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## GUN CONTROL

Question: Do you support greater gun control? If so, why have you not done more to achieve this?

Answer:

- o I support increased handgun controls. I support eliminating Saturday Night Specials -- which are so frequently used in violent crimes -- and I support improved registration requirements for handgun purchases. I do not believe, for instance, that any individual -- regardless of previous handgun or other criminal offenses -- should be allowed to purchase handguns. Strengthened registration requirements can help to prevent this.
- o I would not support any type of increased controls over long-guns. They are used for hunting and are not for criminal purposes. As a hunter, I know the value and importance of allowing long-guns to be purchased without Federal restraints.
- o This position is the one I outlined in my 1976 campaign. It is the position of our current Democratic Platform. It remains my position.
- o I regret that progress in this direction has not been achieved, but the lobbying pressure on Congress on this issue has been so intense that no action has been possible. In fact, the only action that we were able to initiate -- administrative tightening of some handgun registration requirements -- was effectively overturned by Congress.
- o I think the position advocated by Governor Reagan is dangerous, particularly for those who live in high-crime areas. The Governor believes that there should effectively be no restrictions on gun purchases. He supports the Republican Platform's call for repeal of the Gun Control Act of 1968, which was passed after Robert Kennedy was killed.
- o In my view, a position which does not regulate Saturday Night Specials or handguns is not one which recognizes reality. The ready availability of those guns to those who might not otherwise so easily obtain them is not a sound way to protect innocent people.

## INTEGRITY

Question: In light of the Bert Lance and Billy Carter affairs, how can you honestly claim to have restored integrity to the White House?

Answer:

### THEME

I HAVE WORKED LONG AND HARD TO OVERCOME THE STAIN OF WATERGATE AND ITS AFTERMATH AND OUR RECORD INDICATES WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL. I INTEND TO CONTINUE OUR STRONG, FORTHRIGHT RECORD IN THIS AREA DURING A SECOND TERM.

#### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o When I took office, the Presidency was suffering from the problems associated with the Vietnam War, Watergate, the CIA revelations. There was a sense of distrust of the Presidency. There was a decline in respect of the Presidency. There was an abhorrence of the secrecy and heavy-handedness that surrounded the Oval Office.
- o We have changed that. We have worked to restore integrity, through legislation now requiring full financial disclosure of Federal officials, the appointment of Special Prosecutors in appropriate cases, the end of the "revolving-door" syndrome in Washington.
- o We have put Inspectors General in each of the Departments to root out fraud and waste.
- o We have established an independent Justice Department — one with virtually no contact with the White House.
- o We have established blue ribbon Commissions to take politics out of judicial appointments.
- o We have been open — held 30 Town Hall Meetings (no other President has ever done so), 60 press conferences; we have provided greater access to the White House and Cabinet Departments for all citizens than ever before.
- o When there have been problems - as with Billy Carter - I have been honest and aboveboard about the situation.

#### 2. THE FUTURE

##### Carter

- o I am committed in the future to taking further steps to ensure the integrity and openness of our government — that is among my highest priorities.

I am committed to:

- continued appointment of qualified, honest individuals to key Federal positions;
- passage of lobby law reform -- to provide the public with greater information about lobbying activities;
- preserving sunshine rules and requirements; and
- continuing an independent Justice Department.

JUN 27 1967

QUOTES OF REAGAN

Question: Do you think it is fair to repeat old quotes of Governor Reagan's - many of the quotes are from the 1960's - when he has changed his positions since these quotes were made? Aren't you taking them out of context as well?

Answer:

- o On a few occasions early in the campaign I was justly criticized for trying to characterize Governor Reagan's positions. So I decided to avoid that problem by simply quoting Governor Reagan. That way there could be no basis for complaints of mischaracterization.
- o When I do quote him, I try to indicate the date, so the audience can judge for itself the timeliness of the Governor's statements.
- o But generally, I have been quoting Governor Reagan's most current quotes, because they best represent his latest views and because some of them trouble me the most.
- o For instance, it was this year - 1980 - that Governor Reagan has said:
  - "High unemployment is in large part due to the minimum wage."
  - "The minimum wage has caused more misery and unemployment than anything since the Great Depression."
  - "Urban aid programs are one of the biggest phonies in the system."
  - "I don't think nuclear non-proliferation is any of our business."
  - "Air pollution is substantially under control."
  - " % of pollution comes from trees."
  - "We should use the nuclear arms race card."
- o These positions show a lack of understanding of the complexities our Nation faces and that a President faces.
  - The minimum wage has helped millions of Americans and I am wholeheartedly committed to it.
  - Urban aid programs have revitalized our urban areas and helped our most disadvantaged citizens, and I am committed to their growth.

- Nuclear non-proliferation is our business - it is vital to all of us.
- Air pollution is not under control, though progress has been made; but we must remain vigilant in this area. And it doesn't come from trees.
- And a nuclear arms race is a reckless proposal.

JUL 27 1955

GOVERNMENT

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RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS

Question: Why have you had so much difficulty in dealing with Congress and in getting your major programs adopted in the form you propose? Why would you be any more successful during a second term?

Answer:

THEME

MY RECORD WITH THE CONGRESS HAS BEEN GOOD - A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF MY MAJOR PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN ENACTED. GOVERNOR REAGAN WOULD NOT DO NEARLY AS WELL - AS A REPUBLICAN AND A NEWCOMER. MY EXPERIENCE SHOULD MAKE THE NEXT FOUR YEARS EVEN BETTER.

1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o No President has ever had a Congress approve every item of his legislative program - that would make Congress a rubber-stamp, and that is not what the Founding Fathers intended and that would not be healthy.
- o There certainly have been tough legislative fights - and they have received a good deal of publicity - but the bitter feelings and all-out war between Congress and the President which existed during the Nixon-Ford years has never occurred.
- o We have probably not done a good enough job letting the public know how successful we have been with Congress. A look at the record of what has been passed during the past four years shows how much progress and cooperation there has been. In fact, a substantial majority of my major legislative programs have been enacted - and that is a record which about equals my Democratic predecessors:
  - Energy program - there was none
  - Urban policy - there was none
  - Civil Service Reform
  - Deregulation of airlines, trucks, rail, and banks
  - Saving of Social Security System
  - Humphrey-Hawkins
  - Minimum Wage Increases
  - Department of Education
  - ERA deadline extension
  - Increased Defense Spending
  - Taiwan-U.S. Relations Act

2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

- o I do not believe Governor Reagan would be able to improve that record.



- o As a Republican, he will be dealing with a Democratic Congress - producing the type of stalemate and confrontation we saw in the Nixon-Ford years.
- o As a newcomer to Washington, Governor Reagan would have to go through the same long trial and error period that I did - and as a Republican that period would be even more difficult.
- o There are so many pressing problems now before the Congress that we cannot afford a 1-2 year hiatus.

B. Carter

- o I have not been able to pass all that I proposed, but I am going to keep pursuing my legislative agenda - as I did with my energy program - until we are successful. I now know the Congress and the key people in it.
- o I have a clear legislative program for the future:
  - SALT II
  - National Health Insurance
  - Economic Renewal Package
  - Welfare Reform
  - Job Creation Programs
  - The last pieces of our energy program (Utility Oil Backout, EMB)
- o Progress toward enacting these measures has been made. The foundation has been laid. I have the experience and know-how to get them enacted, without undue delays and interruption. I am determined to do that.

## MASS TRANSIT

Question: What do you plan to do to improve our nation's mass transit system?

Answer:

### THEME

A MAJOR GOAL OF MY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN TO IMPROVE THE FLEXIBILITY OF OUR TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM AND OFFER BETTER TRANSPORTATION SERVICES TO ALL AMERICANS. I HAVE PROPOSED A TEN YEAR, \$43 BILLION PROGRAM TO INCREASE MASS TRANSIT CAPACITY BY 50 PERCENT AND TO PROMOTE MORE ENERGY EFFICIENT VEHICLE USE, IN THE NEXT DECADE. I ALSO HAVE ESTABLISHED A GOAL OF MAKING MASS TRANSIT SYSTEMS ACCESSIBLE TO ALL AMERICAN CITIZENS, INCLUDING THE ELDERLY AND THE HANDICAPPED.

#### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

Mass transit had been the step-child of the transportation system until my Administration.

- o I have proposed a ten year, \$43 billion program to increase mass transit services and to provide more energy efficient transportation. This program will be funded partially from revenues raised by the Windfall Profits Tax.
- o I also have submitted legislation to the Congress to restructure the mass transit capital and operating assistance programs. This bill will:
  - increase the efficiency of Federal operating assistance;
  - encourage cities to achieve major national priorities, such as reducing costs and increasing energy efficiency; and
  - provide greater aid to the communities with the most effective transit systems.
- o These proposed changes in the urban mass transit formula aid program will result in additional funds for cities and counties with large, existing mass transit systems.
- o In addition, we as a nation cannot retreat from our commitment to make public transportation accessible to the elderly and the handicapped. I am committed to the goal of making public transportation accessible to all elderly and handicapped citizens.
- o But public transportation is not just urban mass transportation. My Rural Development Policy which I announced last year has led to the first Small Community and Rural Area Transportation Initiative to be

2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

- o Governor Reagan has said, "urban aid programs are the biggest phonies in the Federal system," but he has not defined an urban or rural mass transportation policy.
- o He has proposed returning mass transit funding from the Federal government to State and local communities. That would increase local property taxes enormously.

B. Carter

- o Much progress has been made over the past four years, and much remains to be done.
- o First, I will work closely with the Congress to insure passage of the Public Transportation Act Amendments which includes the reformulation of urban mass transit funding grants - the most significant change in the formula program since its inception in 1979 - and the largest authorization in the history of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, \$24.7 billion over the next five years.
- o Second, my 1981 budget for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration, passed by the Congress this month as part of the DOT Appropriations Act, reflects the largest level of public transit support ever, over \$4 billion in federal aid to urban and non-urban areas.
- o We must begin now to insure that funds for mass transit over the next decade are wisely spent, and the promise of mass transit to bring our cities and towns closer together is finally kept.

## SCHOOL BUSING

Question: Do you still support busing as a vehicle for school desegregation?

Answer:

- o I do not believe busing is the solution to ensuring that our schools are integrated in a constitutionally permissible way.
- o My preference would be that less disruptive ways might be found to ensure integration. And I believe that is the preference of the vast majority of parents of school-age children, both black and white.
- o However, in many cases busing may be the only way a Federal court can find to ensure school integration. If a court makes that determination, and I hope a court would make that determination only as a last resort, I believe we have no choice but to obey the court order.
- o I am sworn to uphold the Constitution and believe it would be in violation of my oath if I in any way sought to circumvent the court order. I would never do that.
- o Finally, let me say that I do not support the view which my opponent has advocated a number of times — that a Constitutional amendment be adopted to prevent the use of busing. Such an amendment might impede the ability of the courts to enforce the Brown v. Board of Education decision by the Supreme Court. And I strongly support that decision.

## STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Question: In what areas affecting State and local governments do you think the Federal government should assume a greater role? A lesser role?

Answer:

### THEME

MY ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE A GREAT DEAL TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. IN GENERAL, OUR EFFORTS HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO REDUCE THE BURDEN ON THE LOCAL PROPERTY TAX SYSTEM AND TO ENSURE THAT ALL STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE ADEQUATE RESOURCES TO PROVIDE ESSENTIAL POLICE, FIRE AND SANITATION SERVICES.

### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o One of my domestic policy goals has been to give States and localities greater flexibility to manage the aid that the Federal government provides. Whether it is revenue sharing, community development, education, housing, transportation or other programs, we have increased the flexibility the States and cities have to manage these programs so that they can meet the needs of our citizens. And we have cut through red tape to make these programs easier to use.
- o In a number of areas, we have expanded the Federal government's responsibility. A good example is welfare reform. There is no question that reducing poverty is national concern that must be addressed by all of us. It simply is not fair to place the burden of financing welfare on property tax payers throughout our Nation. This service should be financed by all of us, and on a reasonably equitable basis.
- o One principal that I have sought to enforce is to reduce the demands to provide services on the local property tax. By increasing aid for education, fiscal relief and other services, we have helped to hold the line on property tax increases. This has been an important goal to me, because no tax falls more cruelly on the elderly, the sick and the disadvantaged than the property tax.
- o Without question, any major transfer of programs to the States and cities will cause massive and disastrous increases in local taxes, and particularly in the property tax.

### 2. THE FUTURE

#### A. Reagan

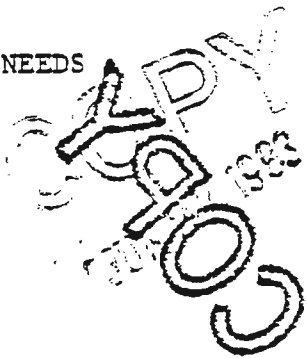
- o Governor Reagan has proposed a massive but unspecified transfer of Federal programs to the States and cities. He has been no more specific about the proposal than he was about many of his other campaign proposals. But this proposal could only have one of two effects.

- o Either the services transferred (presumably education, mass transit, housing) will be eliminated or cut severely; or State and local taxes will increase dramatically to pay for them. Nothing could be worse for our Federal system than the massive and uncontrolled increases in property taxes that this proposal would cause.

B. Carter

- o I will continue to work with State and local governments to build on our previous progress and achieve the following:
  - 1) provide even greater flexibility to States and cities in managing Federal programs.
  - 2) cut through red-tape so that the Federal programs are more efficient; and
  - 3) refine the responsibilities of the Federal, State and local governments.
- o I feel very strongly that a massive transfer of programs to the States and cities will only increase the already excessive burden of the property tax. I will oppose that type of program.

HUMAN NEEDS



HEALTH AND WELFARE - GOVERNMENT'S ROLE

Question: Don't your major welfare and health proposals demonstrate that your Administration basically favors a bigger Federal government, and given that the public and the Congress seem to be moving in the other direction, can you tell us how you can have any more success with them in a second term than you did in the first term?

Answer:

THEME

THESE PROPOSALS REPRESENT SOLUTIONS TO VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS -- RISING HEALTH COSTS, LACK OF ADEQUATE HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE, AND AN INEFFICIENT INEQUITABLE WELFARE SYSTEM. GOVERNOR REAGAN HAS NOT PROPOSED REAL SOLUTIONS.

WHILE THIS LEGISLATION DID NOT PASS IN MY FIRST TERM, VERY REAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AND WE HAVE AN EXCELLENT CHANCE OF PASSING THESE MEASURES IN MY SECOND TERM.

1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o My health insurance proposal would guarantee that all citizens were protected against catastrophic expenses, that Medicare benefits for the aged are improved, and that basic insurance coverage for the poor would be expanded. My proposal would build on the current partnership between public programs like Medicare and private insurance.
- o Although this measure did not pass, it stimulated the first serious Congressional committee consideration in nearly a decade in the Senate Finance Committee.
- o Until my Administration, no serious effort to reform the Nation's welfare system had been attempted in almost a decade. Working within the framework of our existing welfare system, the welfare reform package offers an achievable means to increase self-sufficiency through employment rather than welfare, to provide more adequate assistance to people who are unable to work, and to remove inequities in coverage under current programs.
- o With the cooperation of the Congress, the Social Welfare Reform Amendments Act has passed the House, and hearings have been held on the Work and Training Opportunities Act. I consider welfare reform one of my most important legislative initiatives, and will continue to press for final enactment.



- Real outlay growth in basic research will secure our technological base for future growth and development.
- Employment and training programs, especially for our youth, will enhance the skills and productive capacity of our people.

## 2. THE FUTURE

### A. Reagan

- o Governor Reagan has promised massive tax cuts, higher defense spending and a balanced budget -- but the numbers do not add up.
- o He has recently proposed additional spending increases which make large future deficits and inflation even more likely -- examples: Social Security earnings test removal, tuition tax credits, inheritance tax repeal.
- o He has promised big spending cuts, but refuses to tell us which programs will be cut. All he can say is that waste will be eliminated. In the current fiscal year he has promised cuts of \$13-\$19 billion, but still has provided no details.
- o He presided over real expenditure growth as Governor of California that was the highest in the State's history -- 126% increase in spending.

### B. Carter

- o Inflation is the most serious threat to our economic security. We must not run the risk of large, inflationary budget deficits from massive across-the-board tax cuts.
- o Moderate tax cuts, consistent with fiscal restraint and emphasizing investment and industrial growth, not consumption, is the responsible approach.
- o This approach will allow us to create a million new jobs by the end of 1982, but still bring down inflation.
- o In the longer term, budgetary goals require strong, non-inflationary economic growth. This requires savings, investment, and attention to structural change in the economy. My program addresses these problems. The Reagan program instead offers a massive consumption-oriented tax cut.

## Farm Policy

Question:

Haven't your farm policies produced lower incomes and prices for farmers in recent years? How do you propose to remedy this without fueling inflation?

Answer:

### THEME

IN ASSUMING THE PRESIDENCY, I INHERITED A FARM ECONOMY THAT WAS IN A STATE OF SERIOUS DECLINE, MADE WORSE BY THE CONFUSED AND CONTRADICTIONARY FARM POLICIES OF PRIOR REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS. MY ADMINISTRATION HAS SUCCESSFULLY TURNED THIS SITUATION AROUND. NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE CLEAR, CONSISTENT SETS OF FARM POLICIES THAT WORK, WE HAVE THE RESULTS TO PROVE THAT THEY WORK -- HIGHER PRICES, HIGHER INCOMES, HIGHER EXPORTS.

#### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o When I entered office, grain prices were in a tailspin, cattle producers were liquidating their herds after four years of heavy losses, the bottom was dropping out of farm income, consumers and producers were engaged in open confrontation, and our nation's reputation as a reliable exporter of farm products had been seriously tarnished.
- o We immediately began to correct this. I began by appointing a farmer as Secretary of Agriculture. We then took a number of steps to eliminate governmental interference in those decisions that were better left to the individual farmer. We established this nation's first farmer-owned grain reserve. We brought farm price supports in line with rising production costs. We re-established our reputation within the world market and negotiated across-the-board reductions in foreign trade barriers.
- o The results speak for themselves. By every meaningful measure -- total gross farm income, total net farm income, total production, total consumption, total farm exports -- the record of the first four years of this Administration top any previous four-year period in history.

NOTE:

Reagan is likely to point to the drop in net farm income between 1979 and 1980 (we now estimate a 24 percent drop). Counter-points, if he does are:

- (1) since farm income varies significantly year-to-year, the only meaningful comparisons are across periods of at least 3-4 years,
- (2) even with the decline, it will be over 25% above the last year of the Republican Administration, and
- (3) thanks to very strong markets, here and abroad, it is already on the rise and will be significantly higher

- o If the ITC finds injury, I will ask my Trade Representative to initiate high-level contacts with the Japanese government immediately. I will seriously consider all possible options, including measures to restrict imports.
- o Whatever the ITC recommends, however, I am confident that we will lick the problem of Japanese imports.

## 2. THE FUTURE

### A. Reagan

- o My opponent has not given us any cohesive policy for addressing the problems of the automobile. He has blamed almost all of the problems of the industry on government regulations.
- o After first saying he was against any steps to restrict imports Governor Reagan stated in Michigan that something must be done to stem the flow of Japanese imports, but has not specifically advocated restraining Japanese imports.

### B. Carter

- o I see a bright future for the U.S. auto industry - one that's already starting. We will increasingly make the most fuel-efficient, safest, soundest cars in the world.
- o The key to the revitalization of our auto industry is the industry's effort to produce more small, fuel-efficient cars in this country. With the new 1981 models, we are well on our way to achieving this goal.
- o To ensure that government is doing everything possible to help the auto industry put American auto workers back on the job, I have established an Auto Industry Committee. On this Committee, business, labor and government will work together to help restore the auto industry to full health.
- o This Committee will address the full range of issues affecting the auto industry, including imports, regulations, tax policy and other critical issues. There is no question in my mind that, working together, we can lick the problems of the auto industry and Japanese imports.

BUDGET QUESTIONS: GENERAL APPROACH

THEME

I HAVE A SOLID RECORD OF CUTTING THE REAL GROWTH IN THE BUDGET BELOW THAT OF PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS. I ALSO HAVE FOUR YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN ESTABLISHING NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND MAKING THE TOUGH BUDGETARY DECISIONS TO MEET THEM. MY POLICY OF FISCAL RESTRAINT IS ESSENTIAL TO REDUCING INFLATION AND BUILDING A SECURE ECONOMIC FUTURE.

MY OPPONENT HAS NO EXPERIENCE IN MAKING THESE HARD CHOICES AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL. HE APPARENTLY DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT TOUGH CHOICES EXIST. SO, HE PROMISES HUGE TAX CUTS, MASSIVE INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING, MAINTAINING ENTITLEMENT PROGRAMS AND BALANCING THE BUDGET AT THE SAME TIME. THE RESULT WOULD BE HUGE BUDGET DEFICITS, AND WORSE INFLATION, IN THE 1980s.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o The budget must be viewed in terms of real program expenditures in relation to the size of the economy. The record shows budgetary restraint.
  - In my four budgets real outlays have grown at an average rate of 1.6%. In the two previous Republican Administrations the rate was 2-1/2%.
  - Real defense outlays have grown by nearly 3-1/2% each year; in the Nixon-Ford Administrations they fell by nearly 3-1/2% per year.
  - The budget deficit for the current fiscal year is projected to be 1 to 1-1/2% of GNP. When I ran for office the deficit was over 4% of GNP.
- o Within this overall context of restraint, I have directed budget expenditures to programs of highest national priority.
  - Real defense spending has increased by almost 3-1/2% per year after a steady eight-year decline under two Republican Administrations.
  - Major new initiatives in energy conservation and supply, funded by the windfall profit tax, have established a long-overdue energy policy to reduce our dependence on oil imported from insecure foreign sources.

In my first two years I concentrated on ending the recession and restoring solid growth. Since then I have placed primary emphasis on fighting inflation.

Finally, experience has taught me to be even more aware than I was four years ago how stubborn and persistent inflation is. Because of that heightened awareness, I have been especially vigilant in the past year to prevent actions that might lead to renewed inflation. I successfully opposed a quickie election year tax cut. I have proposed to the Congress for enactment next year a very careful and prudent economic recovery program that is in sharp contrast to the massive and inflationary across-the-board tax cuts that are the centerpiece of Governor Reagan's economic policy. I wish he had learned as much as I have over the past four years about the strength of inflation. If he had, he would not be proposing a tax cut that will cost \$1 trillion over the next seven years.

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2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

- o In spite of the 20 million people without any health insurance and the 80 million with inadequate coverage, my opponent has said "There is no health care crisis" and "I'm opposed to National Health Insurance".
- o Governor Reagan proposes to transfer all functions to the States along with the tax sources to finance them.

B. Carter

- o I am committed to enactment of my carefully phased-in National Health Plan, and I am confident given the serious committee consideration the issue received this year that we will be able to build on those efforts and achieve enactment this year.
- o I will press for final enactment of welfare reform. In the meantime, I will continue to pursue all reasonable efforts administratively within the latitude provided by present law, to achieve coordination, efficiency, and effectiveness in our welfare system.

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## NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Question: What is your position on National Health Insurance?

Answer:

### THEME

THE NATIONAL HEALTH PLAN I HAVE SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS IS SOLID EVIDENCE OF MY COMMITMENT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR ALL AMERICANS. MY NATIONAL HEALTH PLAN FOLLOWS IN THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN, WHO CHALLENGED CONGRESS TO SECURE FOR ALL AMERICANS ACCESS TO QUALITY HEALTH CARE AS A MATTER OF RIGHT, AND PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON, WHO LED THE CONGRESS TO ENACT MEDICARE AND MEDICAID. MY OPPONENT, ON THE OTHER HAND, BITTERLY OPPOSED THE ENACTMENT OF MEDICARE, JUST AS NOW HE OPPOSES NHI. UNDER MY ADMINISTRATION, NHI HAS RECEIVED THE FIRST SERIOUS CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION IN OVER A DECADE; WITH THIS EXPERIENCE WE HAVE AN EXCELLENT CHANCE OF OBTAINING PASSAGE OF A BILL IN MY SECOND TERM.

### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o The first phase legislation which I have submitted to the Congress lays the foundation for universal, comprehensive health insurance by:
  - providing comprehensive coverage for the poor;
  - limiting expenses for the elderly;
  - providing comprehensive coverage for all pregnant women and young children; and
  - assuring catastrophic coverage for everyone.
- o At the same time, it recognizes that such a major new program must be carefully phased in, with essential cost containment features.
- o It provides a substantially increased role for private health insurance (through increased underwriting and administrative services) and provides strong incentives for competition.
- o It responds to a glaring need -- 20 million Americans have no health insurance, another 20 million have inadequate basic insurance, and yet another 40-50 million have inadequate catastrophic insurance.
- o The Senate Finance Committee has done extensive mark-up of a bill which closely resembles my proposal, and it expects to complete that task in the next session of Congress. Under a Democratic Administration, the chances of passage are excellent next session.

2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

- o My record here is in stark contrast to the views of Governor Reagan. He opposes NHI, and helped lead the unsuccessful fight to defeat Medicare when it was being considered by the Congress.
- o The substantial progress we have made toward enactment of NHI over the past 4 years would be wasted under Governor Reagan.
- o Governor Reagan has publicly stated that "There is no health care crisis today", and further, that "Virtually all Americans have access to excellent medical care today." The facts simply do not support these assertions.

B. Carter

- o With the help of Senator Kennedy, who has devoted a substantial chunk of his Congressional career to improved health care, Senator Long and other Congressional leaders, the chances of passage in Congress are excellent for the next session.
- o I am committed to the ultimate enactment of universal, comprehensive NHI, to be phased in as economic conditions permit. I feel it is one of the major unfinished items on America's social agenda. The proposal which I have submitted to the Congress creates both the framework and the momentum to reach that long-sought goal.



## Savings

Question: What specific incentives would you provide to encourage greater savings? What would you do to encourage savings?

Answer:

Private savings stems from both businesses and individuals. The liberalized depreciation plan I proposed as part of my revitalization program will contribute directly to an increase in business saving. As for individuals, the best way to encourage Americans to save more is to allow them to earn a fair return on their savings dollars. My Administration has already taken steps to give small savers and households more opportunities for higher interest on their savings accounts opportunities that were available only to large savers.

- o We helped to introduce new savings instruments -- such as the 6-month money market certificate and the 2-1/2 year small saver certificate -- that pay the higher interest rates only those with very large amounts of money could earn.
- o As part of my deregulation program last April I signed into law a proposal to phase out all (Regulation Q) limits on interest paid to small savers. This means that household savings accounts could earn the same rate of interest banks pay the huge accounts of businesses.
- o I signed into law a bill which provides a \$200 tax exemption for individuals and a \$400 exemption for couples on interest earned in a savings account.

## SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

Question: What actions do you propose to ensure the continued fiscal strength of the Social Security System?

Answer:

### THEME

I HAVE A SOLID RECORD -- IN THE TRADITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- IN PROTECTING THE ELDERLY AND INTEGRITY OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM. MY OPPONENT, BY CONTRAST, HAS REPEATEDLY TAKEN POSITIONS THAT, IF IMPLEMENTED, WOULD HURT THE ELDERLY AND WOULD WEAKEN THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM. I AM COMMITTED TO POLICIES WHICH IN THE FUTURE WILL CONTINUE TO PROTECT SOCIAL SECURITY AND THE ELDERLY.

#### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

The Social Security System is much sounder now than when I took office.

- o The elderly have been among my principal concerns as President. I am determined to make certain that they are free from discrimination and are able to continue living happy and useful lives.
- o For those reasons I have signed legislation to virtually eliminate mandatory retirement restrictions due to age, strengthened the protection of pensions, increased funding for elderly housing and nutrition, and worked to achieve Hospital Cost Containment to protect the elderly from skyrocketing medical costs.
- o One of my first acts as President was working with the Congress to provide financial stability to the Social Security System and to rescue it from near-bankruptcy.
- o This year I proposed and the Congress adopted further action to assure the short-term stability of the retirement fund.
- o The full faith and credit of the U.S. government stands behind the Social Security System. No retiree will ever go without the benefits to which he or she is entitled while I am President.

#### 2. THE FUTURE

##### A. Reagan

- o My record here is in stark contrast to that of Governor Reagan. He opposes National Health Insurance and Hospital Cost Containment, and helped lead the fight to defeat Medicare when it was being considered by the Congress.

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC POLICY

Question: Hasn't your economic policy been one of continuous new policies, new budget directions, new anti-inflation initiatives? Why haven't you been able to stick with a single economic policy?

Answer:

- c The press has exaggerated the number of policies. I'm required to submit a new budget for each fiscal year to deal with the expected economic circumstances. This does not mean we had a new economic policy each year. Even minor changes in my voluntary wage-price guidelines were counted by some as a new policy.
- c My basic economic philosophy and my approach to economic policy have been quite consistent over the past four years. My aim is:
- to encourage healthy economic growth;
  - to do so carefully and prudently so as not to make the government itself an engine of inflation;
  - to meet quickly and decisively any new inflationary threats from abroad -- like last year's massive oil price increase;
  - to restrain the growth of Federal spending so as to be able to provide responsible and noninflationary tax reduction for the American people;
  - and to make our country less dependent on foreign oil.
- c My basic policy goals have not changed. But economic circumstances at home and abroad do change, sometimes very swiftly and unpredictably. And specific budgetary, monetary and other economic measures have to be promptly set in motion to deal with those changes. Consistent economic policy does not mean sticking one's head in the sand. It would be the height of irresponsibility to stand idly by while inflationary or recessionary forces run unchecked. All Presidents have recognized this and changed their economic policies accordingly.
- c Let me give an example. In March of this year, as the last surge of oil price hikes was underway, inflation threatened to get out of hand. Even though I had just sent a new budget to the Congress, I convened Congressional leaders to work with me on cutting additional amounts of Federal spending, in order to deal with the intensified inflation. The medicine worked. While inflation is still too high, it has receded sharply from that in the early months of this year.
- c In all of this, I did not change my basic approach. But I did move quickly with specific new policies to meet a new threat to our country's economy. F.D.R. said he would continue to experiment in dealing with an intolerable problem until he found the right solution. He wasn't accused of inconsistency.

## ECONOMIC PROPOSAL COMPARISON AND OVERVIEW

Question: How would you compare your economic revitalization program with Governor Reagan's tax cut proposal? How does your economic revitalization program help the average working person or family? Won't the additional Federal spending be inflationary?

Answer:

### THEME

MY RECORD IN ECONOMIC POLICY IS NOT AS GOOD AS I WOULD LIKE, BUT THE ECONOMY IS IMPROVING IN MANY AREAS. EMPLOYMENT GROWTH DURING MY TERM HAS BEEN FASTER THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. I HAVE PUT INTO PLACE A SERIES OF POLICIES WHICH WILL LEAD TO A MORE PRODUCTIVE AND LESS INFLATIONARY AMERICAN ECONOMY IN THE FUTURE. MY ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION PROGRAM IS PRUDENT, RESTRAINED, AND CAREFULLY DESIGNED TO INCREASE INVESTMENT, PRODUCTIVITY AND EMPLOYMENT, AND TO REDUCE INFLATION. MY OPPONENT, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS PROPOSED A SINGLE, SIMPLISTIC ANSWER TO THE COMPLEX ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH FACE OUR NATION -- A MASSIVE, ACROSS-THE-BOARD INDIVIDUAL TAX CUT WHICH WOULD BE REGRESSIVE, INFLATIONARY, AND COMPLETELY UNRESPONSIVE TO THE CRITICAL NEED TO INCREASE INVESTMENT AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TO SPUR FASTER PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE 80'S.

### THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

COPY

- o We have had a difficult year but the trends are favorable. I have led this Nation out of one recession which I inherited and we are coming out of one which hit during my Administration. Inflation, while still too high, has come down and has averaged % over the last months.
- o During the first three years of my Administration, 8.8 million new jobs were created -- more jobs than were created in any other Administration in history and twice as many as during the previous Republican Administration.
- o Against formidable political opposition, I have put into place a comprehensive and coherent National Energy Program, and its effects are now evident: we have cut our foreign oil consumption by two million barrels since I took office and no other nation on earth can match that record.
- o I have put into place policies to increase the productivity of our economy. From 1976 to 1979 investment has increased 38%. Perhaps even more important has been my success in reducing inefficient, productivity-reducing regulations: we have deregulated the airlines, the railroads, trucking and the banking industries. These actions have already saved consumers billions of dollars as they increase competition and the efficiency of the American economy.

- o I have implemented a prudent and responsible fiscal policy and after decades during which other administrations only talked about spending restraint, I have achieved it: the growth in real Federal budget outlays has been cut in half compared to the rate of the previous Republican Administration. And, in 1981 the Federal deficit as a percent of GNP will be less than half what it was in 1976.

2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

- o I have learned the bitter lessons of inflation. I will not over-inflate the economy but Governor Reagan's Kemp-Roth tax cut would do so.
- o In contrast to my balanced, moderate approach to economic policy, Governor Reagan has proposed one single, simplistic proposal to deal with all of the complex economic problems of our country -- a massive, across-the-board, 30% individual income tax cut -- a rich man's tax cut which would flood the Nation with excess dollars. There is no recognition of the crucial need to reduce our vulnerability to OPEC oil price increases.
- o There is no emphasis in his program of the critical need to encourage private investment in plant and equipment. I believe that the tax code must provide investment incentives so that our workers will be equipped with the most modern and efficient capital in the world. That is apparently less important to Governor Reagan, since he devotes only 10 percent of his tax cut to investment incentives.
- o Further, Governor Reagan's tax cuts would benefit the rich at the expense of the rest of us. A person earning \$200,000 would receive 35 times as large a tax cut under the Reagan proposal as a person earning \$20,000 a year.
- o Most importantly, Governor Reagan has not learned the lessons of the past few years about inflation. We cannot afford to fuel inflation. Yet, his proposal is extremely inflationary -- his own running mate said it would bring 30% inflation. That is not unlikely when you cut taxes by \$1 trillion over the next years, and remain committed to massive defense spending, protecting entitlement programs, and promise new spending programs.

B. Carter

- o I, too, am committed to reducing personal tax burdens, but spending restraint is an essential prerequisite. Massive tax cuts which primarily benefit the rich and which pick the pockets of the rest of Americans by generating huge, inflationary pressures cannot be tolerated.

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- o My program of budgetary firmness has meant a decline in the rate of growth of federal spending I inherited.

2. THE FUTURE

COPY

A. Reagan

- o The key is I have learned from hard experience the difficulty of fighting inflation and the dangers of over-stimulation. Mr. Reagan would repeat the errors of the past by a highly stimulative, consumption-oriented tax cut for the wealthy. Governor Reagan's proposals stand in sharp contrast to mine. Instead of a targeted program of investment incentives, about 85% of his program would be Reagan-Kemp-Roth notion of a single across-the-board personal income tax cut. This proposal is so poor an idea that the Governor's own running mate opposed it. So did many of his own economic advisers. So did former President Ford. When Republicans refuse to support the economic program of their own nominee, you can bet they have good reasons. And they do.

- It would be inflationary. Unless accompanied by enormous budget cuts -- cuts that the Governor keeps promising but never spells out -- his plans would cause budget deficits of \$100 billion or more, and increase inflation. His own running mate called the proposal "economic voodoo" and said it would raise the inflation rate to 30 percent.
- It would be regressive. In 1983, his proposal would give \$175 to a family making \$12,000, but \$15,000 to a family making \$200,000.
- It provides the vast majority of its tax relief for consumption, not investment and productivity. Although his program does include a proposal for accelerated depreciation most of his tax relief is not tied to the investment we need for productivity.

- o My opponent also claims that he will cut spending enough for the nation to afford this enormous tax cut and still balance the budget. But somehow he can't come up with any programs to cut. In fact, in the past few weeks, he's been promising more wherever he travels. At our last count, he was at \$140 billion in 1983 and still spending.

B. Carter

- o I am committed that ours remain the most productive economy on earth.
- o I have proposed an economic renewal program for prompt enactment next year that would help increase productivity and create jobs 1 million within 2 years without increasing inflation as well. It includes:
  - vastly accelerated depreciation schedules for plant and equipment to encourage modernization (40%);

- targeted tax programs for investment;
- aid to workers and communities;
- public investment in our transportation system and the scientific research that maintains our economic leadership;
- a new partnership between government and industry, to solve problems cooperatively through an Economic Revitalization Board;
- a reduction in Social Security taxes by an income tax credit that reduces inflation and leaves the Social Security Trust Fund secure.

o Furthermore, we have begun to find new ways to fight inflation. My proposal to offset social security tax increases will reduce inflation in the immediate future. I am also exploring other ways to use the tax system to help moderate wage and price behavior.

- Second, we must continue to control the growth of Federal spending, and reduce the burden of regulation and taxation. I have already proven that we can do this, by cutting the rate of spending growth to half that of my Republican predecessor. My proposal to offset social security taxes will help reduce inflation in the immediate future. We will continue to deregulate the economy as I have done with airlines, rails, trucking and banks.
  
- I am strongly opposed, however, to committing the government to hundreds of billions in tax cuts with no specific plan to reduce spending. Here again I differ sharply from Governor Reagan, whose Kemp-Roth tax cut would be highly inflationary.
  
- Third, I believe that in the years immediately ahead America is going to have to invest heavily in its own future
  - o both to modernize its industry, create jobs, and
  - o to build the new facilities we need to make our energy future secure.
  
- o That is why the Economic Revitalization Plan I have proposed the Congress enact next year is carefully targeted to increase business investment. It is a program that will put people - one million new jobs within two years - to work and increase productivity to maintain our economic strength without rekindling inflation. And here again I differ from Governor Reagan: almost 90 percent of his massive tax cuts are for consumption-oriented tax relief and only 10 percent go to promote investment incentives.
  
- o Ours is the most productive economy on earth. Working together, it will remain so.

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## HANDLING OF ECONOMY

Question: Given our problems with unemployment, recession and inflation, why do you believe your handling of the economy merits another four years?

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Answer:

### THEME

THE PAST TWO YEARS HAVE BEEN HARD FOR OUR NATION, BUT RECESSION IS OVER AND INFLATION HAS ABATED. WE HAVE HAD MANY SUCCESSSES AS WELL AS DISAPPOINTMENTS. I HAVE PROPOSED AND BEGUN AN ECONOMIC RENEWAL PROGRAM AND AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT WILL CREATE JOBS AND STRENGTHEN OUR NATION'S INDUSTRY. I HAVE ALREADY TAKEN STEPS TO FIGHT INFLATION AND I HAVE PROPOSED NEW PROGRAMS TO CONTINUE THIS FIGHT. MY OPPONENT, BY CONTRAST, PROMISES TO SOLVE ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE ECONOMY PRIMARILY BY ONE SINGLE, SIMPLE AND WRONG IDEA: A LARGE ACROSS-THE-BOARD TAX CUT THAT EVEN HIS OWN RUNNING MATE ADMITTED WOULD BE INFLATIONARY AND A MISTAKE.

### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o Our nation's economy has suffered from rising inflation for fifteen years due to the costs of the Vietnam War, the Soviet grain sale of 1972, OPEC price shocks in 1974 and 1979, and declining productivity. In the last two years, the nation's oil bill has more than doubled, making the problem worse. We have learned through hard experience the tenacity of inflationary forces and the importance of opposing them continually, intelligently and well.
- o In the past four years, I proposed and began the nation's first real energy program to help meet this challenge. And we are beginning to do so. Today, we buy two million barrels a day less oil from OPEC than we did in 1977. This means our nation's economy will be more stable and have lower inflation in the future.
- o To increase productivity in our basic industries, I have brought together business and labor to meet with government and solve problems cooperatively. In the coal industry, working together for the first time, we reached agreement on ways to make mining better and more efficient. And we have begun to do this in the automobile and steel industries.
- o I have worked to reduce paperwork (15% reduction) and cut red tape that can frustrate our natural enterprise. My programs for deregulation of the trucking, airline, railroad and banking industries mark the most important restructuring of relations between government and industry since the New Deal. For the first time, I have set strict limits on agency paperwork requirements.

-- We have put in place the Nation's first energy program. It includes a conservation and solar bank, a synthetic fuels corporation, and an end to the dangerous practice of keeping oil and gas prices artificially low.

-- As a result, we import about 25 percent less oil than we did when I took office. More oil and gas wells are being drilled. And we use energy more efficiently than ever before.

- o I have cut the growth of Federal spending in half, while increasing support for our Nation's defense as well as other critical needs such as energy conservation and youth unemployment.
- o The dollar is now strong. And the United States -- unlike all other oil importing nations -- has been reducing its balance of payments deficit.
- o We have eliminated regulations which stifled free enterprise in airline, trucking, and railroad industries and in the banking and financial institutions.
- o Obviously, I am not pleased with the record on inflation nor with the current rate of unemployment. But the trends are in the right direction. We were not able to absorb completely the shock of doubled OPEC prices. And I would have to admit that, early in my Administration, we underestimated the strength of inflationary forces which had been building for the previous ten years. Inflation has been reduced sharply. The consumer price index has averaged percent over the last months. Unemployment has dropped the past several months and should continue to do so. Auto sales, industrial production and homebuilding are up.

2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

COPY

- o I have learned a great deal from my experience. Most importantly, I have learned the dangers of overstimulating the economy. That's why I opposed an election year tax cut and it's why I so strongly oppose the Reagan Kemp-Roth massive tax cut. Governor Reagan's proposals stand in sharp contrast to mine. He clearly has not learned the lessons of the past few years on inflation. Instead of a targeted program of investment incentives, about 90% of his program is the Kemp-Roth notion of a single across-the-board personal income tax cut. It is a rich man's tax cut which would flood America with excess dollars. This proposal is so poor an idea that the Governor's own running mate opposed it. So did many of his own economic advisers. So did former President Ford. When Republicans refuse to support the economic program of their own nominee, you can bet they have good reasons. And they do.

- It would be inflationary. Unless accompanied by enormous budget cuts -- cuts that the Governor keeps promising but never spells out -- his plans would cause budget deficits of over \$100 billion and increase inflation. His own running mate called the proposal "economic woodoc" and said it would raise the inflation rate to 30 percent. Inflation is so difficult to root out of our system that we cannot afford to gamble on an economic program that so many knowledgeable people believe to be very inflationary.
- It would be unfair. His proposal would give \$175 to a teacher making \$12,000, but the corporate officer making \$200,000 would receive \$15,000. It is, simply stated, a rich man's tax bill.
- It provides tax relief for consumption, not investment and productivity. Only 10 percent of his tax program is devoted to stimulating the investment we need for productivity.
- o My opponent also claims that he will cut spending enough for the nation to afford this enormous tax cut and still balance the budget. But for some reason he cannot name a single cut. That will make it pretty hard to balance the budget. And in the past few weeks, he's been promising new programs that will make it even harder. At last count he was at \$140 billion in 1983 and still promising.
- o My opponent seems to believe that government should play almost no role in the economy at all. While I worked with the steel industry to help solve the problems of this vital industry, he seems to think government should keep hands off. I suppose that's why he thinks we can solve our energy problem by giving it all to the oil companies.
- o I don't think a person who believes that the minimum wage is one of the principal causes of unemployment - as Mr. Reagan said - can develop answers to reduce unemployment.

B. Carter

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- o My economic renewal program concentrates on investment and productivity incentives to create jobs -- so we grow without rekindling inflation by a massive stimulus to consumers. I have founded <sup>my</sup> economic program on three principles:
  - First, that we must achieve energy security through the comprehensive energy program now in place. This has reversed the decades of growing dependence on foreign oil. Every year of my Presidency we have imported less foreign oil than the year before. Here I differ strongly with Governor Reagan, who has said repeatedly that all we need to do to solve our energy problem is to leave it in the hands of the oil companies.

JUN 7 1984

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SECONDARY QUESTIONS  
MAY 19 1960

ECONOMY

JUN 27 1968

## Wage and Price Policy

### Question:

Are you planning to continue your wage and price guideline program next year and beyond? Would you consider any tightening of the guidelines? Wouldn't you concede that they have not been very successful in restraining inflation?

### Answer:

- o The voluntary wage and price standards have been an important part of my program.
- o The voluntary wage and price standards did work. Quantitative estimates show that the rate of wage inflation in 1979 was 1-1/4 percentage points less than it would have been.
- o The wage and price standards program was critical in our ability to prevent the 125% increase in OPEC oil prices in 1979 from driving us to a permanent underlying inflation rate of over 10 percent. Policies to encourage wage and price restraint are important in our fight to bring down the underlying rate of inflation.
- o When I announced the Economic Revitalization Program on August 28 I explicitly noted that my advisors would be examining ways to extend the voluntary program for private wage and price restraint. In addition, I said that as there is room for further tax reductions in the coming years we must look for ways to use those tax reductions to encourage wage and price moderation. There will be some voluntary incomes policy for next year.
- o By contrast Governor Reagan has absolutely no proposal for slowing the underlying rate of inflation. Indeed, he proposes massive tax cuts which would only create huge deficits and rekindle inflation.

- o Throughout the 1960's and as recently as his last campaign for President, Governor Reagan discussed the possibility of making the Social Security System voluntary -- if that were to occur, the System would certainly be bankrupt in a short period of time. While the Governor now indicates his opposition to making Social Security voluntary, the fact that he could even consider such a proposal is of concern to me.
- o Further, Governor Reagan supports a tax cut, which to balance the budget will require him to cut \$130 billion in spending in 1983. He says he won't touch Social Security but how else can he pay for his tax cut?

B. Carter

- o I am committed to preserving a sound Social Security System in the future. To ensure that, I have appointed a commission to provide recommendations to me about further steps that might be taken to protect Social Security recipients.
- o After receiving the Commission's recommendations and after consulting widely with the Congress and leaders of elderly organizations, I will, in my next term, make recommendations for further improvements in the Social Security System.
- o I have not yet formulated the recommendations I will make but I have established broad guidelines by which the recommendations will be governed:
  - no taxing of Social Security benefits;
  - no raising the age limit for Social Security eligibility;
  - no reducing Social Security benefits; and
  - no capping of the cost-of-living adjustment for Social Security.
- o I am determined to make certain that the Social Security System remains the pillar of fiscal strength that we need and that the needs of all Social Security recipients are met.
- o I am also determined to help reduce the burden of high Social Security taxes. That is why I have proposed an extension of the earned income tax credit and an 8 percent credit for employers and employees on their income tax form; that credit will essentially eliminate the burden of increased Social Security taxes next year -- and it will do so without taking a dollar from any of the Social Security trust funds.

## WELFARE

Question: For years public attention as well as government attention has focused on problems in the welfare system without much success in solving those problems. You have described the welfare system as "inequitable and archaic". Welfare recipients and State and local governments also have criticized the welfare system, generally for different reasons. What would you do to solve the problems in the welfare system?

Answer:

### THEME

I HAVE PROPOSED A SET OF WELFARE-REFORM PROPOSALS WHICH I BELIEVE WOULD MAKE MAJOR PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE MOST URGENT PROBLEMS IN OUR WELFARE SYSTEM. THESE PROPOSALS HAVE STRONG WORK INCENTIVES, STRONG PRO-FAMILY INCENTIVES, AND ESTABLISH A UNIFORM PAYMENT STANDARD. I AM COMMITTED TO THEIR PASSAGE AS A WAY OF HELPING OUR MOST DISADVANTAGED CITIZENS.

#### 1. THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

- o The reforms I have proposed are employment-oriented. They place major emphasis on job and training opportunities and strong work incentives for people who are able to work. 400,000 jobs would be created to give those on welfare jobs.
- o My reforms also would establish a national minimum benefit reflective of the current living increases cost for the poorest families with dependent children.
- o Working within our existing welfare system, not to expand, but to coordinate programs for more efficient management and more effective service, we can rout out waste and abuse, increase self-sufficiency through employment, and provide adequate assistance to those who really need it -- many of whom are young children and elderly citizens.
- o My welfare reforms also recognize the deepening fiscal burdens on many State and local governments which, through no fault of their own, have larger than average welfare populations. Fiscal relief is provided.
- o I have also taken separate measures to improve several programs which have been of great value to poor people in this country.



- I have strongly supported the Food Stamp program.
- I proposed and Congress enacted a program providing help to poor people in meeting their increased home energy costs and coping with energy-related emergencies.
- Just this year we enacted legislation to remove abuses in the child welfare and foster care programs for poor children and to help those homeless children find permanent homes with loving families.
- I have established an inspector general program under which I appointed an Inspector General in most Federal departments to rout out fraud, abuse, and waste in Federal programs.

2. THE FUTURE

A. Reagan

- o My opponent has recommended shifting our national welfare problems onto the shoulders of State and local governments, and said that he would transfer welfare back to the States along with the tax sources to finance it. I believe that the responsibility of taking care of poor people in this country is a responsibility of both the Federal and State governments, and given the problems the system faces, transferring welfare problems to the States is not reform.
- o My opponent opposes the ERA. Most of the adults on welfare are women. Equal rights for them both legally and economically would help to get them and their children off welfare.

B. Carter

- o I will continue to press for final enactment of welfare reform, which passed the House of Representatives last year.
- o In addition I will take all reasonable administrative measures to achieve improvements in the welfare system and to assure that welfare does not compete with employment, but does provide a viable system of support for the poor who cannot work.

REBUTTALS TO REAGAN STATEMENTS

Based on his interviews, speeches and previous debates, the assertions and claims Reagan will make on a particular subject can be reasonably predicted.

Set forth below are the key assertions and claims, along with suggested rebuttal information.

<u>Reagan</u>	<u>California Record</u>	<u>Rebuttal</u>
1. Rebated \$5.7 billion to taxpayers.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>o Largest tax increases (3) in California history.</li><li>o \$20 billion tax increase.</li><li>o Near tripling of tax collections.</li></ul>
2. Almost no growth in government.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>o 20% increase in State employees (counting higher education and mental health, which Reagan does not).</li><li>o Greater per capita increase than under predecessor.</li></ul>
3. Held down government spending.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>o Highest real growth rate in State's history.</li><li>o 126% increase in State budget.</li></ul>
4. Stopped bureaucracy's growth.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>o Created 30 new State agencies and boards.</li><li>o "No significant State program was eliminated." <u>L.A. Times</u></li></ul>
5. Reformed welfare - saved \$2 billion; caseload dropped.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>o Welfare costs tripled.</li><li>o No one will confirm \$2 billion savings</li><li>o Fought in court Congress' mandated cost-of-living increases for welfare recipients.</li><li>o Last time we debated -- at Governors' Conference in 1973 -- he argued against increased welfare assistance (on behalf of Nixon's position).</li><li>o Caseload dropped because economy improv</li></ul>

Reagan

Rebuttal

6. Had toughest anti-smog laws in country when he left office.

- o Were passed over his objections.
- o League of Conservation Voters said he undermined the State's pollution program.

Economy

1. Kemp-Roth is not inflationary; does what John Kennedy's tax cut did; supported by all economists who have analyzed it.

- o Own running-mate once said it would cause 30% inflation; cannot cut \$1 trillion over next 6 years and not be inflationary.
- o Kennedy's cut occurred when inflation was 17-27%; was much smaller cut (24% over two years); and was only a business tax cut.
- o No reputable economists not supporting Reagan support it, and his own economists have tried to get him to soften his support for the bill.
- o Ford does not support R-K-R.

2. Taxes doubled since 1976.

- o Shows lack of understanding of government figures.
- o Total receipts will double, but tax burdens have not gone up much (1976 - 18.5% of GNP; 1981 - 21.8%), and some of increase is due to Windfall Tax.
- o Burdens will be reduced after Revitalization Program is enacted.

3. Budget deficit for last four years is highest in history.

- o Budget deficit as a percentage of GNP is less than half of what was inherited.
- o Inherited largest deficit in history and have made spending restraints which will ensure further reductions in deficit.
- o Current deficit is directly due to recession - if unemployment was now where it was two years ago (6%) we would be in balance.

Reagan

Rebuttal

4. Inflation rose from 4.3% in '76 to 18.1% in first three months of this year.

o No denying inflation is up -- largely because of OPEC.

o Misleading to look at only a few months figures -- underlying rate is no more 18% than the 0% we saw in July

o Underlying rate -- according to all economists -- is about 9%, or only 1-1/2 points above what we inherited.

5. Unemployment is worse than when you took office; 8 million unemployed.

o Nearly 9 million new jobs created.

o Employment grown more rapidly than any Administration in history (twice as fast as Republican predecessors).

o Minority youth employment has increase 17 times as fast as previous four year

o Unemployment declined in each of previous three months.

6. Real take home pay of average worker has fallen 10% (this relies on statistic called "real spendable weekly earnings").

o Using statistic which is seriously flawed in economists' view.

o Best measure is real, after-tax income per person.

o That shows that real income has averaged growth of 1.5% per year during my Administration (or about 6% since '77).

7. Unemployment has been at Depression levels.

o Unemployment during Depression went as high as 25%.

o Never reached 8% during my Administration.

o Did reach 8.5% during previous Administration.

8. Record numbers of Blacks are unemployed.

o 1.3 million new jobs held by Blacks.

o 13% more Blacks employed today.

o Employment grown at twice the rate it did during Nixon-Ford years.

*Handwritten:* COPY

Reagan

Rebuttal

- 9. Government spending has not been controlled, and has been principal cause of inflation.
- 10. Broke '76 campaign promise to get inflation and unemployment down to 4%.
- 11. Social Security tax increase was largest tax increase in history.

- o Real growth in Federal spending has been cut in half.
- o Deficit as percentage of GNP is less than half what I inherited.
- o Still are our goals.
- o OPEC and recession made impossible.
- o Better chance of reaching if avoid massive tax cut and if pursue my job-creating Economic Revitalization program.
- o Tax increase protected System from bankruptcy.
- o 8% credit will eliminate next year's scheduled increase.

COPY  
JAN 1983

Energy

1. Pursued anti-production policies throughout Administration.

- o Decontrol of oil and natural gas are directly responsible for production increases -- by 1985, 400-700,000 b/d of oil and 2 trillion cubic feet per year of natural gas more than there would be if controls were continued.
- o Oil and gas exploration will set new record in '80 -- 3,164 rigs in operation this month. Oil and gas wells drilled will reach 60,000 in '80 -- 66% above 1976.
- o Coal production will reach highest level, exceeding 800 million tons for the first time in history -- 15% above 1976.

Reagan

Rebuttal

2. Excluding Alaska, oil production has declined every year of this Administration.

o Including Alaska, which is still a part of the United States, domestic oil production has gone up in 3 out of 4 years in office.

o More new wells are being drilled this year and more rigs are active today than at any time in our Nation's history.

3. More dependent on OPEC than before.

o Imports of foreign oil down 2 million barrels per day since '76, or 23%.

o Reduced dependence has enabled us to avoid shortfalls that might have resulted because of Iran-Iraq War.

o During previous 2 Republican Administrations (1968-75) imports of foreign oil increased from 2.8 million barrels per day to 8.8 million barrels per day

4. There is no energy shortage -- there is still more oil in the ground than we have taken out.

o We have produced about 120 billion barrels of domestic oil so far. Assuming that enhanced oil recovery methods such as secondary and tertiary recovery reach their full potential, the total volume remaining to be produced is about 73 billion barrels.

o No authoritative estimate has ever claimed that secondary and tertiary methods could bring total production up to 120 billion barrels.

5. SPRO has been mismanaged.

o We made a careful decision, based on the international market situation, not to buy vast quantities of oil for the SPRO last year. To have done so would just have driven up the world oil price.

o We have now started filling rather rapidly (24 million barrels now being delivered) and a number of tests have proved that the system works smoothly.

COPY  
JAN 27 1983

Reagan

Rebuttal

6. There is no need for government role in synfuels development.

- o Without government role, there has been no synfuels production; now on target to produce 2 million barrels of synfuels per day by 1992.
- o Government will only help with financing -- absorbing the risk of new technology -- no operating or management role.

7. Prohibited exploration on possibly productive lands.

- o Our Alaska Lands bill leaves 90% of the promising oil and gas land available for development and 100% of the Outer Continental Shelf, where most oil and gas will probably be found.
- o My new 5-year Outer Continental Shelf leasing program offers more acreage (45 million acres) than all acreage offered since the program began in 1954. ~~Even though~~ only 2-3% of the OCS is now leased, less than 10% has any possible oil or gas reserves.
- o Of the 822 million acres of Federal mineral estate, about 500 million acres are available for lease.

8. Windfall Tax is not a tax on oil companies -- but a tax on consumers.

- o The Windfall Tax reclaims some of the increased profits that the oil companies will make from consumers when oil is decontrolled. It creates the revenues we need to increase domestic production of energy and to help our poor citizens afford the rising costs of energy.

9. One year's waste from a nuclear plant could be stored under a desk.

- o This ignores the serious responsibility that the Federal government has to establish a safe nuclear waste program.
- o Most nuclear plants create more waste than this in a year, but size is irrelevant; a cyanide capsule or a time bomb are small, too, but that does not mean they are safe.

Environment

Reagan

Rebuttal

1. EPA is dominated by "no growth" advocates -- EPA wants you to live in birds nests or rabbit holes.

o At my direction, EPA has devised innovative regulatory approaches, such as the bubble policy, economic incentives emissions banking and deadline extensions, to allow growth to continue while keeping environmental costs at an acceptable level.

o EPA's activities are essential if we are to have the kind of growth we all want -- healthy growth that does not despoil our air and water for future generations.

2. Clean Air Act has forced closing of steel mills.

o Not even the steel companies claim that Carter's steel program provides case-by-case balance between needs of steel and environmental goals. Even the industry admits that our program solves the industry's major environmental concerns.

3. Environmental regulations have hurt auto industry.

o The vast majority (about 83%) of industry expenditures for Federal regulations are for fuel economy -- not for environmental protection. Consumer demand is forcing the industry to make these investments regardless of Federal requirements.

o Obviously some investment for environmental regulation is necessary to protect the health of our citizens -- as recent victims of Los Angeles' smog episode will attest.

o My Administration has worked to ensure that regulations are cost-effective. EPA has modified several rules to save the industry as much as \$600 million without sacrificing air quality.

o Moreover, environmental regulation has encouraged the development of new technology benefitting the industry and consumers: for example, the new electronic devices which save fuel as well as curb pollution.



Reagan

Rebuttal

1. EPA is anti-coal.

- o EPA believes that coal can be burned cleanly with the appropriate pollution control technologies, and they are funding studies to develop better and cheaper devices.
- o EPA has shown its flexibility in dealing with coal-burning pollution time and time again -- most recently by extending the 30-day averaging provision in Ohio so that Ohio utilities can burn Ohio coal.

3. Air pollution is substantially under control. Mt. St. Helens and trees cause more pollution than cars.

- o Anyone who lives in an urban area knows that air pollution is not under control. In fact, when Reagan made that claim, Los Angeles was under a several-week pollution alert.

- o Mt. St. Helens emits sulfur oxides, which cars do not. Power plants in the U.S. do, though, but they emit 50 times as much in a day as Mt. St. Helens. Trees emit harmless nitrous oxides, not the nitrogen dioxide that comes from cars and can cause serious heart and respiratory illness.

6. Carter has closed off too much of Alaska to energy exploration.

- o 90% of land in Alaska with potential oil reserves is open to exploration, and 100% of the Outer Continental Shelf where most oil and gas probably will be found.

7. Sagebrush rebellion will become Reagan Administration policy.

- o Reagan would give away millions of acres of land that is now owned by all of the people in the country to a few private interests.
- o I would continue to open these lands for commercial development as appropriate, but I would not give up the American peoples' right to enjoy natural resources.

Reagan

Rebuttal

8. 55 MPH speed limit should be eliminated.
9. Toughest anti-smog laws in Nation were enacted during his term as Governor.

- o Saved 40,000 lives and 228,000 barrels of gasoline per day.
- o He opposed the laws while they were going through the Legislature.
- o League of Conservation Voters said he undermined tough enforcement of environmental laws.

Regulation and Government Reform

1. Trucking, airline and banking deregulation are merely publicized examples of showcase deregulation.
2. Greatest regulator in history; hasn't done anything to stop regulation growth.
3. Federal Register pages have increased.

- o Most significant change in government relationship with business since the New Deal.
- o More real regulatory reform in last 3 1/2 years than in preceding 3 1/2 decades.
- o Airline deregulation saved \$5 billion for consumers in first two years.
- o Trucking deregulation will reduce shipping costs by \$5-8 billion a year.
- o Deregulated airlines, rails, banking, trucking and communications (administratively).
- o Reduced paperwork burden by 15%.
- o Deregulated oil pricing and natural gas pricing.
- o Regulations now written in easy-to-understand English.
- o Reformed regulatory process -- cost of regulations reviewed for first time in Nation's history.
- o There are more pages because we now use large print for easy reading and a simplified explanation that the average person can understand.
- o There has not been any real increase the number of new regulations (those issued are largely the product of statutes enacted before I took office).

Reagan

4. Nothing has been done about the \$50 billion in fraud and abuse in government programs.

Rebuttal

- o Inspectors General appointed in every Department.
- o Civil Service Reform improved ability to detect problems.
- o Reagan has never indicated precisely how he would cut out this problem or precisely what programs are involved.

Agriculture

1. Agricultural policies are an unprecedented disaster.

- o Agricultural exports have set records every year — this year will rise by \$8 billion to \$40 billion.
- o Farm income was up in each of last 3 years.
- o Last year farm income reached record-setting level.
- o Past four years — record yields in six major crops.
- o First farmer-owned grain reserve.
- o Opened up new trade markets -- in China, Mexico.
- o Soviet feed grain imports are off by 8-10 million tons.
- o Soviets now forced into meat shortage situation.
- o Farmers were made whole for any losses through grain purchase program.

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2. Grain embargo has hurt farmers more than Soviets.

KEY LINES TO USE AT BEGINNING OF COMMENTS ON REAGAN

1. Simplistic Solutions That Won't Work in the Real World

- Governor Reagan simply does not understand the consequences of his proposal.
- Governor Reagan's program has an initial, surface appeal, but I've learned as President to look beneath the surface.
- Governor Reagan's proposal provides a simplistic and erroneous solution to a very complicated problem.
- I do not believe Governor Reagan would make that proposal if he appreciated the complexities involved.
- I had a similar view before I became President and learned first-hand the complexities involved.
- I have learned a great deal from the experiences of the last 4 years. I wish that the Governor had learned as well.
- I wish the matter were as simple as the Governor has portrayed it. It would have made my job a lot easier these past four years.

-- I would have said the exact same thing myself -- four years ago. Fortunately for the country, I have learned that ....

2. Troublesome

That kind of thinking has gotten us into trouble before.

3. Republican

That is a good example of age-old Republican doctrine. (NHD, Minimum wage, Medicare)

4. Ignores Consequences

That sounds fine. But let's look at the consequences.

5. Reliance on Experts

Governor Reagan cites what he calls "expert" opinion (on Kemp-Roth, military needs). As President, you get "expert" opinion on both sides. The President must be the final judge.

6. Negative

Anyone can list problems. We need to understand them.

7. Knee-jerk

Governor Reagan seems to have a predictable, knee-jerk response to every situation. Kemp-Roth is his answer whether the economy is expanding or contracting. Military power is always his answer, necessary or not.

8. Vague

The Governor paints a rather vague picture. I would like a few more details. I would like to know ... when ... where ... how ...

9. Elitist

That is a great idea -- if you make \$200,000 a year!

10. Pro-Business

The Governor says we should rely on the private sector alone. That is the approach Herbert Hoover took. The private sector alone can't be depended upon to protect worker safety and health or the environment or to solve our energy problem, or provide medical care for the aged.

11. Quoting Democrats

I notice that Governor Reagan likes to quote Democratic Presidents whose programs he opposed.

12. Women's Issues

I do not think many working women would agree with that.

13. Flip-Flops

I salute Governor Reagan for moderating his position. It makes good political sense. Unfortunately it contradicts entirely what he has stood for these past 20 years.

14. Attacks on Record

Governor Reagan fails to mention something: Before we came along, this country did not even have -- (an energy policy; a Camp David peace process; human rights program).

15. Hostages

Does Governor Reagan seriously believe that I have not done everything I could to get those hostages out safely? If he had a solution, I feel confident he would have offered it long ago -- just as any American citizen would.

16. "Secret Plans"

Our country learned in 1968 how dangerous it was to believe in "secret plans" to end international disputes.

17. Democratic Party

Governor Reagan appears to accept Democratic solutions about a generation after they were first proposed. (Civil Rights Act, Medicare, Social Security)

At this rate, he will be supporting ERA and national health insurance sometime in the 21st century!

18. Clear-Cut Choice

That is one position. Fortunately, the American people have a clear-cut choice this year. My position is that .....

19. Progress

Governor, you used to say on T.V., "progress is our most important product." But what you've just said isn't progress.

20. The GOP Platform/ERA

Harry Truman said that ". . . party platforms are contracts with the people." I agree.

The women of America should know that the platform of the Republican Party deprives them their rightful place in our Constitution.

21. Women--ERA

The Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution is just as vital and necessary today as were the Civil Rights Amendments to the Constitution of the last century. Anything less is a half-measure.

22. Economy

Kemp-Roth is a rich man's tax cut which would flood the country with excess dollars, and which his own Vice-Presidential candidate has called "voodoo economics".

The Republican economic philosophy is trickled down. I'm with Hubert Humphrey who said Democratic economics percolate up.

Governor, your tax proposals give the largest tax breaks to the people who need them least -- the rich.

Your economic program is survival of the richest.

23. Economy (Labor, Social Security or Medicare)

I think the American working family can tell the difference between an old friend and a new-found friend.

24. Statistics

Those numbers just don't reflect reality.

Governor Reagan's statistics on are  
about as accurate as his statistics that "90 percent pollution came from  
trees."

25. Energy (Windfall Profits)

Governor Reagan apparently doesn't believe that the oil companies make enough money.

26. Defense

Governor Reagan's defense proposals mean one thing -- a multi-billion dollar arms race the American people don't need, don't want and can't afford.

## First-Hand Accounts

(These can be used to take advantage of your training and experience)

### 1. Peace in the Nuclear Age.

I served as an engineer on a nuclear submarine.

I know what nuclear power and nuclear weapons can do.

I know that all the laws of combat changed when the first atom was smashed.

I know that the age of the six-gun is over.

I know you cannot go charging up San Juan Hill with today's weapons.

### 2. Building Peace

I have learned first-hand how to build peace between Nations.

It is not simply by avoiding war.

You build peace by establishing mutual respect, by finding areas where Nations can cooperate to benefit each other.

I learned this lesson in building peace between Israel and her most powerful Arab neighbor -- a peace of economic technological cooperation, a peace that will grow into a strong regional partnership.

I have worked first-hand with Sadat and Begin to build this peace. I am thrilled to see these two countries cooperating for mutual benefit, to watch on television and see Egyptian ships being received at Israeli ports, to see the Jerusalem Post on sale in Cairo.

### 3. Building Energy Security

I have learned first-hand there is more to security than simply military hardware.

I have had to plan for energy contingencies. I have had to "sell" the American people on the energy challenge. I have had to confront difficult regional differences in Congress.



4. Government Efficiency

I came to the White House believing that the best way to improve efficiency was to consolidate Governmental units.

I have learned first-hand that the key lies in building a responsive, productive Federal Civil Service. The people make the difference, not the organizational structure. I have pushed through the most sweeping overhaul of the Civil Service in a century. The new system offers real incentives for good management performance. It has received strong bi-partisan support and praise.

5. Dealing with Experts

I have learned you get "expert" opinion on both sides of every issue. Finally, the President must be the "expert".

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FOR PRESIDENT CARTER

QUESTIONS TO ASK GOVERNOR REAGAN

A. Overview

1. Which specific domestic initiatives of the past 4 years would you seek to have Congress repeal?
2. How can you say your positions have not changed in light of your current stands on New York City aid, Chrysler aid, abolishing OSHA, eliminating the minimum wage, and China?
3. Can you explain how you planned to divide responsibility with former President Ford when you were considering him as your running mate?
4. Do you disavow any parts of the Republican Platform?
5. Why should people believe that you were serious about cutting Federal spending when you have spent so much of the campaign making promises which cost so much money (inheritance tax removal; tuition tax credit etc.)?
6. What audience have you addressed in this campaign and called upon them for sacrifice, rather than promised additional aid or assistance?
7. How can the American people believe that equal rights would be protected as well by statute if hundreds of statutes would have to be changed by Congress and hundreds by State legislatures?

B. California Record

1. Why should voters believe you will reduce the size of the Federal government, reduce taxes or reduce the number of government employees when you failed to achieve any of these goals in California?

C. Economy

1. Why have you not named yet a specific program that you would cut in this year's budget, in light of the fact that you are proposing to cut \$13-19 billion out of this budget as soon as you take office?
2. Will you oppose further increases in the minimum wage?

3. What evidence do you have that there was any White House role in changing the PPI method of calculation?
4. Why have you not told the American people your unemployment and inflation projections for next year? (The Senate Budget Committee forecast is not based on your Kemp-Roth proposal).
5. In light of the positions you took until just recently on the minimum wage, OSHA, and applying the antitrust laws to unions, why should working people believe your current positions reflect your true views?
6. If you are so concerned about providing investment incentives, why did you drop your support of the 10-5-3 proposal and provide only 10% of your tax cut for investment purposes?
7. Can you tell us why President Ford and your own running mate have not supported your tax cut program?

D. Energy and Environment

1. Can you explain again to the American people why you believe 93% of air pollution is caused by trees and how it is that pollution has been "substantially controlled"?
2. Would you repeal the Windfall Profits Tax or have you changed your position on that tax now?

E. Government

1. Are you still standing by your earlier positions that you will seek to abolish the Departments of Energy and Education or have you changed your positions?
2. What specific powers and functions would you return to the States and what do you mean by "tax sources to pay for them"?
3. Since you opposed the Chrysler and New York City assistance programs when they were being considered by the Congress, what would you have done to deal with those problems?
4. Why do you believe a total freeze of Federal hiring would be any more productive in reducing the number of Federal employees than was your freeze in California? Are you aware I have had such a freeze on for several months?

7. Human Needs

1. Why have you failed to support the Fair Housing bill now being considered by the Congress?
2. Why have you failed to support the Unemployment Compensation Extension now being considered by the Congress?
3. Why do you oppose any form of National Health Insurance?

## CHALLENGES

(You may want to use the technique of challenging Reagan to provide an answer, which he obviously will not know or will not want to provide.)

### Examples:

1. I challenge Governor Reagan to deny that in this campaign he has changed his 20-year-long position on
2. I challenge Governor Reagan to deny that he once said
3. I challenge Governor Reagan to name any expert (not on his payroll) (not supporting his candidacy) who will support that statement.
4. I challenge Governor Reagan to tell us specifically which programs he would begin eliminating next year.
5. I challenge Governor Reagan to let us know if he still plans to dismantle the Departments of Education and Energy upon assuming office.
6. I challenge Governor Reagan to tell us his inflation projections and his specific plan to fight inflation.
7. I challenge Governor Reagan to explain how changing hundreds of Federal and State statutes is a better and quicker way to ensure equal rights than ERA?
8. I challenge Governor Reagan to deny that he led the effort to oppose (Medicare).
9. I challenge Governor Reagan to be specific about his program to transfer programs back to the States and to tell us how that will be financed and how it differs from his \$90 billion transfer program of 1976.
10. I challenge Governor Reagan to deny that he made the same charge about the U.S. becoming No. 2 militarily against Gerald Ford in 1976.
11. I challenge Governor Reagan to let us know why he has not yet indicated his support for the Fair Housing bill in the Senate, which is now opposed by the Republicans following his lead.
12. I challenge Governor Reagan to explain why he opposed a grain embargo against the Soviet Union when he now supports a total trade embargo or why he could now support a total quarantine.
13. I challenge Governor Reagan to deny that taxes and spending doubled while he was Governor.

- o He tends to stay above the fray, leaving his opponents to try to throw the haymakers.
- o He responds to criticism or attack, either by making light of it or by appearing hurt. In the Anderson debate, for example,
  - when Anderson implied he was against conserving energy, he responded: "Well, as I've said, I am not an enemy of conservation. I wouldn't be called a conservative, if I were.
  - when Anderson attacked some statistics he used, he responded: "Well, some people look up figures, and some people make up figures. And John has just made up some very interesting figures." (He also looked very pained that his figures were being challenged.)
- o He regularly appeals to his audience's patriotic pride, both with anecdotes and in his closing statements in every debate.
- o He occasionally injects a light touch into the debate, including some self-deprecating humor. For example,
  - when the moderator asked for a one sentence response to a question and then called Reagan for responding with two sentences, he responded: "I thought I put a semicolon in there."
  - when he referred to Ancient Rome and the moderator made a comment about being young then, Reagan popped back: "I'm the only one here old enough to remember."
  - when asked his position on ERA, he responded: "I'm for ER. I can't go along with A."

In sum, Governor Reagan's style is to carry on a conversation with his viewing audience. He is very disarming, always general, and often loose with his facts. His answers nearly always revert to his anti-government themes. He appears to be appealing to his audience's common sense; but more often appeals to patriotism and national pride.

## REAGAN AND PREVIOUS DEBATES

A review of the way Governor Reagan handles himself in debates (he has participated in five this year) is very instructive, and very impressive.

Governor Reagan's style in these debates -- while it appears simplistic on the surface -- is both disarming and effective:

- o With a very few exceptions, he talks to his viewing audience and not to his opponent. In his debate with Anderson, for example, such phrases pop up as "John tells us" or "when John talks about" or "John claims."
- o He seldom answers the question he is asked.
- o He avoids specifics. He virtually never talks in programmatic terms. He never uses lists of programs or proposals.
- o He uses slightly irrelevant anecdotes to deflect direct questions; indeed, he is probably the best deflector of questions on American politics. For example, when asked what justices presently on the Supreme Court he would like his appointments to the Court to emulate, he answered with an anecdote about John Marshall being a great justice and not a lawyer.
- o Virtually every answer he gives blames government or government intervention for the problem about which he's asked.
- o He falls back heavily on his record as Governor of California in answering questions.
- o He uses conversational questions effectively, both to avoid questions he is asked, to make his own points without sounding shrill or harsh, and to keep the audience interested. That's one way he avoids reciting long, boring lists or proposals. His transcripts are filled with questions beginning with "Shouldn't we", "Why don't we," "Wouldn't it make sense", etc. For example, in his debate with Anderson, when asked about his urban program, he used such questions as:
  - Why don't we start with the Federal Government turning back tax sources to states and local governments, as well as responsibilities for those programs?
  - Wouldn't it make a lot more sense if the Government let them (the cities) keep their own money in the first place?
  - Why don't we offer incentives for business and industry to start up these zones (depressed city areas)?
  - What if we had a Homestead Act, and said to people for \$1 we will sell you this house?

- o He tends to stay above the fray, leaving his opponents to try to throw the haymakers.
- o He responds to criticism or attack, either by making light of it or by appearing hurt. In the Anderson debate, for example,
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## DOMESTIC

1. Comprehensive Energy Program.
2. Restored Openness and Integrity to Government.
3. Restored economic growth after deep recession of '74-'75; and increased employment overall, as well as for minorities, women and youth.
4. Rescued Social Security System from bankruptcy.
5. Expanded and improved major "people" programs - health, housing, social services.
6. Deregulated airline, trucking, railroad and banking industries.
7. Government Reform -- Civil Service Reform; simplified regulatory process; reduced paperwork burden.
8. Reduced size of Federal government, (70,000 fewer full time employees) (Note: temporary and part-time more than employees have increased)
9. Appointment of record number of minorities and women to judgeships and top policy management positions.
10. Expanded government efforts on behalf of equal opportunities and equal rights
11. Education - substantial expansion of key programs and creation of Department of Education.
12. Comprehensive Urban Policy.
13. Protected the Environment.
14. Strong Farm Policy.

(FACTS AND FIGURES ON THESE DOMESTIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE SET FORTH IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES.)

## FOREIGN

1. Peace
2. Camp David Accords/Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty
3. Completion of SALT II Negotiations
4. Ratification of Panama Canal Treaties
5. Majority Rule/Free Elections in Zimbabwe

6. Normalization of Relations with China
7. Real Increases in Defense Spending, reversing years of decline
8. Strengthened NATO Alliance
9. Firm opposition to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
10. Negotiation and Congressional approval of Multilateral Trade Agreement - most substantial trade agreement of our generation

## COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY PROGRAM

### Key Elements

#### 1. Production

- o Comprehensive Energy Act of '78 (including phased deregulation of natural gas prices).
- o Decontrol of oil prices.
- o Coal Production and Conversion Incentives.
- o Alaskan Natural Gas Pipeline (supplying 5% of our gas).
- o Mexican Natural Gas Agreement.

#### 2. Conservation

- o Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan.
- o Tokyo and Venice Energy Conservation and Consumption Commitments of Allies.

#### 3. Solar and Gasohol

- o Conservation and Solar Bank (providing \$3 billion in loans over next 4 years).
- o First Solar Energy Tax Credits.
- o Solar Commitment of 20% by year 2000; solar funding tripled.
- o Windfall Profits Tax.

#### 4. Safer Nuclear Power

- o Implementation of Kemeny Commission Recommendations.

#### 5. Synthetics

- o Synthetic Fuels Corporation (target of 2 million barrels per day by 1992): biggest peacetime program in history to achieve energy security.

### Key Results

- o Imports declined every year I've been in office -- historic reversal of increasing dependence every decade since WW II, which I inherited.

- o Importing 2.2 million barrels per day less than in '77 (25% less) (in 3 years before you took office oil imports rose 44%). (In 1980, oil imports are down by 1.4 million barrels per day compared to 1979.)
- o Gasoline demand down 10% (750,000 barrels per day) since 1978.
- o Domestic crude oil production this year will reach 7 year high of over 8.6 million barrels daily (10% increase over '77) (in 3 years before you took office production declined by 7% or 600,000 barrels per day).
- o Oil and gas exploration efforts will set new record in '80 with an estimated monthly average 3,000 rigs in operation -- 70% increase over '76.
- o Coal production in '80 will reach 850 million tons -- 25% above '76 (between '72-'76, production grew only by 13%) -- all-time high.
- o Coal consumption in '80 will be 17% above '76, and coal's share of total U.S. energy needs in '80 will pass 20% while oil's share will decline for second consecutive year; coal exports in '79 reached 5-year high, and will set another record in '80 (84 million tons). For first time over 50% of our electricity comes from American coal and not OPEC oil.
- o Use of solar energy in households has increased tenfold in past 4 years.

OPENNESS AND INTEGRITYKey Elements

- o Executive Order requiring financial disclosure of government officials and prohibiting revolving-door practices.
- o Ethics in Government Act - putting into statute the requirements of the Executive Order; also establishment of Special Prosecutor procedure.
- o Inspectors General - placed in each Cabinet Department to identify fraud and waste; identified \$1 billion in wasteful expenditures; over 600 fraud convictions to date.
- o Executive Order reducing over-classification of government documents - increases amount of classified material to be released over next decade by 250 million pages.
- o Held 31 Town Hall Meetings - none held by previous Presidents.
- o Held 59 press conferences.

Key Results

- o Restored openness and integrity of earlier Democratic Administrations.
- o Greater public access than ever to government decisionmakers and government information.
- o Ensured feeling by American people of integrity of their governmental leaders.

RESTORED ECONOMIC GROWTH AND INCREASED EMPLOYMENTKey Elements

- o \$21 billion economic stimulus package in '77.
- o \$20 billion tax cut in '78 (that cut plus the \$8 billion cut in the stimulus package are valued at \$40 billion in 1980).
- o Reduction by one-third of capital gains rates.
- o MTN Agreement and Export Policy.
- o '77 Economic Stimulus Package -- \$21 billion program to stimulate economy and create jobs.
- o Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act.
- o Increased public service employment funds by 115% and jobs by 150,000 (from 300,000 in '77 to 450,000 now).
- o Increased youth employment funds by 230% (providing 1 million youth with training and jobs).
- o Private Sector Jobs Program (\$400 million annually -- 120,000 will get private sector jobs in '80).
- o Targeted Employment Tax Credit -- (tax credit for hiring hard-core unemployed).
- o Summer jobs programs -- 1 million jobs annually.
- o Doubling size of Job Corps.

Key Results

- o GNP is up by more than 12% since '76 (between '72-'76, rose by only 7%).
- o Industrial production rose 15% from the end of 1976 - end of 1979 (between '72-'76 industrial production rose only 6-1/2%).
- o Corporate profits taxes rose from 1976-1979 by 58% (between '72-'76, corporate profits rose by 54%).
- o Real business investment in new plant and equipment has grown at an annual rate of 4.7% since '76 (this is 4 times greater than the rate for the previous 8 years).

- o New home construction has averaged 1.7 million units since '76 (during previous comparable period (3 yrs 9 months) average was only 1.5 million units).
- o Got country out of recession you inherited (and will lead out of one we now have).
- o Employment is now 97.2 million ~~million~~ highest in history.
- o 8.8 million new jobs created since December '76 -- nearly double the number (4.4 million) created in the previous 4 years under Nixon-Ford. (Note: stress that unprecedented growth is labor force kept unemployment up).
- o Employment of adult women increased by 16% -- 5.6 million new jobs since December 1976.
- o Employment of Blacks increased by 13% -- 1.3 million new jobs.
- o Employment of Hispanics increased 25% -- 1 million jobs.

SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEMKey Elements

- o Proposed and signed legislation to strengthen financial status of all of the Social Security Trust Funds.
- o Proposed credit to negate effect of next year's Social Security tax increase - without reducing in any way Social Security Trust Funds.
- o Opposed efforts to tax Social Security benefits, cap Social Security cost-of-living increases, raise the retirement age for Social Security.

Key Results

- o Not a single check to any of the 55 million Social Security recipients was delayed a day.
- o System was able to afford 14% cost-of-living increase this year.
- o Proposed credit has provided way to ensure continued fiscal integrity while reducing inflationary impact of the Social Security taxes.



DEREGULATIONKey Elements

- o Passage of Airline Deregulation.
- o Passage of Trucking Deregulation.
- o Passage of Banking Deregulation (small savers reform).
- o Passage of Railroad Deregulation.
- o Administrative action on Communications Deregulation.

Key Results

- o The 40-year government push for greater government regulation has been reversed - most fundamental restructuring of relationship between government and industry since New Deal.
- o Airline deregulation has produced a record number of flights and passengers; first year consumer savings - \$2.5 billion.
- o Trucking deregulation will enhance competition and reduce energy consumption; saves consumers \$3-\$8 billion a year.
- o Banking deregulation has allowed banks and savings and loan associations to increase the interest they pay to those with relatively small savings.
- o Rail deregulation will save America's railroads from bankruptcy.

REDUCED SIZE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Key Element

Last March, you imposed a hiring 2-1 freeze. This was the third one since 1977.

Key Result

By October of 1980, there will be 44,000 fewer full-time Federal employees than when you took office. By comparison, during the four previous years, the number of full-time Federal employees grew by 57,000 workers.

(Note: Part-time hire increased by about 80,000)

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APPOINTMENTSKey Elements

- o Appointed more women, Blacks and Hispanics (over 80) to federal judgeships than all previous Presidents combined.
- o Appointed more women, Blacks and Hispanics to senior government positions - Cabinet, sub-Cabinet, Agency Head, White House staff - than any previous President.
- o Appointed three of the six women to ever serve in Cabinet positions.
- o Appointed 40 women judges (there were only 5 women judges at the beginning of the Administration).
- o Appointed 38 Black judges (only 17 Black judges before).
- o Appointed 16 Hispanic judges (only 5 Hispanic judges before).
- o One third of all judicial appointments have been women or minorities; when you took office women and minorities represented just 5% of the federal judiciary.
- o Appointed four Blacks to Cabinet positions, and over 50 to key sub-Cabinet positions.
- o Number of senior management positions held by women has doubled.

Key Results

- o Real progress made for first time in our history in having women and minorities appointed in numbers much more representative of their proportion to the population.
- o Have appointees whose quality is as high or higher than federal government and the federal judiciary has ever had.
- o Have placed women and minority judges in position to be interpreting our laws into the next century.

EDUCATIONKey Elements

- o Creation of Cabinet-level Department of Education (combining 150 existing Federal programs into one organization).
- o Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments (extension of Act, expanding and targeting Federal aid to disadvantaged).
- o Middle Income Student Assistance Act.
- o Increase in Education budget since '77 -- 73% -- largest increase in comparable period in history.
- o Increased funding of key education programs:
  - Basic Skills Training -- 86%
  - Bilingual and Education -- 100%
  - Higher Education and Student Aid -- 48%
  - Education for the Handicapped -- 57%
  - Head Start -- 73%

Key Results

- o You are The Education President.
- o Education represented at the Cabinet-table for first time in history.
- o Greater Federal assistance -- without Federal involvement in local schools -- than at any time in history.
- o No student denied a college education because of access to needed financial assistance.
- o Greatly increased emphasis on the basic skills -- reading, writing, computation.