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1 sending them that they're sending back to us in the
2 form of weapons and threatening us.

3 MODERATOR SMITH: Gentlemen, I am afraid we're
4 going to have to switch from foreign affairs due to
5 our merciless schedule. I want to ask you some
6 practical questions about politics.

7 If you become president, any one of you,
8 your first duty will be to have the vision and the
9 information to provide programs and plans to meet
10 our problems. But then your second duty may be
11 much more difficult, that is, getting Congress to
12 accept your plans and programs.

13 I talked to President Nixon some time ago
14 and he reminded me six years ago he offered the first
15 fuel program and Congress wouldn't pass it. I talked
16 to President Ford and he said four years ago, five
17 years ago he offered the second program. Carter
18 offered one. It was paid no attention to. Now
19 he's getting the scraps of his program at last.

20 How-- what makes you think you could
21 either persuade or do successful battle with Congress
22 to prevent your proposals and messages from going
23 into the wastepaper basket on Capitol Hill?

24 Mr. Crane?

1 PHILIP CRANE: Well, let me say that Jack
2 Melenti, head of the Motion Picture Association,
3 had an interesting article recently on what ingredients
4 the next president should have. He said first he
5 should be an educator and secondly a communicator.
6 The purpose of both is to cut through so much of
7 the lack of public understanding of the nature of
8 the problems, and by communicating that effectively
9 to the American people you can then, I think, depend
10 totally on the American people to put the sentiments
11 or to apply the pressure on the members of Congress
12 to do the right thing even if they're doing it for
13 the wrong reasons, namely, just to hold office.

14 Now, let me give you a case in point.
15 You know, the American people are totally confused
16 about the energy situation. And one third of them
17 blame OPEC, one third of them blame the Department
18 of Energy, and one third blame big, bad oil.

19 The president has demagogued at the expense
20 of the oil industry in this country and has tried
21 to create the impression on the part of a lot of
22 Americans who cannot believe that they would have a
23 president sitting in that White House who would either
24 not tell them the truth or would engage in some kind

1 of deception for whatever kind of reason. And I
2 submit to you that that's exactly what the president
3 is engaged in.

4 The fact of the matter is if you looked
5 at his solution to this problem with his alleged
6 windfall profits tax on big, bad oil, that's not
7 a tax on big, bad oil, it's an excise tax on a barrel
8 of oil at the wellhead, it clobbers little oil
9 independents in this country who find 90 percent of
10 the new oil.

11 I haven't seen any evidence of big oil
12 down there lobbying against it, and why should they?
13 Because their profits are coming from international
14 operations. And if we increase domestic supply,
15 that's going to reduce our dependence on their
16 exports from foreign operations into this country.

17 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush, the question is
18 how would you persuade Congress to pass your programs
19 and it's not about energy and oil. How do you do
20 that?

21 MR. BUSH: Well, some of us haven't had much
22 success lately.

23 MODERATOR SMITH: Well--

24 GEORGE BUSH: Frankly, I don't think we're

1 going to have the status quo. I think there's some-
2 thing going on in the country, change. I believe
3 you're going to see Republicans continue the trend
4 it started in '78. I think you're going to see some
5 Democrats reach kind of a conversion in terms of
6 recognizing that stimulating the economy through
7 the kind of tax cuts three of us are talking about
8 and balanced budgets and this approach, I think
9 it's going to be-- and then part of it is party
10 discipline.

11 Now, let me put the question this way.
12 I want to be president. And I believe, obviously
13 I wouldn't be sitting here if I didn't think I'd
14 win the nomination, but you have a party organization.

15 I will support the nominee of the Republican
16 Party. I feel I have a moral obligation to do it.
17 That signal goes out to your troops in the Congress.
18 And I'd just like to ask would you do that, Ron? And
19 would you do that, John? Would you? I think you
20 have to ask that question.

21 MODERATOR SMITH: I think Mr. Anderson--

22 JOHN ANDERSON: I tell you those were words
23 as truly spoken by a former Chairman of the Republican
24 National Committee under Richard Nixon. You're

1 talking about moral obligation.

2 GEORGE BUSH: Would you support the nominee
3 of the party? Will you support the nominee of the
4 party?

5 JOHN ANDERSON: George, you don't have to point
6 your finger at me. Really, don't get so excited.

7 GEORGE BUSH: Will you support him?

8 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, you know in Nashua--
9 this is very nice. Tonight I'm sitting with you
10 actually and with Mr. Reagan and Mr. Crane. In Nashua
11 we couldn't get you to let us debate.

12 GEORGE BUSH: Well, I'd accepted a different
13 agreement.

14 But would you support the nominee of the
15 Republican Party?

16 JOHN ANDERSON: I expect to be the nominee of
17 the Republican Party. I fully expect to be able to
18 support the nominee of the party, yes, I certainly
19 expect to be able to do that. But, I have said
20 this.

21 GEORGE BUSH: Well, that's a change of position.

22 JOHN ANDERSON: I have said this, Mr. Bush.
23 That I think we are living in a new and different
24 age, and you referred to it yourself. And I believe

1 there is a new politics that is waiting to be born
2 in this country that thinks when we have had two
3 crises in just two months, when we have the Democratic
4 Senate Majority Leader quoted in the press yesterday
5 as saying that he thinks the president ought to go
6 on national television and declare a national
7 emergency, I think the issues transcend the kind
8 of narrow partisanship that you represent.

9 I believe that a new coalition of voters
10 in this country composed of Democrats, Independents
11 and Republicans. And you apparently believe in that
12 kind of coalition when you were trying to get some
13 Democratic votes in South Carolina.

14 GEORGE BUSH: I still do, John. I still do.
15 But I will support the nominee of this party.

16 JOHN ANDERSON: I believe, I believe that the
17 issues today, the issues today that the American
18 people are concerned about, inflation, the decline
19 of productivity, the fact that we've got these
20 interest rates at astronomical heights, and that this
21 economy is threatened, as I said, with almost national
22 bankruptcy, to sit and talk as a mere partisan in
23 that context bothers me a great, great deal.

24 MODERATOR SMITH: I think Governor Reagan has

1 something he wants to say about this.

2 RONALD REAGAN: Yeah, Howard, can I answer the
3 question you asked.

4 MODERATOR SMITH: Please.

5 RONALD REAGAN: How do you get the Congress to
6 go along with a Republican president?

7 Well, for eight years I was the Governor
8 of the most popular state in the United States.
9 And that state, when I became Governor, was as
10 bankrupt as the Federal Government is today. And I
11 had a majority of Democrats, hostile Democrats, in
12 both houses of the legislature.

13 And yet we secured the welfare reforms,
14 we secured-- well, we took the state away from
15 bankruptcy. I succeeded in giving back to the
16 taxpayers over the eight years \$5,700,000,000 in
17 tax rebates and tax credits. Our bonds got a triple
18 "A" rating, the reform of welfare cut a 40,000 increase
19 in the welfare load to an 8,000 a month decrease.
20 And it was all done with a Democratic legislature.

21 And what Phil said about communicating,
22 when I was faced with the opposition to all of those
23 things, and I was, Democratic legislature-- when you
24 tell a Democratic legislature you want to give back

1 an \$850,000,000 surplus to the people, that's like
2 getting between the hog and the bucket. You get
3 buffeted about a bit.

4 But I took my case over their heads to
5 the people. And I told the people what it was we
6 were trying to do. And I learned there that it isn't
7 necessary to make the legislature see the light, just
8 make them feel the heat.

9 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Crane?

10 PHILIP CRANE: John, I want to be up front with
11 you, John, because you've done something most recently
12 that I cannot support, and I cannot imagine any
13 Republicans supporting it, if you want to know the
14 truth.

15 We have not had a shot at that United
16 States Senate, a realistic chance, in a quarter of
17 a century or more. Now, you signed a fund raising
18 letter for such progressive members of that Senate
19 as George McGovern, Frank Church, John Culver, Birch
20 Bayh, some of the most vulnerable people-- I'm not
21 talking about the issue, John--

22 JOHN ANDERSON: Will you yield?

23 PHILIP CRANE: Yes, I'll be happy to as soon
24 as I finish.

1 It's not the issue, John. It's a question
2 of a Republican signing a fund raising letter to try
3 and keep those prominent, in my judgment, most
4 ultra and extreme left-wing Democrats in the United
5 States Senate, and you had a primary contest that I
6 stayed out of last time, John. I didn't get involved
7 in that race. It was a conservative challenging you.
8 You had everyone from Jack Kemp to Gerry Ford come
9 in there to campaign for you. The Republican Party
10 has faithfully supported you for 20 years. And I
11 think that is an ingratitude, John, it's an in-
12 gratitude that is sufficient that you forfeited the
13 expectation of any support from Republicans.

14 JOHN ANDERSON: Will you yield?

15 PHILIP CRANE: Just one final note.

16 You know, honest men can disagree, and I
17 have respected you, John, throughout the years even
18 though I disagree with you. But keep in mind-- you
19 know Don Riegle never voted with us. And your
20 support for the GOP majority last year was 9 percent.

21 Well, Don Riegle finally saw the light.
22 He saw where he was and he crossed the aisle. So
23 did Ogden Reed in New York. So did Peter Peyser.
24 And how can you come here before a group of Republicans

1 or ask for a Republican nomination when you have
2 taken the position that you will not support a
3 Republican candidate?

4 JOHN ANDERSON: Phil, I admire and I respect
5 you, too. But the support rate is not 9 percent,
6 that isn't true. But the letter, that's the important
7 thing.

8 PHILIP CRANE: No, last year John it was 9
9 percent. Congressional Quarterly has you at 9 percent.

10 JOHN ANDERSON: That's not so. But the letter
11 was not a fund raising letter for George McGovern,
12 for Frank Church, for any of these other people.
13 What it was was a letter designed to raise funds
14 for an organization which is supporting the principle
15 of freedom of choice. And in the text of that letter
16 it was pointed out that good men of both parties,
17 and the names of two Republicans were mentioned in
18 that letter, good men in both parties are being
19 threatened with exorcism. They are to be exorcised
20 from the political realm. They are to be driven out
21 of political life simply because of the stand that
22 they have taken on a single issue.

23 I happen to believe, Phil, that in the
24 times that we live today, dangerous and critical as

1 they are, that single issue politics is very devisive.
2 And that to simply say that you're going to drive
3 somebody completely out of politics because of that
4 particular issue, I don't believe it's correct. I
5 happen to believe in freedom of choice. I'm not going
6 to go out and try to defeat somebody who happens not
7 to share my view on that particular issue. I don't
8 happen to think that that is the central issue before
9 the country today. I think it's the economy.

10 And that letter, any fair reading of the
11 text of that letter will indicate that it is designed
12 to raise funds for the organization not for those
13 individuals who are mentioned in the text of the
14 letter. And I just have to insist on a correct
15 interpretation.

16 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan is enjoying this
17 too much. I think he should say something about it.

18 RONALD REAGAN: Well, I was just sitting here
19 thinking that if George McGovern and Frank Church,
20 Birch Bayh, Culver of Iowa and some of those others
21 Democratic Senators, when in this next election
22 if the Republicans can hold their own and gain nine
23 of the 24 Democratic seats that are up, we will
24 control one house of the Congress for the first time

1 in more than a quarter of a century.

2 I don't think that they have to be defeated
3 on just that issue in which you happen to agree with
4 them on. I can find you 50 reasons that Frank Church
5 and those other gentlemen should not be in the United
6 states Senate anymore. I don't care whether it's
7 for the one issue or the 50, I'll do everything I
8 can to see that they get defeated.

9 JOHN ANDERSON: I am not endorsing any of those
10 people. I certainly agree.

11 But I do not think we want to see American
12 politics come to the point where we try to drive
13 good men out of public life simply because they are
14 attacked on a single issue. I'm against that.

15 RONALD REAGAN: That's where we disagree. I
16 don't think they're good men.

17 MODERATOR SMITH: Let me ask everybody one
18 question. Will all of you agree to support the--
19 any one of you who becomes the Republican nominee
20 for president?

21 GEORGE BUSH: I will.

22 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Crane.

23 PHILIP CRANE: I won't. I cannot support you,
24 John, for what you've done.

1 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, my answer to that question,
2 Howard, goes back to the answer that I gave a few
3 moments ago. I cannot try to build a new politics
4 in this country and structure a new coalition and
5 tell people that I am doing it on the basis that
6 there are certain very fundamental issues that are
7 so important that they literally relate to the
8 survival of life as we have always known it on this
9 planet and not be-- and not think that those issues
10 are critical importance, and then repeat the old
11 shibboleth. And I admire you for the statement
12 that you've just made, strange as it may seem, Phil.
13 Then repeat the old shibboleth that I'm simply going
14 to embrace any candidate regardless of what his
15 views are. I can't do that. That is not the new
16 politics. That is not the new coalition we need
17 in this country.

18 PHILIP CRANE: Let me just ask one quick
19 question, Howard.

20 John, if there were a candidate running
21 on the position or the platform of unilateral dis-
22 armament of this country, is that not a single issue?
23 Would that not be a single issue?

24 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, it actually, I think,

1 involves an awful lot of things. That involves the
2 whole complex of foreign policy issues.

3 PHILIP CRANE: No, I'm talking about unilateral
4 disarmament, unilateral disarmament. That's a single
5 issue, John.

6 JOHN ANDERSON: That involves the whole complex
7 of issues. That involves the whole complex of
8 defense issues. That would be central.

9 PHILIP CRANE: John, you are as skillful a man
10 on the floor in debate as I've encountered in my
11 career. But I'm telling you that's a single issue,
12 John, and it's an issue upon which the republic's
13 fate would hinge, and I'm telling you that that's
14 enough to retire a man right there.

15 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, I'm not for unilateral--
16 I'm not for--

17 MODERATOR SMITH: Let me sum up. Two of you
18 do not agree to support any nominee from this room.

19 RONALD REAGAN: Well, my record is clear. In
20 the past I have always held out for Republican unity,
21 and I've always held out for supporting whoever
22 the party-- is the nominee when the contest is finally
23 over.

24 But, John, you really would find Teddy

1 Kennedy preferable to me?

2 JOHN ANDERSON: No, I-- if you could have been
3 with me on the campus of Bradley University two
4 nights ago, you would have been proud of me, I'm
5 sure, because I took Teddy Kennedy apart on a list
6 of at least seven issues where we have very fundamental
7 disagreements.

8 The one thing that concerns me, and you
9 are a friend, and I want to be very honest with you,
10 is that I do believe that on this whole question, as
11 I have read your basic speech, and maybe that isn't
12 the total exposition of your views. I didn't find
13 anything in that basic speech other than that the
14 United States must rearm, rearm. That was the
15 war cry that was issued, and there was nothing about
16 the corresponding obligation that I think we have
17 to try to travel the road toward peace.

18 MODERATOR SMITH: I think-- I think, gentlemen--
19 I think you've made your point.

20 Now, I still want to hear from Governor
21 Reagan. Will you support any man on this platform
22 who's nominated for the Republican presidential
23 nomination?

24 RONALD REAGAN: I'm still waiting for John to

1 answer.

2 MODERATOR SMITH: I think that the two said they
3 would not. You're the only one whose answer I haven't
4 heard.

5 RONALD REAGAN: Well, this is very difficult
6 now in this position that I seem to be hearing a
7 cry for another party here. And I have to ask myself
8 if he is really running as a Republican to be the
9 titular head of the party as well as our nation.

10 JOHN ANDERSON: Can I very quickly--

11 MODERATOR SMITH: Since you are under assault
12 you have an opportunity. Make it short, please,
13 Congressman.

14 JOHN ANDERSON: Can I very quickly say,
15 Governor, that I have learned that if you compete
16 in the Republican primary by the laws of that state
17 you cannot run on a independent ticket. And, believe
18 me, I'm going to be competing in California for the
19 159 delegates of that state. So don't worry--

20 RONALD REAGAN: It's 168.

21 JOHN ANDERSON: I'll take all of them.

22 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush.

23 GEORGE BUSH: Well, it seems to me the choice
24 is Jimmy Carter or Kennedy on one side and those

1 running on the Republican on the other. And I have
2 no difficulty saying I would support the Republican
3 nominee against four sitting here or Gerald Ford or
4 anybody else that I can conceive would be a serious
5 candidate if the alternative was Jimmy Carter or
6 Ted Kennedy. I'm sorry, I don't understand all this
7 talking about all these big issues. Everybody wants
8 peace. The question is how do you get there.

9 JOHN ANDERSON: George, I agree, you don't
10 understand talking about the issues.

11 GEORGE BUSH: But the question is this holding
12 back sanctimoniously talking about some coalition
13 to divide a minority party is no way to take control
14 of the Senate, no way to change the direction of
15 this country.

16 RONALD REAGAN: George, I'll even throw in
17 Jerry Brown, especially I'll throw in Jerry Brown.

18 GEORGE BUSH: I just don't understand.

19 PHILIP CRANE: You know, I said previously to
20 your letter, John, and some of your most recent
21 statements that the least qualified Republican in
22 this race was infinitely preferable to what the
23 Democrats had to offer. And when I say I couldn't
24 support you it's because I think, John, you have not

1 demonstrated fidelity to the party and that's come
2 up since. And I would argue that had you been in
3 the Democratic primary race, you would have been
4 far and away the classiest, most talented Democrat
5 that could have run in this contest. You're head
6 and shoulders above Jimmy, and you're head and
7 shoulders above Teddy and head and shoulders above
8 Jerry Brown. But I'm arguing you're in the wrong
9 party.

10 JOHN ANDERSON: I didn't know we had a loyalty
11 test in the Republican Party. I really didn't.

12 MODERATOR SMITH: Ladies and gentlemen, I think
13 we have exhausted that topic, we know where every-
14 body stands now. There's so many topics that we
15 haven't covered that I'm going to ask for a special
16 effort from the candidates.

17 A while ago I said your general positions
18 had become clear on issues. I would like to ask you
19 to let me name some issues and you tell me briefly,
20 even though the public has heard what you've said,
21 they haven't memorized what you've said, where you
22 stand in one sentence on the issues.

23 First of all, draft registration. Just
24 a sentence.

1 PHILIP CRANE: --I'm opposed to draft registration.

2 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

3 GEORGE BUSH: I favor draft registration, I
4 oppose the draft, I support the volunteer army.

5 RONALD REAGAN: I oppose draft registration
6 and know that the president at the time that he
7 favored it had a report from the Selective Service
8 Director that it would only shorten the time period
9 for a draft army if it was needed by a few days and
10 it wasn't worth the bureaucracy it would create.

11 MODERATOR SMITH: That's two sentences, one
12 of which was very, very long.

13 RONALD REAGAN: I thought I put a semicolon
14 in there.

15 MODERATOR SMITH: Congressman?

16 JOHN ANDERSON: I am opposed to draft registration.
17 It is intended to lead, I believe, to the reinstatement
18 of a peace time draft to which I am also opposed.

19 MODERATOR SMITH: Wage and price controls, Mr.
20 Crane.

21 PHILIP CRANE: I am totally opposed and always
22 have been opposed and was outspokenly opposed when
23 Richard Nixon did it; it is as wrong today as it
24 was then because it attacks symptoms and not the cause

1 of the problem.

2 MODERATOR SMITH: Ambassador Bush?

3 GEORGE BUSH: Inasmuch as wage and price
4 controls lock in inequities and have failed under
5 Democrats and Republicans, I oppose wage and price
6 controls.

7 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan.

8 RONALD REAGAN: I oppose them, and they failed
9 back when Diocletian tried them two thousand years
10 ago in Rome and he used capital punishment to
11 enforce them.

12 MODERATOR SMITH: I was very young then.

13 RONALD REAGAN: I'm the only one here old
14 enough to remember.

15 MODERATOR SMITH: Congressman Anderson, I'm
16 sure you don't remember that. Wage and price controls.

17 JOHN ANDERSON: I am opposed to wage and price
18 controls, although I do believe that the administration
19 has singly failed to maintain any reasonable wage
20 and price guidelines, and, therefore, if inflation
21 does not abate that we should look at a tax-based
22 incomes policy.

23 MODERATOR SMITH: How about nuclear power
24 which seems dead in the water in this country. Mr.
Crane?

1 PHILIP CRANE: Nuclear power continues to be
2 the safest, the cheapest and the cleanest form of
3 new energy to come on stream. I not only support
4 nuclear power, I support the breeder reactor.

5 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

6 GEORGE BUSH: I support nuclear power and
7 implementation of the Kimminey Commission Report
8 recommendation.

9 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

10 RONALD REAGAN: I agree with them.

11 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson.

12 JOHN ANDERSON: There should not be an expansion
13 of the nuclear power program unless within one year
14 Congress has put on the books a definitive statute
15 which selects an appropriate technology to deal
16 with the storage and management of waste and also
17 the legal mechanisms and procedures whereby that
18 could be accomplished.

19 MODERATOR SMITH: Boycotting the Olympics.
20 Mr. Crane.

21 PHILIP CRANE: I favor the boycott of the Olympics
22 the very night the president suggested that they
23 may lose some tourist business over there back in
24 January and insisted at the time that if we could

1 find an alternate site, all well and good. But
2 whether or not we could find an alternate site or
3 not, I think it was wrong to consider going to
4 Moscow for the Olympics.

5 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

6 GEORGE BUSH: The Soviet people don't really
7 know what their government, their troops have done
8 in Afghanistan. They do know about the Olympic
9 games, and the truth will filter down when those
10 games are cancelled, and because the aggression was
11 so clear and so brutal, I support the boycott of
12 the Olympics.

13 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

14 RONALD REAGAN: I would like to see them held
15 some place else rather than Moscow. I think it would
16 be hypocritical to go there, and I think we ought
17 to, maybe from this, get the inspiration to put the
18 Olympics permanently back where they started in
19 Greece and hold them there every four years.

20 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

21 JOHN ANDERSON: I support the Olympic boycott
22 and agree that a permanent site for the Olympiad,
23 perhaps in Greece, would be the best solution.

24 MODERATOR SMITH: The Equal Rights Amendment.
Mr. Crane?

1 PHILIP CRANE: I voted against the extension
2 of the Equal Rights Amendment. I think it is
3 redundant, because I think the 14th Amendment provides
4 the adequate safeguards women are concerned about
5 with respect to access to jobs and equal pay for
6 equal work.

7 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

8 GEORGE BUSH: I voted for or sponsored and
9 support the Equal Rights Amendment.

10 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

11 RONALD REAGAN: I'm for ER. I can't go along
12 with A. I would like to see equal rights by
13 statute and we did it in California and corrected
14 discrimination against women economically and in
15 other ways wherever we found it by statute. I'm
16 opposed to the amendment.

17 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

18 JOHN ANDERSON: I wholeheartedly endorse the
19 Equal Rights Amendment and alone among the Republican
20 candidates supported the extension legislation which
21 is the only way to make sure that that amendment
22 will become part of the Constitution of this country.

23 MODERATOR SMITH: I would like to ask a final
24 question. Has Henry Kissinger got a political future?

1 Mr. Crane?

2 PHILIP CRANE: I've indicated one of the reasons
3 I want to stay in this race until we get to Detroit
4 is in the event Gerald Ford gets into the race he
5 indicated he'd like to put Henry Kissinger back in
6 at State, and I want to make sure he never gets back
7 in at State.

8 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

9 GEORGE BUSH: I'm sure he has a political future,
10 but I don't believe he would be the Secretary of
11 State in my administration.

12 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

13 RONALD REAGAN: Nor in mine, and if he has
14 a political future, there are all sorts of sidelines
15 to it, studies, commenting, writing columns and so
16 forth.

17 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

18 JOHN ANDERSON: I think Secretary Kissinger
19 has made some wonderful contributions in the course
20 of his distinguished career. I do believe that his
21 political future among some candidates has become
22 somewhat clouded by virtue of his recent mission to
23 California beseeching former President Ford to run
24 again.

1 MODERATOR SMITH: So now we're going to have
2 some questions from the floor. And the first is from
3 Mr. Bruce Begesky. All of the candidates will answer
4 this question briefly.

5 MR. BRUCE BEGESKY: Gentlemen, I'm receiving
6 unemployment compensation that covers my living
7 expenses. Even though I wish to work, I have been
8 forced to turn down job offers because they do not
9 pay as much as unemployment.

10 What would you do to change the situation?

11 PHILIP CRANE: Well, I think very frankly that
12 unemployment compensation is already overly generous.
13 And I would argue that you should not be turning
14 down a job opportunity if it presents itself because
15 you are putting a strain on some other person who's
16 trying to feed his family and pay the taxes that
17 carry you in unemployment when you've already
18 acknowledged that you had job offers you've turned
19 down because you didn't like the pay differential.

20 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

21 GEORGE BUSH: The system has to be changed so
22 nobody can make that kind of statement where jobs
23 are available but he does better to not work. The
24 system must be reformed so that kind of abuse is

1 eliminated. Welfare rolls are down and that's good.
2 But that doesn't mean that it's been perfected. And
3 what you need to do is help people who want to get
4 a job and can't, not a guy who can get a job and
5 doesn't take it.

6 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

7 RONALD REAGAN: Well, I have to answer the
8 same way, that I think this is one of the great faults
9 in the program. We found in California, however,
10 that when we required people who were on assistance
11 and were able bodied to work at useful community
12 projects in return for their grant, that we then,
13 even in the midst of the 1973-'74 recession, funneled
14 76,000 able bodied recipients of grants into private
15 enterprise jobs while unemployment was increasing.

16 You're absolutely right, that the system
17 has gotten so out of balance that today a man with
18 a family will find that he actually, when he considers
19 taxes on what he would earn in a job, that a man
20 many times will find that his benefits would make
21 it necessary for him to get \$20,000 a year in order
22 to equal the benefits that he is getting tax free
23 from the Government, and that is absolutely wrong.
24 There's no excuse for that.

1 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

2 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, I certainly must agree
3 that any able bodied young American, and you appear
4 to be such from your appearance, ought to be working
5 rather than drawing unemployment compensation if a
6 job is available.

7 Now, the minimum wage in this country
8 at the present time is \$3.10 an hour which works
9 out to \$6,200 a year. I don't happen to know whether
10 or not you are married and whether you're supporting
11 a family or not, but it would seem to me that you
12 ought to be accepting those job offers if for no
13 other reason. You will be preparing yourself and
14 acquiring the kind of job skills that you need to
15 take your place in the world of work. And I have
16 even favored the youth opportunity wage that would
17 give teenage unemployed people in this country a
18 chance to go work at 85 percent of the minimum,
19 simply so that they can have that opportunity to
20 gain work experience. And I would hope very much
21 that you would make that decision.

22 MODERATOR SMITH: The next question from Mr.
23 Donald Neltnor.

24 MR. DONALD NELTNOR: Gentlemen, if elected

1 president what would be your plan to solve the
2 problems of the northern industrial cities like
3 Chicago. Specifically, what would you do to stimulate
4 the local economy and reduce innercity unemployment,
5 improve education, and would you continue revenue
6 sharing?

7 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Crane?

8 PHILIP CRANE: That's a big mouthful. Let me
9 say first of all that when we address the problems
10 of urban areas that one must recognize that there
11 are some reasons, and the reasons, I think, go beyond
12 just the climate. For some cities in the sun belt
13 to be thriving at the same time other northern cities
14 are suffering. And I think one of the reasons is
15 because of the hostile tax climate for business in
16 many of our northern cities.

17 I think the Federal Government, too, has
18 to assume responsibility. In Youngstown, Ohio,
19 recently for example, Youngstown Sheet and Tube had
20 a plant that went under there and one of the reasons
21 why it went under was because of the application of
22 an EPA reg that according to union officials I spoke
23 to was the straw that broke the camel's back. And
24 as the former mayor told me at that time, he said,

1 "You want to see urban blight? This is how it starts.
2 We just lost 4,600 taxpayers, and we lost the tax
3 base of that plant."

4 As far as education goes, I think we have
5 got to develop a sound, healthy vocational technical
6 training program in our schools, and that's not just
7 in the inner city, that's throughout the suburban
8 areas and rural areas, too. We've sorely neglected
9 vocational technical training.

10 On the revenue sharing question, frankly
11 I don't like revenue sharing. I like it better than
12 categorical grant made programs, but I think a
13 superior approach would be to enable a person to get
14 a credit against payment of his Federal income taxes
15 for "X" percent of that going to Springfield in our
16 home state of Illinois in the form of payments to
17 the state, another percentage going to the county and
18 another percentage going to the municipality in which
19 you live. That would prevent the bureaucrats in
20 Washington from skimming money off the top, and
21 secondly it would give local communities and local
22 states the flexibility to determine the kind of
23 programs they wanted and how they chose to address
24 them.

1 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

2 GEORGE BUSH: I favor revenue sharing. I believe
3 that job training credits, job tax credits to get
4 business to locate in areas of high unemployment, and
5 that would be important. I believe mass transit is
6 important. I believe reading, writing, arithmetic,
7 fourth "R", respect, in schools to give people a
8 real shot at a job when they get through. In some
9 of these cities it's terribly difficult. And I think
10 that means Government assistance. But you can't in
11 just 30 seconds say it all. But it has to be stimu-
12 lation of the private sector.

13 And then on the housing side I favor
14 in existence Section 8 housing as opposed to building
15 these kind of ghetto containing monstrous concrete
16 things. And that would be a cheaper way of solving
17 your-- assisting the cities with their housing needs, too.

18 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

19 RONALD REAGAN: 75 percent of the people in the
20 country live in cities. And what we really have now
21 with the Federal aid to the cities, including inner
22 cities and so forth, is Chicago sending its money
23 to Washington, and some of that is used to help
24 Philadelphia and Detroit and New York and so forth.

1 But New York and Detroit and Philadelphia are sending
2 their money to Washington to help Chicago and
3 Indianapolis and St. Louis and there is an administrative
4 overhead to this round trip of our money.

5 The Federal Government is trying to be all
6 things to all people and dictate how that money will
7 be spent when it comes back to the city. Wouldn't
8 it make more sense if we stopped that round trip
9 and the deduction of that carrying charge in Washington
10 and left the tax sources at the local level for
11 local government to not only be responsible for the
12 tax, but to be able to establish their own priorities
13 as to where the money is going to be used and how it
14 should be spent.

15 The Mayor of Macon, Georgia, just
16 recently was telling me that Washington has got a
17 big grant for him which he can't turn down. If he
18 takes this grant he has to rebuild all the buses in
19 Macon, Georgia, to provide for the handicapped. But
20 he said in Macon, Georgia, they found out that if they
21 have their own way in spending that money instead of
22 taking Government orders that they could for a much
23 lesser amount establish a contract with the cab
24 companies that any handicapped person could call and

1 get a cab any time they wanted it to go any place they
2 wanted to go instead of rebuilding all the buses.

3 It is time, I think, for not only local
4 rule to be given back, local autonomy, but sources
5 of revenue that the Federal Government has usurped
6 should be given back, and the cities themselves
7 will do a better job of spending that money than they
8 have to when they take the dictates of the Federal
9 Government.

10 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

11 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, Mr. Smith, as I remember
12 it the question related specifically to the City of
13 Chicago, and I would say that perhaps given the
14 current tensions that exist between Mayor Byrne and
15 the Carter administration because of her support of
16 another candidate that maybe the quickest remedy of
17 that case would be some change in administration at
18 either end.

19 But I recall, for example, Secretary
20 Goldschmidt's decision to withhold more than 2
21 billion dollars in discretionary highway funds for
22 this area because of the political implications. And
23 I was outraged, and I think properly so, and condemned
24 the Secretary for that decision.

1 I do believe that on the larger question
2 of Federal aid to cities we must have an urban
3 strategy that recognizes that many of our great
4 cities particularly in the upper midwest and in the
5 northeast, because of the flight to the sun belt have
6 lost some of the industrial base that they once had.
7 And housing stock has deteriorated. And I believe--
8 I made a speech for a half an hour this afternoon
9 to the National Neighborhood Development Association
10 in which I outlined a very long program about
11 specific steps that I would recommend in an urban
12 strategy. I think that instead of all the emphasis
13 by the Department of Housing and Urban Development
14 on new housing that we have to develop the idea of
15 rehabilitation. We've got to preserve existing
16 housing stock. We've got to be more interested, I
17 think in preserving the basic infrastructure of our
18 cities, paying attention to the streets, the maintenance
19 and the repair of streets.

20 New York, for example, the Mayor the other
21 day said it would take 40 billion dollars over the
22 next 10 years and they only had 1.4 billion dollars
23 they could budget for the repair and maintenance of
24 basic services within the city.

1 MODERATOR SMITH: Could you round that out,
2 Congressman?

3 JOHN ANDERSON: I think the emphasis has to be
4 made to that.

5 MODERATOR SMITH: All right. Time is getting
6 upon us.

7 The next question, the third question
8 from Robert Harris.

9 MR. ROBERT HARRIS: Gentlemen, my question is
10 this. If during your presidency you had occasion
11 to appoint a justice to the United States Supreme
12 Court, which justice presently serving on the Court
13 would you most like your appointee to emulate and
14 why?

15 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Crane?

16 PHILIP CRANE: To one who is a strict con-
17 structionist as they say and one who takes the
18 intent of the founding fathers when they drafted that
19 Constitution very seriously, I'm not enthralled with
20 any member of the United States Supreme Court today.
21 I'd like to replace all nine of them. And, in fact,
22 I really think that Thomas Jefferson's concern about
23 the potential tyranny in a Federal judiciary was a
24 concern that really speaks to the kinds of aggressive

1 courts that we've had in the past 25 years. Frankly,
2 I think the Federal judiciary has involved itself
3 in vastly too many areas where we should not be
4 seeking ultimate resolution of problems, but rather
5 enjoy a little bit of tolerance for diversity
6 which to me was one of the greatest strengths of
7 the country and that means keeping the Feds out of
8 state business for the most part.

9 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

10 GEORGE BUSH: Well, I hate to be left in
11 responsive to get into names on the Court. I'm
12 colored by friendship for some of the justices that
13 I know, have great respect for them. But I don't
14 think it's right to sit down and say which of the
15 justices would emulate your-- what I would say is this.

16 I want strict construction. I want
17 scholarship. I don't want somebody that's going to
18 conform with me on every single issue, wouldn't seek
19 that out. I'd seek out excellence and an ability
20 to interpret the Constitution of the United States.

21 But I'm not going to give you-- click off
22 one name out of nine, and I do have respect for the
23 institution of the Court, and I disagree with Phil,
24 I have respect for this Court.

1 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan?

2 RONALD REAGAN: Well, I don't-- I'm not going
3 to pick out a name. I frankly wouldn't know that
4 much about their records. I think there are a few,
5 they're usually on the minority side of the question
6 that they decide that I would find myself more
7 approving of. But I just wondered about something,
8 because my mind went to one of the great all time
9 justices of the United States Supreme Court, John
10 Marshall, who wasn't even a lawyer. Maybe that's
11 what's wrong.

12 I think I have to go along with what's
13 been said. I believe that the Court has dangerously
14 in recent years usurped some of the problems of the
15 Legislature and that we need to restore the separation
16 of power between Executive, Legislative and Judiciary,
17 and I would want one who was a Constitutionalist,
18 who believed in interpreting the Constitution, not
19 rewriting it.

20 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

21 JOHN ANDERSON: Well, Mr. Smith, we in Illinois,
22 of course, are very proud of Justice John Paul
23 Stephens who was appointed to the high Court by
24 President Ford. However, I wouldn't want to restrict

1 I think my consideration of that appointment to a
2 single individual presently serving either. And I
3 would agree that judicial experience although
4 important, and I would certainly want to consult with
5 members of the Bar and the Judicial Conference and
6 so on. I can think back on a man, Hugo Black, his
7 prior judicial experience was being a police court
8 judge and after that, of course, served two terms
9 or three in the United States Senate. Again, I
10 think he left his mark as one of the distinguished
11 jurists of this 20th century.

12 So I think I would want a man who was
13 broadly compassionate, who had great humanitarian
14 instincts, a man who realizes that this country and
15 its people are constantly evolving and changing
16 and who would make a great progressive record on
17 that Court.

18 MODERATOR SMITH: Well, gentlemen, the time has
19 now come for the closing statements. Each of you
20 has one minute, just one minute to make a closing
21 statement.

22 Mr. Crane?

23 PHILIP CRANE: First of all, I want to quickly
24 congratulate the League of Women Voters for sponsoring

1 these kind of national town meetings. I think it's
2 healthy, I think it's desirable, I think it provides
3 the electorate with an understanding, better under-
4 standing at least of the nature of the candidates.
5 And I am still waiting expectantly to see our
6 Democratic counterparts engage in a similar exercise,
7 because the quicker they do, the quicker we'll elect
8 a Republican president in November and simultaneously
9 get a Republican Congress.

10 And I would say further that the Republican
11 Party at this moment in history, I think, is in
12 the best position, not because as Republicans we have
13 any unique monopoly on truth. But we certainly have
14 alternatives that are calculated to guarantee that
15 we can get the nation back on a growth track, that
16 we can restore the incentive, that we can practice
17 the kind of restraint in Federal spending and
18 Federal interference in our lives that's essential
19 if we're going to preserve freedom for all Americans,
20 Democrats and independents included, and simultaneously
21 guarantee a defense capability superior to all others
22 in this world.

23 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Bush?

24 GEORGE BUSH: Well, it's my conviction that the

1 United States is coming out of a recent period in
2 history that will prove to be an anomaly. Post
3 Viet Nam, Watergate, election of a president that
4 was not experienced. I believe that we should be
5 optimistic Americans. I realize these problems are
6 great, but if we emphasize productivity and show
7 our compassion, not by Government spending, but by
8 getting jobs and raising the level of education,
9 we can make things better for people at home. And
10 if we keep our defenses up, we can deter an aggressive
11 Soviet Union, we can keep strong and thus guarantee
12 two decades of peace.

13 I believe this firmly. I think my
14 experience qualifies me to be president, and I need
15 your support.

16 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Reagan.

17 RONALD REAGAN: In 1776 Thomas Payne said to
18 the American people in these 13 little colonies
19 were trying to become a nation that we had it in our
20 power to begin the world over again. I think he was
21 talking to and about the people of those 13 colonies.
22 I feel that way about the people of the United States.

23 I had an experience that taught me that
24 it's true that if you turn to the people of this

1 country instead of Government intervention, if you
2 turn as I did when I was Governor, and I think that
3 that was the second top executive government position
4 in the United States, because it is the most popular
5 state, California, and as I say, had the same problems
6 that we face today nationally. And I turned and
7 asked for volunteer help to come in to go through
8 Government bureaus and agencies and come back to me
9 with recommendations as to how modern business
10 practices could be put to work to make Government
11 more effective and more economical. And that is
12 why we were able to give back \$5,700,000,000. They
13 brought back 1,800 recommendations and we implemented
14 1,600 of them. And I just believe that the greatest
15 issue-- we've talked about all these other things
16 here. I think all of them rise from one thing.

17 We have seen over recent decades a policy
18 of intervention in the people's affairs by Government
19 that goes beyond what was ever intended by the
20 Constitution of the founding fathers. And it is time
21 to have leadership in Washington that will get
22 Government off the people's backs, remove the road
23 blocks and turn the people of this country loose to
24 achieve the great things that they have achieved

1 before and which they can achieve again.

2 And I would like to have your support
3 because that's what I would like to do is free
4 the people of this country.

5 MODERATOR SMITH: Mr. Anderson?

6 JOHN ANDERSON: Mr. Smith, I was once asked
7 what is the most important attribute of a presidential
8 candidate. Is it character, is it experience, is it
9 the ability to put together the nuts and bolts of
10 a great political machine? I said all of those things
11 may be important, but I think you've missed the
12 point. The most important thing is does the candidate
13 have a vision for the future of the country. In
14 addition to that vision, does he have some new
15 ideas, some creative ideas that are designed to
16 solve the problems of the people.

17 I have tried to be honest during this
18 campaign, sometimes, I think, maybe almost painfully
19 honest in my response to the specific questions that
20 have been put to me. Because I believe so very
21 fundamentally that we are facing a crisis in the
22 history of this country, and that the candidate that
23 ought to be nominated and elected as the next president
24 of the United States ought to be that candidate who

1 is willing to face very specifically, not talk in the
2 same old glib generalities and the platitudes and
3 the pieties of past campaigns about leadership and
4 greatness and strength and power and all the rest,
5 but someone who is willing to do what I have been
6 willing to do in prescribing, programatically and
7 very specifically where cuts in the Federal budget
8 must be made, knowing full well that that may step
9 on the toes of this or that particular interest
10 group. Prescribing a specific program on how to
11 deal with the energy program, to cut down the awful
12 drain on this economy, 90 to 100 billion dollars a
13 year flowing overseas, tearing up the very fabric
14 of the American economy. That hasn't earned me the
15 undying gratitude and support of everyone.

16 But I'm going to continue this campaign
17 on the theory and on the belief that that's the kind
18 of president the American people are looking for.

19 MODERATOR SMITH: Gentlemen, that concludes
20 our forum for this evening. I want to-- on behalf
21 of the League of Women Voters I'd like to thank the
22 candidates for joining us here in Chicago and keeping
23 interest not only alive, but growing in the American
24 electoral process.

1 Our next forum series will take place
2 on April the 22nd, if the Democrats join us, and
3 the 23rd for the Republicans in Houston, Texas.

4 We invite the candidates and you, the
5 American public, to join us as the process of choosing
6 the next president continues.

7 Thank you and good night.

8 (Which were all the
9 proceedings had this date.)

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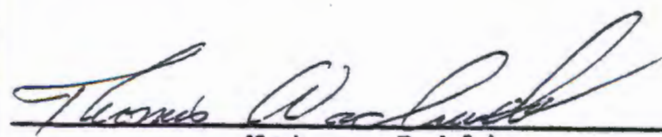
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1 STATE OF ILLINOIS)
) SS:
2 COUNTY OF C O O K)
3

4 I, BARBARA BARNARD, being first duly sworn,
5 on oath, says that she is a court reporter doing
6 business in the City of Chicago; that she reported
7 in shorthand the proceedings given at the taking of
8 this hearing and that the foregoing is a true and
9 correct transcript of her shorthand notes so taken
10 as aforesaid, and contains all the proceedings given
11 at said hearing.

12
13 Certified Shorthand Reporter
14
15
16

17 SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO
18 before me this 18 day
19 of March, 1980.

20
21 
22 _____
Notary Public
23
24