

Debate Issues [5]

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LEGISLATIVE SUMMARY

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ANTITRUST ENFORCEMENT BILL

Status:

Passed Senate on Sept. 8; passed House on Sept. 16; signed by the President Sept. 30. Justice Dept. originally endorsed even stronger bill, but Ford strongly denounced it in March, 1976. Dole voted against all attempts to clear bill (e.g., fillibuster cloture), but voted for final passage. Strongly opposed by big business. Strongly endorsed by all 50 state attorneys general and consumer groups.

Major Provisions

1. Authorizes parens patriae suits against price fixers by state attorneys general on behalf of all injured citizens
2. Increases authority of Justice Dept. to obtain business information for civil suits
3. Expands program requiring pre-notification by firms intending to enter into potentially anticompetitive mergers and giving courts authority to enjoin them

AUTOMOBILE R & D BILL

Status:

Cleared Congress on Sept. 13. Vetoed by President. The House overrode the veto, but the Senate sustained it.

Major Provisions

1. Would have authorized ERDA to develop test vehicles with cleaner, more efficient engines
2. Would have authorized \$100 million over next two years

CLEAN AIR ACT AMENDMENTS

Status:

House and Senate passed different bills. Conferees agreed to compromise, but Conference Report was never approved, largely because of Administration opposition. Senate bill acceptable to environmental groups. House bill was not, but supported by Administration.

Major Provisions

1. Both bills provide for "nondegradation"--i.e., more stringent air pollution standards in areas of country where air is relatively clean. New restrictions would apply only to new emitting facilities, not existing ones.
2. Both bills strengthen existing enforcement provisions.
3. Senate bill extends from 1978 to 1980 the date on which the more stringent emission requirements for autos found in present law would go into effect. House bill would extend date to 1982, but would require some phase-in of standards for unburned hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide (but not nitrogen oxides) before that date.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET RESOLUTION

Status:

Cleared by both Houses. Did not require Presidential approval.

Major Provisions:

1. Imposes on Congress spending ceiling of \$413.1 billion and revenue floor of \$362.5 billion for FY 1977
2. Ceilings and floors will be binding on both Houses for first time. Legislation that would raise ceiling or lower floor is out of order.

Impact:

Compares with Ford FY 1977 budget, as updated in July, as follows (figures in billions):

	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Congress</u>
Receipts	\$352.5	\$362.5
Outlays	400.0	413.3
Deficit	47.5	50.8

CORPORATE BRIBERY BILL

Status:

Passed Senate unanimously. Died in the House.

Administration Position:

Proposed a bill only requiring reporting of corporate bribes to foreign officials, which reports would be kept secret for one year. Opposed Senate bill.

Major Provisions

1. Makes it a crime to make or promise a payment to a foreign official for a corrupt purpose
2. Maximum penalty is 2 years and \$10,000 fine.

ELECTRIC CAR BILL

Status:

Enacted on Sept. 17, after Senate and House overrode Ford veto of Sept. 13. Vetoed on grounds it was too costly and development should be left to private industry

Major Provisions:

1. Authorizes ERDA to do research and development on electric-powered vehicles
2. Authorizes government purchase 7,500 electric vehicles for demonstration programs
3. Authorizes \$100 million for research and \$60 million loan guarantee authority over 5 year period

HEW APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Status:

Cleared by Congress on Sept. 17. Ford vetoed because size of appropriation was \$4 billion over his request. Congress overrode veto.

Major Proposals:

1. Appropriates \$57 billion for HEW
2. Prohibits use of Medicaid funds for abortion, except where mother's life is in danger. Unclear whether it also provides exception when mother has certain diseases or is victim of incest or rape

Impact:

Prohibited most of the 250,000-300,000 abortions paid by Medicaid last year, at cost of \$45-55 million. However, lower federal court in New York has ruled that this anti-abortion limitation is unconstitutional. Decision is on appeal.

HEALTH MANPOWER BILL

Status:

Cleared by Congress and signed by President October 13. A similar bill that was more restrictive in terms of doctors' freedom of choice in selecting place to practice was pocket vetoed by Ford in 1974. Upon signing current bill, Ford took credit for the idea.

Major Provisions:

1. Authorizes \$2.1 billion for medical school scholarships, student loans and capitation grants.
2. Ties almost all scholarship grants to enlistment in National Health Service Corps, which places doctors in area of need.
3. Requires medical schools with teaching hospitals to set aside increasing proportions of residency training positions--up to one-half by 1980--to general and family practice and pediatrics.

LAND AND WATER CONSERVATION
FUND ACT AMENDMENT

Status:

Cleared by Congress and sent to President on Sept. 16
President signed.

Administration Position:

Ford has opposed this legislation in the past, and was expected to veto. Did not veto apparently because of his own parks initiative and because overwhelming margins of passage (282-3 in House; unanimous consent in Senate) indicated veto override anyway. Bill authorizes more money for parks acquisition than Ford's recent initiative.

Background

Current law, passed in 1965, creates Land and Water Conservation Fund and authorizes \$300 million per year. 40% to be used for acquisition of federal recreation areas, and 60% to states on formula basis. Fund cannot be used to develop existing parkland. Under Nixon-Ford, federal portion has been used only sparingly, and large backlog has developed, which Ford now intends to use in his new proposal.

Major Provisions:

1. Would increase funding level to \$600 million in FY 1978; \$750 million in FY 1979; \$900 million in FY 1980 thru 1989.
2. Administration required to use all of federal portion of appropriation.
3. Sec. of Interior must submit extensive review of urban recreational needs within one year of enactment.

LOBBYING BILL

Status:

Senate passed bill in June. House passed a different bill, which died when sent back to the Senate. Senate bill strongly opposed by many public interest groups, most of which would have to register under it.

Major Provisions

Senate Bill--

1. Requires all organizations and businesses to register as lobbyists if they (1) have more than 12 oral lobbying contracts with members of Congress (other than their own representatives or employees of the Executive Branch regarding pending legislation or grant or contract in excess of \$1 million in 3 mo. period; (2) spent more than \$250 in 3 mos. to hire lawyer to lobby; or (3) spent more than \$5,000 in solicitation campaign to influence legislation.
2. Local affiliates of national organizations are exempt if they are controlled by the parent and make fewer than 12 oral contacts thru paid employees.
3. Detailed registration statements and quarterly reports are required. Report requires among other things list of all contributors of more than \$2,500 to the organization.

House Bill--

1. Defines lobbyist as organization that employs at least one full-time person spending more than 20% of his time trying to influence government.
2. More simplified reporting procedures than Senate bill. Requires disclosure of contributors of more than \$2,500 if that represents 5% or more of receipts of organization.

MEDICARE AND MEDICAID REFORM (TALMADGE) BILL

Status:

Talmadge bill died in Senate. On Sept. 20 Senate attached rider to irrelevant House bill that would adopt three key provisions of Talmadge bill and add two others. Rider died in the House.

Major Provisions

Senate-Passed Bill--

1. Establishes central fraud & abuse unit under Inspector General, who reports only to Sec. of HEW.
2. Prohibits factors from discounting Medicare & Medicaid receivables under power of attorney.
3. Upgrades Medicaid and Medicare fraud from misdemeanor to felony.
4. Requires disclosure of ownership and financial control of Medicaid mills.
5. Requires Sec. of HEW to give priority in investigations to referrals by professional standards review organization.

Talmadge Bill--

1. Items 1, 2 and 3 above.
2. Combines Medicaid performance standards for states and provides penalties for violations and technical assistance to assure compliance.
3. Establishes Medicaid performance standards for states and provides penalties for violations and technical assistance to assure compliance.
4. Establishes uniform cost accounting systems for hospitals and mechanism for reimbursement for routine operating costs for hospitals, giving incentives to those hospitals with below average operating costs.
5. Establishes incentives for physicians to accept "reasonable" Medicare charges a full billing amount.
6. Makes more equitable the procedure for determining "reasonable" charges.
7. Places controls on payments to nursing homes.

OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF LEASING BILL

Status:

Bill cleared Conference Committee once, but House voted to recommit it to Conference where it died the second time. Strongly supported by coastal states; opposed by oil companies and Administration.

Major Provisions:

1. Requires Secretary of Interior to prepare five-year leasing plan.
2. Requires leaseholders to submit development and production plans, which are to be reviewed by regional advisory boards established by governors of coastal states.
3. Revises bidding practices to allow government to call for bids on the extent to which government would share in profits, rather than present system of specific price for the lease, plus fixed percentage of profits. Would make smaller companies more competitive.
4. Authorizes Interior to do exploratory drilling to have better idea of how much oil and gas will be recovered.

PUBLIC WORKS APPROPRIATION BILL

Status:

Conference Committee agreed to final provisions. Final clearance by both houses on September 20. Ford signed. A bill authorizing these expenditures (Emergency Public Works Bill) was enacted earlier this year over Ford veto.

Major Provisions:

1. Appropriates \$2 billion to provide 100% funding to state and local governments for construction of public facilities. Projects must be started within 90 days, and 70% of funds must be spent in areas with above average unemployment.
2. Appropriates \$1.25 billion to provide countercyclical aid to state and local governments. Will enable states to maintain essential services without increasing taxes.
3. Appropriates \$480 million for grants to states to construct wastewater treatment plants.

Impact:

Total FY 1977 appropriations \$3.73 billion. Will create as many as 300,000 jobs.

REVENUE SHARING BILL

Status:

Approved by Congress and signed by President.

Major Provisions:

1. Senate version extends revenue sharing program through September 1982. House extends it thru September 1980.
2. Senate version authorizes \$41 billion over 6 years. House authorizes \$25 billion over 4 years. Neither would require further congressional appropriation.
3. Senate bill provides for \$200 million per year inflation escalator. House bill does not.
4. Both bills strengthen enforcement of provisions against discrimination on basis of race, color, national origin or sex and extend coverage to include religion, age or physical disability.
5. Senate bill makes it clear that funds can be used to support religion-supported social welfare programs that give preference to members of their denomination. House bill is ambiguous. Religious groups (especially Catholics) strongly support concept spelled out in Senate bill.

SYNTHETIC FUELS BILL

Status:

Cleared Senate. Died in House when House failed to adopt rule to bring it to floor.

Major Provisions:

1. Authorizes \$3.5 billion in loan guarantees over two years for commercial scale demonstration plants to produce synthetic fuels from coal (especially gasification), oil shale, solar, biomass, and renewable resources.
2. Authorizes \$500 million in price supports for synthetic fuel plants.

TAX BILL

Status:

Cleared by both Houses on September 16. President signed.

Impact:

Net revenue increase of \$1.6 billion next year; \$2.4 billion by 1981, but these amounts to be offset by loss of about \$1 billion per year beginning in 1978 because of new estate tax exemptions.

Major Provisions:

Individuals --

1. Extends antirecession tax cuts of 1975 and 1976.
2. Increases deductions or credits for child care (and eliminates anti-grandmother provision), alimony, retirement and moving expenses.
3. Tightens deductions for use of home for business purposes and rental of vacation homes and exemption for persons working for U.S. firms abroad.
4. Eliminates sick pay deduction.

Investors:

1. Substantially strengthens the minimum tax provisions, increasing coverage from 30,000 to 300,000 taxpayers and increasing revenue from \$1 billion.
2. Tightens rules on tax shelters such as real estate construction-oil and gas drilling, sports franchises, and on use of maximum tax limitations by higher salaried persons.
3. Eliminates tax benefits for stock options.

Corporations:

1. Extends tax credit through 1980 and makes it more useful for railroads, airlines and shipbuilders.
2. Extends tax reduction on first \$50,000 of profit of small businesses.
3. Extends minimum tax provisions for corporations, increasing revenues \$60 million this year, \$200 million by 1981.

Estate and Gift:

1. Doubles exemption to \$120,000; increases to \$175,000 in five years; provides relief to farms and small businesses.
2. Changes tax basis for inheritances to value at time of purchase, rather than time of inheritance.

Miscellaneous:

1. Imposes tax penalties for companies complying with Arab boycott (this is only provision Ford Administration strongly opposed).
2. Increases public access to tax rulings, and strengthens limitations on disclosure of tax returns.
3. Provides deduction of up to \$25,000 per year to businesses for removing barriers to the handicapped.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES BILL

Status:

Approved by both House and Senate. President signed, calling it one of the most significant pieces of environmental legislation ever passed by Congress.

Previous Administration Position:

Although Ford will probably try to take credit for bill during debate, Administration was generally opposed to key pre-marketing notification and testing provisions. EPA Administrator Train strongly supported bill throughout.

Major Provisions:

1. Bans manufacture or importation after two years of PCB, a chemical used in electrical capacitors and transformers and known to cause tumors and other disorders.
2. Authorizes EPA to require new chemical substances to be subjected to testing if there is potential health risk.
3. Requires 90-day prenotification of intent to market new chemical, which EPA can extend for another 90 days.
4. Authorizes EPA to ban new chemicals presenting health risk and to seek injunction if more testing is required.

Impact:

Subjects the approximately 1,000 new chemicals marketed each year to possible testing. Previously, only pesticides, food and drug additives are subjected to testing.

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Rebuttal to Ford Charges of Misstatements in Second Debate

1. Charge: Carter lied in saying he had never advocated \$15 billion defense cut.

Rebuttal: 1) Did not recall saying it; said once/twice two years ago.

2) For two years been saying \$5-\$7 billion cut is possible; well-known as my position; Ford trying to cloud issue of Defense waste.

2. Charge: Carter wrong about Ford Administration's overthrow of Chile government.

Rebuttal: 1) Did not say "Ford Administration" but "this Administration", meaning Nixon-Ford.

2) Under Nixon-Ford, CIA covert operations to destabilize Allende government led directly to the military coup; confirmed by Church Committee.

3. Charge: Carter wrong about Ford's permitting Arab boycott; began in 1952; Ford first President to take anti-boycott actions.

Rebuttal: 1) Said in debate that Ford permitted boycott to operate effectively; from 1952 until Ford, wasn't enforced.

2) Now 94% compliance rate; and Ford opposed anti-boycott legislation (despite his claim in last debate).

3) Ford also failed to disclose names of participating companies, despite pledge in last debate.

4. Charge: Carter wrong about State and Defense having approved GAO Mayaguez Report.

Rebuttal: 1) Said understood that they had approved, but did not know.

2) But also said important to have facts out; unfortunate that White House -- unlike State and Defense -- blocked release of report for five months; all material should have been made public immediately after Mayaguez. *National Security Council failed to object*

5. Charge: Carter did advocate a Communist government for Italy.

Rebuttal: 1) As said in debate, ridiculous to say a Presidential candidate would advocate such a thing.

2) My quote now cited by Ford -- to effect that if Italian government had some Communists in it, U.S. should not close doors to friendship thereby forcing government to turn to Soviets -- in no way is advocacy of Communist government. *I made it clear I hoped such a thing would never occur.*

3) If Ford thinks ^{good relations} friendship with ^{demanded by Italian} government having Communists in it is unthinkable, what about detente?

6. Charge: Carter was inconsistent; said U.S. not strong anymore; later said U.S. as militarily strong as any nation.

Rebuttal: 1) No inconsistency; U.S. is not strong in terms of leadership, underutilized economy, vision of future.

2) U.S. is strong in strictly military terms; will ensure it stays that way.

7. Charge: Carter wrong that U.S. not respected anymore by foreign countries.

Rebuttal: 1) Ford's evidence is a few quotes from foreign leaders (France, Germany, Ireland) saying U.S. ties are closer than recent past; closer ties is not the same as respect.

2) Ford can supply no quotes in which respect is favorably discussed; truth is that Republicans have lost respect of Truman and Kennedy years; does remark about Eastern Europe bring respect for our leader's abilities?

3) To say respect is down is not to criticize American citizens -- it is only to criticize those who run the country so poorly.

8. Charge: Carter wrong that 80 F-14's went to Iran before our own forces' needs were met.

Rebuttal: 1) While our Navy did receive some F-14's before Iran, our own delivery schedule was stretched out so Navy will be getting many F-14's only after deliveries to Iran.

2) Delay in our own deliveries is proof of preference to Iran (with which Nixon signed unlimited arms sale agreement).

9. Charge: Carter wrong that Helsinki Agreement not enforced and that progress not made.

Rebuttal: 1) Rate of Jewish emigration lower than pre-Helsinki.

2) Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty jammed.

3) Soviet Nobel Peace Prize winner (Sakharov) not allowed to accept in Oslo.

4) No evidence of diminished oppression of human rights.

10. Charge: Carter wrong that Angola would turn into another Vietnam; American troops never intended to go there.

Rebuttal: 1) American people not told of \$60 million spent or planned for covert CIA operations in Angola.

2) No way of telling how this similarly open-ended commitment to Angola would have resulted; forces may have been sent.

3) Secrecy in Angola war policy is enough of analogy to Vietnam.

11. Charge: Your figures of 7.5 billion to Saudi Arabia and 7.5 billion to Iran are false

Rebuttal

~~CONCLUSION~~

When responding to criticism of your figures, you are on safe ground if you say: "My figure of \$7.5 billion is the total amount of military goods and services which the U.S. government and private contractors, with government permission, have committed themselves to sell to Saudi Arabia in the course of this calendar year. If the President is not aware of the facts of this matter, I would suggest that he ask his own Defense Security Assistance Agency which confirmed these figures to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on October 12. If the President is not aware of these figures, then indeed arms sales are out of control as I have been saying."

Iran: It might be possible to finesse figures. Yours are quite close, and your basic point is of course correct. Iran is certainly going to seek additional arms in the near future, probably before January 20 if you are elected on the assumption that you will be inclined to take a harder look at the arms sales program. We know that Northrup is working hard now to try to sell F-18's to Iran, although it will be difficult for them to do so.

KEY SUBJECT AREAS

AGRICULTURE

KEY FACTS

- .FARMER PURCHASING POWER--Less in 1976 than in 1972 (\$17.5 billion 1976 dollars vs. \$17.8 billion in 1972)
- .REAL FARM INCOME--Declined from 1974 to 1976 (from \$22.6 billion to \$17.7 billion)
- .EMBARGOES--4 in the past three years, including the 1975 wheat embargo that cost farmers \$1 billion in lost sales
- .GRAIN SCANDALS--Congressional action, not Presidential action, has been the primary force behind cleaning up the scandal
- .CROP INSURANCE--Agriculture Department not allowing new policyholders to sign up for crop insurance in drought-stricken counties in Minnesota, the Dakotas and Iowa (105 counties)

FORD POSITION

- .FARMER FREEDOM--Keep farmers free from government control so they can produce what they want
- .NO GOVERNMENT RESERVES--Opposition to government-held reserves on wheat and corn

CARTER POSITION

- .FULL PRODUCTION
- .PRICE SUPPORTS--Sufficient to cover cost of production
- .AGGRESSIVE EXPORT PROGRAM
- .SMALL, FARMER-HELD RESERVES
- .NO EMBARGOES--Except under circumstances of national emergency--food shortages in U.S. caused by simultaneous crop failures in several countries (conditions not present in any of the Republican embargoes of recent years)

DOLE AND MONDALE RECORD

NOMINATION OF EARL BUTZ

.You opposed it.

.Dole supported it and has spoken out consistently on behalf of Butz since then. ("Secretary Butz has been the most effective spokesman that Agriculture has ever had." Congressional Record, January 1974)

COMMODITY RESERVES

.Dole has consistently opposed government-held commodity reserves. He has supported farmer-held reserves sufficient "to prevent hardship when harvest falls short...We must have a reserve. I think we can provide that reserve in the hands of the farmers as they're doing now." (American Bakers Association, September 18, 1974)

.You have consistently supported reserve proposals as far back as 1968. The major such proposal recently was contained in S. 513, introduced in February of 1975 by Senator Humphrey. You co-sponsored this legislation.

.There are four basic features in your reserve policy:

1. A critical or established level: 600 million bushels of wheat, 40 million tons of feed grains, and 150 million bushels of soybeans. The 600 million level exceeds the carry-over levels for the last three years.
2. Safeguards to prevent the government from manipulating (depressing) the market with the reserve stocks: For example, S. 513 establishes that if stock levels fall below the critical level, the CCC can sell to non-aligned countries only at a price 150% above the established levels. Non-aligned countries account for 75% of the fluctuation in world demand. This bill calls for the readjustment of the target and loan levels, so it's assumed they would be above those we have today.
3. S. 513 -- different from the other bills -- contains an "export licensing" provision: Butz attacked you at Farmfest claiming that this is worse than an "embargo."

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4. Export administration: While it did not come as part of a feed grain policy, on July 31, 1972, you proposed an amendment to the Export Administration Act which I believe was accepted on the floor. It provided that:

"It is the policy of the U.S. to use export controls (a) to the extent necessary to protect the domestic economy from excessive drain of scarce materials and to reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand, (B) to the extent necessary to further significantly the foreign policy of the U.S. and fulfill its international responsibilities, and (c) . . . national security."

After the reading of the amendment, your comments began, "The key phrase here is 'serious inflationary impact.'" The subject under discussion was cattle hides, and you successfully made the case that their cost was an infinitesimal portion of the cost of a finished pair of shoes.

That is true, but the policy would have impact on all exports. Soybean prices were running wild and causing serious inflationary problems with cattlemen when the embargo was invoked.

FARM EXPORTS

- .Both you and Dole have supported expanded farm exports, though Dole has done so flat-out, with little recognition of possible price consequences of unlimited exports.
- .Dole has changed his view on exports to Communist countries. In 1964, he voted to add language prohibiting the sale of surplus farm products under P.L. 480 to "any nation or area dominated or controlled by a Communist government or by the world Communist movement." He has now become a principal champion of increased exports to the Soviet Union.
- .In 1972, Dole joined in a resolution (S. Res. 363) introduced by Sen. Bellmon, praising the Nixon Administration on the Russian wheat deal.
- .He has been extremely critical of the Ford Administration for the four embargoes on farm products which they have imposed in the past three years. He sharply criticized the Ford agreement with the Soviet Union calling for a minimum of 6 million tons a year, with 2 million tons a year additional exports permitted and exports beyond the 8 million ton ceiling subject to further consultation with the U.S. government. "This effectively limits, or controls, if you will, Russia's purchases to 8 million tons annually." (Dole blamed George Meany for the embargo and the subsequent agreement.)

DISASTER RELIEF

- .Dole has been a strong supporter of the Administration concept of changing disaster relief programs into crop insurance programs.
- .In 1972, he voted to eliminate a provision to allow farmers eligible as of December 26, 1972 in 555 counties throughout the U.S. (principally in Minnesota and the Dakotas) designated by the Secretary of Agriculture to apply for emergency disaster loans for an 18-day period beginning with the enactment of the bill (to equalize treatment for those counties declared disaster areas by the President and those declared so by the Secretary of Agriculture.)
- .In 1973, the President vetoed a bill which extended the lending authority of SBA for two years for Federal disaster relief programs. The bill would have offered victims of a disaster a choice of either of the following loan terms: (1) 1% interest with repayment of full loan or (2) 3% interest and cancellation of repayment of the first \$2500 of the debt. The veto was sustained by the Senate, Dole voting against the override attempt. You voted to override.
- .Dole then cosponsored an amendment offered by Senator Stevenson to S. 2482 which amended the disaster relief provisions of the Small Business Act. The Stevenson amendment, which was accepted, made farmers eligible for 5 percent disaster loans under the same requirements as already available to other businessmen.

DOLE ON MONDALE: AGRICULTURE

- .Dole has attacked you on agriculture issues for leaving the Senate Agriculture Committee and moving to the Labor Committee in 1966. Dole said you must have done so "because it wasn't interesting enough" to stay on Agriculture. "If I got all my contributions from organized labor, I might shift to that committee too."

DOLE ON FORD AGRICULTURAL POLICIES

- ."We don't have to go around the country saying farmers never had it so good. We can be sympathetic. They have it better, and it doesn't do much good to say their net income is greater now than it was under the Democrats because you haven't cranked in inflation." (Time, August 30, 1976).

DOLE ON EXPORT CONTROLS:

- . "Farmers have lost a great deal of optimism toward this Administration that only a few months ago promised them 'unfettered access to world markets.' (Cong. Record, October 1, 1975)
- . "I do not believe, nor do the farmers of this nation believe, that the President should be denied the right to stop exports because of a threat to the national security." (Cong. Record, February 18, 1976)
- . Dole said he favors commodity embargoes only in the event of a "shortage or a national emergency." (New York Times, August 27, 1976)
- . Dole has called Ford's grain embargo of 1975 "a wrong-headed policy." (Ibid.)

EXPORT LICENSING

- . Dole's position is in opposition to export licensing as a government tool.
- . Your position--or at least your cosponsorship of the Humphrey bill in 1975--puts you on record as favoring export licensing when stocks fall below 600 million bushels of wheat, 40 million tons of feed grains, and 150 million bushels of soybeans. The wheat figure is high, and exceeds the carry-over levels for the past three years, meaning that under the Humphrey bill, we would now be under export licensing for wheat. (Currently, 60% of our wheat, 40% of soybeans, and 25% of our corn must find export markets.)

FARM SUBSIDY PAYMENTS

- . Dole, as an advocate of agribusiness, has opposed moves to limit crop subsidy payments to farmers. On June 8, 1973, he voted against an amendment to limit to \$20,000 instead of the existing \$55,000 the payment of a producer could receive on the three major commodities (wheat, feed grains cotton) under price supports.
- . You voted for this amendment.

(NOTE: Both you and Dole voted against an amendment to prohibit individual farmers from leasing farms or otherwise splitting up existing farms to avoid the ceiling on the payment of Federal subsidies for not raising certain crops. June 8, 1973)

COMMODITY LOANS

- .You have usually supported higher support levels than has Dole.
- .The one major problem in your commodity loan record is an Abourezk Joint Resolution introduced last spring, which you cosponsored, calling for a 90% parity support program for feed grains. This is how that would look in August, 1976:

<u>COMMODITY</u>	<u>90% PARITY</u>	<u>8/76 PRICE</u>	<u>8/75 PRICE</u>
Wheat	\$4.41	\$2.97	\$4.33
Soybeans	6.56	6.07	5.61
Corn	2.96	2.64	2.99

MILK PRICE SUPPORTS

- .Dole has defended the Administration's efforts to keep milk price supports below 85 percent of parity.
- .You have favored higher parity levels and have introduced bills setting the support level at 90% of parity.
- .On February 4, 1976, Dole voted to sustain and you voted to override a Presidential veto of a bill establishing the floor price support level for milk at 85 percent of parity. The veto was sustained.

REA LOAN PROGRAM AND OTHER RURAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

- .On June 7, 1972, Dole moved in the Agriculture Committee to kill a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the remainder of the 1972 FY appropriation for REA loan program be released (\$800 million was at that time being withheld by the Nixon Administration).
- .On March 16, 1972, Dole voted for an amendment in the Agriculture Committee to delete \$500 million in new money for Rural Revenue Sharing programs.

AGRICULTURE APPROPRIATIONS

- .On July 30, 1974, Dole voted against the conference report on the FY 1975 Agriculture Appropriations bill, one of only two farm belt Senators to do so. He did so on the grounds that he wanted a variety of appropriations bills lowered by 3% to keep the FY 1975 deficit down.
- .However, he had previously voted for the passage of the Senate version of the same bill, which actually contained \$96 million more than the conference report which Dole voted against.

BUDGET AND PROGRAM COSTS

KEY FACTS

- .DEFICITS--\$65 billion deficit last fiscal year was largest in history and greater than all deficits under Kennedy-Johnson (\$54 billion)
 - .Total of \$240 billion in deficits under Nixon and Ford
 - .Ford has proposed deficits of \$120 billion
- .UNEMPLOYMENT AND DEFICITS--High unemployment last year cost \$17 billion in higher unemployment and welfare benefits; \$63 billion in lost Treasury revenues; this more than equalled the FY 1976 deficit
- .SPENDING AND GNP--Federal spending as percent of GNP has gone from average of 20% in 1960 to 23% for last fiscal year

FORD POSITION

- .UNEMPLOYMENT--has tolerated increased welfare payments and unemployment compensation rather than aiming for full employment
- .ECONOMIC PROGRAM--no program to restore economic growth, achieve full employment, balance the budget
- .PROGRAM EFFICIENCY--has allowed inefficiency in federal programs to drain resources--e.g., \$3 billion in Medicaid fraud

CARTER POSITION

- .DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM--Budget Committee has shown that Democratic platform is less costly (\$40 billion) than Republican platform (\$50 billion) when fully implemented

- .PROGRAM GROWTH--Will hold the rate of spending growth in current programs to half the rate of growth in Federal receipts to produce \$60 billion fiscal dividend by FY 1981
- .ECONOMIC GROWTH--Aims for 5½% growth rate and full employment to achieve balanced budget by FY 1981
- .PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION--Would phase in new programs only as additional revenue permitted and hold federal spending to 20-22% of GNP
- .PROGRAM WASTE--Eliminate program waste such as Medicaid fraud and unused housing inventory

DOLE AND MONDALE RECORDS

FISCAL POLICY

- .Dole has been a strong fiscal conservative throughout his career, voting in general for provisions to reduce domestic spending while opposing similar provisions relating to defense spending.
- .In 1975, during debate on the Budget Resolution, Dole offered an amendment to reduce outlays from \$365 billion to \$361.8 billion, resulting in a reduction in the deficit projection from \$67.2 billion to \$65 billion for FY 1976. He stated that he was doing so to place the Senate in a better position to bargain in conference with the House, whose budget committee had approved a \$73.2 billion deficit figure.
- .The amendment was defeated by 33-62; you voted against it.
- .Immediately thereafter, you then offered an amendment to add \$9 billion to the budget for temporary countercyclical programs, triggered by the unemployment rate, and adding \$2.5 billion in revenue through tax reform. The amendment would have raised the deficit by \$3.5 billion. It was defeated 29-64, Dole voting against it.

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SPENDING CEILINGS

.March 7, 1972--Dole voted to impose a \$246.3 billion ceiling on all federal spending. You voted no.

.March 20, 1974--Dole voted yes on amendment directing the President, starting in FY 1976, to propose a balanced budget in which spending, excluding federal trust funds, would not exceed general revenues. You voted no.

He voted yes on amendment requiring that the entire federal budget, including trust funds, be balanced between outlays and expenditures. You voted no.

.1974--Dole offered motion to cut Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill by 3.3% for each line-item; Dole stated that a similar cut in all regular appropriations bills would reduce government spending in FY 1975 by \$10 billion, as had been advocated by Administration officials to curb inflation (motion defeated, 42-56). You voted against it.

CITIES

KEY FACTS

.UNEMPLOYMENT--central city unemployment nearly twice the suburban rate; rate for black teenagers in 1975--42%

.REVENUE LOSS--high unemployment costs state and local governments \$30 billion in lost revenue in 1975; cost the Federal government \$17 billion in unemployment and welfare benefits

.WELFARE--1.3 million people on welfare are able to work; most on welfare should but are not receiving adequate support

.POVERTY--2.5 million more Americans sank into poverty in 1975, the highest number for any year since records were kept; number in poverty is now 2.6 million higher than in 1969

.during Kennedy-Johnson, 15 million people were lifted out of poverty.

FORD POSITION

.EMPLOYMENT--opposition to public service employment; has vetoed 4 job creation bills (the 4 combined would create 2 million jobs), continued tight money-high unemployment policies, impounded health care funds, job-training, housing funds; has not achieved reorganization of welfare

.GOVERNMENT POLICY--full recovery is at hand and government make-work jobs are not the answer; Carter would spend billions creating jobs and thereby spur inflation; federal takeover of welfare would cost too much, and Congress has taken no action on proposed welfare reorganization

.CONGRESSIONAL RECORD--as Congressman, voted against job creation bills, against OEO creation and subsequent appropriations, against Food Stamp creation, against increases in Headstart and School Lunch programs, 7 times against increase in minimum wage

CARTER POSITION

.ECONOMIC POLICY--promote general economic recovery; support targeted employment programs of the type Ford vetoed; expand CETA program; initiate employment incentive program to encourage private industry to train and hire the unemployed

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.REVENUE SHARING--support extension of revenue sharing with funds going to localities

.COUNTER-CYCLICAL AID--to be triggered automatically by high unemployment

WELFARE--uniform national standard for benefits; take the 10% who can work off the welfare rolls; provide incentives for working poor to continue working rather than go on welfare; eventual federal takeover of local share of welfare costs as budget realities permit, with gradual reduction in state share.

MONDALE AND DOLE POSITION AND RECORD

SEE HOUSING, LABOR AND POVERTY

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

KEY ISSUES

- .CRIME RATE--Serious crime up 60% since 1969
 - .Up 32% from January 1974 through June 1976, still rising (3% rate of increase for first half of 1976)
- .AGE OF OFFENDERS--75% of those arrested are under 25
- .PUBLIC ATTITUDES--Half of those polled indicated they are afraid to walk in their own neighborhood
- .GOVERNMENT POLICY--LEAA has spent \$4.5 billion since 1968, with no decrease in crime as a result (only 6% of that spent on court reform); Ford wants \$6.8 billion more over the next 7 years
 - .Drug Enforcement Administration is an administrative disaster; Ford took 6 months to appoint a successor to the first director
 - .Corporate crime--not one price-fixing indictment has been obtained since Ford took office
 - .FBI has illegally broken and entered, wiretapped, misused pension trust funds
- .GUN CONTROL--In 1973, over 10,000 Americans were killed by handguns; in past decade, almost 700 police officers have been killed by handguns in line of duty

FORD POSITION

- .CRIME RATE-- Rate of increase in crime rate has decreased dramatically since he took office
- .NEW INITIATIVES--Would make a crusade against crime the keynote of his first 100 days of office, move against the career criminal
- .GUN CONTROL--Has proposed legislation banning sale of Saturday night specials, defined in such a way that 54% of the handguns produced in U.S. in 1974 would be banned; opposed to handgun registration

CARTER POSITION

- .REPUBLICAN RECORD--Crime up sharply, billions have been wasted on LEAA in past eight years; decline in respect for FBI and other law enforcement agencies

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- .FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ROLE--Restore credibility of federal government as model of law enforcement and law observance, while keeping primary role in crime-fighting with state and local governments
 - .JUDICIAL SYSTEM--Use some LEAA money for court reform, remove judicial bottlenecks in courts to ensure swift, sure punishment; need short, sure sentences instead of mandatory high sentences proposed by Ford, which mean nothing if courts cannot conduct trials.
 - .GUN CONTROL--Supports registration of handguns, no restriction on long guns

MONDALE AND DOLE RECORD

GUN CONTROL

- .Dole voted yes on final passage of a bill in 1972 outlawing the sale of inexpensive, domestically produced handguns ("Saturday night specials"). You also voted for final passage.
- .During debate on that bill, Dole and you both voted against one amendment requiring registration of handguns and licensing of owners of such guns, but you voted for a slightly narrower version of that amendment and Dole voted against this amendment
- .In 1974, Dole reversed himself and voted to table an amendment to ban the manufacture of Saturday night specials. You were absent
- .In 1968, you voted for a Tydings amendment to require Federal or state registration of all firearms and after three years, a license to possess those firearms.
- .Your basic position has been to favor banning sale and manufacture of Saturday night specials, favoring registration of other handguns, but opposing controls on the ownership or use of long guns.

DEATH PENALTY

- .In 1974, Dole voted yes on final passage of a bill to restore the death penalty for certain crimes under specific guidelines. The death penalty could not be imposed if a mitigating factor specified by the statute, were found to exist. If an aggravating factor, specified by statute, were found to exist, and no mitigating factor were found, the death penalty would be mandatory. The statute also provided for a two part trial for those accused of crimes for which the death penalty was a possible sentence. You were absent for this vote.

PUBLIC SAFETY OFFICERS BENEFITS

Dole voted no on an amendment in 1972 to the public safety officers benefit bill which made it a Federal crime to use interstate commerce to assault, injure or kill a state or local public safety officer in his official capacity, or to transport a weapon in interstate commerce for such purpose. The amendment was adopted 46 to 23. You voted yes.

On September 18, 1972, the Senate approved a bill, 61 to 6 authorizing the Attorney General to provide group life insurance for state and local public safety officers. Dole voted no. You voted yes.

DRUG ABUSE

Dole voted against an amendment in the nature of a substitute to the bill that eventually became the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. The amendment (1) provided for the establishment of a National Health Institute for dealing with drug dependents, (2) authorized formula grants of \$55 million from fiscal year 1971 through 1973 to help state governments develop programs to deal with drug dependents, (3) authorized grants totalling \$135 million during the same period to state and local agencies to help finance specific projects, (4) provided for the establishment of an independent advisory council on drug abuse and an inter-governmental coordinating council to ensure coordination of federal efforts. Although this amendment was later deleted in conference its approach was preventive and rehabilitative as opposed to the measure eventually accepted, which was strictly a law enforcement bill. Dole opted for the latter approach.

NO KNOCK

Dole voted no on deleting the "no knock" authorization in the 1970 drug abuse bill. Dole, however, reversed himself several years later. In 1974, both he and you voted to repeal no-knock.

ECONOMIC POLICY

KEY FACTS

. UNEMPLOYMENT

- . Currently at 7.9%, 7.5 million people unemployed
- . 50% more people unemployed now (2.5 million more) than when Ford took office
- more than* . 2½ times as many people unemployed now as in 1968
- . Ford has created more unemployment (2.5 million) than new employment (1.8 million) since taking office
- . Fewer workers employed in private non-farm jobs today than when Ford took office

. INFLATION

- . 12% inflation in 1974 (highest in 50 years)
- . 6% inflation today, three times the average of the Kennedy-Johnson years
- . 1968 dollar now worth 61 cents *76%*
- . Food prices have increased ~~70%~~ since 1968
- . Median cost of new home has doubled since 1970
- . Real value of average worker's paycheck less now than in 1968

. DEFICITS

- . FY 1976 deficit--\$65 billion is the largest in history, \$11 billion more than entire Kennedy-Johnson years
- . Growth in public debt under Nixon and Ford (\$281 billion) greater than total public debt for preceding 192 years

. ECONOMIC GROWTH

- . 2.3% economic growth rate under Nixon and Ford, slowest since any time since the depression *less than half rate we enjoyed in Kennedy-Johnson years*
- . Actual decline in real GNP in 1974 and 1975

. INTEREST RATES

- . Under Nixon and Ford, the highest rates since the Civil War

. COSTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

- \$175*
- . \$200 billion of lost income this year because of unemployment and underutilization of capacity
- . For each percentage point of unemployment over 4%, Treasury loses \$16-19 billion (\$2-5 billion in benefits; \$14 billion in lost revenues)

FORD POSITION

- .INFLATION--willing to accept 6% inflation; believes in fighting inflation with high unemployment and economic stagnation; has not used Council on Wage and Price Stability effectively; no comprehensive inflation-fighting policy
- .EMPLOYMENT--tolerates high unemployment to fight inflation; more willing to increase welfare payments and unemployment compensation than to increase jobs (\$17 billion in added payments last year); stop-go economic policy (October 1974 tax increase proposal followed by January 1975 tax cut proposal); consistently vetoed jobs bills (\$2.4 billion for FY 1976)

CARTER POSITION

- .Unemployment and inflation must be fought together
- .Goal of 5.5% growth in economy (same as Kennedy-Johnson years, 1962-1966) *tapering to 4% with full employment*
- .Committed to balanced budget by end of first term
- .Committed to reducing unemployment to 4% by 1980
- .Would use budget and credit policies to reduce unemployment to 5 or 5½% and then use targeted employment programs to further reduce unemployment to 4% without accelerating inflation (e.g., youth employment program, private sector incentives, skill training for the unemployed, concentrating programs in areas of highest need) *\$80*
- .More vigorous anti-trust enforcement to end ~~\$100~~ billion *plus* in higher prices caused by collusive action
- .Would use voluntary guidelines for business and labor, strengthen Council on Wage and Price Stability
- .Would use jawboning when necessary

MONDALE AND DOLE RECORDS

SPENDING CEILINGS/IMPOUNDMENT

- .1972--Dole voted no on amendment requiring the President, if cuts in outlays were needed to meet a spending ceiling, to submit all proposed reductions to Congress and give Congress 30 days to amend or veto such proposals. You voted yes.
- .1973--Dole voted no on amendment requiring the President to report to Congress within 10 days if he impounds funds and to release such funds within 60 days after making his report, unless Congress approves the impoundment. You voted yes.

- .He voted yes on an amendment which sought to suspend Congressional impoundment procedures if Congress had not enacted a spending ceiling. You voted no.
- .1974--Dole voted yes on amendment directing the President, starting in FY 76, to propose a balanced budget in which spending, excluding federal trust funds, would not exceed general revenues. You voted no.
- .Dole voted yes on a similar amendment, requiring that starting in FY 76 the entire Federal budget, including trust funds, be balanced between outlays and revenues. You voted no.

COMMENT: Dole's votes fairly consistently show a desire to limit the Congress' impoundment procedures, though he did vote yes on final passage of the Budget Control Act. He similarly has supported a variety of spending ceilings and amendments seeking to impose balanced budgets, despite the fact that the amendments he supported during 1974 came during a period of economic stagnation and a balanced budget would have done considerable damage to the economy.

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

May, 1974--Dole and you voted for a Muskie amendment giving the President standby authority to control selectively wages and prices if inflation were serious throughout the economy, if inflation in a particular sector were causing hardship or deprivation and if the need for controls outweighed detrimental effects on supplies of products under price controls.

Dole had previously indicated approval of President Nixon's wage-price freeze and new economic policy of 1971 (Congressional Record, December 16, 1971).

He had also indicated satisfaction with Phase II and dissatisfaction with the way it was changed. "I felt Phase II was working quite well and many other Americans did. I really haven't satisfied myself yet why that was changed so abruptly." (Issues and Answers, May 6, 1973)

MANPOWER AND PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS

Dole has voted on both sides of the public service jobs issue.

In 1970, he voted for final passage of a bill authorizing \$12 billion for manpower training and public service employment programs, but then voted not to override President Nixon's veto of the program, despite the fact that the vetoed bill contained \$2.5 billion less than the bill he had previously voted for.

.In 1971, he voted against the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, which would have provided 150,000 public service jobs, and against another public service jobs bill in June of 1971 and to uphold the Nixon veto of that bill.

.In 1972, he again voted against public works programs and aid to workers whose jobs had been affected by federal environmental quality programs.

.In 1973, however, he voted in favor of public service employment program generally and special relief to high-unemployment areas.

.In 1975 and 1976, Dole has voted against every public service jobs bill and public works employment bill, and has voted to sustain Ford vetoes of these bills.

.You have voted for each of these bills.

EDUCATION

KEY FACTS

- .COSTS--Education costs per pupil up 132% since 1969; Federal share of cost of education now down to less than 10%
- .STUDENT SKILLS--Basic skills have declined in last ten years; verbal SAT scores down 8% and math SAT scores down 5%
- .DROPOUT RATE--1 million youths (including half of all Spanish speaking youths) drop out of high school every year
- .ECONOMIC RETURN--Every dollar invested in completion of high school education generates \$6 in national income
- .MISMANAGEMENT--Six Commissioners of Education in four years; three different bureaus on vocational education, none properly coordinated with Department of Labor

FORD POSITION

- .FEDERAL ROLE--Sought return of responsibility to local level and reduction of federal role, proposed 19% cut in elementary and secondary education aid
- .VETOES--Has vetoed major education appropriations bill for FY 1976, vetoed increase in school lunch programs
- .IMPOUNDMENTS--FY 1975, tried to impound \$565 million in federal funds for education; for FY 1976, \$1.63 billion
- .BLOC GRANTS--Proposed consolidated bloc grants to local communities, instead of through HEW; Congress did not act on this
- .HIGHER EDUCATION--Proposed 24% cut (in real, inflation-adjusted terms) in federal scholarship and other support for post-secondary education, including vocational education

CARTER POSITION

- .LEADERSHIP--Lack of Republican leadership in redirecting Federal monies and reorganizing federal education agencies
- .ORGANIZATION--Create a unified Department of Education, end overlap of functions in federal education bureaucracy and increase coordination with rest of government

.PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AID--Encourage federal aid to parochial schools within constitutional limits (tax credits, books, health services, scholarships)

.CURRICULUM--Help refocus curricula to prepare for jobs

DOLE AND MONDALE RECORDS

.In 1973, Dole voted in favor of the Rehabilitation Act of 1972 (authorizing \$4.8 billion over 3 years on programs for the physically handicapped). President Nixon subsequently vetoed the bill, and Dole reversed himself and voted to sustain the President's veto. You voted for both the authorization bill and to override the veto.

.Dole called the bill a "Trojan horse containing the seeds of a runaway Congressional spending spree," even though the bill that was sent to the White House was over \$2 billion less expensive than the Senate bill Dole had previously voted for.

(This probably not a good issue to raise, given Dole's own handicap and generally well-publicized support for the handicapped. The issue here was more fiscal prudence, as Dole saw it, than the substance of the legislation, and attacking him here would give him a good opportunity to discuss his efforts to keep spending down no matter how painful it may be.)

SCHOOL LUNCH

.Dole has publicly stated his support for federal funding of school lunch programs.

.However, in 1970 he voted against appropriations for a limited school breakfast program and also voted against a provision limiting the price paid for the lunch by pupils to 20 cents and providing free school lunches to pupils from families with an income under \$4,000.

.In 1973, he voted against increasing the federal payment for school lunches from a dime to 12 cents per meal.

EDUCATION FUNDING

.In 1970, Dole voted in favor of a \$4.1 billion appropriation bill for the Office of Education but then voted to sustain a Nixon veto of the same bill (he was one of only 16 Senators to do so).

.In 1972, he voted for a education funding bill but then turned around and opposed the conference report because he felt President Nixon was preparing to veto the bill.

.In 1971, he voted against a program allowing college students working their way through college to take a limited tax credit of \$325 for the expenses of higher education. (You voted against this also.)

.While in the House, he voted against the Higher Education Act of 1965.

ENERGY

KEY FACTS

- .DEPENDENCY ON FOREIGN OIL--More dependent today (40% for first six months of this year) than in 1973(35%); share of foreign oil that is from Arab countries is rising (44% today vs. 29% a year ago); possible 60% dependency on foreign oil in 1985 if present policies continue
- .COST OF FOREIGN OIL--\$27 billion foreign oil bil (\$3 billion in 1973); possible \$80 billion for imports by 1985 (equals \$1600 per family)
- .ORGANIZATION--²⁰ 14 separate agencies play role in development of energy policy today; no coherent policy
- .NATURAL RESOURCES--Current usage is out of synch with U.S. resource base--e.g., coal accounts for 18% of current use but 85% of U.S. natural resource base

FORD POSITION

- .PROJECT INDEPENDENCE--Nixon Project Independence in general, followed by Ford, is merely a slogan; basically pursued policy of higher energy prices, with focus on more production, not conservation
- .OIL PRICE DECONTROL--Ford January 1975 plan for complete decontrol of oil prices would have meant \$30 billion plus for economy(\$500 per family) at height of recession
- .WELFARE FOR THE RICH--Rockefeller Energy Independence Authority would authorize \$100 billion for private energy industry
- .ENERGY R AND D--65% of ERDA FY 1977 budget goes for nuclear, only 5% to energy conservation and 6% to solar

CARTER POSITION

- .LEADERSHIP--Need to convince American people of seriousness of energy problem
- .REORGANIZATION--Carter energy reorganization to create Department of Energy to oversee energy policy formation and regulation
- .ENERGY CONSERVATION--Strong emphasis on energy conservation to reduce present 50% of energy that is wasted; we use almost twice as much energy per capita as highly developed countries in Western Europe
- .COAL--Increase use of coal and obtain strip mining legislation to provide certainty and environmental protection; emphasize use of Eastern coal

MONDALE AND DOLE RECORD

In each instance below, unless noted, your position was opposed to that of Dole

- .OIL PRICE CONTROLS--Although oil price controls were necessary in 1973 Senator Dole opposed setting price ceilings for any domestic oil and particularly opposed any limitation on increase in the price of "old" oil
 - .Dole favored in 1973 the quick phase-out of controls on "old" oil and the exemption from any price controls on stripper production (those wells producing 10 barrels a day, or less).
 - .In 1975 Dole voted against extending the President's rights to control oil prices.
- .FUEL ALLOCATION--In July 1975, Dole voted against extending Presidential authority over fuel allocation
- .FUEL EFFICIENCY AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT--Dole has consistently opposed funding of federal R&D programs designed to solve fuel efficiency and alternate source problems.
 - .In 1975 he voted against the establishment and enforcement of mandatory fuel economy standards for new cars and light duty trucks and opposed the funding of research for vehicles using non-petroleum fuels.
 - .Dole also voted against federal minimum standards for energy conservation in new commercial and residential buildings and grants to states to insulate low-income housing
 - .Dole sought in May 1974 to allow states the discretion to increase the speed limit on interstate highways from 55 to 60 mph.
 - .Dole has voted against authorization for ERDA to increase funding for solar research.
- .INTERNATIONAL OIL ISSUES--Here Senator Dole has been caught in one of his dichotomies. Whereas, he has decried the administrations embargo of wheat which reduced somewhat the market price for Kansas farmers he has suggested during hearings on the Trade Reform Act in April, 1974, the need for an embargo on oil drilling rigs and oil pipe because it is in short supply and therefore, increasing the prices for the Kansas independent oil producer.
 - .Dole voted, in July, 1975, against giving FEA the authority to require importers and refiners to maintain readily available inventories of oil and petroleum products.

.NATURAL GAS--Since 1975 Senator Dole has favored complete de-control of new natural gas prices. He has opposed allocation of low-priced "old" natural gas to residential and light industrial users. As with allocation of oil Dole favors treating all users the same and consequently passing on the price increases proportionally to all.

.Dole has voted against giving the FPC authority to conduct its own study of gas supplies and reserves. Reserves are the key to gas pricing as lower reserves serve to justify increased prices. The present reporting group, the GAS Supply Committee of the American Gas Association has been accused by Congressman Moss and the Bureau of Economics of the FTC of underreporting reserves.

.DIVESTITURE--The Senate Judiciary, Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee has reported out legislation to require that the major oil companies divest themselves of portions of their vertical operations (production, refining, transportation and marketing) and additionally portions of their horizontal operations (coal, uranium, etc.). These proposals were attached to the Natural Gas Decontrol Bill (Pearson-Benson) in the present congress. Each measure was defeated by a margin of about 10 votes. Senator Dole voted against each proposal.

ENVIRONMENT

KEY FACTS

- .EFFECTS OF POLLUTION--air and water pollution causes death and disease to people, animals and plants; agricultural losses of up to \$50 million from salinity from water pollution; 2 million acres of strip mined land devastated by lack of strip mining laws

FORD POSITION

- .GENERAL POLICY--Places energy development ahead of environmental concerns, wants reduction of government efforts to protect environment
- .STRIP MINING--has vetoed strip-mining legislation
- .EMISSION STANDARDS--wants auto emission standards delayed until 1982 and opposes non-degradation standards
- .TOXIC CHEMICALS--Ford has opposed toxic chemical legislation with pre-testing requirements

CARTER POSITION

- .GENERAL POLICY--keeping to goals for environmental protection; recognition of ability of environmental protection activities to create jobs (1 million jobs created in pollution control industry)
- .ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT--reject the idea of Republicans that environment and energy needs must be conflicting
- .STRIP MINING--obtain strip mining legislation and strengthen and enforce our deep mine safety laws

MONDALE AND DOLE RECORDLAND USE POLICY

.Dole voted for national land use policy bills in 1972 and 1973, after having voted against amendments designed to impose sanctions if states did not adopt comprehensive land use plans. You voted for final passage and the sanction amendments.

STRIP MINING

.Dole voted for final passage of the strip mining bill in 1973, after having voted against the amendment prohibiting coal surface mining on lands where the federal government owns the mineral rights but not the surface rights. You voted both for final passage and for the amendment.

SST

.Dole voted for restoration of SST prototype construction funds. You voted against such funds.

OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF DEVELOPMENT

.Dole has voted against all coastal zone and OCS development legislation in the past two years, and has voted against a bill to aid states whose coastal areas were adversely affected by OCS development. You have voted for all of these bills.

FORD CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

VOTING

1. Labor--voted 7 times over 25 year period against proposed increases in minimum wage; voted against repeal of 14(b); voted against Black Lung Benefit Act of '72.
2. Civil Rights--voted to recommit Voting Rights Act of '65; voted to recommit '66 Civil Rights Act (open housing); voted to recommit Voting Rights extension ('69); (Voted for all on final passage).
3. Medicare--Voted against creation ('65).
4. Food Stamps--Voted against creation ('64).
5. Poverty--Voted against creation of OEO ('64); and against subsequent OEO appropriations.
6. Housing--Voted against all housing legislation to assist low and moderate income families between '49 and '67; voted against rat eradication program ('67).
7. Child Care--voted to cut Headstart program ('68); voted against school lunch program increase ('73).
8. Crime--voted for prevention detention and for "no-knock" ('70).
9. Transportation-- voted against use of Highway Trust Funds for urban mass transit ('73).
10. Education--Voted against expansion and strengthening of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of '65 ('66 and '67); voted to cut appropriations in '67, '69, '71 and '72. (Act is main source of federal aid to public education).

NIXON SUPPORT

1. Over 80% on votes; 100% on veto overrides.
2. One of top 4 supporters for 3 of 5 years (Second in '73).
3. Initiated Douglas impeachment inquiry at Mitchell request.

4. Killed House investigations of Watergate financing before '72 elections, at specific White House request.
5. Supported Nixon's plan to bail out Lockheed and to build ABM system (now dismantled).
6. Supported Haynesworth and Carswell.
7. Supported Nixon's handling of Watergate without reservation.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION AND REFORM

KEY FACTS

- .GOVERNMENT ENTITIES--Are now 587 government boards, agencies commissions, etc. plus 1267 advisory groups
 - .In 1974 alone, 85 organizations created, only three subsequently abolished
- .AGENCY OVERLAP--302 health programs administered by 11 separate federal agencies
- .WASTE AND MISMANAGEMENT--\$3 to \$5 billion in waste in Medicaid program and HEW has only hired 69 investigators (1/3 fewer than allotted); HUD has lost \$2.1 billion in foreclosed mortgages and is spending \$400,000 a day to maintain them
- .PAPERWORK--Federal agencies spent \$15 billion in paperwork in 1973; the Federal Register over doubled in size from 1972 to 1975

FORD POSITION

- .REORGANIZATION ACT AUTHORITY--Ford has been unable to get Reorganization Act authority renewed to aid in government rationalization; has failed to take meaningful steps by executive order to reform Executive branch; signed, but provided no leadership on, sunshine law

CARTER POSITION

- .PRIORITY ACTIONS--Ask Congress to reinstate Reorganization Act authority; by executive order, take steps to eliminate administrative duplication and waste and establish tighter standards for official conduct; reduce size of White House staff
- ZBB--Committed to adoption of zero-based budgeting and the concept of sunset legislation
- .GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES--Will seek legislation to protect government employees from reprisal when they expose waste or wrongdoing
- .SPECIFIC REORGANIZATION PLANS--High priority to reorganization in the energy area

HEALTH

KEY FACTS

- .HEALTH CARE COSTS--Expenditures for health care nationwide up 250% since 1969; hospital costs increased 18% last year; overall health costs up 15% in past two years, 24% for urban workers
- .GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS--Medicaid expenditures have grown ten-fold in last ten years; up to \$3 billion in waste through fraud and other abuses
- .HEALTH DELIVERY--40% of rural farm citizens do not see doctor in given year; over next decade, will be shortage of over 40,000 doctors to serve inner-city areas
- .PREVENTIVE CARE--Insufficient attention paid to preventive medicine

FORD POSITION

- .HEALTH COSTS--Ford proposal for so-called catastrophic coverage is worth about \$500 million, but was combined with proposals to reduce basic Medicare coverage which will cost the elderly \$2 billion; net loss of \$1.5 billion
- .NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE--Has said he would veto any national health insurance bill, whether through the public or private sector
- .IMPOUNDMENTS--Ford attempted to impound \$1.4 billion in health funds in FY 1975

CARTER POSITION

- .HEALTH COSTS--Exercise control over costs by reducing duplication of services, allocating health resources more rationally, reducing emphasis on hospitalization (40% of each current health-care dollar)
- .MEDICAID--Reforming Medicaid program through strict management techniques
- .NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE--Fiscally sound, phased-in national health insurance system with comprehensive and universal coverage, built-in cost and quality controls, incentives for preventive care and safeguards for the integrity of the doctor-patient relationship, to be implemented in stages:

- .basic reforms over cost controls (as in Talmadge bill)
- .combine parts A (hospital) and B (Optional doctor) of Medicare and eliminate monthly premium payments for elderly (\$2 billion)
- .substantial mother-child benefit (\$15 billion for complete coverage and lesser amounts for reduced coverage) (since up to 50% will be paid by employer/employee taxes, cost to Treasury need be only half this figure)
- .universal catastrophic (\$6 billion)

DOLE AND MONDALE RECORDS

ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

.In 1970 the Senate enacted, over the President's veto, the Medical Facilities Construction and Modernization Amendments, carrying on the Hill-Burton programs begun in 1947 to aid hospital construction. Dole voted to uphold the veto. You voted to override.

In 1971 Dole cosponsored the Health Manpower Assistance Act which extended hospital construction grants, student loans and scholarships in the health fields. Dole had voted against these programs as a Congressman in 1963 and 1965.

HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS (HMO)

.Although Dole cosponsored, in 1971, the HMO Assistance Act, which provides for prepaid medical and dental care for a fixed premium, when the bill came up for consideration in early 1973 Dole voted for three amendments to weaken the bill and then voted against the bill. Later that year he changed his vote when passage was inevitable.

HEALTH PLANNING

.Although Senator Dole voted for the Health Services Improvement Act of 1970 he had previously sought to reduce the authorizations in the Act for Regional programs, such as heart disease and cancer, by \$125 million. This effort was defeated 8-48. You voted no.

In 1974 the Congress took a major step in health planning when it established a three year program to coordinate state and national health planning programs, in particular setting standards for dispersing federal monies. Dole voted against S. 2994 saying it was a "...controversial step toward further federalization...which goes hand in hand with increased socialization."

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

.Senator Dole was a cosponsor of the Long-Ribicoff proposal, in 1973, for virtual federal take-over of medicare and catastrophic loss insurance, despite its \$8.9 billion price tag.

Senator Dole has publicly opposed anything like the comprehensive health insurance programs sponsored by Senator Kennedy and organized labor. He has said he, "...will not let an overall nationalized medical program occur if I can avoid it." 1974.

.You are a cosponsor of the Kennedy-Corman bill.

HOUSING

KEY ISSUES

- .HOUSING PRICES--Median price of home has doubled in last eight years, from \$22,000 to \$44,000 (average price has gone from \$30,000 to \$46,000)
 - .Over one-half of all American families cannot afford a median-priced new home
- .HOUSING STARTS--1975 housing starts were at lowest level since 1940s (1,171,000); projected housing starts have been trending up in recent months, but are still at depressed levels (1,542,000 unit rate); (national housing goal of 2.6 million units a year was set in 1968)
- .UNEMPLOYMENT--National construction industry unemployment is at ~~18%~~ 17%
- .MISMANAGEMENT--None of top HUD officials has any housing experience; 500 HUD officials have been indicted and over 200 convicted of corruption and bribery in administering HUD housing programs.
- .INTEREST RATES--Mortgage interest rates from 1961-8 averaged 6.05%. The average rate under the Republicans has been 8.4%--40 percent higher.

FORD POSITION

- .GENERAL POLICY--adherence to economic policies to hold inflation down, reduce interest rates, etc .
- .REDUCED DOWN PAYMENTS--recommending changes in FHA law to reduce down-payments on lower and middle-income houses by up to 50%
- .GRADUATED MONTHLY PAYMENTS--program to lower monthly payment at beginning of home ownership and increase them as family income rises

CARTER POSITION

- . FORD PROPOSALS--are inadequate; FHA covers only about 10% of the market, and his proposal does nothing about home prices or mortgage interest rates; HUD has had authority to implement limited graduated monthly payment experiment since 1974, and has not done it.
- . HUD--need well-organized and competently managed HUD which can properly implement present programs such as section 202 for the elderly and section 235 (mortgage interest rate subsidy)
- . HOUSING PRODUCTION--need programs to insure stable levels of housing production to get construction trades back to work; mortgage interest subsidies on interest rates over 6% to encourage housing production.

MONDALE AND DOLE RECORD

- . Dole voted against the establishment of a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965.
- . Early in his House career, he voted against housing funds in 1961, against the Housing Act of 1964, and the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.
- . Subsequently, he has voted against urban renewal funds in 1969 and 1970, in favor of limiting federal contributions to local housing agencies in debt service requirements (1970), and against expanded public housing construction (1970).
- . Your votes were opposite of his in each instance.

REDLINING DISCLOSURE

- . Dole voted against final passage of the redlining disclosure bill last year, a bill which requires metropolitan banks and savings and loan associations to tell the public how much money the institution is lending for mortgages or home improvements from year to year within each neighborhood. It does not require any lender to make any loan to any individual or to make certain amount of loans to any neighborhood. This is simply a disclosure bill.

RECENT HOUSING BILLS

- . Though Dole voted for the omnibus Housing and Urban Development Act of 1974, he has since voted against two major housing bills.

.In April of 1975, he voted against a bill providing temporary subsidies for purchase of homes by middle-income families, and loans to jobless homeowners unable to meet mortgage payments, a bill which Ford subsequently vetoed.

.In April of this year, he voted against legislation authorizing FY 1977 funding for public housing construction, federal rental and homeownership and subsidy programs. Included in this \$4 billion (over 3 years) authorization bill was \$2.3 billion in authorization for section 202 elderly housing, the most successful ongoing housing program of the federal government.

OLDER AMERICANS

KEY FACTS

- .INFLATION--Inflation rates of 12% in 1974, 6% this year hit especially hard at elderly
- .MEDICAL CARE--Medicare now pays for only 38% of average health care costs of the elderly, down from 46% in 1969
- .POVERTY--Over 3 million older American are living in poverty

FORD POSITION

- .SOCIAL SECURITY--Attempted in 1975 to put a 5% cap on Social Security benefit increases while inflation was at double-digit levels
- .MEDICARE--Proposed a package which would extend \$500 million in catastrophic health benefits while costing senior citizens \$2 billion in reduced basic Medicare benefits
- .HOUSING--Refused to remove the Nixon-imposed moratorium on federally subsidized (section 202) housing for the elderly
- .CONGRESSIONAL RECORD--As Congressman, voted against the establishment of the Medicare program and food stamps (used by over 3 million elderly Americans living in poverty)

CARTER POSITION

- .SOCIAL SECURITY--Stabilize Social Security financing through raising the tax base, and stabilizing the "replacement rate"; liberalize Social Security earnings limitation so that retirees can earn more than the present \$3280 limit without penalty
- .HOUSING--Improve and expand the section 202 program of housing for the elderly
- .CRIME--Tough crime control measure to protect the elderly living in our cities
- .HEALTH--National health insurance program with emphasis on home care alternatives to institutionalization and preventative care

MONDALE AND DOLE RECORDSOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS INCREASES

.1969--Dole voted against a 15% benefits increase, and for a 10% increase, as proposed by the President. You voted for a 15% increase

.1972--Dole voted for 10% increase, instead of 20% increase favored by Democrats. You voted for 20% but voted against an amendment raising benefits by 30%

SOCIAL SECURITY ELIGIBILITY

.1961--Dole voted against bill allowing men as well as women to retire at age 62 with reduced benefits and to increase the widow's benefit. You voted yes.

.1969--Dole voted against amendment to permit 3.5 million persons between ages 60 and 62 to retire with reduced benefits. You voted yes.

.1973--Dole reversed his position and voted to allow reduction of age from 60 to 55 at which widows are eligible to receive Social Security benefits (11-29-73). You also voted yes.

MEDICARE

.Dole voted against the establishment of Medicare in 1965

HEALTH, HOUSING, ETC.

1970--Dole voted for an amendment to permit local public housing agencies to fix rents for low-rent housing projects (with a 200-unit limit) for elderly families without regard to the 25% of income rule. You voted against.

1973--Dole voted for amendment to minimum wage act to permit employers to pay employees 65 and over 15% below minimum wage rate. You voted against.

TAX REFORM

KEY FACTS

- .FAIRNESS--Current tax system allows 244 Americans with income of over \$200,000 to pay no income taxes in 1974
- .SHARE OF TAX BURDEN--Corporation taxes have dropped from 20% of all revenues in late 1960s to 14% of revenues last year; payroll taxes have risen from 21% to 31% of all revenues
- .TAX REFORM BILL OF 1976--Key provisions:
 - .keeps in effect for 1977 the 1975 anti-recession tax cuts
 - .provides for estate tax credit equal to \$175,000 exemption by 1981
 - .closes some tax shelter loopholes (but leaves most of them, including real estate and oil and gas.)
 - .extends the 10% investment tax credit through 1980
 - .increases the minimum tax from 10% to 15%
 - .extends capital gains holding period to one year by 1978

FORD POSITION

- at beginning* .TAX PROPOSALS--October 1974, proposed a tax increase ~~in the midst~~ of worst recession since Depression; January of 1975 proposed temporary tax cuts which would have given 65% of benefits to those with \$15,000 a year or more in income; October of 1975, proposed a supposed \$28 billion tax cut, which was really only \$2 to \$5 billion (\$20 billion already in law, \$6 billion offset by higher Social Security and unemployment compensation taxes)
- .OVERALL EFFECT OF PROPOSALS--64% of Ford's tax proposals would have reduced taxes for business, property income and wealth; only 35% would have reduced taxes for individuals *benefits from*

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY

.Dole opposed cloture on the Consumer Protection Agency debate three times in 1972 and twice in 1974.

.When the legislation had been substantially watered down, by August of 1974, he then changed his vote and supported cloture. Dole also offered a substitute Consumer Protection Agency bill which deleted some of the best features of the original legislation, such as the protection of the agency's administrator from dismissal by the President.

.In 1975, he voted for final passage of the Consumer Protection Agency bill, after voting for a weakening amendment in the nature of a substitute which sought to set up an Office of Consumer Counsel in each of 24 major federal departments and agencies to represent consumer interests in agency proceedings. This amendment was rejected. You voted against it.

.You have voted for the Consumer Protection Agency bill since its inception.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT AND MISCELLANEOUS

SUPREME COURT NOMINATIONS

Dole supported both the Haynesworth and Carswell confirmations. You voted against both.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT

Dole voted for sustaining Ford's Freedom of Information Act amendments veto in November of 1974. You voted to override.

LOCKHEED LOAN

Dole voted for the authorization of \$250 million in loan guarantees for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. You voted against.

ANTITRUST

On June 10, 1976, Dole voted against a bill to authorize State Attorneys General to bring treble damage antitrust law suits on behalf of citizens (so-called parens patriae suits), to require large companies to notify the government of planned mergers, and to extend the Justice Department's civil investigative powers. The bill was passed 65 to 19. Dole sought to limit the authority of State Attorneys General to suits involving charges of "willful price fixing violations." He also opposed treble damage provisions in connection with parens patriae suits. The latter is particularly significant because treble damage actions have proved to be an important deterrent to antitrust violations. In August, he voted for a somewhat modified version of the bill.

AID TO NEW YORK CITY

On December 6, 1975, Dole voted against a bill to authorize Federal loans up to \$2.3 billion a year through June 30, 1978 to help New York City meet its seasonal cash flow needs. The measure was passed 57-30. In voting against the bill, Dole cited the fear that this assistance may prove to be "just the first in a long series of federal assistance measures." He stated that,

2

Evansness

DEBATE Q. AND A. - CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON BUSING

Q. While you were Governor you proposed a resolution by which the Georgia legislature would go on record as asking Congress to pass a constitutional amendment banning busing, yet you now oppose such a constitutional amendment. Why have you changed your mind?

A. First, I think that it is important to put that proposal in context. At that time, there was a great deal of talk in Georgia about a statewide school boycott to protest court-ordered busing in Augusta. I suggested that, rather than follow that course, which had proved so disastrous in Virginia, the Legislature might simply adopt a resolution expressing its opposition to forced busing and calling for a Constitutional amendment to prohibit such court orders.

I must candidly say that as a general rule I am against busing. I think it should be a last resort, and massive forced busing may be inevitably more damaging than helpful. At the same time, as I have traveled the country for the last 2 years, I have become convinced that a single edict from Washington is not the right was to decide when, where, how much, or how long there should be busing. The recent report of the U.S Civil Rights Commission indicates that if local leaders can get together and agree on a course of action, appropriate steps can often be taken that will meet the needs of the situation. In those circumstances, the local district court is likely to accept and respect community judgments with far more sensitivity than the President or Congress, or the Supreme Court interpreting a new Constitutional amendment could ever hope to do. In the long run we must rely on responsible local leadership in every branch of our government to work out these problems on a case-by-case basis.

S. Bleicher

Evasiveness: Prop. 15 in California.

Q. Your position on the several nuclear initiatives under consideration by several western states is unclear. In Oregon, you said you favored the initiative to require safeguards and procedures for siting nuclear power plants, yet in California, you said you would probably vote against a similar initiative? What is your position?

A. The nuclear safeguard initiatives in California and in Oregon, while similar in many ways, have ^{one} fundamental difference. The California initiative would apply specific safety and waste handling requirements retroactively to ~~all~~ nuclear power plants ~~presently~~ ^{now} in operation, ^{not just} ~~as well as~~ to those built in the future. The Oregon initiative would apply only to future ~~construction and operation of~~ nuclear power plants, or those which are currently in the early phases of construction.

While I believe that each citizen should decide individually how to vote - and only after careful study of the initiative, an opportunity which I have not had - I did say that I would probably support the Oregon initiative, but not Proposition 15 in California. The distinction between applying standards to reactors built in the future and requiring plants which are already in operation and licensed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to meet those standards is an important one. And unless there is evidence that a particular reactor is unsafe or is operating in violation of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission standards, I don't think it is fair to change the rules in the middle of the game, particularly if the change would have the practical effect of turning off all of our atomic power plants.

Nuclear plants now supply about 8% of our electricity - and may well be needed to supply an additional percentage of ~~most energy~~ ^{our electricity} in the future.

If elected, I pledge that all nuclear plants - whether operating now or planned in the future will be designed and run with full safety precautions and safeguards. Any reactor found to be unsafe should be shut down. I will require that a trained federal employee be present in reactor control rooms with full authority to halt operations if abnormalities or emergencies arise.

*OPTIONAL
BEYOND
HERE*

I have had training as a nuclear engineer working in the United States Navy on our country's early nuclear submarine program. I learned how nuclear energy can be used for peaceful purposes - for propelling ships, generating electric power and for scientific and medical research. I am acutely aware of its potential - but I am also aware of its dangers. I once helped in disassembling a damaged nuclear reactor core at an experimental plant at Chalk River Canada.

Our government has not been forthright about the dangers of nuclear power. For example, we hear all about the excellent safety record in nuclear reactors, but rarely do we have a discussion of problems such as handling and disposing of the wastes from atomic plants. We do not now have a safe "nuclear trash can", and many of our interim storage facilities are almost full. Yet our high level nuclear wastes must be protected and guarded for thousands of years to prevent leakage into our environment or theft or diversion by terrorists. The question of nuclear waste handling has been with us since the Manhattan Project, yet, we are still

far away from an answer, even though more and more reactors are planned.

In early August, the Government Accounting Office reported that some 100,000 pounds of nuclear material is unaccounted for by the federal government. Of this, 6000 pounds - 3 tons, is of high enough quality to produce a nuclear weapon. This kind of sloppy accounting is intolerable - it takes only 12 pounds of plutonium, about the size of a baseball, to make a crude, but effective nuclear weapon.

Given the federal government's failure in areas such as waste management, it is little wonder that some 22 states have taken the reins into their own hands and are considering, or already have on the ballot, proposals to set safety standards, provide for safeguards against diversion, and require safe disposal plans before a plant is built. If elected, I will strengthen safety requirements for nuclear reactors and safeguards for nuclear materials. The states, in partnership with one federal government must play an active role in deciding where new plants are built. Through an accelerated research and development program, we must find a national technology to store our radioactive wastes we already have, as well as those produced in the future. If the federal government does its job, as I would demand, ~~these~~^{these} individual state initiatives would become unnecessary.

President Ford has brought good times to rural America while saving the taxpayers' money and by phasing government out of those parts of agriculture where it doesn't belong.

Governor Carter would put government back on the farmer's back and launch expensive and inflationary programs.

Basic Statement

The Republican administration, as usual, has put the interests of agricultural middle-men ahead of the interests of either farmers or consumers. The failures are clear in:

- General agricultural policy, where ^{prices have been put on a rollercoaster for both farmers and consumers} middlemen have come before farmers or consumers; and farmers are unable to plan ahead;
- Embargoes, illustrating Republican incompetence, lack of foresight, secrecy, duplicity and failure in information-gathering; ^{last fall's wheat embargo cost 1 billion dollars in farm income and export earnings;}
- Grain inspection, where wrongdoing was not prosecuted;
- The lack of reserves, to guard against world famine or unexpected shortages;
- The lack of rural development programs

~~I think~~ It is time to distinguish Republican rhetoric from Republican reality. And it is time to give farmers and consumers credit for knowing the difference between the two.

- First, it has been crop shortages abroad and in the U.S., not Republican farm policy, that gave us the opportunity for full farm production, and that raised farm exports from \$7 billion a few years ago to \$22 billion this year, and that reduced government costs. The crop failures began with Russia in 1972, and included China, India, Australia, West Europe, the U.S. in 1974-5-6, and Russia again in 1975.
- President Ford suggests farmers never had it so good. He should go out and talk to cattle raisers and feeders in the auction barns as I have. They have had their worst years under President Ford. He should talk to the small farmers who continue to be squeezed out by big farmers.
- ~~I am very glad that some of our farmers have done better in recent years, but~~ I am also concerned that farm income last year was lower than in 1973 and 1974. Farm income this year will be lower than it should be because of the unnecessary

embargo on grain exports a year ago.

- I am very concerned about the effect of inflation on our farmers. Farm income is not just dollars, but purchasing power. And farmer purchasing power in 1976 will be no greater than in 1972 (about 17.5 billion 1972 dollars, compared with 17,8 billion in 1972.)
- For the future, I look forward to farmers producing abundantly for the market, but with the protection of price supports to cover cost of production.
- I cannot foresee circumstances when we would need to embargo farm exports as President Ford did in 1974 and 1975.
- We will require the export companies to report what they are doing. We will give farmers and the public the truth about the world food situation. We will not on one day tell farmers and foreign buyers that exports will not be controlled, and on the next day announce an export embargo.
- We will not let the big export companies ship dirty grain, or put stones, seashells, and trash into grain cargoes. Grain inspection can be cleaned up by a new Administration.
- The peanut program does need to be changed. (peanut farmers can produce for world markets, and will in the future). (Sec. Butz has tried to discredit the peanut program by building up a large government-owned surplus of peanut oil-- exactly what he says he won't do for any commodity.

(N.B. If you speak last on this subject, you might want to mention that Ford vetoed numerous farm bills to increase price supports for cotton, grain, milk and tobacco)

My farm policy

First, it would be farm and food policy. The natural alliance between farmers and consumers should be rebuilt. Farmers should get good and stable prices in the marketplace (and I am very much for the market economy) with price supports assuring them of their cost of production. Consumers should be assured of adequate food supplies at reasonable and stable prices.

We How would we do this:

- By full production on our farms until we are sure food supplies are adequate.
- By raising farm price supports, ~~not to ensure a profit and certainly not to inflationary levels, but to cover farmers' cost of production.~~ This will help farmers stay in business during poor years.
- By pushing exports as hard as we can. Now Our farmers know, and I know, that recent gains in farm exports were mainly a function of poor crops abroad. I suppose it is fair enough for the Administration to claim credit for export expansion, but the fact is that their policies have had little to do with it. President Ford by his embargoes actually settled for lower exports of wheat, corn and soybeans than we should have had. Secretary Butz has turned Food for Peace exports on and off like a water faucet. And market development efforts have not kept pace in recent years.
- By telling farmers, consumers, and foreign customers the truth about the food situation. (~~Refer back to Carter response under A~~)
- By a small farmer-held reserve. (~~See A~~).

Possible Question #1

Q " Mr. Carter, You have criticized President Ford's embargoes on grain exports, but have also admitted that you might have to do the same thing if crops were very short when you are President. How do you distinguish your farm and food policy ideas from the Republicans?" How do you explain this?

Carter Response-

Answer AMF.

Only a dire national emergency, which I do not envision occurring, would require an embargo. I would not have imposed an embargo under any of the circumstances which existed when the Republicans imposed their embargoes. President Ford cancelled some sales and then slowed grain exports late in 1974, and embargoed further sales to Russia and Poland from August to October 1975. President Nixon embargoed soybean sales in 1973.

-Each time, the President and the Secretary of Agriculture had promised farmers and foreign buyers right up to the day of the embargo that there would be no embargo. I would tell them the truth; In the event of a short crop put us in a disastrous situation, and an embargo became necessary, I would tell the truth about it.

-Each time, the Republican embargo could have been avoided. I and My Secretary of Agriculture would have known (and will know in the future) what the true supply situation and what the real export sales situation was. If the President had had good information he would not have embargoed in previous years. The embargo on wheat sales last fall was especially damaging. It reduced exports and probably cut potential farm income and export earnings by a billion dollars.

and I

(X)

My statement in Des Moines was a clear statement of my intention to end grain embargoes if elected President. I was able to make such a statement because I studied the four embargoes imposed by the Republican Administration, and I feel that all four were unnecessary and unfortunate. If we had had a planned, predictable, coherent food and agriculture policy -- the kind of policy that a Carter administration would have -- not one of these embargoes would have been necessary. Unfortunately, the Republican "boom and bust, freedom to farm" policy means that the farmer is to get no help in times of plentiful supplies and low prices, but a government embargo when prices go up.

~~Third~~ I am for a grain reserve, while ~~The Administration~~ sold our reserves at low prices in 1972 and continues to oppose reserves. A reserve should be small, ~~held by farmers~~ ^{and self-sufficient} (although ~~government help may be required~~), and should be used as a main line of defense against the possibility of having to limit exports. It should be used only when commodity prices have risen well above support levels. If President Ford opposes grain reserves, his only defense in case of a shortage is to embargo exports. He can't have it both ways.

The opposition has accused me of favoring a government-owned reserve. I am not convinced this would be needed, but I expect farmers would ask for some government assistance for storage and other costs if they are to carry a reserve in the public interest.

On this point, I call your attention to the fact that the Administration is acquiring some 1975 crop rice this year under the price support program, despite the claims that Secretary Butz will not rebuild government-owned reserves.

Possible Question # 2

By "Gov. Carter," ^{as a failure.} "You have criticized Secretary Butz, ~~etc~~ What would your farm policy be?"

Possible Question to President Ford on general farm situation.

Question giving President Ford the opportunity to make a general response on farm and food issues.

Ford Response (in brief form)

1. Farmers have been given the opportunity for full production in a free market and they have responded.
2. As a result, farm exports have set new records year after year, and will continue to increase. (see Dole speech at Des Moines)
3. Net farm income in the U.S. has averaged over \$20 billion since 1969 but only about \$13.8 billion (Dole said \$11.9 in Des Moines) under the previous Democratic Administration.
4. Cost of farm programs the last few years has been below \$1 billion a year, compared with average costs around \$4 billion under the Democrats (figure could vary depending on budget concept and years used).
5. Consumer food prices are stable (rising only 2-3% this year) and rose far less last year than before I became President.
6. We will continue a free market agriculture with unlimited exports; if Congress were to pass a bill setting up a government-owned grain reserve, I would veto it.
7. Democratic farm programs have always controlled what farmers can do, limited their production, and held farm exports below their potential. Gov. Carter produces peanuts, one of the last crops still under the old control programs developed in the 1930's and still not in the world export market.

Carter Rebuttal

in which the problems of black people, for instance, have come to more closely resemble those of the rest of society--the need for jobs, the need for housing, the need for better education and health care. And it is on these problems that efforts can be concentrated, rather than on fighting ^{as in the 60's} ~~legalized~~ discrimination in the courts and legislatures. Discrimination still exists; it is unfortunate and real. But now...now the vast majority of Americans, in all parts of this country, are on the side of justice.

There's another aspect to this. Here I am, a South Georgia farmer, the Democratic candidate for President of the United States. I have traveled this country for two years.

And nowhere have I heard anyone shout "cracker" or "redneck." Nor do I expect to. ~~Nor do we hear people any longer refer, as a matter of course, to people of Spanish-American, or Southern Eastern European or Jewish heritage with the old labels and insults. It's still there, but we're overcoming it.~~

Reverse

How will we live with each other? We've got to save our cities. We can't abandon them because so many have sought life in suburbs. I think the best answers probably lie in metropolitan government, in which ^{artificial} old jurisdictional lines are wiped out and changed to meet the new way we live around our cities. We need to change the relationships among local, state and federal governments, so that accountability is returned to the government closest to the people. ~~We need to~~ We need to take a very hard look at our educational system--because the fact is, our children are not gaining the basic skills they need to excel and succeed in a competitive world. ^{we've got to create jobs and stop this inflation.} But, most of all, we ought to take hope.

*housing
housing
(and local
& neighbors)*

Shorter

I think our best days still lie ahead. There's a lot of strength here and a basic decency.

10. During the primary period, you made a remark concerning "ethnic purity." You subsequently clarified it. That episode aside, how do you see the future of living patterns in our society? Should the old goal of integration, advocated by your party, be abandoned? Should public housing, for instance, be situated in middleclass, suburban neighborhoods? Is busing a solution to anything? Would you share your thinking with us?

I think it's very easy to lose sight of the enormous change that's taken place in this country over the past 30 years. There have been mass migrations of people. Changes in our living and transportation patterns. The impact of mass communication on all our lives. Assassination of political leaders.] ~~For a time,~~ Violence and ^{crime} ~~terror~~ in our urban centers. ~~And a tragic involvement in Southeast Asia, that divided us and placed an unfair burden on those boys who fought the war.~~ A constitutional crisis involving the debasement and

abuse of the office of the Presidency itself. How many countries could have come through it intact? In my judgment, very few. But, as I travel around the country, I find the American people still hopeful and optimistic. What an opppouring of patriotism and confidence---yes, and love among our people---there was on our 200th birthday this summer. And the landing on Mars helped us all to put our lives on earth in a more proper perspective.. I say all this because I think it's important that we not be distracted by momentary changes and developments in our country. We're still strong. We still believe in ourselves. And we are still resilient.

Now, it's clear to me that we need to look ahead to the 1980's and stop thinking and talking in terms of the America that existed in the 50's and 60's/ You asked about civil rights. You may be surprised to hear me say that we hear less about civil rights because we've entered a new, more mature phase

(over)

Add to ethnic purity question and answer: we form neighborhoods for lots of reasons, just as we form friendships for lots of reasons. But I believe that if an American family feels secure, if the streets are safe, the schools are educating the children for excellence, and the man or woman at ~~head~~ the head of that family has a steady job with a ~~chance~~ chance for advancement--and they think the taxes they pay are fair--then I don't think that family cares very much about the ethnic background of their neighbors.

1974. ~~Harvey~~ Community Dev. act
on the books —

People frustrated because
of common prob

8. Governor, not long ago your party led the battle for civil rights in this country. Yet now, black people and black issues seem almost ~~invisible~~ in your campaign---as do other minority group representatives. What has happened? Why this change? What does this imply for the future of racial progress in this country?

The battle isn't over. It's still going on. But it's on different and more practical terms. (pickup language from question on how we live together). I was proud of the support I received from black voters in the Democratic primary campaigns. And I will need the same support in November.

~~invisible~~
 If black voters register, turn out, and vote they can make the difference in November between a Democratic President and another four years of a Republican administration.

Are black issues invisible? Far from it. Because the issues affecting black Americans are the same ones troubling all Americans---except that for many black people the problems are deeper and more serious. Jobs. Decent housing. Prices within the family budget. Good schools. Health care that can be afforded. Open space and clean air to make life more liveable.

That is the American agenda.

See other answer.

Insert

OK
Ten years ago, a scholar of mass communications told us that "the medium is the message." It is equally true, when you talk about government, that the operation is the policy==the procedure often governs the substance. If you have ten bureaus with a hand in one program, then work enough for those ten bureaus will be generated, and the program will necessarily suffer. I won't reorganize just to make things neater. but to improve the responsiveness of government at all levels where it is supposed to serve the citizen.

14. I know you feel that you're unfairly charged with being evasive or misleading on a number of issues, governor. But why does this charge arise so frequently? What would cause people to reach such a conclusion? Are you simply misunderstood?

You ought to talk to my advisers. They tell me I go into far too much detail. On a more serious level, though, I am aware of that charge. It seldom comes, I must say, from someone who has made a thorough examination of my public record or my public statements. It is much easier, when running for office, to take no positions at all---or to take extremely simplistic positions which lend themselves to easy labeling. But, ~~#####~~ it is ~~far more~~ difficult to examine important questions in detail and to offer analyses and solutions which are sometimes as complex as the problem under discussion. That is the way in which I normally express myself.

this Administration
For instance, ~~Mr. Ford~~ says simply that putting more people to work would cause more inflation. That is both misleading and wrong. Mr. Simon and Mr. Butz give us easy preachments about ~~the work ethic and~~ Horatio Alger and the need for people to get to work. But they haven't stood in the unemployment and welfare lines week after week because there isn't any work to be found. ~~But neither this Administration nor the hangover appointees in it has taken the trouble to~~ If I haven't made myself fully understood, ~~I~~ regret it.

- Purely*
- Political charge.
 - What my commitments are.
 - Called worse by Justo Maddox.

'I see you began with a surprise question'
'I thought you'd never ask.'

27. Amnesty---why to the Legion, why at all?

I don't want to be President because I want popularity.
I want to be President to do what I think is right for my
country. I believe it is time to put the Vietnam war behind us.
And I

see social issues answer

26. Busing

see social issues answer

25. The Republicans charge that you are a free-spending liberal in Plains clothing. They say that your selection of Senator Mondale as your running mate proves the point...that otherwise you would have chosen a more conservative man. Among other things, Senator Mondale is known in the Senate as Mr. Busing. How would you respond to that charge?

I don't attach labels to people, nor do I think the American people do. Senator Mondale is an able and extremely dedicated public servant who is fully capable of occupying the Presidency itself. I respect him. That is why I asked him to be my Vice Presidential candidate. As to differences between us: I would be worried about a man who shared every opinion of my own. I don't want that in a Vice President or in anyone who serves in a high position in my Administration. But I do want people, like Senator Mondale, whose integrity is beyond reproach... who are devoted to finding practical solutions to our country's problems...and who are dedicated to the wellbeing of the average family. So long as we agree on that, I am more than satisfied.

- Respond to free-spending charge.
- Has taken Best from liberalism/conservatism
 - Business - profit
 - governor - surplus
 - I have met a payroll.



23. How would government be different under a Carter administration than under a Ford administration? What would you do that Mr. Ford hasn't done?

I would not be a caretaker. I would actively address the country's problems as I believe the people want me to do. I do not view the Presidency as a place where the chief executive should benignly stand by while events take their course. I would, first of all, ~~respond to the call upon the spirit of hope and energy that has not been called~~ tell the American people just exactly where our country stood--the truth about unemployment, the truth about the seriousness of the inflation rate, the truth about our growing vulnerability to OPEC oil blackmail, and the truth about the inefficiencies which have become a daily part of our government. Then I would tell them exactly what I propose to do about it. I have outlined my plans in this campaign---I will repeat them for you now, if you wish. But I think it is far more important to emphasize that my view of the Presidency is far more in line with ~~those of Presidents~~ ^{that} Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy---that is, activist, and determined--- than of Republican chief executives such as Mr. Ford. What would I do that Mr. Ford hasn't done? I would not stand ^{passively} by. I would act.

and ask for their support.

progressive

- 40% oil : less prepared for embargo
- unemployment
- NIH stuff

Vietnam - \$13 billion - (actual cost)
~~Hasn't asked~~ Hasn't Ford
acted?

I would not have vetoed -

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Embassy
Housing

and ask for their support.

progressive

Basic
econ. program
every time
New business -

Basic answer
at first
opportunity

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and ask for their support.

progressive.

It would not a ~~President~~
Very specific - Admin who would permit
- not veto unemployment to double
- attendance on foreign oil
-

22. Governor, you have been a strong proponent of sunshine laws, political campaign reform, and truthfulness in politics. Yet there seem to be conflicting stories about your 1970 contributors list, whether or not it ~~does or doesn't~~ still exist, and whether you have any personal knowledge of its contents. Your principal campaign finance officer from that campaign has said the entire list was computerized, full records kept, and that you were fully cognizant of its contents. Yet you have denied most or all of this? Who is telling the truth and why will you not release the names and amounts from that list? Were there corporate contributions in it?

~~As you know,~~

The complete list did exist in 1970. There were no secrets in it. There were some corporate contributions on it, I would imagine. They were legal in Georgia at that time. Yes, I probably did have a general knowledge of it, but I would not even then have had a knowledge of each name and amount contributed. I had able and honest people running my fund-raising and I trusted them to ~~###~~ accept no contribution which might possibly compromise my independence as governor.

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19. You speak glowingly of Hyman Rickover, who is known as an autocratic leader. Many people have said you pattern your own magagerial habits after his, and that you don't like confusion and dissent. Isn't this dangerous in itself? Isn't an autocraf in work clothes and work shoes just as dangerous as one in a ten-gallon hat or California wardrobe?

As a Naval officer I was honored to serve under Admiral Rickover. He is a brilliant and ^{able} ~~dedicated~~ man. His dedication to excellence is deeper than that of any man I have ever met. Now, it's an incredible leap to say that my admiration for this man indicates I would establish an autocratic White House. I stand on my record. As a school board chairman, as a state senator, as governor I set high standards for myself and for those who worked with me. But I also conducted myself in such a way that I was open to ideas and to dissent. One of the first things I would intend to do as President, in fact, is to open the processes of the White House and the federal government to public view. I don't like business done behind closed doors. I don't like arbitrary decison-making. Nor do I like abuses of power and public trust undertaken by government executives who are not given ~~oversight~~ oversight by an indifferent chief executive. One of my first acts as President would be to sekk the ~~chauffeur-driven limousines now used by the White House staff. Another would be to hold nationally-~~ televised question-and-answer sessions with ordinary citizens--- who ~~would call in on the phone---on a regular basis.~~ ^{As President,} I would view myself as the people's employee. And I would hope they would judge ^{my work} ~~me~~ by severe standards.

*Campaigning,
but not not.*

Brandy

17. In recent years, Democrats have been in the White House every time we've had a war. We are at peace now, for the first time in a generation. Mr. Ford is clearly a peaceful, secure man unlikely to enter any international adventure. Why should the people take a chance on a man with relative international inexperience and skampy previous record such as yourself?

Putting it another way, why should people place their faith in an administration and a party that clearly has ^{ve} failed ^{in their} ~~its~~ responsibility to them? After six years of outright dishonor in the Presidency we have had two years of caretakership. *The quarterback has changed, but the rest of the team is the same.* The problems are just too large to sustain this for another ^{(. Now, as to making war:} four years. I am not a warmaker. Anyone who has learned as much as I have about nuclear weapons is not a warmaker.

As for ^{my} ~~my~~ experience, I am proud of it. I have been a career Naval officer, a farmer, a businessman, a ^{school board member,} ~~local official,~~ a state senator, ~~a~~ ^{the} ~~governor who compiled~~ ^{my state} of ~~the largest state east of the Mississippi.~~ And I have studied, traveled and ^{prepared for responsibility} ~~read~~ throughout all of my adult life. ~~I have been to China, for instance, more often than the President.~~ ^{my opponent has.} I believe I know ^{he does} more than ~~most people~~ about the way our federal system works--- ^{because I know it} and not just from the top down, but from the grassroots up.

As President Kennedy said, there are many roads to the Presidency. I believe my road has been long and instructive. I am not intimidated either by the office or its responsibilities. I welcome those responsibilities. It is the greatest opportunity any citizen could have to serve his country.

Basic lesson of History

whereby Presidents from years Roosevelt, Adlai Wilson

Judgment, Experience, Capacity

Mr. Ford chose another path. Washington preparation

15. Governor, you seem sufficiently vague about your tax, reorganization, welfare reform, and health-insurance plans that there is doubt that ^{you} even have specifics in mind. Those who judge harshly might call this the equivalent of Nixon's "secret plan to end the war." When will you provide us with more specifics?

As President, I would ~~I am for putting~~ fairness into the tax code---fairness which ~~for middle and lower-income taxpayers.~~ is now missing. ~~I am for the~~ I would undertake a thoroughgoing review of every government department, agency and program and see to its operating efficiency. I would take the first steps to do away with the welfare mess---beginning with programs ~~to~~ ~~providing~~ jobs and job training, with emphasis on the private sector. I would phase-in the first steps of a national health insurance plan as soon as sufficient revenues became available to do it. I would act immediately to build an effective energy-conservation plan at home to break the blackmail hold of the OPEC oil producers. I would balance the federal budget by 1981. And I have made detailed statements telling exactly how. I am far from vague. I am more specific than the Republican administration would like. Because there is not one of those things that it has had the courage or determination to undertake. There is no secret about my plan. It is to move this ~~administration~~ ^{stale, tired,} out of the White House and let the people back in.

— Answer each one
— " "
— " "
— " "

— Impossible

If generic questions, answer one.

self-playing

13. Would you have pardoned Mr. Nixon? Would you now pardon Mr. Ehrlichmann, Mr. Haldeman and lesser figures who did not receive pardons? What about even smaller fry who already have completed prison terms---and Mr. Liddy who received an exceptionally long term while his superiors escaped more lightly?

until after the full judicial process.
~~in the future~~

No, I would not have pardoned Mr. Nixon. As to the other people to whom you refer: They clearly have been treated more harshly than those whom they served. Yet their own offenses were serious ones. We can't take lightly any action which ^{imperils} ~~jeopardizes~~ the integrity of our democratic process or of the Presidency itself. And that is exactly what they did. I think each American needs to make his judgment on this matter. I won't say anything further---some of these cases are still before the courts.

(If asked)

~~ing~~

*vetos - saved - 11 billion dollar.
Fynn says - 6 billion*

Appointments turned down.
flawless, etc.

ms

Stumbling

4. Only two years ago America seemed to agree that it was highly important to restore trust and integrity to the Presidency, and to remove some of the unseemly pomp from the office. Hasn't President Ford done that? Why should you replace him after such a short time?

I do not question for a moment that Mr. Ford is a ^{sincere} ~~decent~~ and open man. But that is not the same as restoring public confidence in the Presidency.

America people must feel the man at the top is in firm control.

Conflict/
interest.

The best way to restore confidence is to demonstrate that major public problems are being addressed and solved. In this respect, I think the judgments must be relatively ~~harsh~~ ^{severe}.

Excessive
sarcasm.

Most of the present administration consists of holdover people and holdover policies from Mr. Nixon. In no major area of public policy do I see an administrative initiative worthy of the name. Not to stop inflation. Not to put people to work.

FOI
act.

Not to free us from ^{OPEC quite literally has us over a barrel - of oil.} OPEC oil blackmail. Not to cut government

Morton

waste and inefficiency. Not to provide a health-care system. ~~Not to enforce open government and conflict-of-interest regulations.~~ Someone said the other day that this administration's final

Economy
more appropriate by

~~major contribution~~ ^{major initiative} might be that Secretary Simon's picture If inflation continues, it might would be put on the two-dollar bill, ~~to be replaced by~~ ~~by~~ ~~pt~~ the end of the year it might be more appropriate to put it on Mr. Simon's picture on a \$2.50 bill.

During these two years the federal bureaucracy has continued to expand and feed upon itself. In two years there have been more federal employees and more government agencies added to the roster. The White House staff has increased by per cent and the budget by per cent.

We've all seen and heard about the scandal in the Medicaid program.. about the foulups in the social security program...about the

(over)

grain embargo last fall that cost American farmers and consumers
our balance of payments about billion dollars.

But the only action seems to be on the golf course.

We are grateful that Mr. Ford has not abused the constitution
and ~~disgraced~~ ^{disgraced} the office of the President as Mr. Nixon did.

But I think it may be the measure of the times that we are grateful.

Imagine a circumstance where we are relieved just because the

President has not disgraced his office. I think we can do

better than that. I think the President should be expected to

address our problems and set forth an agenda of action for the

people. I would do that.

2/

~~it's easy to criticize other people's programs.~~ Mr. Ford's party has a long ^{and consistent} record of opposition. ^{Republicans} They opposed Social Security, ~~and the rest of the New Deal legislation.~~ ^{Republicans} They have opposed minimum wage legislation, ^{Republicans} and Mr. Ford voted against minimum wages 7 times as a Congressman. ~~They~~ ^{and} opposed Medicare. ^{just about every positive economic and social advance of the past two generations.} Mr. Ford voted against Medicare as a Congressman.

~~Criticism of specific Ford vetoes~~

~~L - A number of~~ Mr. Ford's vetoes fit right into this pattern of consistent negativism and opposition. ^{He} Mr. Ford vetoed the Veteran's Educational and Jobs Act which would have increased educational benefits for Korean and Vietnam war veterans and would have increased on-the-job training and vocational aid for disabled veterans. ^{L - He} Mr. Ford vetoed amendments to the Freedom of Information Act which would have provided some enforcement provisions for that act. Here we had a situation where, after all these years, the government bureaucracy was required by law to open up its unclassified files to the public but without any provision for deadlines or any penalties for government officials who refused to comply. The amendments would have put in enforcement provisions and Mr. Ford vetoed them. ^{L -} All over the country, ~~this month~~ ^{this month} unemployed policemen, firemen, municipal employees, and construction workers are being rehired with funds provided ^{Public Works} by the Employment Act of 1976. Here ~~we have~~ ^{is} a situation where ^{7.5 million} ~~there is almost 8% unemployment in the country,~~ ^{of our citizens are out of work.} where we're wasting billions of dollars in unemployment and welfare payments to able-bodied workers and the President vetoed this bill. ~~but~~ I think that was short sighted and wrong, and I'm glad Congress overrode the veto.

--Mr. Ford likes to say that the people can't afford the legislation he has vetoed, even though ~~some of the~~ bills there were that didn't involve ~~no~~ government ~~spending~~ expenditures. But what the country really can't afford is a continuation of the policies of draft and stagnation that have produced the ~~highest~~, most costly budget deficits, ^{largest,} ^{the highest} unemployment rates, and the highest inflation since the Great Depression.

--It is not sufficient simply to obstruct what Congress tries to do. A President is obligated to come forward with forceful and imaginative plans of his own. This has not been true with the present incumbent.

--The only solution, to my mind, is not to continue the stalemate and drift for four more years, but it is to elect new leadership with vision, and strength, and imagination, and toughness to get Congress moving in the right direction, in cooperation with the President, for the benefit of all the people.

19. FORD VETOES

President Ford is obviously running against Congress as well as Jimmy Carter. A vital part of his strategy is to point to his many vetoes and to suggest that these vetoes prevented Congress from enacting wasteful and inflationary policies in a host of areas.

Basic Statement

← --First, let me say that I'm running for president, not Congress; and so I don't consider myself a spokesman for Congress. There have been more than enough mistakes in recent years to go around for both the Administration and Congress.

~~Real problem has been lack of leadership in the White House.~~

~~But I think the real problem has been the lack of leadership in the White House.~~ The president is the chief executive, he and the vice-president are the only officials in our country elected by all the people. That's where the people look for leadership, and that's where leadership has ~~to~~ to come from. If the people's faith and trust in government can be restored, ~~and I think that it has been lost and missing in recent years~~ *it can only be done* ~~it's going to be~~

~~restored~~ through forceful, competent leadership in the White House.

← Vetoes represent a pattern of Republican negativism.

← I'm not as concerned with arguing about the details of each of Mr. Ford's vetoes as I am about the pattern of negativism that the vetoes represent. ~~It is easy to be against something,~~

Fallows

General Hostile Questions for the Debates

1) Governor, you talk a lot about reform. You say we need a new tax system, and a new welfare system, and a reorganized government. But you never get around to telling us the details. You say we'll have to wait and see. The last time we heard something like this, it was from Richard Nixon, with his "secret plan for peace." Do you have a "secret plan" to reform the government? Will it be as disastrous as Nixon's? How can you expect the American people to give yet another President yet another blank check?

2) You did provide one detail of your plans. You said during the primaries that you wanted to get rid of the deduction for home-mortgage interest. How can we believe your talk about the "average American" when you say things like that? Your Democratic opponents ate you alive for making that proposal. Aren't they right?

3) Another detail you have given us is "sunset" laws and "zero-based budgeting." Aren't these just fancy-sounding names that won't make any difference? In your "sunset" laws, where will you possibly draw the line between programs that expire and ones that don't? If the Congress has to keep renewing programs every five years, won't they simply be swamped with work? Won't they just give a cursory rubber-stamp to the programs? Congress has never given much attention to oversight; why do you think they'll be better about sunset laws?

4) We once had a president who promised us guns and butter both. That is what a lot of your rhetoric sounds like. You tell us we're going to have equality and full liberty too. In your economic speech, you say we're going to have full employment, no inflation, a balanced budget, and stable growth. But you give us no details. Aren't you just making the most extravagant political promises of all time, and refusing to tell us how you'll accomplish them?

5) There is a notoriously intolerant streak in the history of Southern Baptists. It was in the land of your birth that the Klan was strong. You've been weak among the Catholics and Jews of the north. Do you think you could ever be a President of all the people, considering your background and the suspicions that southerners arouse?

6) You've said that you don't like to compromise. You've described yourself as stubborn. Are these the qualities we need in a President these days? How do you expect to get anything out of the Congress, if you're not able to bend and adapt? Won't you have the same falling-out with the Democratic Congress that both Kennedy and Johnson did?

7) You say that we have weak leadership now. But hasn't the real damage of the last fifteen years been done by Presidents who were too strong? Do the American people need an activist President now? Don't they want someone who will help bring the office back down to its proper position? We had one President who got us involved in Vietnam, another who tore the country

apart because of the war--and they were both Democrats, I might remind you--and one more who felt so powerful in office that he committed crimes of an unprecedented nature. Mr. Ford may not be as forceful a leader, but he also has not done so much damage. Why do we need to change?

8) Every time the United States has entered a war in this century, a Democrat has been in the White House. Every time a Democrat has been in the White House, we have entered a war. We are at peace now, for the first time in a long generation. Why should we change from the President who brought us peace?

9) You've often talked about your empathy with the little people of the country. You try to portray yourself as a humble peanut farmer. But you're really a man of substantial wealth. The home town you always refer to is really a company town, and your family is the company that runs it. Isn't your "empathy" a bogus pose? How can you claim any genuine kinship with the average people of this country?

10) You've always been an ambitious man. You say in your book that the shock of losing the race for the governorship in 1966 was terrible. If you are elected, do you really expect to win every contest you enter? Will you become peevish and vindictive when Congressmen don't agree with you? Do you have any sense of the irony and chanciness of life?

11) You speak glowingly of Hyman Rickover, who was an auto-

cratic leader. Many people have said that you pattern your own managerial habits after his. You don't like confusion or dissent. Isn't this the last thing we need from a President now? Do you have any conception of all of the dangers of an autocratic Presidency? Do you have any idea of the necessary limits to your own power? Will you be able to avoid the prince-and-courtiers phenomenon of the Johnson and Nixon years, when the President surrounded himself with those who said what he wanted to hear?

Q. Gov Carter your chief economic advisor is now saying that your economic goals are unrealistic. ~~How~~ Have you gotten rid of your advisor or have you changed your goals?

A. My advisor Dr. Klein of the Wharton School of Business, has said that the goals are ~~not~~ achievable without a simultaneous attack on inflation. In fact, ~~he~~ ^{he helped develop them} he has recommended an anti-inflation program. It will ~~not~~ reduce the shortages which drive up prices. With this long term effective program which does not put people out of work the goals of 4% unemployment and 4% inflation can be achieved by the end of my first term of office. ~~Dr. Klein~~ ^{Dr. Klein} agrees with that. ~~I can assure you he gives me his best advice.~~

~~PLATE~~

Facts or Statements Ford Should Be Asked to Deny

1. That the list of corporations which have participated in the Arab boycott is not being made public (contrary to Ford statement in 2nd debate)
2. That the Second World War was a Democratic War opposed by Republicans (as stated by Dole in his debate)
3. That Rockefeller has twice said the Republican Platform does not represent Ford's views
4. That Ford claimed ^{at confirmation hearings} he was responsible for \$14 billion in defense cuts as a member of Defense Subcommittee; ~~stated~~ ^{or} that as President he ~~stated~~ there were too many frills in the defense budget.
5. That it took a week for Mr. Ford to admit he made mistake in ~~his~~ last debate on Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.
- ~~6. That the Republican Party is the party of the corporate special interests — evidenced by the support for Mr. Ford of 85% of the presidents of Fortune 500 companies~~
7. That ~~he~~ he has never provided ~~an explanation~~ ^{an explanation} to the American Farmer ~~an explanation~~ a justification for 4 embargoes.
8. That ^{although} crime ~~rose~~ ^{rose} 58% during the Republican Administration ~~and~~ Ford now claims he can greatly reduce crime in a 100 day crusade starting next January, even though he has already been President for 800 days.

8 That ~~the~~ Ford and Dole both voted against Medicare and that Dole attacked Medicare in his debate.

9 That Dole was the only member of Senate Agriculture Committee to sponsor Nixon's plan to eliminate ~~the~~ Agriculture Department as a Cabinet level Department.

10 That Ford and Dole have never - before or during this campaign - publicly disclosed their income tax returns.

11 That ~~the~~ Ford ^{strongly} opposed the legislation to place sanctions on those participating in the Arab boycott (contrary to what he said in the second debate)

~~12 That ~~the~~ Ford has absconded with Nixon's policies~~

~~That Ford ~~never~~ never criticized Nixon's handling of Watergate or that Ford has absconded with Nixon's policies~~

~~13 That Ford blocked any investigation of Watergate before the '72 election~~

~~14 That Ford decided to ~~send~~ ^{provide} new arms to Israel only because of the election (he had opposed doing so for at least a year)~~

~~15 That Ford has not met with a single consumer or environmental group in his 2 years (though he has gotten with U.S. Steel and Ford Motor executives regularly)~~

Outline

✓ I Strategy Section.

✓ II Thematic Section

III ~~Elaboration of Themes~~ ^{Points to Make --}
Foreign & Domestic

IV Miscellaneous

— Rebuttal to Ford Charges --
Debate II

— Candidate Ford vs. President
Ford

— Rebuttal to Opening Ford
Question

✓ ~~Legis~~ Summary of Recent
Legislation

V Domestic ~~Q's~~ Q's and A's

VI Foreign Q's and A's

VII Debate Transcripts

Nov 2002 - Table (\$12,600)
Stuvia - (\$12,400) to table, (from plan)
Whe - 1/2 to test (WFR 10)



CLOSING STATEMENT

Tonight we conclude this series of Presidential debates; and in 10 days this long campaign will be over as well. But I hope, with your help, that Election Day will signify not an end but a beginning --

-- the beginning of a new day of hope and confidence in our country;

-- the beginning of new economic policies that will bring prices down and put people back to work.

I want to make that kind of new beginning for America; but I cannot do it alone. I need your votes on November 2nd, but I also need your help. I need your advice. I need your support in the months and years that lie ahead.

policy and when our leaders can stand as beacons of hope for freedom-loving people throughout the world.

I want you to hold me accountable for all I have said I would do, so that I never let you down.

I want you to tell me whenever you are ill-served by government, so I can find out the reason and set it right.

I want you to help me as I set to work to reform the welfare mess . . . to make the tax code fair to provide national health insurance *and* real jobs for the unemployed *and* help for our failing cities, *and* decent housing, *and* a cleaner environment... and a sensible national energy policy; and to restore our place in the world. I want you to support my efforts to make the federal government work.

Republican ends budget deficit... to

None of these things can be achieved in ~~one~~ easily or in one year or, in some cases, in ~~one~~ any President's ~~one~~ any one term of office. But we must begin.

If you agree with me that it's time for leadership, for a change; that it's time this country regained its pride and its confidence and its strength -- with a strong economy and strong moral standards and a strong defense and, above all, strong, competent, compassionate leadership -- then I ask you to give me your vote on November 2nd.

The choice is clear. The issues are clear. The contrast is clear. And whether you vote to continue the Republican status quo under Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole, or vote for new leadership,

either way I hope you will vote. *You have good reason to be disenchanted with the last 8 years. Let your voice be heard. Millions of American men have died in battlefields abroad to protect our right to vote. Let your voice be heard.*

But let us begin anew - together, South and North, East and West. Those things which unite us
 We love this land of ours too much to lose faith now. *We fear record these things that divide us*
 have survived a difficult decade. Together we can put those years behind us, make a ^{fresh} ~~new~~ start, and ~~build a better America~~ for your children and for mine.

~~Handwritten signature~~

~~We~~ We should ~~not~~ ^{not} deceive ourselves. If we do not begin ... if we continue ^{to} drift with the present Republican policies, more American families will face longer and deeper hardship. There will be millions needlessly without work ... elderly citizens cruelly robbed by inflation ... young people unable to meet their aspirations. ~~not potential~~ Worst of all, we will be ~~losing~~ ~~than we can be~~ needlessly throwing away this nation's great potential.

Insert A

In fact, there is no Ford tax cut for individuals. What Mr. Ford fails to mention is that his claim of a \$10 billion tax cut is entirely offset by a 6.6 percent increase in social security taxes and Mr. Ford's elimination of the earned income credit + other tax reductions already enacted by Congress.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

- .Dole and you have supported detailed public disclosure of contributions and expenditures.

CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS

- .Dole and you voted in July of 1973 for an amendment to limit contributions by individuals to \$3000 to each candidate with an overall limitation of \$100,000 applicable to contributions by each individual to all candidates.
- .Dole has voted against lower limits, voting against the current \$1000 ceiling on contributions by individuals. You voted for this.
- .This year he supported an amendment, rejected by the Senate, to increase the contribution limitations for individuals from \$1000 to \$5000 and for political action committees from \$5000 to \$25,000 for Presidential and Senate candidates. You opposed these upward revisions.

PUBLIC FINANCING

- .You have consistently supported public financing of both Presidential and Congressional elections. Dole has consistently opposed such financing.
- .Dole in 1971 voted against the dollar check-off, and against a provision in November of 1973 to double the check-off to two dollars per return.
- .In 1974, Dole voted for and you were paired against an amendment to strike all public financing provisions from the Revenue Act of 1974.

DOLE ON PUBLIC FINANCING

- ."If this mass of unfortunate and deplorable happenings (i.e. Watergate) is held up against the action (of enacting public financing) that is being generated in response to it, the American people must begin to wonder what is going on." (April 10, 1974)

Points to Make: Foreign Policy

5
Double-space

A → Republican

1. Ford Administration operates with 19th century, balance-of-power view.

- Puts relations with adversaries ahead of those with allies (Western Europe, Japan);
- Overlooks major issues of late 20th century such as nuclear proliferation, energy crisis, world food shortage and poverty;
- Operates with excessive secrecy and through one-man diplomacy rather than involving Congress and people;
- Not reflective of values of America or its people.

~~we would~~
~~Base our foreign policy upon close relationships~~

My foreign policy:

- Strong domestic economy---necessary to all we do;
- Strong defense establishment based on reassessment of our needs in 1980's; muscle, not fat and waste;
- Closer relationships with Western Europe and Japan; must be consulted and ^{we will be} true allies;
- Priority attention to late-20th century issues such as proliferation, energy crisis, food shortage, poverty, arms sales;
- Based on concern for human rights; more reflective of who and what we are; formulated with participation of Congress and American people.

Republican

2. Ford Administration has put Israel, and U.S., hostage to Arab oil producers.

- Tacit cooperation with boycott, despite ^{the Ford} indication in 2d debate to contrary;
- ~~U.S. arms sales last year to Arab countries far outweighed those to Israel;~~ ^{now get 58% of} U.S. arms sales; Israel 17%.
- "Project Independence" only empty slogan; U.S. more dependent on Arab oil than before the embargo; inflationary effect on economy.
- ^{Used ~~aid~~ as lever to force concessions from Israel.} Attempt ~~to~~ imposed settlement on Israel.

My foreign policy:

- Defiance of boycott and enforcement of U.S. law governing it;
- Tangible steps to break Arab oil blackmail; tough conservation program; immediate development domestically of alternate energy sources, beginning with coal; will not stand still for another embargo.
- Adequate arms to Israel. ^{insist on face-to-face} Middle East peace negotiations.

Republican

3. Ford administration insensitive to human rights elsewhere in world.

- Failure to insist on Soviet compliance with Helsinki re human rights;
- Embracing dictatorships in Brazil, Chile, Phillipines;
- snub of Solzhenitsyn;
- ignoring Turkish takeover of Cyprus;
- ~~belated recognition of human rights in Southern Africa.~~

— ~~Southern Africa~~ Doctrine;

— Southern Africa ~~doctrine~~ - belated acceptance of majority rule.

My foreign policy:

- implement Jackson-Vanik (Soviet Jews) bill;
- insist on Soviet compliance with Helsinki provisions ~~on~~ human rights;
- tough penalties on those complying with Arab boycott;
- urge Senate ratification of Genocide Convention and convention against racial discrimination;
- offer U.S. good offices in settling Cyprus question;
- reaffirm our support of ~~peoples of Eastern Europe~~ for aspirations of people of Eastern Europe; constant efforts to stimulate liberalization, ~~through trade, tourism, cultural exchange.~~ ~~constant pressure for human rights all over world.~~ →

4. Waste and mismanagement in national defense.

Republican

- Expensive B-1 bomber ~~timetable~~ pushed by administration (\$100 million per plane) before Texas primary without adequate regard for whether it was needed or not;
- 45 major weapons systems now being built already \$13 billion above projected costs;
- Less than half all procurement contracts result from competitive bidding;
- Navy ship overruns almost same this year as budget for new ships (\$2.4 billion vs. \$2.3 billion);
- three times as many generals and admirals per fighting man as in World War II;
- Most importantly, weapons ~~systems~~ do not go into production because they have a clearly defined role within a considered defense posture; they go ahead of their own inertia because contractors and Pentagon brass want them-#####

---Ford claims money can't be saved, but had 3 billion "cut insurance" in his own submission to Congress.

My policy:

- Must have strong, modern national defense. No question about that;
- ~~Savings from cut in cut insurance~~ ~~leaf transfers~~; NATO standardization; ~~teacher-population~~; ~~less cost~~ ~~overruns~~
- Defense budget must flow ~~from~~ careful examination of U.S. foreign policy interests and priorities; not other way around.

I would undertake that kind of thorough examination---not made now for many years.

---Standardization of NATO weapons; Goodpaster (former NATO commander) says U.S. can save \$2 billion; NATO \$10 billion.

---Insist on end to inter-service rivalries; duplication of R&D, weapons systems, intelligence; would institute competitive bidding wherever possible.

---No weapons system---B-1 a perfect example---would get go-ahead until I had personally examined its projected mission, its usefulness, its cost. I would do that with B-1 early next year; not spend the money and ask questions later.

---I am an Annapolis graduate and a former career Naval officer. My commitment to our national defense is unquestioned; and so is my commitment to cutting waste that ~~weakens~~ that defense.

weakens

Republican
5. ~~Repeal~~ Administration has formulated and conducted policy without regard for Congress or people.

(keep)

~~Cambodia, ~~###~~ Vietnam, Angola policies~~
---Cambodia, Vietnam, Angola, Cyprus; our relations with Chile, *Brazil*, Phillipines, ~~Brazil~~; our export of nuclear ~~materials~~ *materials* elsewhere in the world; the sudden embargoes of agricultural products---~~###~~ none of ~~these things~~ *of policies* undertaken with adequate consultation with the Congress or understanding by the people.

---~~#####~~ Important matters undertaken by Executive Agreement, rather than submitted to Senate for ratification as Treaties (*Vladivostok*)

--- No attempt made to explain policies to the American people or to share the underlying premises and to mobilize public support; no policy, in a democracy, can be long sustained unless it has deep support among the people themselves.

---Policies devoid of values respected by American people.

My policy:

---Obviously, U.S. foreign policy must be based upon ~~defense~~ *independence* of clearly-defined and thought-through interests. The ~~bases~~ *bases* premises of policy must be shared by the Congress and accepted and understood by the people;

---As in most effective foreign-policy period of U.S. history, after World War II, I would meet regularly with Congressional leaders of both parties to discuss foreign-policy issues and alternatives (Truman-Vandenberg relationship).

---I would, in press conferences and in fireside chats and in travels around the country, share my thinking with the American people and, just as important, listen to their views.

---Would not, as present Administration, disregard matters of human rights and of morality, in making foreign policy judgments. If we do not press for liberty and human freedom in such places as Chile, ~~Brazil~~, Phillipines, Eastern Europe, Southern Africa, who in world will do so? Does not mean throwing military weight around; means speaking clearly and unmistakably to rest of world.

---Such issues as nuclear proliferation, food shortage and poverty must be addressed and solved. Good relations with USSR alone will ~~be~~ of little help ~~####~~ in starving, impoverished, angry world armed with nuclear weapons.

---No contradiction between morality and self interest. They in most cases should be the same.

Note: Suggest taking initiative only on these issues, although of course responding on other foreign issues as addressed (see papers in back of briefing book). In each case, we suggest you address your remarks within the context of one of these five major points.

A

to p. 1.

①

CBS

1. Two Levels of Issues: (a) Specific Issues

- jobs
- inflation
- housing priced out of reach of middle class
- health care

(b) General, Overriding Issues

- need for open & responsive gov't
- need re: gov't cares about people
- need to make our gov't efficient, to not out waste & duplication, to reorganize it and make it manageable

2. Run positive campaign but point out shortcomings of ^{Mr.} Ford & his running mate Dole

- (a) Lack of competent, fresh leadership. Tired Administration run by Nixon carryovers, ^{defenders} (Simon, ~~Spann~~, ^{Gut} Morton) & new Dole
- (b) Absence of any discernible policy in any area - no transportation policy, no energy policy - business as usual
- (c) ^{Contract} Ford's mission to stop inflation
- (d) Foreign policy secretly formulated & implemented & made by Act State & not President & contrary to our own best ideals & principles
 - abandonment E. Europe thru Sunnefeld doctrine
 - Cambodia & Laos & Chile
 - use of econ & military aid to Israel as bare breast exercises
 - incredible mismanagement of Cyprus situation
 - inattention to 3rd world
 - lack of concern for human rights
 - * - Helsinki doctrine: go away w/o getting anything & not enforcing human rights concerns

only info for job
not ideas
Past

Welcome you to Atlanta & express my appreciation on behalf
of Governor Carter for taking the time to share your views with us.

Gov. Carter has long been a successful businessman. He
knows the meaning of a balance sheet. He recognizes the importance
to the fabric of our society & the viability of our private
enterprise system for the need for a profit-driven manufacturing system.
You're entitled to fair profit.

Believe strong but efficient defense
Not whiffing boy

Guests on Plane
Lane Kirkland - Labor Day

Surrogates

3. FU374

- Political change and no other to make & we had no Congressional voting record
- Every major columnist or pundit who looked at our speeches & messages concluded as a more specific message
- Answered among, before messages & news conferences, held more debates

All do - campaign impact

- (1) People contacted
- (2) Positions taken
- (3) Please contact
- (4) Give us ideas
- (5) Rehearse details programs

Aug 27, 1976

Defense Gyp

- Independent R & D - Recovery; need competition
- Adversary relationship
- M. V. S. Hall had: no product line audit as strangers need to support weak lines
- Most revenues in commercial not military areas
- Need superior effort to make up for manpower shortage
- Shrink 1.4 m to 1.1 m employees if cut budget by 5-6
- Cost overruns
- Not call for Conservation conference: until President tells people to conserve they won't. Never say I'm not qualified
- Control Sites

Debate *

Spending increases if votes signed - don't defend Congress

✓ (1) Press Conference: go down 7 items of Ford

Best West 924-4431

(2) Inflation release & Housing Release

✓ (3) Business Week: Jasinski ^{Wed} should be there - 3 of their sharpest people; Wednesday & should have 1/2 hour briefing. Rules should be we see everyone

(4) Labor Day speech: work ethic

(5) Dole - attack on Hill & conflict with Ford

✓ (6) Ford Record

(7) Conservatives Liberal

Pat

- Get date for Housing Statues in D.C.
- Warm Springs
- Labor Day

- Bull
- Commentary crowd

~~Heg~~ ~~Permyzation~~
Briefing || Thursday
Summits - Farris
Jasiminski
7 items
Ludich Letters

Fitzgerald Case re defense costs

Defense Contract Audit

John Brademas : Greek statement

Agency : Ford & Nixon
tried to weaken & wanted
to abolish

Wage demands

355-1607

- ① List Carter speeches : acceptance speech
- ② Length answers + follow-up questions
- ③ Caddell polls
- ④ Platform costs
- ⑤ Ford negatives
- ⑥ Back-base closings
- ⑦ Early discharge from ~~Ohio~~ Navy

Speeches

Housing : Nat'l Housing Conf - Leon Weiner 202/223-4844

Inflation

Neighborhood Development : Tues

Cities : Sept. 20-24 } Banking & Currency Committee
27-30 }

Sept. 17th

Commentary meeting

Ball meeting

Andy

- City dredging : Ted Mastreanni

- Sat night : 8 PM - Dinner - w/ess dates - RSVP - Debbie

Trident : 11 year vs every 31 years

Tuesday

- Neighborhoods

- Groton

(1) Background

(2) Trident

Crime

Gov't Prog.

Inflation on shopping basket

Family

Neighborhoods

Housing

Openness

Clark
 Lowell
 Jack Burns
 Tom McInyre
 Bill Pope

① 2 rebates
 FY 1974: \$50m.
 FY 1975: vetoed 2d. rebate

② Zero-base: were instances of reduction but small & usually re-directed. Management techniques ^{of} ~~by~~ ^{to} make decision

③ Can't justify \$50 million savings.

④ Budget grew as security did: ^① \$43 million when came in
 \$132 million when he left

staff by earlier administrations

⑤ With exception of Regents (formula) & mental health (start-up) & other start-up, very resulted in favorable budget position than previous year.

⑥ Growth in state employees reduced substantially; 87% - 11% down to 2% & more negative year.

⑤ Reorganization

Structural + management

(1) Management improvement: - creation motor pool vs. personal cars.
 - Treasury: bid + can get other investment
 - consolidated over 42 printing offices to 8-16

(2) Ended overlapping jurisdictions & duplication. Had merge # functions
 ex: Mens & Biology, Inver. protection program. Merged functions of Net. Resour. - only one polit. head

(3) Health services not merged by medical board

22 major operating agencies (actually ³³ including least type)

300 ⁽²⁹³⁾ The figure incl all operating units even if part another agency
 Don't get all units but attached to different agencies.

66 had budget figures

(4) Figures on savings (re-directed): did more w/ what had \$53m.

(a) Benefits by improved management of printing, moved

(b) Direct savings

(c) Cost avoidance: would've incurred w/o changes

Not saving but benefit (eg income)

(5) Increased cigarette tax + gas tax
Madden proposed sales tax
Tied state int. fed. funds: deduction deduced

Per capita state tax collection: revenue collection not taxes: just income
Plan did include reduction

Personal exemption still \$1500 & not \$1000 since from \$600 to \$700
for dependents liberalized deductions as mirrored federal
Personal income up 20% in years



Reorganization
Welfare Reform

New Leaders to get this country moving forward.

→ Ideological Speech

-
- ① Let statement on Commerce boycott to Pat Anderson
 - ② Statistics on unemployment
 - ③ AFL-CIO speech

1. Abortion (Harely)

- ① ~~to~~ Law
- ② Introduction to book
- ③ Iowa position + all other positions
- ④ Backup -

I personally disapprove of abortion. I do not believe gov't should encourage abortion. The effort of gov't should be devoted toward minimizing abortions.

I do not support constitutional amendments to overturn the Supreme Court ruling on abortion.

If, within the confines of the Supreme Court ruling, we can work out legislation to minimize abortion with better family planning, ad

2. Ethnic Purity

- ① ~~Get~~ actual quote

5. Price paying program involves a loss for revenues. Never proper program where not know cost. Need ~~good~~ reform in health care, welfare reform, and jobs.

Heat waste : $\approx 1/2$ b.

6. Budget resolution

military
instruct
Asks some
managed by
may be
bankrupt

long since time put up w/ water mismanagement in ^{budget -} ~~Delaware~~ ^{see} ~~Delaware~~
 If not spend here use elsewhere as no loss jobs
 Not involve price but water & mismanagement: better ^{water} ~~water~~
 at less cost. As central get ~~fund~~ ^{fund} ~~earn~~ ^{earn} meet people's needs
 Shouldn't be place for path - ~~land~~

7. Pres. must be able to listen to & represent all viewpoints

8. Not families faced problem.

Those who deal

9. Hardinre 1970 list

15. Better lead than work out compromise. Leadership to lead Congress in constructive direction. With a positive program + direction not get bills which need to veto

Money not spending items e.g. Freedom Info Act when said 55 votes at most saved a 1-66 (15 & 6. authority only small fraction approp. each year - up over long period time.)

Not sit back then any more.

Bill created 700,000 jobs: cost keeping those people unemployed > than most.

Vets

Child Nutrition

Nurses Training

16. ~~Special interest~~ : not

19. Answered 2 wks ago

20.

21. Inst. by James S. Hoover. But

22. Recidivism

increase in crime in last 8 years: not brought low +

order.

LEAA, FBI, Drug Enforcement

Administration

See DeLoon notes

openness.

Strong winning bill
will help protect

23 Breaker: cost
safety probs
disposal probs

Asbestos in energy research: for nuclear here. Share w/ other countries
on shift now for other things - ambient over past year

25 Should be no conflict bet. honest businessmen + consumers.
FTC 37 mos behind
CAB purchases higher prices. Competition best things.
Best business is be good to consumers. Envt agencies guarantee this.
We'll get Congress moving on this w/ proper cooperation and
leadership.
Knows proposal

26 GOP reopened wounds: ^{Rising false hopes undermining local efforts} many Communities trying successfully
Judicial question
Hope local communities can get together

5 yr. permit
follow-up

Perhaps

27 Committed to for refer so middle class can get breaks
These examples mess
legislation be forwarded in 1st year.
Details worked out
Specific process
26, on page 104
Wishes unit to put lunch
bars - gone

Credit Agency
Double taxation

One part problem
Not doing this alone. Not do alone in any way here. Cut
corporate taxes & other actions

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- 6 Experience in state gov't w/ fed gov't: check w/ Maynard Jackson

28. Get history of reorganization efforts

32. Examples

To reduce unemployment have shopping centers,
same deficit spending.

Major reason deficit is per revenues due to recession.

-
- (1) Break walls down; history unty road disunion - JFK
 - (2) Al Smith
Should be religious!

1. Debate Format / Image / style of answering questions

2. Themes

- A - 1) Carter P
2) " N
3) Ford Positive
4) " N

B. Elaboration of Carter themes

- 1) positive
2) negative

* merge - attack themes shouldn't be separated in his mind; show how to use positive themes in such a way as to turn it against them

C. Defense vs. Ford themes

* Ford positive

3. Budget & econ overview: growths/deficits/unemp/infl/GNP-1960-76
budget overview (pie chart) *copy*

4. Q & A

- 1) genl Q's ~~Answers~~ - basic answers we would give, w/ only slight modification regardless of Q
2) ^{specific} ~~specific~~ Q's by area

5. Buckley memo by area

- 1) pertinent facts/figures: body summary by area (also, the problem)
- 2) JC prior statement
- 3) Ford position
- 4) legal in progress
- 5) Platform *experiences*
- 6) *copy*
- 7) *Q & A* - his state govt experience, plus more recent examples