

Debate Issues [3]

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DEBATE Q. AND A. - CRIME

I. The Basic Statement

A. The crime problem is urgent and growing, despite eight years of Republican promises to bring it under control.

- The FBI Uniform Crime Reports show serious crime up 17% in 1974, 9% in 1975, and continuing to rise in 1976. Serious crime has risen 58% since 1969, and it is rising even more rapidly in suburban and rural areas than in our cities.
- For 8 years we have been promised that the Federal government was going to solve the crime problem. We were told,
" . . . "
- These promises were never realistic. The federal government provides only 5% of the state and local crime control budget and only 17% of the total national expenditure on crime and criminal justice.

B. The last 8 years have seen a drastic decline in the effectiveness of federal law enforcement efforts.

- The FBI, once a source of pride for all of us, has been shaken by continued revelations of illegal break-ins, questionable personal gifts, and misuse of pension trust funds.
- The Drug Enforcement Administration, created by Richard Nixon in 1973, turned out to be an administrative nightmare. The first Director was asked to resign in May, 1975, because of corrupt activities, and President Ford did not get around to naming a replacement until 6 months later.

- White Collar Crime has not been vigorously pursued. The Ford Administration has failed to obtain a single felony indictment for price fixing under authority requested by Ford from Congress and given him in December, 1974. President Ford has refused to support pending legislation to strengthen anti-trust enforcement powers, even though his own Assistant Attorney General for Anti-trust Enforcement wanted Ford to support the bill.

- Organized crime leaders have been let off the hook by the Internal Revenue Service. The Narcotics Traffickers Tax Program was abandoned by the IRS one week after President Ford took office. Over a year later, President Ford's Domestic Council called for re-establishment of the program, and he directed that step last April. Yet the IRS has managed to keep the program from functioning to this day.

- The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the agency

pecially designed to aid local governments in combatting crime, has been a failure. The 5 year Pilot Cities program was abandoned after 2½ years, before results could be seen or evaluated. It was replaced with a 10 times more expensive program called High Impact, which repeated many of the same mistakes in different cities, again without evaluation.

- LEAA program administrators in the field are unanimous ^{the} that/High Impact program has not worked. The Denver program director said, "The Impact program moved too much money too fast and without any guidelines. Now, 3 years later, LEAA isn't interested in sticking with the program." A St. Louis police officer said more bluntly, "Nothing is being done today about crime. We have all these grandiose schemes but nothing seems to made any difference."

C. Throwing money at the crime problem is no help. We have to make some hard management decisions about what works and what does not. If Washington cannot think of anything better than what the states are already doing, we should give the money to them through general revenue sharing and cut out the bureaucracy and red tape.

- The best deterrent to crime is the certainty of swift, firm punishment. High priority must be given to assure that multiple offenders are actually imprisoned.
- Misallocation and mismanagement of resources in the judicial

system is a critical part of the problem. 1/3 of those arrested for robbery in Washington, D. C. were on conditional release for another crime already. In Pittsburgh and Wisconsin studies, 60% of the second felony offenders were given no prison sentences.

- Yet the LEAA has ignored the courts - despite Congressional pressure only 6% of the LEAA money has been spent on court reform.
- President Ford's response to this failure of analysis and management has been to ask for even more money for LEAA, \$6.8 billion for the next 5 years, compared to \$4.5 billion spent over the last seven.
- I think we can do better. I think we can get meaningful reform of the judicial and correctional systems, as I did as Governor of Georgia. But if all we are doing is providing financial support for the existing mess, we should just put this money into general revenue sharing, and cut out the red tape.
- It is time we learned that a federal bureaucrat throwing money at a problem is not necessarily any better than the judgment of experienced local officials.
- Until Washington shows it has some better ideas, it should not try to run the system.

II. The Likely Questions

1. Do you feel, as you told Walter Cronkite, that unemployment is the principal cause of crime?
2. What is your position on gun control? Isn't it essential to crime control?
3. What reforms would you make in sentencing procedures and penal reforms? Does rehabilitation work?
4. What can be done to stop the growth of juvenile crime?
5. What would you do about the recent revelations about the FBI regarding break-ins and other abuses? Would you fire Mr. Kelly?
6. What is your opinion of the effectiveness of the LEAA?
7. How would you deal with white-collar crimes?
8. What are your views on the death penalty? Does it have any deterrant effect?
9. What should be done about organized crime? Would you use the tax laws as a means of catching gangsters?
10. Wouldn't the proposed controls on FBI wiretapping and surveillance tie the hands of the government in its efforts to control crime?
11. Do you favor mandatory minimum sentences for repeat offenders who commit violent crimes?

~~III~~
IV

The Ford Responses

A. The crime rate

- Ford will stress that the rate of growth of crime has fallen off, from 17% in 1974 to 9% in 1975 to 4% in the first 3 months of 1976.
- Ford will talk only about the period 1974 -76, when he was in office, and try to ignore the growth of 58% since 1969. *crime*

B. Program elements

- Ford has proposed legislation calling for
 - minimum mandatory sentences for violent crimes
 - addition of 52 federal judges and 550 new federal law enforcement officials for urban drug problems (Notice that the 550 agents can arrest far more criminals than the 52 judges could prosecute - the imbalance continues.)
 - a special "career criminal" program to deal with repeat offenders
 - expansion of programs to divert first offenders to rehabilitation programs
- Ford has proposed extending LEAA to 1981 at a higher funding level of \$6.8 billion for the next five years, or more than \$1.3 billion per year. (A classic example of throwing good money after bad.) The proposal would emphasize improving state and local court systems and expanding the High Impact program. (There is as yet no real evidence that High Impact is working at all; the study cited above quotes officials in every High Impact city suggesting that the program is useless.)

13. Cities - Governor Carter has stated that America's number one economic problem is our cities. In his address to the U. S. Conference of Mayors he spelled out a national urban policy containing major initiatives in economic, fiscal assistance, housing, transportation, and welfare policy. Many of these remedies were tried in the "Great Society" programs of the 1960's. Many programs and billions of dollars later our cities are still in decline. Governor Carter's national urban policy is just a retreat of our Great Society programs, and it is well beyond our fiscal capacity if we are to balance the federal budget by 1980.

BASIC STATEMENT

--Joblessness and poverty in our cities are the nation's major economic problems. The accelerating migration of businesses and the younger and better off families from our central cities is creating pockets of depression throughout our country. During the 1960's we have learned what approaches and programs won't work to solve this problem. During the 1970's we have also learned that benign neglect will not work. We don't need an ill-conceived or piecemeal approach to urban America nor can we afford to pretend the problems don't exist. The recent outbreak of gang warfare in Detroit makes this painfully clear.

--What we do need is a coordinated policy that concentrates on providing jobs, investment and income for our cities and their residents. The goal of our urban policy must be to restore² the economic base of our cities. The failure to provide

~~There is a~~ adequate job opportunities and income and to actively engage the private sector in urban development is a failure of will, not of ability or knowledge.

--Providing jobs and job training opportunities is the most cost-effective way to reduce poverty, improve housing, and give people the freedom to choose where they want to live. Instead of spending money on welfare and unemployment compensation, we should be using public and private resources to create jobs in the areas of greatest need. Last year alone we lost almost \$17 billion due to unemployment. Clearly, we can use these resources more wisely. But let's look at what these economic policies have done to our cities.

--In 1975, central city unemployment averaged almost 10 percent compared to 5.3 percent in the suburbs. Among black teenagers it reached 42 percent. With the current rate of recovery many of our young people will be 24 or 25 before they have the opportunity for full time employment.

--The loss of jobs and production cut state and local revenues by nearly \$30 billion in 1975 from what it would have been at full employment. As a result, many states and localities were forced to cut back services, lay off workers, and raise taxes--actions which resulted in removing \$7.5-8 billion from the economy and counteracted federal efforts to stimulate the economy.

- Since 1968 the number of people living in poverty has remained virtually unchanged because of declining job and job training opportunities.
- In the face of this worsening condition in our central cities, between 1972 and 1974 the Republican Administrations cut \$4.5 billion in urban programs and another \$7 billion in aid to the poor, the unemployed and medically indigent. This policy of neglect was continued in President Ford's vetoes of every jobs bill to reach his desk and in his 1977 budget which calls for a reduction of 5 percent in the real value of grant-in-aid programs.
- Getting our economy moving again is our most important national and urban policy priority. General economic policies must be designed to achieve steady economic growth -- that provides good jobs in the private sector. By doing this we can reduce unemployment to 5 or 5½ percent. Such policies will greatly reduce the recession related fiscal burdens placed on our cities and provide a more stable environment for business investment.
- These policies must be supplemented with employment programs that are targeted to pockets of high unemployment. Such jobs can be financed through a re-allocation of the \$17 billion we incurred as a result of the recession.

--I would not have vetoed the Public Works Employment Act of 1976 that contained accelerated public works and countercyclical assistance to state and local governments and would have put 300,000 people back to work.

--I would propose a youth employment program that takes at least 500,000 of our teenagers off the street and reduce the incentives for criminal conduct.

--I also support an employment incentive to encourage the private sector to hire and train approximately 500,000 persons now unemployed.

--We should consider the creation of a domestic development bank that would make low interest loans to businesses and state and local governments for the purpose of stimulating private sector investment in chronically depressed areas.

As an additional step to ease the fiscal plight of our cities.

-[^]I support extension of General Revenue Sharing with an inflation factor and stronger provisions for civil rights and citizens' participation. But I would prefer that the funds go directly to localities.

--Also ^{as}_^ part of my plan to reform welfare, I intend to support federal takeover of the local share of welfare as fast as budget realities permit. This will provide relief to urban taxpayers, who are currently shouldering so much of the welfare load. In addition, I intend to work toward a uniform national standard for welfare benefits so that there is no longer an incentive for poor people to reside in the

--In an era of scarce resources, the federal government must use public sector funds as a catalyst for attracting large amounts of additional resources from the private sector. The public sector must develop incentives and new structures for joint public-private development projects.

--With these economic and fiscal policies we can begin to return economic vitality to our cities. They represent my priorities. They go to the core of the problem, and will cost less than our current policy of neglect.

Follow-up #1

--Governor, you place a major emphasis on jobs but you have also mentioned general revenue sharing and welfare reform. Can we afford these jobs programs and welfare reform and isn't this spending inflationary?

--With respect to jobs I would ask can we afford not to have them. For every one percent increase in unemployment above the full employment level we lose about 17 billion dollars due to lost tax revenue and recession related expenditures. This is a wasteful use of our resources and unemployment deprives our citizens of the dignity a decent job ~~provides~~. Secondly, a carefully targeted jobs program is not a shot-gun approach to joblessness, and it can reduce unemployment by at least one percentage point without causing inflation.

--As we return to a steady rate of economic growth and begin to restore our revenue base we can phase in a comprehensive welfare reform package. Budget realities will constrain what we can do in this area, but if we are to restore a sense of fairness, reduce abuse and fraud and stabilize costs we must

move towards reform.

Follow-Up #2

--Governor, isn't this program more modest than the one you outlined at the Mayors Conference? And is this part of your campaign strategy to move more to the right?

--No. The major element of my urban program has always been jobs and earned income. The problems in our cities stem from an erosion of the tax base, loss of jobs, and high service costs for a population that is more dependent on government services than the average citizen. Unless we can begin to reverse these trends through economic policies anything else we may do will have a marginal impact.

Follow-Up #3

--Governor, you mentioned the recent outbreak of gang warfare in Detroit. How would you handle this situation?

--While you can understand the reasons behind the violence - a complete absence of job opportunities - there is no excuse for lawlessness, and measures must be taken to control any such civil disturbances. I believe Mayor Coleman Young has handled this situation well, but if federal assistance is necessary it should be provided. Again I would like to emphasize the importance of providing jobs for our youth. Without decent jobs, criminal conduct becomes much more likely, however under no circumstances can we abide it.

Follow-Up #4

--Governor, if you were elected how would you deal with the

fiscal problem of New York City?

--Although I haven't monitored New York's progress under its current fiscal plan, I think that the three-year plan may be too rigid. After meeting with Mayor Beame and Governor Carey and my economic advisers, we can determine whether it is possible to balance the budget in that time period. If it cannot be met, then I would go along with a longer period of time.

FORD POSITIVE THEMES

1. Ford is familiar, consistent, trustworthy.
2. Ford has restored trust and harmony and confidence.
3. Ford has positive program of government reform (frustrated by Congress).
4. Ford's experience has paid off with a successful foreign and defense policy.
5. Ford is a decent, honest, conscientious individual.
6. After assuming office under difficult conditions, Ford has restored the credibility of the Presidency.
7. Ford resisted Democratic Congressional attempt to overheat the economy and has now produced recovery, reduced inflation, and set the foundations for a period of steady economic growth. Ford has been strong in standing up to a spendthrift Congress.
8. The Ford Presidency has ended a decade-long period of tension and unease. The country is beginning to feel more positive about itself, and nothing should be done to jeopardize improving conditions.

Carter themes

1. We need competent, positive leadership in touch with ordinary people. The present Administration is a drifting, caretaker administration which has long since lost touch with the world outside Washington.

2. We need new leadership that will restore positive, constructive values and a sense of purpose. The present administration is only a drifting continuation of the people and policies of the Nixon Administration.

3. We need Democratic leadership which puts first priority on the wellbeing of the average working family. The present Republican administration represents government of, by and for the special interests.

4. America needs jobs and economic growth. The Republican administration, over the past eight years, has mismanaged the economy and given us unemployment, inflation and stagnation at the same time.

Unify the country.

Change the direction of things.

CARTER OPENING REBUTTAL
RESPONSE TO OPENING FORD QUESTION

It seems almost certain that Ford will use his first answer (he will get the first question ^{we are told}) as you used yours so effectively in the second debate. However, Ford is likely to be quite savage in his attack, raising all, or at least some, of their principal attack themes. It is therefore extremely important to give careful consideration prior to the debate on how best to respond to this opening attack. Above all, your response must (a) put Ford back on the defensive for his rebuttal and (b) ~~XXXXXX~~ deal with the Ford charges in a non-defensive ^{cool, deliberate, non-provocative but} manner.

The following is a suggested approach for the first response:

"President Ford has been in office now for substantially as long a term as President Kennedy served. In that time, the record of his administration in (the area covered by the question) is barren of any meaningful achievements or initiatives, and it is therefore not surprising that, instead of answering Mr. _____'s question, he has chosen to make ~~a blunderbuss~~ attack on me.

The charges which he has just leveled, ^{and others will undoubtedly throw out in desperation tonight,} which he has been repeating continually recently, are known by President Ford and his political advisors to be false. You will probably hear them again tonight. There seems to be a feeling that, no matter how untrue an assertion is, some people will believe it if you repeat it often enough.

I will answer these inaccurate charges just once tonight. There are

important issues of leadership and policy on which our time will be better spent than in tediously rebutting the same false charges over and over again. [Ty Ford makes the \$100-\$200 billion change]

First, as I have said throughout the past several weeks, my administration will not undertake any new programs which cannot be financed, without ~~any~~ new taxes, from increased revenues generated by increased ~~and through savings gained from~~ economic growth. We will have increased growth under my administration.

economic growth, and through savings gained by cutting out waste. We will have increased growth, ~~and~~ and a balanced budget, reduced bureaucratic waste, under my administration.

[re the \$14,000 tax increase]

Second, my tax reform plan means cutting out the loop-

holes which subsidize the privileged life-style of the corporate rich. It does not mean a single penny for the middle income taxpayers of this country. The Republicans know this is true, and that is why they

why/are engaged in the kind of absurd ~~BS~~ attacks which you have just heard. My whole life has been spent outside of

Washington, mixing with ordinary citizens, and it is their needs I have always and will always ~~sought~~ ^{seek} to advance, ~~in~~

~~the tax area as well as every other area.~~

[mortgage interest deduction]

Third, and in particular, my tax reform plan will not increase the tax burdens of middle and low income home owners. I will

~~not~~ ^{not} eliminate the home mortgage interest deduction. I have

stated this clearly throughout the campaign--in a speech I gave in New Hampshire in February, in my primary campaign

position paper, and in my presentation to the Democratic Platform Committee at the Convention. 11

[In the remaining time, ~~as there is only~~ you should shift the burden to Ford--these attacks are, briefly, ~~not~~ something positive about your aims in the area covered by the question. you could also note other charges ~~at~~ above all, a smokescreen by ~~my~~ my Republican opponent to divert attention away from the Republican economic record--which is the

in higher taxes

you could also note the ²⁻other charges)

which ~~he~~^{Lord} is likely to make in his first answer--especially those concerning your Georgia record, rebutting them if there is time, stating that perhaps you will have an opportunity to set the record straight on those points later in the debate.]

The single most important issue of this Campaign and the issue which he will have to answer for this evening and at the polls on November 2 - for example,
Continue with economic attack points.

(5)

CANDIDATE FORD VS. PRESIDENT FORD

Ford has engaged in numerous campaign gimmicks and distortions that were contrary to his record and philosophy and show that he is not above obvious political handouts and ~~deceptions~~ ^{ACTIONS} in order to ~~buy~~ ^{get} votes.

A list of the better-known Ford campaign deceptions are as follows:

--Announcement on October 13 of increased price support loans for grains, a day after you called for the increase and the Department of Agriculture said there is no economic justification for raising support levels, and shortly after polls showed him losing ground in farm states.

--Sale of concussion bombs and advanced night-fighting equipment to Israel on October 8, after you stated in second debate on October 6 that Administration was not giving enough support for Israel and Ford was losing support among Jewish vote because of position on Arab boycott legislation. State and Defense Department officials who analyze such decisions were not consulted, and had opposed such sales for past two years. Ford said he consulted with "top people giving the advice in this regard." (NOTE: Care must be taken in describing this incident to prevent appearance that you oppose strong defense for Israel.)

--Announcement at second debate that he was releasing names of firms that have complied with the Arab boycott, after having scuttled legislation that would have prohibited compliance with boycott and failed to take similar action for last two years. Also took credit for anti-boycott provisions in tax bill that Administration openly and vehemently opposed up to day of passage.

--On October 9 imposed import quotas on beef, immediately after you called for such quotas and the price of beef had dropped so low that ranchers are losing \$50-100 per head.

Insert
A → --Repeatedly in campaign Ford has proposed tax reduction of \$10 billion, three-fourths of which presumably would come from increasing personal exemption from \$750 to \$1000. ~~Described it in first debate as "\$1000 more personal exemption (for family of four), money that they could spend for their own purposes." Fails to mention: (1) All that taxpayer saves is tax on \$1000; (2) Tax savings for those in highest bracket would be \$700; those in lowest bracket only \$140; (3) effect of income tax cut would be more than offset by Ford's proposed Social Security tax increase of \$6.6 billion, almost all of which would fall on low and middle income families.~~

--On August 29, Ford proposed doubling size of national parks. Administration has failed to use existing parks acquisition authority and has grossly neglected existing parks. The proposal involves only Alaskan land and "proposes" only that which would have occurred without any proposal on his part.

--In speech to chiefs of police in Miami in late September, Ford proposed vague "crackdown on crime" program in first 100 days of his new Administration. Failed to explain why he has not used his ample authority and seven times that much time already to institute such a proposal.

--In campaign speeches along the Gulf Coast in late September, Ford told audiences he was opposed to any form of gun control, yet he and his Attorney General have proposed gun control plans that are as restrictive as any that have been introduced in Congress.

--On September 30 Ford signed an antitrust enforcement bill and said he strongly supports vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws. Failed to mention that he vigorously fought the same bill up to the time the campaign began.

--During the campaign, in carefully staged Rose Garden ceremony, Ford signed and praised a "Sunshine in Government" bill, yet while it was pending supported only efforts to weaken it. His veto of Freedom of Information Act Amendments belie his sudden interest in open government.

--On September 13 in Ann Arbor, Ford said he intends to make home ownership possible for every middle income family, but his record is one of frustrating housing development and his proposal turns out on analysis to help at most only 3,000 families, out of 12 million seeking homes.

--During the primaries, Ford took the following actions:

1. Before Texas primary, to counter effective Reagan attack, he reversed policy and undermined U.S. negotiations on Panama Canal.

2. When Reagan said he would veto common situs picketing bill, Ford vetoed it, after he had said publicly he would sign it. *His Secretary of Labor, John Dunlop, resigned in embarrassment and Ford promised him he would sign the bill.*

3. Under Reagan criticisms, Ford dropped the use of word "detente."

4. In Florida primary, Ford reversed direction and completely sabotaged U.S. diplomatic efforts to improve diplomatic relations with Cuba by calling Castro an "international outlaw" and announcing review of contingency plans for military action against Cuba.

5. After announcing in August 1975 he would not break up the Ford-Rockefeller team, when Reagan entered the race he dropped Rockefeller as his running mate.

--During primaries Ford made nominations to high administration positions of no less than 11 residents of states whose voters or delegates he was wooing at the time. Usually these nominations were announced by Ford while campaigning in the state in question. In several cases nominations had to be rejected by the Senate because the nominees were obviously unqualified. (e.g., nomination of Mississippi farmer to be member of TVA at time when Mississippi delegation was crucial to Ford nomination. Only "qualification" of nominee was that his wife was Republican National Committeewoman. Nomination never got out of Senate Commerce Committee.)

Q. WHAT NEW INITIATIVES WOULD YOU MAKE IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION?

- A. One of the most difficult problems in our schools is the problem of disruptive youth, which force our school administrators and teachers to take an enormous amount of time away from teaching.

I believe the federal government should encourage districts to make greater use of social services provided through Title 20 of the Social Security Act. This can be done without any additional legislative or funding initiatives. I know of programs begun in Atlanta and Indianapolis, for example, where school administrators began working in team efforts with psychologists, social workers, and other professionals, with Title 20 support, and were able to significantly reduce such disruption. The federal government should assist other school systems in utilizing such funding.

(Note: The AFT is very much concerned about the problem of disruptive youth. In public opinion polls, respondents rate the lack of discipline as one of the key problems affecting local school systems.)

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING PRESCHOOL EDUCATION. HOW WOULD YOU IMPLEMENT THIS?

Carter Position:

1. Continue the federal commitment to children with special needs--the economically disadvantaged, handicapped, and those for whom English is a second language. Larger percentages of such children should be served. (See statistics elsewhere on low percentages being served now).
2. Build upon and reinforce the work of the states in early childhood. Model programs exist in California, New York, and Texas.
3. Build upon the work being done in training parents to educate their own young children. (The BEEP program in Brookline, Mass.; the work being done at the University of Florida; etc.
4. Help states implement court decisions--such as Lau v. Nichols, where the Court affirmed the responsibility of local educational agencies to take affirmative action to rectify language deficiencies of children with limited or non-English speaking ability so they may benefit from educational opportunities provided for other students. Federal government should play role of service to states and localities to help implement this decision and develop a diversity of approaches that are suited to the indigenous needs of each group (Spanish-speaking, Indian, etc.).

Q. HOW WOULD YOU IMPROVE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION TO MAKE IT MORE EFFECTIVE?

1. Administratively, bringing together the Office of Career Education (with \$10 million in programs), the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education (with in programs), and the Education and Work department of the National Institute of Education (with \$8 million), with the manpower efforts of the Department of Labor. Especially the U.S. Employment Service, which has abandoned its youth division.
2. By increasing the opportunities for high school and college students to have various types of work experiences--some paid and some volunteer--through work-study, internships, and other avenues. I would also hope, for example, that some of our college-bound youth get work experiences in a field completely foreign to their life's work so they have an understanding of how others, including coal miners and sanitary workers, make a living.
3. Improve school counselling. Counselors should be exposed to world-of-work internships, programs in vocational schools, etc.
4. Greater parent involvement in vocational education decision-making. Research shows that parents have the strongest influence on pupils' decision-making about future careers.
5. Bring the advisory councils on career education and vocational education together--one council on education for work, with ample representation of business, labor, parents, administrators, teachers, and young people themselves.
6. Implementation of the findings of several commissions--the President's Science Advisory Committee headed by James Coleman; the panel on Adolescent Education in the U.S. Office of Education, headed by John Henry Martin, all of which have called for provision of more world-of-work and adult experiences for young people.

Q. DO YOU FAVOR BLOCK GRANTS FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION?

CARTER REPLY GIVEN TO THE NEA: I would like to reduce drastically the number of categorical aid programs. I think when Eisenhower went out of office we had about 150 in the whole federal government; now we have almost 2,000 and a substantial amount of the administrative work that's performed by state departments of education, for instance, is oriented toward the preparation of education grant requests and the monitoring of the independent and narrowly defined grant programs. I would like to make these much more general in nature. The only category that I would like to maintain is to ensure that federal monies are spent for the kinds of children who need help most, those who come from deprived families or who have some special learning disability, those who come from poor areas of our nation where the tax base is not adequate for a good education. But I would drastically reduce the number of categorical grant programs, let the money be issued in larger block sums but make sure that the money is spent from the federal level for the children that need it most.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTION: I would want to make certain that block grants do not impede the federal government's capacity to serve children from nonpublic schools, as well. (Note: Catholic groups oppose block grants for this reason).

YOU HAVE STATED SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST THAT YOU FAVOR EXPANDED FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION? HOW DOES THIS MESH WITH YOUR DESIRE FOR FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND KEEPING THE FEDERAL BUDGET AT 20% OF GNP?

I favor expanded federal aid to education but first favor balancing the budget. Until such aid can be expanded, however, (quoting from NEA interview) "I think there are some interim things that can be done to make money available to education without delay. One would be to remove the prohibition against the use of revenue sharing funds for education. This would release a substantial amount of money to those communities which desire it to be used specifically for the education of our children."

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

QUESTIONS

- 1. Implement a different trade policy?
- 2. How protect U.S. workers from import competition?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Under Republican Administration, nation recorded its first trade deficit in 1973 (imported more than exported); for first half '76 - running deficit at annual rate of \$5.3 billion

2. Trade balance will continue to worsen as long as American economy continues no-growth performance; unemployment ^{too high,} ~~is at second levels~~ value of dollar is weakened as result of rampant inflation; and the no-energy policy requires massive importing of expensive foreign oil. *Another OPEC price rise expected in December.*

3. Administration allowing current round of trade negotiation in Geneva--which would broaden greatly the markets for American products (especially agricultural)--to ~~be~~ ~~down and~~ become deadlocked.

B. Positive Points

1. First step toward improved trade position is improved economy: need to reduce unemployment, curb inflation, utilize full industrial capacities. Strong domestic economy will lead to improved world economy.

2. Also must adopt a national energy policy that can produce domestic energy at affordable cost (example: expand coal use, develop solar ~~economy~~); get away from Ford's policy of higher prices and increased Arab imports (more now than before embargo).

3. Must get trade negotiations off dead center; can do this by applying greater pressure and by showing far greater concern for the problem; because the subject is boring to him, Kissinger has not become interested enough to show that concern. Our goals in negotiations should be to reduce both tariff and non-tariff barriers, in order to expand markets for us *and encourage world economic growth.*

energy

FINAL

5

DETENTE/HELSINKI/EASTERN EUROPE/SOVIET JEWRY

QUESTIONS

1. How can you take a tougher line with the Soviets without losing your leverage with them?
2. You say we pay too much attention to the Soviets, yet you say these relations are essential to peace. So don't they deserve a lot of attention?
3. You advocate a complete withholding of trade if the Russians provoke as in Angola. But the Soviets can buy from other countries, so what would this accomplish?
4. You criticize the Helsinki Accords for recognizing Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Would you have refused to sign the Accords?
5. Would you send aid to the communist states of Eastern Europe? What would you do to make them more independent? Wouldn't that raise false hopes, or intensify Soviet repression?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Republicans have been out-bargained
 - a. grain sales 1972
 - ~~b. space flight~~
 - c. Soviets encouraged oil embargo, intervened in Angola, worked against Israel at UN.
 - d. Helsinki--recognized borders in exchange for vague promises.
2. Republicans give human rights low priority; Mr. Ford's statement about Eastern Europe far more than a slip of the tongue.
 - a. Sonnenfeldt doctrine held out no hope
 - b. Solzhenytzin snub
 - c. No effective protests over treatment of soviet Jews, jamming of Radio Free Europe, refusal even to let Nobel Prize winner leave the country.
3. Arms control on the back burner too
 - a. Vladivostok ceilings too high
 - b. SALT II still pending

4. Detente used for domestic political purposes

- a. Summit meetings to distract from domestic embarrassments
 - ~~b. Detente tied to Kissinger's personal prestige~~
 - c. Vacillation: detente first oversold, then dropped from vocabulary under pressure from Mr. Reagan.
 - d. Permitted Platform ~~to~~ ^{his} directly criticized ~~the~~ ^{his} foreign policy (Secretary Solzhenitsyn, detente, human rights, disregard of Latin America)
- B. Positive Points

1. Russia needs our food, electronics, heavy machinery, and credits. *We should insist in return for free emigration of Soviet Jews, ^{and others} (now lower than before Helsinki) and greater personal and religious freedom there.*

2. I would bargain from strength

- a. strong economy
- b. strong modern defense
- c. our allies in support
- d. our people united behind leaders they can trust

3. A clear sense of purpose and resolve

- a. not silent or timid about human rights - *Speak out unboundedly of Helsinki, where Soviet bowed themselves to greater freedom*
- b. reduce nuclear arsenals and opposing forces through verifiable agreements.
- c. avoid confrontations in Korea, Africa, the Mid-East, the Indian Ocean.
- d. seek Soviet cooperation in limiting arms sales, and dealing with other global problems.

4. *More can be done to encourage freedom in Eastern Europe, without starting World War III*

(Russia has 30 divisions right in Eastern Europe)

- a. Insist Soviet and East European Communists cease jamming Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, under Helsinki.
- b. Insist Eastern Europeans be allowed greater freedom of travel, expression and right to reunite with their relatives, under Helsinki.
- c. Treat each country in Eastern Europe as individual country and not as Soviet satellite; reject Sonnenfeldt doctrine.

CIA OPERATIONS

QUESTIONS

1. Continue to allow covert operations? *What is its proper role of CIA?*
2. How control illegal domestic actions of CIA?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Administration has made only cosmetic changes to control our intelligence agencies; the Control Board intended to monitor the agencies has done nothing to arrest abuses recently disclosed-- it has almost no staff or budget

2. Administration failed to cooperate fully with Congressional committees investigating abuses; and failed to clean house at conclusion of investigations; failed to prosecute any of those who broke the law--domestic spying, break-ins, opening mails

3. Administration learned nothing from revelations; tried to conduct CIA covert war in Angola; tried to give greater wiretap authority to govt.--allowing wiretaps of citizens not even suspected of criminal activity

B. Positive Points

1. Country needs its intelligence agencies--perform vital function; planning our defense depends on getting best information possible.

2. Information can be gathered mostly from open sources, though some clandestine ones also needed; doesn't require subverting or overthrowing govts.; assassinating foreign leaders; surveillance of our own citizens; opening our citizens' mail; conducting secret wars-- these types of abuses undermine our democratic system more than they preserve it.

3. Would take following steps to end abuses:

--end all CIA activities inside U.S.

-- *continue CIA as intelligence gatherer*

--stop covert action against other countries except under the most extraordinary circumstances truly threatening our security, and then only under closest personal control--Angola was not such a circumstance

--clean house in intelligence agencies

--work with--not against--Congress to adopt precise legislation adopting authority of intelligence agencies

--take personal responsibility for actions of our intelligence services -- not allow them to operate on their own.

-- *work with strong Congressional oversight Committee*

4. Would be a President who took charge and made sure laws obeyed; officials caught violating laws would not escape prosecution--as in this Administration; only professional and thoroughly honest officials would be placed in charge of intelligence agencies.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

QUESTIONS

1. Won't support for the blacks lead to guerrilla warfare, dictatorships, and communist influence?
2. Failing to stop the Russians in Angola -- isn't that a signal that we've lost our will?
3. How can you gain South African cooperation for Rhodesia and Namibia, when South Africa's policy of apartheid is the root cause of these problems?
4. Do you support Kissinger's South Africa policy?
5. Would you use economic leverage to influence South African policies?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. For years the Administration has ignored the rights of the majority, under a policy begun by Nixon and Kissinger with National Security Study Memorandum #39, in 1969. Policy was based on false belief that colonial regimes were "here to stay."

2. The first U.S. Veto in U.N. history, in 1970, was against further sanctions on Rhodesia.

3. With the ^{Harry} Byrd Amendment in 1971 the U. S. became the only country in the world to support sanctions of Rhodesia, and then violate them. Ford led House fight for Byrd Amendment.

4. Only after the Angola fiasco, which was ended by Congress, did Secretary Kissinger finally see the need to support majority rule and end colonialism.

5. Belated effort to moderate apartheid ^{in South Africa} ~~is~~ of course welcomed, but ~~thus far response has been taken.~~ We must clearly give first priority to support for human rights, rather than be business-as-usual.

B. Positive Points

1. I welcome Kissinger's belated efforts; I also hope they will hold up, unlike the Vietnam peace settlement. *I support majority rule in Africa.*

2. Doubts about ~~rabbits out of the hat~~ ^{secret assurances to Jim Smith}
 --how much will it cost?
 --what assurances has he made? (Prime Minister Smith has talked of "categorical assurances" for Kissinger)

~~3. We must avoid such crises by better understanding of the aspirations of other peoples.~~

3. I do not think it would be productive to deny tax credits to U.S. companies doing business in South Africa since this would harm those in need of jobs. But our companies must abide by human rights and be fair employers.

HUMAN RIGHTS

QUESTIONS

1. How can U.S. realistically affect human rights abroad?
2. Willing to sacrifice trade for rights?
3. What do differently to affect rights in Eastern Europe

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Ford took a week and clarifications to admit E. Europe mistake, but he has yet to admit he misspoke about what Commerce Department would release about Arab boycott; unfortunately these statements left world-wide impression of an America uncertain of its position on human rights.

2. That impression was also conveyed by earlier Administration failures: embracing dictatorships in Brazil, Chile and Phillipines; snubbing Solzhenitsyn; failing to insist on Soviet compliance with Helsinki; and ignoring Turkish takeover in Cyprus.

B. Positive Points

1. America must again become hope of those aspiring to freedom and dignity -- renewed symbol of concern for human rights.

2. Can be done by:

- implementing Jackson-Vanik (Soviet Jews) bill
- vigorously insisting on Soviet compliance with Helsinki basket III--providing for greater human rights in Soviet Union
- not closing eyes when Soviets harrass those waiting to emigrate and jam Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.
- imposing strict penalties on those complying with boycotts
- refusing to supply unlimited weapons to nations systematically denying rights.

3. Would demonstrate commitment to human rights at outset of term -- when Helsinki is reviewed in Belgrade next year, would press for strict compliance; would not allow Soviet rhetoric to cloud picture of the realities; would document to world failings of Soviet compliance and would require improvements.

(Note: Do not say again that U.S. overthrew Allende government. U.S. encouraged undermining of Allende government-- on that there is no question.)

THE EFFECTS OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON THE ECONOMY

⑤
Jrial

QUESTIONS

The Republicans have charged that the Vietnam War was largely responsible for the favorable statistics you cite for the Kennedy-Johnson years and that the War was also responsible for a good deal of the problems they inherited, particularly inflation. Aren't they correct on both counts?

ANSWERS

That charge just can't be supported if you look at the facts of the Kennedy-Johnson record. In John Kennedy's first year in office unemployment stood at 6.7%. By the end of 1965, before the expenditures for the Vietnam War had an impact, unemployment had been reduced to 4%. For this same period, the rate of inflation averaged less than 2% a year. The plain truth is that full employment and stable prices were achieved by the Democrats during peacetime.

You would be hard put to find a serious economist or any other serious person who believes that the inflation we've had since 1973 can be fairly blamed on Lyndon Johnson (out of office for more than four years) or a war which, as far as we were concerned, had come to an end. (From 1973 on, we had less than 1,000 troops in Vietnam.)

Most of the American people realize that the disastrous inflation experienced in recent years can't be blamed on the Vietnam War or on Lyndon Johnson. The blame has to be placed elsewhere -- with the on-again, off-again wage-price controls, the Russian grain giveaway, the OPEC oil price increases, the election year expansion of the money supply in 1972, and the consistent economic mismanagement of this Administration.

ATTACK POINTS

For the purposes of your attack on the Ford-Dole record, I recommend simplifying the theme categories. All the essential subjects on which the Administration is vulnerable can be grouped under the following attack themes:

President Ford has not been an effective leader

Ford has permitted himself to be pushed about by both the Soviet Union and the Arabs. Examples:

Solzenitzyn -- The President refused to meet with Solzenitzyn who was widely reported at the time that the reason was that he was afraid of incurring the displeasure of the Soviet Union for doing so. Perhaps that wasn't the reason but if not, what was the reason?

Arab Boycott -- The President promised the B'nai B'rith that he would seek legislation to end American participation in the Arab boycott. There suddenly were a spate of stories about how the Saudis were threatening to reimpose the oil embargo or raise oil prices. The Administration knuckled under right away. They not only pulled out all the stops (Kissinger, Rockefeller, the oil lobbyists) to prevent Congress from adopting effective anti-boycott legislation, but also to reverse itself and accept the sale of 650 Maverick TV-guided missiles to the Saudi-Arabians.

The President does not understand that this is only the first installment. By knuckling under to such pressure we can expect more of the same in the future -- more interference in our domestic legislative process, more demands for the sale

of our most sophisticated weapons. The President has not demonstrated the leadership to protect our independence and integrity of the American government from pressure by the oil-rich Arabs.

Detente -- The President is afraid to call his foreign policy by its rightful name. Detente began in the Nixon Administration as a "structure of peace". When that failed to materialize, it became a "process". Then when that process proved unsatisfactory, detente became a "necessity". And finally during the Republican primary, it became a no-no. What is the President's policy toward the Soviet Union? I don't think it's clear any more.

The President has played politics with defense and tolerated waste and mismanagement in the Pentagon.

Supplemental Requests:

1. The President first fired Secretary Schlesinger for asking for too much defense, and then feeling the heat from Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary campaign, proposed an additional supplemental appropriations just before the Texas primary. This supplemental called for 4 new frigates and an oiler. This was seen by the Committees of the Congress for what it was, pure politics, and rejected.

Nonetheless, in August, the Administration again asked for more ships but a different package: the same four frigates but instead of an oiler they wanted a billion dollar nuclear strike cruiser. With only a few weeks left until the

end of the session, the request could not be acted upon. The Administration knew that; they did not even ask for the money, but still they waged an unprecedented lobbying effort just to try to make the Congress look inresponsive.

Finally, the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee along with his ranking member, Eddie Hebert, for the first time in history of the House Armed Services Committee denounced Secretary Rumsfeld and the Administration for playing politics with defense. Congressman Hebert said on September 30, "yesterday marked one of the darkest days in the history of our defense establishment. For the first time in 34 years, crass political considerations have been injected into defense policy decisions."

Playing of politics with billions of dollars of defense expenditures is indicative of President Ford's disregard for sound management. It creates chaos in the Congressional budget and in the Pentagon's planning process.

2. The case of the B-1 is another example. That airplane has not finished its research, development and testing program. Yet the President wanted to accelerate the decision to produce the B-1 this year. Why? Well, again it is very difficult the conclusion that political decisions had a major part to play.

3. Lack of Combat Readiness. And while the President is pressing for all these new systems, he has ignored major shortcomings in our existing defense posture. A sizable portion of our Navy and our Air Force and our Army are unready to fight.

The President wants newer and better equipment but is not taking care of the forces he has already got.

--The Navy. In 1974, the Navy's official Board of Inspection and Survey said that 49 out of the 51 ships they inspected did not have required operational capabilities. Only two of the ships inspected could perform all of their primary missions. Since that time, the readiness of our Navy has not improved, if anything, it has gotten worse.

The backlog of ships due for overhaul is now 14% of the fleet or 63 active ships -- 20% of our naval aviation is either grounded or otherwise incapable of performing any of their primary missions.

--The Army. And in Europe, which is the front line of our defense, the stock piles for our Army reinforcements to use in time of emergency, are poorly maintained and dangerously depleted. We have less than a third of the medium tanks; we have only 41% of the armored personnel carriers and just half of the artillery that our reinforcements are supposed to use.

The Administration wants to build more divisions but they have not provided adequate supplies for the divisions we already have for their missions in Europe.

The President just hasn't got his priorities straight. The amount of money to be spent on his last minute nuclear strike

DOLE VOTING RECORD

DEFENSE

Indochina War: Dole consistently supported President Nixon on votes regarding the Indochina war. The votes over several years are too numerous for this summary. A compromise was signed into law by President Nixon on July 1, 1973 which provided that no funds for the Indochina War would be available after August 15, 1973; Dole voted for this compromise. However, Nixon had vetoed on June 27, 1973 a bill containing a provision calling for an immediate end to funding for military activities in Cambodia and Laos; Dole voted against this legislation on June 26, 1973; passed 81-11.

War Powers Act: In 1973, Dole voted for the War Powers Act which limits the President's powers to commit U.S. forces abroad without Congressional approval and he voted to override Nixon's veto. However, on April 13, 1972, Dole voted against the 1972 version of the War Powers Act. Passed 68-16.

Troop Reductions: Dole had consistently voted against amendments to reduce the number of U.S. troops stationed overseas (see: May 19, 1971; November 23, 1971; September 26 1973; June 6, 1974).

WEAPONS FUNDING

ABM: Dole has consistently voted against attempts to reduce

funds for the ABM (see: August 6, 1969; December 15, 1969; August 12, 1970; September 29, 1971; June 5, 1975).

B-1 Bomber: On June 5, 1974, Dole voted against an amendment which sought to reduce by \$255 million the \$455 million authorized for development of the B-1 bomber. Rejected 31-59. On May 20, 1976, Dole voted against an amendment to bar obligation of funds authorized in the military procurement authorization bill for production of the B-1 bomber before February 1, 1977.

Trident Submarine: On July 27, 1972, Dole voted against an amendment which sought to delete \$508.4 million of the \$906.4 million requested for development and procurement of the Trident submarine. Rejected 47-49. On September 27, 1973, Dole voted against an amendment which sought to reduce by \$883 million the authorization for development and procurement of the Trident submarine. Rejected 47-49.

Defense Spending Ceilings and Reductions: Dole generally votes against amendments which seek to reduce defense spending by a specified dollar figure or percentage (see: August 28, 1970; September 27, 1972; August 21, 1974; November 18, 1975; August 12, 1976). However, on June 11, 1974, Dole for the first time in his Congressional career voted to cut something from defense spending: Dole voted for an amendment which

sought to set a ceiling of \$21.66 billion (instead of \$21.835 billion) for the military procurement and research and development authorization; rejected 38-52.

Military Procurement: On August 1, 1975, Dole voted against the conference report on a bill to authorize \$31 billion for weapons procurement and research and development in fiscal 1976 and the transition quarter. Rejected 42-48.

Civilian Employees: On June 4, 1975, Dole voted for an amendment to reduce by 17,000 the 962,000 Pentagon civilian manpower ceiling set by the Armed Services Committee. Passed 42-40.

1974 South Vietnam Military Assistance Ceilings: On June 11, 1974, Dole voted against an amendment which sought to reduce from \$900 million to \$750 million the ceiling on military aid to South Vietnam. Rejected 45-46. On August 21, 1974, Dole voted against an amendment which sought to reduce from \$700 million to \$550 million funds for military assistance to South Vietnamese forces. Rejected 44-47.

DOLE VOTED AGAINST A SCHWEIKER AMENDMENT ON DEFENSE

CONTRACTS: 1969 Amendment requiring regular reports by the Defense Department on major contracts and for audits and reports on such contracts by the GAO.

MIRVs: Dole voted against S. Res. 211 urging the President to propose to the USSR a joint suspension of MIRV tests.

COUNTERFORCE: Dole voted against an amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization bill (in 1974) that sought to halt funding of counterforce research to increase the yield and accuracy of strategic nuclear missiles until the President reported that the SALT talks had failed to achieve a controls agreement for MIRVs.

ABM: Dole has consistently supported the ABM system since the debate began. He voted against Kennedy's efforts to dismantle the ABM Safeguard site at Grand Forks, as well as the compromise to close and mothball operations except for the Perimeter Acquisition Radar System.

B-1 BOMBER: Has continued to protect the system from cuts. He announced his support for the craft in May after apparently having been convinced by Air Force responses to his written criticisms. He recently stated: "I don't see what we gain with this stop and go policy" -- referring to the Culver amendment to delay production decision until the next Administration.

FOREIGN POLICY

Rhodesian Chrome: Byrd Amendment to allow importation of chrome from Rhodesia was attached to the Military Procurement Bill of 1972 -- H.R. 8687. Dole voted in favor of the amendment, Mondale, Against. On December 18, 1973, Dole voted against a bill to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome by the United States, thus restoring the United States adherence to United National economic sanctions, established in 1966, against Rhodesia. Passed 54-37.

Angola: Dole was NOT VOTING for: 1. a motion to table the Tunney amendment; 2. to vote on the Tunney amendment to deny use of funds in Angola. Dole DID VOTE IN FAVOR of a Griffin Amendment to gut it by providing that none of the funds appropriated in the act may be obligated or spent to finance the involvement of U.S. military or civilian forces in hostilities in Angola unless specifically authorized by the Congress. However, this would have allowed U.S. funds to go to the factions in Angola that it was backing.

Genocide Treaty: On February 6, 1974, Dole voted not to invoke cloture on the resolution to approve ratification of the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Motion defeated 55-38.

Turkey: Dole voted consistently against military aid to Turkey until: On July 31, 1975, Dole voted for a bill to authorize funds for the Board for International Broadcasting and to provide a partial lifting of the embargo on arms shipments to Turkey. Passed 47-46.

Agricultural Foreign Aid: On November 4, 1975, Dole voted against an amendment to require that 80% of PL 480 commodities sold abroad be allocated to countries with a per capita gross national product of \$250 per year or less. Passed 52-39.

Human Rights: In 1972, Dole supported a motion to table the Tunney amendment prohibiting military aid to Brazil until torture of political prisoners was terminated. Dole supported continued importation in violation of UN sanctions pertaining to Rhodesian Chrome. Dole voted against Kennedy's amendment to prohibit all military aid, assistance, sales and deliveries to the Government of Chile. He also voted against Humphrey's motion to table a Helm's motion to reconsider the Kennedy amendment (1976).

Chile: On February 18, 1976, Dole voted against an amendment to prohibit government cash sales or commercial sales of arms and military equipment to Chile, in addition to the prohibition on U.S. military grants and credit sales. Passed 48-39.

Controls on Arms Sales: On April 28, 1976, Dole voted against a bill to authorize \$3.2 billion on foreign military assistance in fiscal 1976, and to provide new congressional controls on U.S. arms sales (by allowing Congress to review and reject by concurrent resolution proposed government and commercial weapons sales). Passed 51-35.

Mutual Force Reductions: Dole voted against a vote in May 19, 1971, on an amendment seeking to call for negotiations to achieve mutual force reductions in Europe between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces, and negotiations within NATO to reduce force levels and financial arrangements consistent with the balance-of-payment situation of the United States.

Israel: S. 920 - Dole voted to support Stennis in tabling a Jackson Amendment to extend from 12-31-75 to 12-31-77 the President's authority under the Defense Procurement Act of 1970 to transfer aircraft and related equipment to Israel by sale, guarantee or credit to maintain the military balance in the Middle East (June 6, 1975).

Intelligence: Dole supported a Tower-Stennis amendment to deny the new Senate Intelligence Committee legislative jurisdiction over intelligence activities of the Department of Defense (1976).

Arms Control: Dole voted against the establishment of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1961. He also voted against a 1968 bill extending the life of ACDA and providing funding.

--Values: We will:

- seek legislation to rule out American participation in the Arab boycott;
- Strictly enforce the Helsinki accords;
- welcome Solzenitzyn to the White House;
- Show self-restraint in the sale of arms to the world;
- reorient our aid programs so as to help people;

Priorities: We will:

- Place greater emphasis in the relations with out allies;
- seek to mediate differences between Greece and Turkey;
- Move with substantive proposals to end the deadlock in the creation of a more vigorous and just world economic system;

Management and Planning: We will:

- Cut waste in the defense budget;
- Develop a defense policy that is linked with our foreign policy objectives;
- Have personal Presidential participation in defense budget decisions;
- Reorient the intelligence community to provide long-range assessments for planning so that we can anticipate events and not merely react to them.

THEMES

(1) LEADERSHIP

- .the need for positive, responsive government after eight years of negative, reactive government
- .the need for concern about human problems and the leadership that can help solve those problems
- .the need for an Administration with a vision of where America wants to go and the courage to make the tough decisions to get there
- .the need for leadership that admits it does not have all the answers but is willing to trust the people and their good judgment in helping to find the answers
(This theme obviously ties into every other theme for the debate.)

(2) THE ECONOMY

- .the Republican record of the past eight years is one of mismanagement and lack of concern for the human tragedy that unemployment and inflation bring
- .we have had two terms of election-year gimmicks followed by years of economic stagnation
- .we have had administrations with economic advisors out of touch with the problems of Americans--the small businessman, the working man and woman, the family farmer

.we have had administrations that have preached fiscal integrity and yet added more to the ^{public}~~national~~ debt in eight years than in the previous 192 years of the American republic

.we have had eight years of administrations trying to blame others for their own economic mismanagement

(3) MANAGEMENT OF GOVERNMENT

.this election revolves around a basic distinction between Democrats and Republicans

--Democrats believe government can work and want to eliminate waste and inefficiency to make it work better

--Republicans believe government can't work, do not have the desire to streamline and make it work better, and give us...not management...but drift

.for eight years, Republicans have been managing the programs they now criticize--they are not able to correct abuses and eliminate waste, and to hear them talk you would never know that they have controlled the White House and the Executive branch since 1969

(4) ENDING THE DEADLOCK OF GOVERNMENT

.the American people want to end eight years of stalemate and deadlock in government

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.they want a President to make government work
.Mr. Ford wants to let Congress lead--as he has on
energy, taxes, the economy and programs--or to
negotiate with the Congress as he did when he was
Minority Leader

.we need a President who will have a program and
lead the Congress.

.Republicans engage in scare tactics when they talk
about the dangers of a runaway Administration and
Congress

.the fact is that during the 1960's, when there
were Democrats in the White House and Democratic
majorities in the Congress, we had stable economic
growth, low inflation rates and ^{steady progress} ~~unemployment rates~~
^{toward full employment} ~~less than half the present rate~~

.there was a sense of moving America forward to
help meet her problems

.this is what we need once again

(5) POSITIVE GOVERNMENT/VISION OF AMERICA

.the tragedy of the past eight years is that we have
had a government without a program for where this country
should be moving

.we need leaders with a vision of what America should be
not a negative view of what America cannot be

.in the past, we have always overcome the naysayers
 who could only tell us how we could not progress
 or meet problems

.this was the legacy of Franklin Roosevelt, who refused
 to follow the Hoover orthodoxy that the Depression
 could not be overcome

.this is the type of positive leadership we need once
 again, which looks to the challenges of the future
 instead of fighting the battles of the past

(6) DEMOCRATS AS THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

.the choices in this election are clear;
 --they are the same arguments that we have heard before,
 between Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover;
 between Harry Truman and Tom Dewey; between
 Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower; between
 John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon.

.we Democrats believe that we must represent the
 broad spectrum of America--the family farmer, the
 working man and woman, the small businessman

.and we have seen who the Republicans believe they must
 represent

.we have seen it in the past eight years just as we
 saw it during the Hoover Administration and the
 Nixon Administration

--in efforts to weaken the Medicare program

--in a platform that contemplates an end to educational
 help for disadvantaged children

- in an energy program that would cost our families \$500 or more
 - in a proposal for \$20 billion in new tax ^{breaks} ~~loopholes~~ _{for corporations and investors}
 - in opposition to decent national health insurance
 - in higher food prices and lower farm prices
- .this will not change as long as the Republicans are in office. We need to put a people's President in the White House once again

(7) NATION WITH ONE STANDARD OF JUSTICE

.Mr. Ford, in a recent speech, said that "American voters will examine their ballots in November and identify those candidates who have demonstrated indifference or permissiveness toward crime, and they should."

.in this condemnation of unnamed people, Mr. Ford apparently forgot to mention that he himself showed the greatest indifference to crime this nation has seen with his pardon of Richard Nixon, without even an accounting of the wrongs that had been done and to which the pardon applied

.we must have a nation of equal justice under the law, in which all Americans are judged by the same standards

THEMES

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

Your task in this area is less to prove Carter competent and effective as a leader in foreign defense policy than it is to show the shortcomings of President Ford and to a lesser extent Senator Dole.

There are some dramatic shortcomings which you can attack both in the field of defense as well as with foreign policy. Dole's record is particularly vulnerable but it is my assumption that you will want to concentrate primarily upon Ford, and use Dole only by way of example for emphasis or rebuttal.

The main themes that Carter has been emphasizing are leadership, American values, priorities, and management and planning. In answering each question regarding defense or foreign policy, the objective is to give a brief three-minute speech, or as appropriate a two-minute rebuttal, using the question as a point of departure in emphasizing one or more of the basic themes. An elaboration of these themes is set forth below.

--Leadership: President Ford has not grasped the essential responsibility of American leadership in the world today. That is to provide a healthy growing economy and a unified American public that supports and understands our involvements in the world. The failures in the economic front are obvious, but

they are made dramatic by the fact that the Soviet Union has over the last eight years consistently out-performed and exceeded the growth of the United States by almost every index: Per capita growth (U.S. 2.1; U.S.S.R. 5.0), overall growth in GNP (U.S. 6.8; U.S.S.R. 4.0), and industrial productivity (U.S. 1.2; U.S.S.R. 6.0)*. In fact, last year U.S. industrial output was a minus 8.9 while the Soviets had real growth of 6.3%. Only in agriculture is the American economy still vital. This adverse economic performance has not only meant a relative decline in American power but the decline of America as an example as a system to be emulated. That translates into a serious setback for our way of life and for the whole concept of American leadership in the world.

The President has also failed to lead the American people in support of his policies. He has continued the Nixon policy of secret intervention; he has refused to bring the American people into the decision-making process and has in large measure abdicated to the Secretary of State the task of statecraft in the field of foreign policy.

In the field of defense, he has seen the defense budget as the only index of American power. He has pressed for increases with little regard to efficiency in management and reducing waste or to ensuring that the Pentagon itself has leadership free from conflicts of interest.

Finally, the President has recently knuckled under to the most blatant pressure from the Arabs on the sale of arms and on legislation to preclude American participation in the Arab boycott. President Ford cannot claim to be either a

*Average 1969-1975. Source: Joint Economic Committee and CIA.

leader of the world or of this nation if he is so easily willing to put himself in the position of selling on demand whatever arms Arab nations may want, or of interfering with the legislative process in the U.S. Congress in order to carry out Arab wishes.

--American values: The President has failed to assert a foreign policy that reflects American values. Instead, America, the land of freedom of justice for all where Jefferson wrote that all men are created equal is seen increasingly as a country that is insensitive to the aspiration for freedom; indifferent to efforts to achieve greater human justice; and that feels threatened by movements for greater equality.

There are many specific subjects that you can address under this category including:

-Helsinki, the Arab boycott and Maverick sale, Chile, Solzenitzyn, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

--Priorities: President Ford has placed Soviet goodwill and the relationship with Moscow above all the other interests of the United States. This has lead to a downgrading of our allies and neglect of the great international economic and environmental problems that will shape this nation's future for the next quarter of this century. For example:

The Administration has been more interested in reaching

cosmetic arms control agreements with the Soviet Union than in pursuing the much more difficult and dangerous problem of controlling the spread of nuclear weapons.

The President has placed greater emphasis on the sales of arms in our relations with the third world than the much more important and constructive task of economic development.

And finally, the President placed expediency above principle in the eastern mediterranean in the conflict over Cyprus.

--Management Planning: The President does not manage or plan our foreign policy nor our national security posture. He fired James Schlesinger for asking for too large a defense budget and then under pressure from Ronald Reagan in the Republican primaries proceeded to ask for supplemental defense appropriations. When this was rejected, he asked for yet another supplemental appropriation for defense failing to cite any solid justification, and finally provoking conservative members of the House Armed Services Committee into open revolt denouncing him for playing politics with defense.

He has not linked up our defense policies with our diplomacy. The Secretary of State negotiates on arms control in an effort to limit weapons which the Pentagon has been encouraged to pursue and which is understandably reluctant to forego.

In sum, there is no long range anticipation of problems, no long range planning to meet them and no day to day management of the national security machinery of the Federal Government by the President.

These themes are quite negative in character and you will find them reiterated with more specificity in your attack points. We are stressing the negative because the negative provides the best examples of what ought not to be done and what won't be done if Carter Administration comes into office. It is far easier to point to mistakes of the past than to be able to define precisely what in the future one will do in the area of leadership, values, priorities, management, etc.

The positive things that can be said under each of these headings in brief form is set forth below. They tend to be the obverse of the criticisms.

--Leadership: We will:

- reorganize the government so as to make the national security machinery more effective;
- we will get the economy moving again;
- we will open up the processes of government so that the American people and their elected representatives can participate more fully in decisions and in the making of commitments.

ATTACK POINTS

DOLE AND PEOPLE PROGRAMS

.Senator Dole on a number of occasions has indicated his displeasure that the Republican party has an image of being anti-people and of not caring about people's concerns and problems.

.In August, for example, he said that "we (Republicans) are quite widely perceived as being anti-people....We appear to be less than compassionate on many issues, on medical care, on education, on the elderly, on the jobless, and in other areas, too."

.It's quite clear to me why the Republican party has that image. It's because the Republican party has shown consistently that it does not in fact care about people problems. The party's image matches the party's lack of concern.

.President Ford has shown this lack of concern.

.He has allowed medical costs to rise 18% over the past two years, and has expressed his opposition to a meaningful national health insurance program. Just two weeks ago, his Administration announced that older people will be paying 19% more under Medicare for their hospital bills next year.

.He has submitted a budget for this ~~coming~~ fiscal year with a 24% cut in programs for higher education, the kind of programs that help young people go to college or vocational school.

.He was one of the opponents of Medicare and showed his lack of concern for older Americans by trying to place a 5% cap on Social Security increases last year ^{in the face} ~~during a~~ period of double-digit

inflation. Only the Congress stopped him from succeeding.

.And his Administration has resulted in 2½ million more Americans who are out of work than when he took office, a shocking 50% increase in just 2 years.

.This is the Ford record; this is why the Republican party is seen as being anti-people. And the record of Senator Dole is no better.

.Senator Dole was also one of the original opponents of the Medicare program.

.He voted with President Nixon on cutting education funds.

.He voted against lowering the age at which men and women can retire and receive Social Security benefits.

.And he has consistently voted against increasing unemployment compensation benefits for jobless Americans and against bills to help put those jobless Americans back to work through meaningful public service jobs.

.This is the Ford-Dole record, and it's no surprise that the Republican party is seen as being anti-people.

.We Democrats believe that the concerns of people must come first. By cutting out waste and putting Americans back to work we can move to meet human problems without increasing inflation.

3

ATTACK POINTS

ECONOMY

.This is an Administration that has not cared about people. And it is real people with real problems that the Ford Administration's policies have hurt.

.There are now 7 1/2 million Americans who are unemployed, 2 1/2 million more than when Mr. Ford took office, and ^{over} 2 1/2 times the number unemployed in 1968.

.Each person unemployed represents a human tragedy. Ours is a nation that praises work, not welfare. Yet this Administration simply does not care about making full employment its top priority.

.President Ford has vetoed ~~bills that would have created~~ 2 million ~~meaningful~~ jobs that would ^{have} benefit ^{ed our} both the economy, and ~~the 2 million people who would have had their dignity restored.~~

.We understand the need for work and we will make our first priority a return to full employment.

.What makes the Ford Administration's actions even more inexcusable is that they told us the sacrifice of unemployment would halt inflation. And yet we still have an ongoing, underlying inflation rate today (6%) that is three times higher than the average in the Kennedy and Johnson years.

.This is a continuation of eight years of economic policies that have brought us the highest inflation in 50 years, and the worst unemployment since the Great Depression.

.It has hurt every American family. It has been particularly hard on those with fixed incomes, such as the elderly, who Mr. Ford volunteered for sacrifices last year when he tried to put a 5% cap on Social Security increases in the face of inflation... and again this year with a \$1.5 billion increase in Medicare costs.

.The President attacks the Democratic Congress for its actions on the economy. And yet, ironically, if it had not been for actions that the Congress has taken in the past two years, our economy would be in even worse shape than it is today.

.Mr. Ford wanted the Congress to increase taxes in October of 1974, ~~right in the middle of a deep recession.~~ *just as we were slipping into a* If we had followed his advice, we would have crippled any economic recovery. We didn't follow his advice, and the American people should be glad we didn't.

.Then in January of 1975 Mr. Ford proposed an energy package that would have cost American consumers over \$30 billion and would have sent us from a recession into a depression. He wanted the Congress to decontrol all domestic oil and natural gas prices, but we didn't follow his advice, and the American people should be glad we didn't.

.Without prodding from the Democratic Congress, the Federal Reserve Board's monetary policies would probably have choked off any recovery. Yet now Mr. Ford wants to take credit for the weak economic recovery we have.

.The simple fact is that ~~if~~ *has vetoed* Mr. Ford ~~had signed the jobs-creating bills we have sent him, there would be 2 million more jobs in this economy than we now have.~~ And if the Congress had

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~~worried~~^{reduced} about the effects of the Ford proposals on people,
we would probably today be in a deep recession.

.It's ironic to see the Republicans campaigning against the Congress when it is the Congress that has saved the American people from even more hardship than we have suffered through.

.We need leadership that will care about the effect of presidential actions on people. And we won't get that leadership under the present Administration.

ATTACK POINTS
FORD MICHIGAN SPEECH

.When Mr. Ford opened his campaign in Michigan, he said he was running against the Democrats.

.But he was really running against his own career, because almost everything he said flew in the face of his own actions as President, and as a Congressman before that.

.He said he was for rapid growth and high employment. Yet his budget and his vetoes have been directed toward the goal of restraining growth and maintaining higher unemployment -- under the mistaken but clearly announced belief that this is the way to fight inflation.

.He said he was for education. But his budget proposals are for a cut of about \$1 billion this year and another \$1 billion over the next 5 years.

.He said he was for affordable health care, but he has said he will veto any national health insurance bill, whether run through the public or private sectors.

.He said he was for a catastrophic health ceiling for seniors. But his ceiling applies only to those costs covered by Medicare, and in fact most older persons with serious illnesses will pay much more. And the worth of this so-called "catastrophic coverage"-- \$500 million--is offset by a \$2 billion reduction in basic coverage through new out-of-pocket charges for physician and hospital services.

.He said he was for parks--and yet bulk of the new funds which may be appropriated will only make up in part for 8 years

of neglect which have intolerably squeezed park personnel and upkeep.

.He said he was against crime--but he has not taken the firm administrative actions needed to shape up the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration--the heart of the present federal responsibility.

.He said he was for a principled foreign policy but in almost every corner of the world the substance of our policy betrays his rhetoric of idealism--in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe indifference to human rights and the Helsinki accord; in Chile economic and other aid to prop up a vicious dictatorship we share responsibility for creating; in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean policies that neither follow principle nor obey American law; in South Asia warming support for Indira Ghandi's dictatorship after years of hostility to Indian democracy; and finally, in Africa where shuttle diplomacy--that we all hope will be successful--cannot cover up the fact that seven years of Republican support for racist and colonial regimes have created the conditions for the bloodshed we all hope to avoid.

.He asked us to trust him, and yet for a month he campaigned for the Presidency on television from the Oval Office and the Rose Garden, away from the people, the press, and the tough questions.

ATTACK POINTS

HOUSING

-- The past eight years have brought disaster to the housing sector. The Republican commitment to housing is non-existent.

-- Since 1968, the median price of a new, single-family home has doubled.

-- Average monthly payments have gone up 137 percent.

-- Interest rates have gone from 6 percent to 9 percent.

-- Only one-third of our families can qualify to purchase a new home.

-- The Republicans have virtually destroyed our federally-assisted housing programs. The cruel impoundments of money for home ownership assistance, housing for the elderly, housing rehabilitation funds, and rental assistance money have not been rectified. We lost three years of progress.

-- In 1968, we set a National Housing Goal of 2.6 million units a year. Last year we met only 45 percent of our goal.

-- Unemployment in the construction industry has gone to 50 percent in some areas, and nationwide is at 17% today.

-- Housing is ^{a key} ~~the most~~ important stimulus to economic recovery. We cannot have a healthy economy or decent lives for our citizens without it.

FORD HOUSING PROGRAM -- HYPOCRISY

Mr. Ford made two housing proposals in his Michigan speech.

First, he wants to lower down payment requirements on FHA housing.

-- FHA only serves 10 percent of the new home purchasers.

What about the other 90 percent?

-- Lowering down payments does nothing about the price which has doubled in the past eight years or about the monthly payments which have risen 137 percent.

-- The proposal flies in the face of the entire thrust of Mr. Ford's record for the past two years. He has been asking Congress to raise down payment levels and reinstated the Section 235 program with down payments 8 times what they were in 1973.

Second, Mr. Ford wants to implement a system of gradually-increasing monthly payments to allow a young family to buy a home.

-- He has had the authority to do that since 1974. Now, on the eve of the election, he uses the authority.

-- Under current law, Mr. Ford's proposal would only help about 3000 families each year.

ATTACK POINTS

REDUCTION OF FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY

.Mr. Ford claimed in the first debate that he had cut the federal payroll by over 11,000 people since he took office.

.He was playing a little fast and loose with the facts.

.What he did not tell us is that during this period there was a decline of over 31,000 people in the Postal Service. These declines came in an independent service and were in no way prompted by any action from the President.

.If that Postal Service cut is excluded, there has actually been an increase of over 15,000 federal workers in the executive branch since Mr. Ford took office.

.This is certainly not consistent with his claims of wanting to cut the federal bureaucracy.

.He also claimed that he has reduced the White House staff and that's true. He cut some low-level people.

.But what he did not tell us is that in July of 1975 his Administration submitted a bill to the Congress that would allow him to ^(increase by 30%) nearly double...to ⁶⁵ 95...the number of staff jobs paying over \$38,000 a year.

.In other words, while telling us that he wanted to reduce the White House staff, the President actually wanted to almost double the number of high-paying jobs available to him in the White House.

.This is not economy in government. This is not the elimination of waste and mismanagement we have heard about from the President.

ATTACK POINTS

REPUBLICANS AND BIG BUSINESS

.This Administration has an unhealthy bias toward those who represent economic wealth. What is missing is the essential element of balance.

.Just look at the President's key economic advisors.

.Secretary of the Treasury Simon came to Washington from a major Wall Street investment banking house. Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors Alan Greenspan came to Washington from his own economic consulting firm in New York, which gives advice to those same investment banking houses. And Mr. Ford's key advisor on farm policy, ^(until just two weeks ago) Secretary Earl Butz, was one of the board of directors of a major agribusiness corporation before coming to Washington.

.There is no one in that group who represents the working man or woman, the housewife, the small businessman, or the family farmer. Nor are they represented on the Federal Reserve Board or the Council of Economic Advisors.

.Perhaps this explains why Republican economic policies favor the rich and the powerful.

.Perhaps this explains why Mr. Ford has not been willing to stand up to unjustified price increases in major industries as John Kennedy was will to do.

.During the past year, for example, aluminum, steel and iron prices have all risen more than 10% even though only about

3/4 of the capacity of these industries was being used.

.A strong President, who wanted to keep prices down, would have done what John Kennedy did when the steel industry tried to raise prices unjustifiably. He would have talked to these industries and forced them to take into account the well-being of 215 million Americans before they raised prices.

.A strong President, who really wanted to see this economy be competitive, would have actively supported the major anti-trust bill that recently became law.

.The President did sign this bill, but only reluctantly, and only after changing his position on the bill's merits repeatedly.

.And a strong President would enforce the antitrust laws already on the books.

.Because this President's top antitrust official estimated that Americans in 1973 paid over \$80 billion more than they needed to for goods and services because many American industries are simply no longer competitive.

.That is a pretty high price for all of us to pay for continuing Republican Administrations in office which just are not willing to really crack down on anti-competitive practices.

.We respect and value the tremendous contribution of American businessmen. We will also be willing and eager to make our economy competitive, because we owe fundamental allegiance to the working people, small businessmen and family farmers of this country.

ATTACK POINTS

TAXES AND THE REPUBLICAN RECORD

.Rarely has an issue been drawn more clearly than the difference this year between Republicans and Democrats on tax relief and tax reform.

.The President has tried to hide his record on tax relief for average Americans behind a smokescreen of misleading statements.

.In fact, the President in late 1974 proposed a tax increase during the worst recession since the Great Depression. The Congress would not accept it and called for real tax reductions to help average American families.

.Then in January of 1975, the President proposed a temporary tax cut that would have aided upper income Americans more than working Americans. The Congress increased the size of the tax cut and gave the bulk of the relief to lower and middle income families.

.Then in January of this year, the President submitted another tax plan. But if we take a careful look at that plan, it's clear that the Republicans are up to their old tricks again.

.This new Ford plan would give tax relief to business and capital investors of ^{over} \$20 billion a year by 1981, while giving only \$6.6 billion in tax relief to the ordinary taxpayer. And, there would be an equal \$6.6 billion increase under the Ford plan in unemployment and social security payroll taxes.

.And the Republican record on tax reform is equally bad.

.Since the late 1960's, corporation taxes have dropped from 20% of all tax receipts to 14% last year, while payroll taxes -- the kind you pay every week -- have risen from 21% to 31%.

.This shows how the burden is shifting -- and that shift is hurting you.

.And in 1974, 244 Americans with incomes over \$200,000 a year paid no income taxes at all.

.Senator Dole's record on tax reform certainly gives him reason to call himself a good Republican.

.He ~~has~~ voted to protect the oil depletion allowance that benefited the big oil companies; and he voted for an amendment that would have reduced by \$10 billion the tax rebates and tax cuts for average Americans that had been approved by the Senate Finance Committee.

MEAN

.This is the Republican record. This is why we need a Democrat in the White House.

ATTACK POINTS

WASTE AND MISMANAGEMENT

.It's not hard to find examples of waste and mismanagement in government as a result of eight years of Republican Administrations.

.We Democrats know that no one benefits from government waste or mismanagement, and that's why we want to correct it.

.One area in which our priorities must be reordered is in the energy field. Today, we have no coherent energy policy. We have ~~14~~²⁰ separate agencies in Washington which have major policy roles in the development of energy policy.

.Governor Carter has proposed a complete reorganization in this area, and let me give you one vivid example of why it's needed.

.Next year, we are going to complete an \$8 billion white elephant called the Alaska pipeline; and it's going to be a white elephant because the only voice the last two Republican administrations have listened to in energy policy has been the voice of the big oil companies.

.In 1973, I led the fight to get a re-examination of the plans to build a major pipeline through Alaska to bring the vast amounts of oil on Alaska's North Slope to the rest of the country.

.We had a choice to make -- to bring the oil through Alaska, in which case the only part of the country that could get this oil would be the West Coast, or to bring it by an alternative route through Canada, where the oil from Alaska could serve the whole country, including the West Coast, the Middle West and the East.

.The Nixon Administration only would listen to the major oil companies who wanted to build the pipeline through Alaska, even though I and others told them that the West Coast would not be able to use much of this oil by the time the pipeline was completed.

.Today, \$8 billion later, my predictions have come true. We now learn that perhaps up to 1,300,000 barrels a day -- enough to provide us with almost 10% of our oil needs -- can't be used on the West Coast. And thanks to the lack of energy planning by the Nixon and Ford Administrations, we have no way to get it to the rest of the country.

.Now, just as in 1973, the major oil companies are telling us that they want to export the oil to Japan and other countries and give us Middle Eastern oil in return.

.I think this is an outrage. If it happens, we will become more dependent on insecure Arab oil while we sell secure Alaskan oil to nations abroad. And why will we have to do this? Because the people have not had a voice in making energy policy decisions.

.This will not be the way energy policy -- or any policy for that matter -- is made under a Carter Administration. This is why we need new ideas, fresh ideas to prevent future scandals like this from occurring again.

(NOTE: Frank Zarts has said very recently that there would be no exporting of Alaskan oil. Whether that would hold after the election, should Ford win, is highly doubtful.)

MAJOR DOMESTIC THEMES -- GOVERNOR CARTER

I. NEW LEADERSHIP TO MOVE AMERICA FORWARD --

For too long the country has stagnated with a tired Republican Administration out of touch with average working people, ~~and~~ out of touch with the world outside Washington. We drift from day to day, always reacting to problems, never taking the initiative to find the answers. We need new leaders who are competent, compansionate, strong, and decisive, who care about the problems of ordinary people and who have the ability and vision to move America forward.

II. NEW LEADERSHIP TO MAKE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE --

The present Republican Administration is incapable of providing a government that is responsive to people/and their problems. Responsive government requires a new Administration that brings new people and new perspectives to the tough job of rooting out bureaucratic mismanagment, waste, and inefficiency and it requires a new Administration that has no vested interest in defending the Washington buddy system. Headed by a President who understands, first hand, the Washington problem through his experiences of being on the receiving end in state government, this new Administration can attack head-on such problems as the welfare mess and the Medicaide scandal. This new Administration can deliver on its promises and thereby restore the people's trust in government.

2. MAJOR DOMESTIC THEMES

III. MORE JOBS, LESS INFLATION, BALANCED BUDGETS --

The Republican Administration has proposed record peacetime budget deficits while failing to control continuing bureaucratic growth and waste. At the same time record numbers of people have been thrown out of work and inflation has soared. We need a new Administration that will lead us toward a balanced budget by restoring vigorous and sustained economic growth and by starting new programs only as we develop the revenues to pay for them. This approach, when coupled with government reorganization to root out waste and inefficiency, will mean more jobs, less inflation, and a government more responsive to priority human needs.

IV. ^{A COMPASSIONATE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO} MEET ~~THE~~ THE NEEDS OF AVERAGE WORKING AMERICANS --

The Republican Administration's record is one of blind opposition and negativism, totally out of touch with the needs and problems of average working people. The Republican opponent has brought a twenty-five year record of negativism in Congress to the much more demanding job of President. The predictable result has been a government of drift, stagnation, and stalemate, combined with the traditional Republican practice of looking out for special interests instead of working to solve the problems of families, neighborhoods, and average working people. A new Administration, acting in the heritage and traditions of the Democratic Party, will bring the values, dedication, and sense of purpose that can again make government the servant of all the people, not just a privileged elite.

3. MAJOR DOMESTIC THEMES

V. NATIONAL UNITY, BINDING THE WOUNDS OF VIETNAM AND WATERGATE

The Republican Administration cannot bind the wounds of America nor heal its divisions. This requires a new Administration with a fresh vision and sense of purpose, dedicated to serving average working people. In addition, Governor Carter, as a Southerner, can bring an end to regional division and prejudice in America, while reaching out to the American people in their racial, ethnic, and economic diversity. As a leader not connected with the mistakes of the past, Governor Carter can help restore the people's trust in government and their political leaders. This is the essential step in healing the divisions and rebuilding the^{lost} faith that were direct products of the Vietnam war and Watergate.

MAJOR DOMESTIC THEMES -- GERALD FORD

I. EXPERIENCE IN RUNNING THE GOVERNMENT --

We need leadership experienced and knowledgeable in both foreign and domestic affairs. Governor Carter is experienced in neither. In a dangerous age, he has no foreign policy experience. He is a one-term Georgia governor who has been running for office for the past two years. He has little personal knowledge of the people and the problems of the industrial Northeast, the Midwest, and the West. The Presidency is no place for on-the-job training.

CARTER RESPONSE

--Many paths to the Presidency: Annapolis, nuclear engineer, farmer, businessman, local and state government, Governor, a consumer of governmental programs and services, direct first-hand knowledge of the Washington problem.

--Vision, sense of purpose, dedication: a new perspective, fresh approach, not linked to past mistakes nor the Washington establishment, essential prerequisites to making government responsive to human needs; Republicans have had their chance and failed, time for a change; new leaders to move America forward.

--Out with the people, learning their problems: the Republican opponent has been in Washington for the past 28 years, not out where the problems are; Carter has been with the people, during the past two years and before, on the sidewalks,

2. MAJOR FORD THEMES

in the shopping centers, factories, and farms.

--Record as Governor: positive action and leadership for the people; reform, reorganization, tight management, balanced budgets; new vision and leadership, sense of purpose, commitment, standing up to special interests.

II. IN TUNE WITH THE PEOPLE --

President Ford reflects the thinking and attitudes of Americans. He is open, honest, straight-forward, and a moderate conservative. Carter is devious, ruthless, and a closet liberal, just another big-spending, over-promising Democrat. He is out of tune with the country on such social issues as abortion, amnesty, busing, and gay rights. His proposals, coupled with those in the Democratic platform, would bankrupt the federal treasury, trigger a new round of inflation, and destroy all hopes for ^{sound} economic recovery.

CARTER RESPONSE

-- Republican record: Republican administrations have proposed record peacetime deficits, high inflation, high unemployment, coupled with an inability to control Washington bureaucracy by rooting out waste and mismanagement; no vision or plan to set things right, always reacting to problems instead of seizing the initiative; defender of special interests and the Washington status quo, ignoring the problems and needs of average Americans.

-- New leadership, new perspectives: government can be made to be responsive to people, a combination of vigorous economic growth, government reorganization and reform, and a

3. MAJOR FORD THEMES

commitment to begin new programs only when there are adequate revenues, towards the goal of a balanced budget, plus more jobs and less inflation; Democrats promised such a program in the early 1960s and delivered, we can do it again.

--Return to moral values and traditional standards: the people are rightly appalled by the corruption and deception of the past, disgraced by national leaders; the answer is new leaders not part of the system, bring to Washington the common sense, decency, and moral values of most Americans, coupled with a new toughness and determination to make government work in the common interest.

III. TRUST AND CONFIDENCE --

You can trust President Ford. You know what he stands for. You cannot trust Jimmy Carter. He constantly shifts positions according to the political winds. In his 1970 campaign, in the Democratic primaries, and since his nomination, Carter has talked out of both sides of his mouth or refused to answer the tough questions. Is it "ethnic purity" or "civil rights"? Pro or anti-abortion? Reorganizer of government or advocate of a balanced budget. deficit spender? An/~~efficiency expert~~ or a man who refuses to put price tags on his programs? An efficiency expert or a man who can't identify a single government agency that would be abolished? Strong on national defense or a man who would cut the muscle out of the defense budget to curry liberal favor? A populist or a friend of the fat-cats at the 21 Club?

4. MAJOR FORD THEMES

CARTER RESPONSE

--Record of Republican opponent: pardon of Nixon, tax increase or tax cut, common situs picketing, strip mining, parks and recreational areas, antitrust legislation, Watergate reform legislation, financial aid to New York City, false hope on busing; clear pattern of Ford flip-flops arising from an absence of any clear sense of direction or purpose in his Presidency.

--Straightforward Carter answers in key policy areas: economic growth, new programs and deficit spending, government reorganization, abortion, tax reform, defense cuts, and experience and preparation for the Presidency.

--Unpopular positions: pardon speech before the American Legion; politicians who say only what the audience wants to hear are guaranteed of a favorable response every time.

IV. ARBITRARY, ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT --

We need a Republican President to keep the lid on big spending Democrats in Congress. Moreover, our experience of the past few years has demonstrated why it is very dangerous to permit unchecked executive authority in the White House. We need the checks and balances of the Constitution, not one-party government that can subvert our liberties and spend our tax money.

5. MAJOR FORD THEMES

CARTER RESPONSE

-- Republican record: the real outrage of the Republican years has been the uncontrolled waste of taxpayers' money in the executive branch, C5-A, Medicare, ABM, military golf courses, other specific examples, plus special interest giveaways such as the Lockheed and Penn Central loans, ITT, and the like; in Congress a majority of Republicans have joined with a majority of Democrats on many critical issues, the President has been out of step; strong executive leadership is the only answer to government waste and inefficiency.

-- Failure to lead: the best way to keep Congress in line is strong, purposeful leadership, in touch with the people, able to marshal wide public support in President's dealings with Congress; Republican opponent, lacking vision and a program, has given us negativism, obstruction, drift, and stalemate; when the country stagnates, the people are the real losers.

--Georgia record: never doubt Carter's capacity to block legislation not in the public interest; as Governor he won passage of major programs serving ~~broader interests~~ needs of the public at large but repeatedly knocked down legislation that served only narrow special interests.

--Balanced budget and deficit spending: specific pledge not to propose new programs until adequate revenues are in hand, towards the goal of a balanced budget by the end of 1980.

CARTER ATTACKS

1. A Ford Administration virtually guarantees four years of stagnation and stalemated government. There is no basis to believe that the government will be any more efficient or effective four years from now without new leadership.
2. Ford is a decent man without the competence and vision we ought to demand from the Presidency.
3. Ford lacks the ability to provide leadership or form an effective working partnership with Congress. The consolidation and rationalization of federal activities is impossible in the absence of such a partnership.
4. Ford's approach to government has been to preside over the situation he inherited from his predecessor, with no real effort to change the trend of forces in government.
5. Crises in society have been neglected -- economy, energy, welfare.
6. Nixon-Ford administrations have not held down government spending, bureaucratic growth, proliferation of waste.
7. Republicans have always managed economy less successfully than Democrats. Leap Year Prosperity .

8. Personal rectitude without leadership is not enough.
Coolidge also restored integrity to the White House.

9. To the extent that Ford provides leadership, it tends to support the special interests and reinforce the Washington buddy system.

10. Our economic recovery is not proceeding, because our leadership is weak and vacillating.

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FORD ATTACK THEMES

1. Specificity --what agencies would be eliminated, what are the elements of Carter's tax, welfare, health insurance and reorganization programs?
2. Cost --what will welfare, national health insurance, Humphrey-Hawkins cost? How will these be paid for?
3. A Democratic president will find it difficult to withstand the pressures from Democratic interest groups and Democratic Congressmen for big spending programs.
4. Carter acknowledges that his relations with the Georgia legislature were often unpleasant. On what basis should the American people believe that he will be more successful as President than he was in one term as Governor of Georgia?
5. Carter basically has traditional Democratic liberal instincts -- note Democratic platform, Humphrey-Hawkins, abortion.
6. Carter is an unknown quantity -- inexperienced, vague, and self-contradictory on issues.
7. Carter has no knowledge of many issues.
8. Carter is the product of an insular, regional background and is out of touch with most of the American people.

9. Carter is soft on abortion and amnesty.

CARTER POSITIVE

1. Carter can provide the strong, decisive leadership and vision necessary to make our government work properly again.
2. As an outsider free of Washington ties, Carter has the fresh viewpoint necessary to understand the seriousness of the Washington problem and to carry out the surgery necessary to resolve it.
3. Leadership which understands that the government ought to reflect strict moral standards is essential.
4. Reform of our tax and welfare laws and of government itself requires leadership unencumbered by old debts, leadership not beholden to the special interests.
5. Carter's experience as a "consumer" of government services -- as a farmer, a businessman and a governor -- gives him the perspective necessary to cut the flab and confusion out of the organization of government.
6. There is a real choice between the two candidates, in terms of vision of the Presidency, definition of the issues, and ability.
7. Carter's emphasis as a reformer will be on consolidation, rationalization and elimination of obsolete programs -- not new programs.

8. New spending will be introduced only when (and if) waste reduction and increased revenues from economic growth permit.

9. As a southern white farmer who could appeal to northern blacks, as the man who unified the Democratic Party, Carter is a healer who can unify the country.

10. Carter's commitments are limited to what he intends to achieve.

11. Carter has a strong commitment to the common interest rather than special interests, and both his policies and the open manner in which he will run the government will reflect that commitment.

12. Because Congress is inherently incapable of leadership, movement in areas where reform is needed -- taxes, welfare, government itself -- will require strong Presidential leadership based on a cooperative relationship with Congress.

13. Carter's emphasis in stimulating economic growth is on private sector jobs and growth.

POSSIBLE POSITIVE THEMES BY GOVERNOR CARTER (DOMESTIC)

1. We need competent, compassionate, tough, strong, decisive leadership with a vision of the future, which can make our government work properly again; we do not need a person with simply a bookkeepers knowledge of facts acquired from 25 years in Congress.
2. We need an administration capable of rooting out waste and mismanagement, overlapping programs, and of reorganizing our government so that it is efficient and effective and does not waste our taxpayers money. My emphasis will be on rationalization and elimination of obsolete programs.
3. We need an administration which will give us a balanced budget and will keep government spending at the same % of the gross national product as we now have. New spending programs will be introduced only when increased revenues from economic growth permits.
4. We need an administration which will make a clean break with the Nixon administration both in terms of people and policies and which reflects strict moral and ethical standards.
5. We need an open and responsive Administration which is sensitive to the needs of the average, working American. We will be committed to the common interest not simply to the special interests.
6. The system basically operates on behalf of the special interests against the interests of the average working man. The President must feel a strong commitment, as Woodrow Wilson put it, to represent the common interest against the special interests.

7. We need a President who not simply bickers with the Congress, but will provide strong leadership for needed reform that a Congress inherently incapable of leadership can respond to.
8. As an outsider free of Washington ties and who is not part of the buddy system in Washington, I understand the seriousness of the Washington problem and the need to reform our tax and welfare systems and I can take the necessary action to correct it. As a Governor I was on the receiving end of federal government services and know from first hand knowledge the flab and confusion of the federal bureaucracy.
9. Government programs must all be judged by whether they strengthen neighborhoods and families and traditional values.

POSSIBLE NEGATIVE THEMES AND ATTACH BY CARTER (DOMESTIC)

1. Ford is a decent man of the past, but with no fresh vision and leadership to meet the new problems of the future. We simply plod along from day to day.
2. Ford is a member of the Washington establishment who cannot deal with the mess in Washington. Due to his many years in Congress, he is part of the problem.
3. The Republican Administration has not effectively dealt with waste and mismanagement in Washington. Four more years of a Ford Administration ensures four more years of stagnation and stalemate. The government will be no more efficient or effective four years from now without new leadership.
4. The Republican Administration has submitted all-time record budget deficit proposals to Congress and has failed to stop bureaucratic growth and waste.
5. The Republican Administration has continued the policies of the Nixon Administration with the same people, just as he was one of the top 4 Congressional supporters of Nixon on roll call votes. It has presided over the situation with no real effort to change the trends of forces in government.
6. Ford is running for President now after having pledged not to do so as a condition of obtaining confirmation as Vice President.
7. Ford's record as Congressman, as well as his record as President, is one of negatives, not positive leadership, as he opposed virtually every major social advance of the last 25 years including Medicare for the elderly.
8. Ford has flip-flopped on issue after issue.

9. Ford defended Nixon all the way down the line on Watergate and his handling of it and was Nixon's biggest defender with the possible exception of Senator Dole. Now we will never know the full story behind Watergate.
10. The Republican Administration can form an effective working partnership with Congress. Without such cooperation, welfare reform, government reorganization and other needed change is impossible.

POSSIBLE POSITIVE THEMES BY FORD (DOMESTIC)

1. I am knowledgeable, experienced, honest and safe (He expects to win the debate, according to Dean Burch, by showing how many facts and figures he knows).
2. I cannot be blamed for the programs and policies of the Nixon Administration. I have taken this country out of its nightmare and produced honest, open government and restored the credibility of the Presidency.
3. I have held costs down and acted as a buffer against wild Congressional spending.
4. Under my steady management, unemployment has declined. Inflation has also declined, more people are at work than ever before, and key economic indicators are moving upward. The foundations for a steady economic growth have been laid.
5. Farmers scaling new heights.
6. The growth of crime has been cut.
7. The nation is at peace with itself and more positive about itself.
8. I have a positive program of government reform frustrated by Congress.

POSSIBLE NEGATIVE THEMES AND ATTACKS BY FORD (DOMESTIC)

1. Carter is a Liberal and Big Spender who believes in amnesty, abortion, Humphrey-Hawkins, and in big spending.
2. Carter cannot control the free spending of Congress since it is run by men of his own party and is pressured by Democratic interest groups.
3. The U.S. cannot afford the enormous cost of the new programs which Carter has proposed, such as national health insurance, welfare reform and housing. How will they be paid for?
4. Carter is vague and unspecific - He talks about tax reform and government reorganization but has no plan and cannot tell us the cost. I can spout off bill numbers and dollar figures. What agencies will be eliminated? What are the elements of your tax and welfare programs?
5. Carter is inexperienced, contradictory, and an unknown quantity who has no knowledge of many issues.
6. Carter's proposal to cut \$5 to \$7 billion from the defense budget would not only weaken our defense but would cost several hundred thousand jobs.
7. Carter has exaggerated his accomplishments as Governor:
 - (a) Despite his reorganization, his budgets increased each year as did the number of state employees.
 - (b) He vetoed many more bills than President Ford, when he was Governor.
 - (c) He raised taxes as Governor.
 - (d) His relations with the Georgia legislature were often unpleasant.

POSSIBLE THEMES BY FORD (DOMESTIC)

1. I am knowledgeable and experienced in foreign and domestic affairs (he expects to win the debate, according to Dean Burch, by showing how many facts and figures he knows), while Governor Carter is inexperienced in both. As a one-term Governor of a small state he does not have sufficient knowledge of foreign policy or of the problems of a diverse nation.
2. I cannot be blamed for the programs and policies of the Nixon Administration. I have taken this country out of its nightmare and produced honest, open government and restored the credibility of the Presidency. The nation is now more confident and positive about itself.
3. I have held costs down and acted as a buffer against wild Congressional spending. I can save the country from big-spending, one-party government. Governor Carter on the other hand, is a liberal and big-spender from the same party which controls Congress, who is out-of-tune with the country on such issues as abortion, amnesty, and busing. His programs will bankrupt the federal treasury and he does not even know the cost of them.
4. Under my steady management, unemployment has declined. Inflation has also declined, more people are at work than ever before, and key economic indicators are moving upward. The foundations for a steady economic growth have been laid.

5. I can be trusted. You know where I stand. But we cannot trust Jimmy Carter who has talked on all sides of issues (ethnic purity or civil rights; pro or anti-abortion; reorganizer or deficit spender; pro or anti-Vietnam war; efficiency expert or a man who refuses to put price tags on his expensive promises; strong on national defense or a man who would cut the muscle out of the defense budget and in the process cut jobs).
6. Governor Carter has exaggerated his accomplishments as Governor:
 - (a) Despite reorganization, his budget increased each year as did the number of state employees;
 - (b) He vetoed more bills than Ford
 - (c) He raised taxes as Governor

POSSIBLE THEMES BY GOVERNOR CARTER (DOMESTIC)

I. COMPETENCE - VISION - NEW LEADERSHIP - PURPOSE

We have gone too long with a tired Republican Administration which has lost touch with the world outside Washington, is drifting from day to day, and which has led to stagnation and stalemate. We need competent, compassionate, tough, strong, decisive new leadership with a vision of the future, which is in touch with ordinary people, which will restore a sense of purpose, and which can make our government work properly again.

II. REORGANIZE GOVERNMENT AND ROOT OUT WASTE

The Republican Administration has not dealt with waste and mismanagement in Washington. Leadership in this area cannot come from a member of the Washington buddy system. We need an administration free of old Washington ties, capable of rooting out waste and mismanagement, overlapping programs, and of reorganizing our government so that it is efficient and effective and does not waste our taxpayers money. My emphasis will be on rationalization and elimination of obsolete programs. I understand the seriousness of the Washington problem and the need to reform our tax and welfare systems and I can take the necessary action to correct it. AS a Governor I was on the receiving end of federal government services and know from first hand knowledge the flab and confusion of the federal bureaucracy.

III. CONTROL DEFICIT SPENDING

The Republican Administration has submitted all-time record budget deficit proposals to Congress and has failed to stop bureaucratic growth and waste. We need a fresh administration which will lead us toward a balanced budget and will keep government spending at the same level of total output as we now have. New spending programs will be introduced only when increased revenues from economic growth permit.

IV. NEW, FRESH LEADERSHIP

The Republican Administration has continued the economic and social policies of the past with the same cast of characters. We need an administration which will make a clean break with the past, which reflects strict moral and ethical standards, and which will reform our government.

V. A COMPASSIONATE ADMINISTRATION CONCERNED

WITH NEEDS OF AVERAGE AMERICAN

The record of the Republican Administration is one of negatives not leadership. Even as Congressman, Mr. Ford opposed virtually every major social advance of the last 25 years, including Medicare. We need an open and responsive Administration which puts first priority on the needs of the average, working American, and on families, neighborhoods, and traditional values. We will be committed to the common interest not to the special interests represented by the Republican Administration. The system basically too often operates on behalf of the special

interests against the interests of the average working man. The President must feel a strong commitment, as Woodrow Wilson put it, to represent the common interests.

VI. POSITIVE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH CONGRESS
TO GET COUNTRY OFF OF DEAD CENTER

The Republican Administration cannot form an effective partnership with Congress and therefore cannot bring about needed reform. We need a President who does not simply bicker with the Congress, but who will provide strong leadership for needed reform that a Congress itself cannot provide.