really don't know the facts of the
2 Miller case. I'm not on the committee that con-
3 firmed him or reported his confirmation to the
4 Senate. I sat on the Watergate Committee for
5 months and watched the Republican administration
6 devour him before my very eyes. There is a natural
7 temptation to say that he is a Democrat and, "I'm
8 going to get him," to get even; but you can't
9 because the one thing we have to do in politics,
10 in my judgment, is to try to recivilize it so that
11 people are once again attracted to government
12 service. We have got to be very careful how we
13 proceed with allegations against good men. I
14 believe Bill Miller is a good man, and I will
15 continue to believe that until the contrary is
16 made to appear.

17 MR. SMITH: Mr. Dole?

18 SENATOR DOLE: If I might
19 just comment in addition to not taxing Social
20 Security benefits, we shouldn't bring Federal
21 employees into the system. Now, having said that
22 -- about Mr. Miller: I was on the committee that
23 confirmed Mr. Miller. I am the ranking Republican

1 on that committee. We were given the S.E.C.
2 report; there is nothing there to indicate that
3 he shouldn't be confirmed. I like Mr. Miller.
4 I'll state the same thing that Howard Baker stated
5 and George Bush. I think what should be done is
6 that there should be a special prosecutor appointed.
7 There is a provision for that.

8 This is in his interest; it's in the interest
9 of the American people, and it ought to be in the
10 interest of the administration. Mr. Civiletti has
11 already indicated that there is no reason for a
12 special prosecutor, which does make some of us
13 believe that we should have one appointed.

14 So four of us on the Judiciary Committee,
15 Senators Hatch, Laxalt, Dole and Thurmond, have
16 asked Civiletti to appoint a special prosecutor;
17 and he's now charged with telling us that, if he
18 doesn't appoint one, why he will not appoint one.

19 MR. SMITH: Thank you very
20 much, Senator Dole. That concludes the first part
21 of our forum tonight. We are now going to take
22 some questions from the auditorium audience. The
23 questioners were all selected earlier this evening.

1 Each candidate will be asked one question and will
2 have one minute and a half to respond. In this
3 part of our program, only the candidate to whom
4 the question is addressed will have an opportunity
5 to answer.

6 The first question is directed to Mr. Anderson
7 from Ms. Kathleen Holland.

8 MS. HOLLAND: Thank you.

9 Congressman Anderson, New England seems to have
10 been harder hit by the energy crisis than many
11 other regions. What could you or would you do as
12 President to lessen the impact on our area or
13 spread it more evenly over the entire country?

14 CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: About
15 80 percent of the homes, I understand, in this
16 area, in New England, are heated by fuel oil. When
17 the prices of that fuel oil go up from less than
18 50 cents a gallon to, in some cases, over a dollar
19 a gallon, as they did in the winter of '79 and '80,
20 there isn't any question that there is some hardship.
21 I think Congress ought to promptly proceed to get
22 the Windfall Profits Tax Conference Report settled
23 so that some proceeds can be made available from

1 that particular tax, the Windfall Profits Tax, to
2 make some money available to those who otherwise
3 are going to have to make that cruel choice between
4 heating and eating.

5 Secondly, I would say, with respect to New
6 England, I would like to see a development on a
7 regional basis of the resources that are indigenous
8 to this area. You have ample supplies of wood,
9 a renewable resource. About 80 percent of the
10 state is forested. You have winds. You have tides.
11 You have, I think, low head hydro projects that, in
12 many years past, have been used but have been
13 decommissioned in more recent times. I think, in
14 other words, there are plenty of opportunities to
15 use some of the indigenous renewable resources of
16 this region to help improve the energy deficit that
17 surely does exist.

18 MR. SMITH: Thank you, ques-
19 tioner and Congressman Anderson. The second
20 question is from H.T. Berliner directed to Governor
21 Connally.

22 MR. BERLINER: Mr. Connally,
23 some people have asserted that the big oil companies

1 are a larger threat to the American way of life,
2 particularly the middle class, than the Soviet
3 Union's recent aggression in the East. How would
4 you respond to the nationalization of the American
5 refining industry?

6 GOVERNOR CONNALLY: How would
7 I respond to what? I didn't hear the last part of
8 your question.

9 MR. BERLINER: The nationaliz-
10 ation of the American refining industry?

11 GOVERNOR CONNALLY: How would
12 I respond to it? Anyone who says that the American
13 oil companies are a greater threat to America than
14 the communism in the Soviet Union has to have
15 something wrong with them. Secondly, I'm not for
16 nationalizing anything in this country. Great
17 Britain went through that; it destroyed their
18 country, destroyed their system.

19 We have to understand that what sets us apart
20 from the rest of the world is that we have been a
21 free society and we have been on a free market
22 system and we believe in the capitalistic system,
23 and that's why we have been able to do more things

1 for more people in more ways than any other society
2 that's ever existed on the face of the earth.

3 I know the oil companies' profit. I'm not
4 going to defend them; let them defend themselves.
5 All I want America to do is to quit demagoguing
6 the issue. Quit demagoguing it. Let's look at
7 the facts. Look at the facts. The truth of the
8 matter is that, if you really want to talk about
9 obscene profits, remember that the oil company
10 profits over the last several years are less than
11 the publishing firm profits; they're less than the
12 CBS network; they're less than the NBC network;
13 they're less than the Dow Jones Company; they are
14 less than many, many major industries in America.
15 If you look at a five-year average, the oil com-
16 panies' profits are in the medium of all manufac-
17 turers. If you want to start defining obscene
18 profits, then we're going to have to have a lot of
19 people in that pot.

20 MR. SMITH: Thank you,
21 Governor. The next question is to Congressman
22 Crane from Mr. Wayne Labonchet.

23 MR. LABONCHET: Mr. Crane,

1 small business needs special consideration from the
2 Federal Government to alleviate the paperwork load.
3 What are your plans, if you have any plans, for
4 correcting this situation; and when can it be
5 accomplished?

6 CONGRESSMAN CRANE: First of
7 all, I think it's important for us to recognize
8 that it is our bleeding-heart liberal friends who
9 express their touching concern for the little guy
10 who have created this blizzard of paperwork which
11 inflicts its greatest injury on small business.
12 They are in the process of killing off little
13 businesses first. Ultimately, if unchecked, they
14 will kill big business too; but I appreciate
15 totally your concern on this point.

16 I think one solution is to take away the rule-
17 making authority from executive agencies, depart-
18 ments, bureaus and commissions when prior economic
19 impact studies and cost-benefit analyses indicate
20 that the issuance of their rules and regulations
21 and guidelines, which have the force of law now,
22 would create any unemployment or if it would violate
23 cost-benefit ratios. Then those rules would be

1 programs. The ultimate best security for older
2 Americans is to try to control inflation in this
3 country, which will wreck our economy and deprive
4 all of us of any prospect of a decent retirement
5 at an honorable old age.

6 MR. SMITH: The next question
7 is for Senator Dole from Mr. Paul Mason.

8 MR. MASON: While my question
9 is directed to Senator Dole, we would like to take
10 this opportunity to thank all of the presidential
11 candidates who have come to this state on behalf
12 of the New Hampshire People's Alliance and the
13 New Hampshire People's Agenda. We would like to
14 thank the League of Women Voters for this, and
15 we would hope that you would feel some of the
16 warmth and love that emanates from New Hampshire
17 as well as some of the frustrations and hostilities.

18 Our question is this: Senator Dole, will you
19 as President, be able to hear and heed the whispers
20 of the low- and moderate-income people of New
21 Hampshire and the rest of this country over the
22 organized clamor of the professional lobbyists of
23 big business and special interest groups?

1 that will help. In New Hampshire itself, we are
2 looking at tax credits for those that make up to
3 \$22,000 to help them pay their heating oil costs.
4 We're looking at all kinds of credits, and even
5 the wood-burning stove credit isn't dead yet. We
6 are still working on that. We'll be back to work
7 on that tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

8 So I would just suggest that there are a num-
9 ber of us concerned about getting that vote on our
10 side. We're for the moderate income people. We
11 understand low-income Americans' problems. Give
12 us a chance as the Republican Party.

13 MR. SMITH: The last question
14 from the audience is for Governor Reagan, and it
15 comes from Vince Gallotti.

16 MR. GALLOTTI: Governor Reagan,
17 I am an Italian-American. I had another question,
18 but I must ask this one. Recently you told a
19 story implying that Polish people and Italian
20 people were either fools or gangsters. You followed
21 this up with some kind of abject apology and
22 explanation. The question I have: Does ethnic
23 humor of this kind, or any kind, have any place in

1 the campaign for the highest office of this land?

2 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I'm glad you
3 asked that question because I don't think my
4 apology was abject. It was sincere. I had not
5 told the story the way it was reported by the
6 reporter who reported it. I do not go around tell-
7 ing ethnic jokes. I have been on the opposite side
8 of that question, on the right side, long before
9 there was anything called civil rights.

10 Very frankly, I was the victim of, in slang
11 expression of the press, I was stiffed. I did
12 not do it in the manner in which it was said. I
13 did not tell that story to the press for that pur-
14 pose. All I can do is say to those people who
15 might have thought that there was an insult intend-
16 ed that they have my apology. I plead that I was
17 the victim of something that was done.

18 The discussion happened to deal with humor
19 and jokes to a few people of my own surrounding,
20 not knowing anyone was overhearing. I said that
21 here was one that had come along that had a new
22 twist in the so-called ethnic joke. But you can
23 rest assured that I don't tell them. I don't like

1 them; and from now on I'm going to look over both
2 shoulders, and I'm only going to tell stories
3 about Irishmen because I am Irish.

4 MR. SMITH: Ladies and
5 Gentlemen -- thank you, Governor Reagan, and thank
6 you to the questioners from the audience. We come
7 now to the final part of our forum. Each candidate
8 may now make summarizing remarks. They will be
9 allowed one minute each. Mr. Anderson, will you
10 begin with a one-minute closing remark, please?

11 CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: Thank
12 you, Mr. Smith. Earlier in this program, Senator
13 Baker attacked my 50-cent tax on gasoline. It
14 seems to me that it's Iowa all over again. I
15 haven't heard any suggestions from the members of
16 this panel tonight as to what they are going to do
17 to solve the energy problem that really lies at
18 the heart of that crisis in Iran.

19 That consumption tax that I have recommended
20 is not going to go into the Treasury. It is going
21 to go right into the Social Security fund. It is
22 going to cut, by 50 percent, the taxes of the
23 average man and woman in this country. It's going

1 to make it possible for that man in Tennessee that
2 you're worried about to drive up to 20,000 miles a
3 year. A medium-income worker would get enough of
4 a tax cut that he could go out and pay the tax and
5 do 20,000 miles of driving.

6 I just want to say in closing: We've got a
7 real problem on our hands. We need some new ideas.
8 All I keep hearing are the old platitudes, "We are
9 going to produce more. We are going to deregulate."
10 And in the meantime, we keep importing 43 percent
11 of our oil.

12 MR. SMITH: Thank you,
13 Congressman. Governor Connally?

14 GOVERNOR CONNALLY: Mr. Smith,
15 I think we desperately need to look at our prior-
16 ities in this country. I think that over the next
17 10 years we are going to have to move to make
18 America number one again, as a leader of the free
19 world. I think we're going to have to rebuild the
20 military strength of this country in order to give
21 us credibility among our friends and against our
22 foes as well.

23 I think we have to solve the problems of

1 inflation. I think we have to develop an energy
2 policy in order to do it. I think we have to have
3 a return to fiscal responsibility by the adminis-
4 tration, by the Congress of the United States.
5 I think we have to recognize that we have to
6 rebuild the industrial base of this country in
7 order to increase the productivity of the American
8 workers. We have to make America number one again,
9 in terms of the productivity in this land.

10 I think we have to return to a sense of pride,
11 of self-respect in America. I think we have to
12 regain the respect to the world. I think we have
13 to recommit ourselves to this free enterprise
14 system, to individual opportunities and expansion
15 of human rights for ourselves and for all the
16 people of the world.

17 MR. SMITH: Congressman Crane,
18 your closing remarks?

19 CONGRESSMAN CRANE: I've been
20 described as a conservative Republican; and I don't
21 mind that label, if given the opportunity to tell
22 you what I want to conserve. I want to conserve a
23 liberal Jeffersonian tradition. He once defined

1 good government as thus: He said, "A wise and
2 frugal government which shall restrain men from
3 injuring one another shall leave them otherwise
4 free to regulate their own pursuits of industry
5 and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth
6 of labor the bread that it has earned." This is
7 the sum of good government.

8 I embrace that idea. That is the most
9 succinct, best definition of good government that
10 I have ever heard. That's the promise I hold up
11 to Americans, and I will tell you finally that this
12 is a winnable race. I believe in miracles, but
13 god helps those who help themselves. I ask the
14 good people of New Hampshire for their support in
15 going into this critical primary race. We can
16 turn this around and, in the process, lay that
17 beacon of hope once more for all mankind that the
18 United States represents the highest ideals of our
19 Judeo-Christian tradition.

20 MR. SMITH: Mr. Bush?

21 CONGRESSMAN BUSH: I first of
22 all would like to thank the League. After this is
23 over, everybody is going to say, "Who won?" The

1 winner, the Republican Party; the loser, the
2 Democrats, who couldn't get their act together.

3 The second point I want to make is that I
4 want very much to be President. I've worked hard
5 and traveled a lot, but that strengthened my
6 conviction about the fiber of this country. It
7 strengthened my conviction that, after a troubled
8 decade or 15 years, we can again get sense of
9 ourselves, use the kind of economics I mentioned
10 to help people that have been by-passed and then,
11 based on experience, help restore the respect that
12 the United States has lost abroad.

13 It's worth it. It's a great system, and it's
14 exciting.

15 MR. SMITH: Senator Baker?

16 SENATOR BAKER: Mr. Smith,
17 I think the League has done a marvelous thing in
18 this, the beginning of their series of Presidential
19 Forums; and I commend them for it. My role in this
20 campaign has been to ask the people of New Hampshire
21 and, indeed, of the United States to let me be
22 their President.

23 I want to be President. I think I know where

1 I want to take the country and how I would like to
2 lead it, but I will not try to become President by
3 trampling over good men and women. I think there
4 is another responsibility, and that is to try to
5 recivilize politics and to make it useful to the
6 people of this country.

7 I hope we continue to talk about our agree-
8 ments and, indeed, our disagreements because that
9 is useful. But I hope mostly that we all reaffirm
10 our faith in America's future is before it and our
11 greatness is just barely glimpsed and that we can
12 realize on that through the political system.

13 MR. SMITH: Senator Dole?

14 SENATOR DOLE: There are so
15 many things you want to say in a minute. I would
16 say, first of all, that I hope George Bush and
17 Governor Reagan will let us get together again on
18 Saturday night. That would be a nice gesture.

19 (Whereupon there was applause
20 from the audience.)

21 SENATOR DOLE: I believe, as
22 George Bush, that the Republican Party wins every
23 time we get together; and we're trying to build the

1 Republican Party.

2 I would say that we all want to be President.
3 Some are qualified. Some are better qualified.
4 Some have had a lot of experience, and I have had
5 a lot of experience. I believe I can address the
6 problems of America. I've grown up with some of
7 the problems of America. I've overcome some of
8 the problems of America. But beyond that, in the
9 final analysis of experience, which man can do the
10 job? Which man is doing the job now?

11 So I just say to the voters of this state that
12 we have had a lot of fun. It has been a great
13 night for the Republican Party, and help me out on
14 the 26th of February. Thank you.

15 MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?
16 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I don't know
17 whether you can call it mysticism or not, but I've
18 always believed that there was some divine plan that
19 put this continent here between the oceans to be
20 found by a particular kind of people, people with
21 the love of freedom and a courage to go with it.
22 And those who followed after, when they came here,
23 down to today's modern-day immigrants, they share

1 that same thing. We've come from 100 points on
2 the earth; we've spoken 100 languages. We have
3 created a melting pot that brought into being a new
4 kind of human called an American. The most indepen-
5 dent, the most generous, just about the best kind of
6 people that I think there are on the earth.

7 For those people to be told by their President,
8 as we're being told, that we have lost our confi-
9 dence, we've lost our confidence in them, not in
10 ourselves. We went across the country for 3,000
11 miles, building cities, towns and farms; and we did
12 it without an urban renewal program. Yes, I would
13 like to be President. I've had the second highest
14 executive position in the nation as governor of
15 the largest state, and I need your help. I would
16 be most proud to have your help because I would
17 like to get government off your backs and out of
18 your way and turn loose the greatness of the
19 American people once again.

20 MR. SMITH: Thank you, Governor
21 Reagan. That concludes our forum, ladies and
22 gentlemen. On behalf of the League of Women Voters,
23 of our audience here in Manchester, New Hampshire,

1 and our thanks to the candidates who have joined
2 us here tonight for the first League of Women
3 Voters 1980 Presidential Forum.

4 The next forum series is in Chicago, Illinois,
5 on March the 12th, for the Democrats, and March the
6 13th for the Republicans. Future forums will also
7 be held in Texas and California. Once again,
8 thank you, and good night.

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