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Ed,  
FYI  
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Decision Making/Information



TO: Richard Wirthlin  
FROM: Gary Lawrence  
DATE: October 10, 1980  
SUBJECT: Critique of Presidential Debate Measurements by  
R. D. Percy and Company

INTER-OFFICE  
COMMUNICATION

## COPIES TO:

Percy has an interesting machine, but his sample was woefully biased to begin with.

First of all, there aren't enough of them. He says he has voxbox units in 200 Seattle households, but approximately 98 to 106 people on an average could respond to any particular segment of the debate.

More importantly is that it appears to me he has a sample that is not representative of vote patterns either in Washington or in Seattle specifically. It appears to be very pro-Anderson and very anti-Reagan to begin with. The terrific swings in the Anderson scores compared to the Reagan scores indicate to me that the sample was pretty biased to begin with and was not giving fair and objective consideration to what was said, but rather giving kneejerk reactions depending on who said it.

In the very few times where Reagan was given a positive response, we find that he is making some favorable comment about Anderson or some negative comment about Carter.

In Reagan's closing remarks, he refers to the people who founded the land, their desire for freedom, how we built the nation, how Americans are proud, independent and a compassionate people, and the all the other very traditional values that most people of any party would accept ... and he gets a 3-1 negative on it.

In short, the scores given in this debate cannot be defended as being representative of how the total population would have viewed it.

The whole report is a piece of junk and I hope you didn't pay any money for it.



# THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL

A Scripps-Howard Newspaper

MICHAEL GREHL, Editor

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Sunday, October 12, 1980

Section G

## A Difficult Choice

THIS IS FAR from an inspiring political year in the United States.

Citizens are being called upon to choose a president from a list of candidates that satisfies few. The people are losing interest not only in this election but in the political process.

THE DEMOCRATS are offering a warmed-over Jimmy Carter, even though he failed miserably to deliver on the many promises he made four years ago.

A lot of people voted for Carter in 1976 because they considered him a "nice guy." He presented himself to the people as a "born-again Christian," for whatever the voters wanted to make of that term. But his piety and flashy smile have proved a mask easily dropped when it suits his purposes to disclose a mean, petty and calculating politician. That duality of personality is creating increasing concern about the direction his presidency might take if it entered a second term. Those fears seem justified.

While his personal conduct during the last four years has merited no criticism, the nation has had to endure the often sanctimonious lecturings of his mother, Miss Lillian, and the indignities of his brother Billy, whose money-grabbing adventures have extended even into the nation's foreign policy corridors. While nobody in his administration has been convicted of wrong-doing, the methods of operation of some of his closest advisers have merited the investigations they have been given.

When he sought the office, he asked why the nation should not have "the best" people running the government. Yet, when he moved into the Oval Office he surrounded himself with a coterie of good ol' boys from Georgia.

"really meant" or has some subordinate do it for him. On such occasions he often acts aggrieved by the challenge.

Like Carter, he trades on platitudes about morality and emphasizes his religious heritage. He has received enthusiastic support from the religious fundamentalists whose influence is being exerted so broadly in politics this year. He not only has accepted that support, he has embraced it, even saying he would make one of the religious leaders, E. E. McAteer of Memphis, a member of his transition team, a prospect that frightens even some clergymen.

SO THERE ARE reasons to worry about Reagan as president.

But a choice must be made. And it must be made not so much on what the candidates are saying in this campaign, for much of that is inconsequential and sometimes even inane, but on the basis of past performances. We know what Carter failed to do in the last four years. We also have a performance record for Reagan. He served as governor of California for eight years.

The Democrats would have us believe Reagan was a monstrous governor, callous and ruthless in his administration. The facts belie that. The Republicans would have us believe Reagan worked miracles in California, lopping thousands of free riders off welfare and straightening out all the problems of that state. The facts belie that, too. The truth lies, as it so often does, somewhere between those extremes.

Those who watched him campaign in 1966 thought he would be a hard-line conservative governor. He spoke against high taxes, wasteful government spending, the growth of bureaucracies, the rising crime rate, escalating welfare costs and student unrest at the colleges.



AS A RESULT, his administration of domestic affairs has been, at best, inept.

He antagonized Congress by refusing to consult with the leadership, even though that leadership represented his own party. In his egotistical way, he thought he could command the nation's government single-handedly. It didn't work. He failed to get the legislation he requested. He sought to blame Congress for his own failures and only after many losses reluctantly agreed to take the congressional leaders into his confidence -- provided they paid for their own breakfasts and lunches at the White House.

HE HAS PROVED as incompetent in foreign affairs as he has been inept at home. His foreign policies have been a confusing mix of threats of strong action and failure to take even the simplest direct actions when events called for them.

He placed heavy emphasis on his human rights policy. But that policy has been most inconsistent.

He has failed to enforce it in South Korea, where democracy has crumbled even though the United States ought to have more leverage against the dictatorship there than perhaps anywhere else in the world. His policy has done nothing to improve the lot of the oppressed people of Latin American nations or for the dissidents in the Soviet Union who find themselves sentenced to internal exile and hard labor.

THE REPUBLICANS have given us Ronald Reagan.

Here is a candidate who has been seeking the presidency for eight years and still leaves many voters confused. He comes across to many as still an actor playing rah-rah-college-boy roles. Maybe he does that deliberately to overcome the criticism he is too old. He is 69 and will be the oldest president in history if elected.

He appears shallow. A former Republican California state senator, Peter Behr, once remarked of him, "He's a man able to absorb facts readily, but if you walked through his deepest thoughts you wouldn't get your feet wet."

He depends upon a harvest of newspaper clippings and items from such publications as the Reader's Digest to make up his kit of index cards from which he makes speeches. His information often is faulty. He is not dismayed when his errors of fact are brought to his attention, suggesting it is the thought behind them that counts. When he speaks without benefit of notes or prompting, he sometimes says the most outlandish things, then comes back to explain what he

As governor he was the ultimate in pragmatism. He quickly learned to cut deals with members of the legislature. He attacked the California university system at the height of the Free Speech movement to the delight of conservatives, but in the end the universities got most of the funds they sought.

He did put into effect a welfare reform plan, after a compromise with the legislature, but its effect was to change a 40,000-a-month increase in recipients into an 8,000 decrease, rather than lopping off great numbers. Much of that was attributed to an improvement in California's economic condition. His state budget more than doubled during his tenure, from \$4.6 billion when he arrived to \$10.2 billion when he left.

No one disputes that he turned around the financial mess left by his predecessor, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Sr. The state was suffering an acute cash-flow problem. The solution, Reagan decided, lay in much heavier taxation and he got it. The treasury showed a deficit of almost \$200 million when he took office; he left in 1975 with a surplus of more than \$550 million, a cushion that has served to prevent the collapse of many California community governments since the Proposition 13 enactment.

He surprised many of his critics in California by sponsoring some relatively tough environmental standards on water and air and while he objected to consumer activism, he placed consumer representatives on state agencies.

SO THE CONCLUSION must be that Reagan, like Franklin D. Roosevelt and a host of other successful politicians of the past, is willing to talk one way to gain election and to act in exactly the opposite if the needs of the state or the nation require such a reversal. He is the sort of politician of whom it must be said, "Watch what I do, not what I say."

It is likely that once elected he will move closer to the center in political thought than to the right, as some fear. He already has begun to move in that direction in his campaign. Lacking great knowledge of affairs, he can be expected to call upon competent advisers, as he did in California. His is not likely to be a spectacular administration. It might be something more like the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower. And that would not be a bad for the nation.

Given the difference between these principal candidates, the voters should conclude that Reagan deserves a chance to practice his type of government in Washington for the next four years.



# RONALD REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

AN EDITORIAL

CAN ANYONE look at the record of this administration and say, "Well done"? Can anyone compare the state of our economy when the Carter administration took office with where we are today and say, "Keep up the good work"? Can anyone look at our reduced standing in the world today and say, "Let's have four more years of this"?

In this single paragraph in his acceptance speech last July, Ronald Reagan summed up the questions with which millions of Americans will be wrestling in the three weeks remaining in the presidential campaign.

Even the Carter administration itself shows signs of admitting that it has fallen woefully short of its goals — and of the expectations that swept it into office four years ago. Indeed, Mr. Carter, who was asking in 1976, "Why not the best?" today seems to be suggesting that he is at least not the worst and that, given the opportunity, he will try to do better.

But the record of the Carter administration raises doubts, about both capacity and intent.

President Carter has relentlessly pursued economic policies that turned a 4.8% inflation rate into an inflationary rage that has visited misery upon countless Americans. His only answer has been to defer indefinitely his promise of a balanced federal budget and to inaugurate an economic recession that has shattered millions of American dreams.

He has looked at the world not as it is, but as he longs for it to be. Not many months ago, he was chastising the American people for their "inordinate fear of communism" and planting kisses on the cheeks of Leonid Brezhnev — only to be awakened too late to the harsh brutality of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

In four years, Soviet surrogates have marched on many fronts — and the free world has retreated in vacillation and impotence.

Yet even those who do not dispute the disappointment of the Carter record are asking themselves, quite properly, Would Ronald Reagan do any better?

Whether he would.

Our confidence is inspired in part by a successful eight-year record of govern-

nor of our most populous and heterogeneous state. It was a miracle that he was even elected governor of a state in which Democrats outnumber Republicans 2-1. It was even more miraculous that he was re-elected after four years by a margin of half a million.

But our confidence stems even more from the point of view Governor Reagan has represented in nearly two decades as a national figure. It is a point of view rooted unshakably in an appreciation of historic American values — family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom.

He knows the extent to which the family has been assailed by judicial edicts, by tax codes, by welfare regulations that attach a premium to family desertion, and he is resolved to put the weight of the federal government on the side of the family as the basic building block of American society.

He knows that work is the key to independence and social mobility, and he believes that the American economy should be committed to growth, not retrenchment. The ladder of opportunity loses its meaning when the bottom rungs are arbitrarily chopped off.

In his support of the neighborhood, Governor Reagan is simply endorsing the age-old principle of subsidiarity — that governmental functions are best performed at the lowest possible level. That notion flies in the face of the current political theology that only those in Washington know what is best for the states, cities and towns of America.

In his commitment to peace, he redraws the lessons of history that only the strong can remain at peace, that weakness and vacillation conspire to deny a people control over their own destiny.

And in his belief in freedom, he is calling for a rededication to the principles that have set America apart from its earliest days — principles that give every man and woman an opportunity to grow to the fullness of their potential.

Because of what he believes — and what his large and loyal body of supporters believe — Ronald Reagan has been assailed as a racist, a warmonger, a mindless anachronism by those who would go to any lengths to avoid the sword of the past four years. He is, of course, none of these things. He is, rather, a decent, compassionate, intelligent, dedicated American who will, we think, make a great President.



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(I included statistics, in case you want.)

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## Let's bring in Reagan

WE'VE SEEN enough. and heard enough. It's time to bring in a new pitcher.

Ronald Reagan is our choice to come in as a relief hurler. because after four big innings on the mound Jimmy Carter is losing the ballgame in the World Series of politics.

And as Kansas City and Philadelphia square off in their best of seven confrontations, it's time for Americans to start addressing the question of who should be their ace pitcher for the country's biggest team in the next four years.

IN OUR opinion Jimmy Carter has been missing the plate with most of his pitches and has struck out in the batter's box on the two key issues of the economy and foreign policy.

Carter's overall performance has been inept and ineffective. and in recent days he has been reduced to slinging mud from the dugout in a desperate attempt to keep from being yanked out of the game by the team's captain, John Q. Public. But that shouldn't surprise the fans too much, because Carter has been known to become mean and petty in the past when the going got rough.

THERE'S NO doubt at this point that Carter is out of his league. Although an impressive rookie, he just hasn't lived up to his promise.

As a result of Carter's weakness, his record is in tatters. Let's take a look:

—Our foreign policy is bankrupt with little hope for improvement under the present team. Carter pulled the rug out from under Iran, opening the door for the radicals to take over by our failure to anticipate what would occur. And the debacle in Iran was the signal for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

—Our economy is a mess. The cost of watching Carter play ball has been too much for Americans. The annual inflation rate has been running anywhere from 14 to 18 percent (with the exclusion of pre-election tampering with traditional figures). How many fans can keep up with those prices? The rampant inflation is the result of four years of overspending and running up gigantic deficits every year. The red ink in the current year is heading for \$70 billion, which is more than the entire federal budget in most of the 1950s. And so much phony money has been printed by the Federal Reserve that it costs \$49 to buy a basket of goods and services that cost \$100 in 1967.

Another sore point connected to the economy is the continuing and unchecked growth of transfer payments ... taking from the productive and giving to the unproductive, which is breaking the back of middle-income taxpaying America.

—Our defense is below par, and still slipping badly if our own military analysts can be believed. Behind Carter our military arsenal has become obsolescent and our own Titan missiles are being blown up by errant wrenches, dropped from the hands of careless workmen. Our conventional forces are reportedly in miserable shape, and the top officials in our government are leaking secret information about weapons under development, in an almost treacherous attempt to enhance their own political image. We knew we were in trouble when the rescue mission in Iran went awry due to improper planning and equipment, and the general consensus since then is that we are continuing to slide militarily.

—And Carter hasn't been too impressive on the energy issue either, which is supposedly his best pitch. We can't solve the energy problem by sharing scarcity, and we've seen precious little effort to increase our emergency oil storage supply, or to take advantage of this country's great abundance of natural resources.

—Even the peripheral issues, such as Bert Lance, Billy Carter and Cyrus Vance have been handled less than presidentially.

—And when it came to the campaign, Carter chose to switch-hit rather than fight. He hid in the White House throughout the primaries, and continued that timid behavior after the convention, even to the point where he refused to debate the issues of the day with the other legitimate candidates, depriving the voters of a substantive discussion of the issues. And Carter has demeaned himself and the presidency by resorting to demagoguery on two of the most sensitive issues...that of race and the question of war and peace, by implying on more than one occasion that his opponent is a warmonger and a racist. That's bush league stuff, and it even embarrassed some of Carter's own teammates.

THE BRIGHT spots of Jimmy Carter's leadership role have been few and far between, which is unfortunate, and brings

us to why we think it's time to beckon to the bullpen for Reagan.

Reagan has been a solid performer in the past, and has an impressive record of seasoning in California, where he kept spending under control and reduced taxes.

We think Reagan's economic philosophy is more in tune with the times, and reality, than is Carter's.

The concentration on improving productivity and creating jobs can and should be in the private sector, and this is Reagan's main economic thrust. Carter doesn't seem to know how to curb government growth and spending, and just recently came to the Niagara Frontier playing giveaway as a presidential Santa Claus.

WE HAVE to restore the productive might of the country if we are to resume our economic growth, control inflation, increase employment, raise living standards, and compete with other nations, and we believe Reagan has the best game plan to accomplish those goals.

On the military issue, Reagan says our salvation lies in strength...and we believe history supports such a view. Reagan maintains that a militarily powerful country will be less likely to be attacked and that only madmen go into a battle they cannot win... and that the team from the Kremlin is demonstrably practical.

IT OUGHT to be obvious that a perceived willingness on the part of an American president to use military forces to protect this country's vital interests is an absolutely essential ingredient in deterring threats that could, in fact, lead to war. Mr. Carter is dangerously myopic on this point.

Reagan would restore our weakened military power and base American foreign policy on strength, and we can find nothing offensive (either way) about that.

Carter has proclaimed the inevitability in the decline of American power and influence in a complex world beyond his grasp, and decries a "malaise" of the American spirit.

CONVERSELY, Reagan believes our misfortunes are largely self-inflicted, and that we can still heal ourselves.

Reagan addressed this subject elegantly in his acceptance speech when he said, "the time is now...to recapture our destiny, to take it into our own hands."

Reagan is convinced the flame of American spirit still flickers, and he wants to revitalize it. We urge American voters to give him that opportunity on Nov. 4.

As president, Carter has compiled a record of no runs, no hits, and too many errors.

As president, Reagan might not end up in the All-Star Hall of Fame, but he certainly is the best of the three hurlers available.

cc. Bill Timmons  
Stan Anderson  
Ed Gray  
Robin Gray



C O N F I D E N T I A L

Monday, October 13, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: WILLIAM CASEY, ED MEESE, RICHARD WIRTHLIN,  
JIM BAKER, WILLIAM TIMMONS

FROM: ED GRAY

We should debate Jimmy Carter. One on one.

We should announce that we will do so in the next several days...  
the early part of this week. While we are still generally perceived to be ahead.

We need the debate (assuming appropriate ground rules). It is a risk worth taking.

The race is getting closer. The undecided factor is very large.

His rhetoric notwithstanding, John Anderson's campaign is dying.

Ronald Reagan's vulnerabilities (dangerous to peace, not compassionate) can be lessened in a debate. Governor Reagan can address those matters head on -- face to face with Carter.

Ronald Reagan can handle it, with proper briefing.

We must be willing to take this risk. In the next three weeks, the entire Carter government will be hitting us from every corner. Government officials have made to order platforms and forums for news. They will barrage us with criticism and accusations which, by virtue of the sheer volume, will erode confidence in Governor Reagan.

The race is becoming too close not to take this risk. I believe that a debate with Carter can only help us, if we approach it properly.

I urge you to give this your very highest consideration immediately.



MEMO TO: Stu Spencer  
FROM: Jim Baker  
RE: Debate  
DATE: October 14, 1980

*Sendy/14 Oct  
garrik 9 20  
pm  
EDT*

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

TOTAL OF 3 PAGES

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I may see you within hours after you get this, since I am coming out early tomorrow morning, so I'll keep it brief and then will elaborate when I see you.

As to what will happen next on the debate front: The League of Women Voters will review the polls due out over the next couple of days and conclude that because Anderson is below 15%, he is no longer viable. They will then issue an invitation for a one-on-one Carter vs. Reagan debate on October 25 in Cleveland. Press anticipation of this is now building and I received a number of calls on it today.

As to what I'm hearing: some of the people around the headquarters in Arlington think we should debate. Others, as you know, are adamantly opposed. My own view, as expressed to you several weeks ago, is "don't do it unless you need it." However, with the numbers doing what they're doing, I'm beginning to wonder if we don't need it. Several news guys that you know have argued over the past couple of weeks that we have to do it to win (Broder, Will, Novak, etc.)

Without committing them, I think Wirthlin and Dailey probably still favor a debate and Casey and Meese would, if they thought that's what it would take to win. Timmons, I think, feels it's suicidal.

As to the plusses and minuses of doing it: Obviously it's "high risk". A gaffe or a poor performance, and we lose the



Spencer memo  
October 14, 1980  
Page two

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

election. A good performance or a wash (i.e. a tie) and we come out ahead because we start out ahead by merely appearing with an incumbent President. We automatically become "Presidential". (In addition, we start out ahead in any debate, in my opinion, by reason of physical appearances). The format which the League of Women Voters has in mind is not what we want and we would have no guarantee that we could negotiate a favorable format (I can talk to you about this when I see you). There's always the possibility of another sponsor such as the Press Club whose invitation Carter has already accepted.

Something that might be a plus or a minus, depending on how you look at it, is that we would have to blow off the schedule for two or three days at a minimum. If this were not done, I would be strongly opposed to a debate. The Governor is simply not ready in my opinion in the foreign policy and defense area.

We have twenty days left. My gut tells me the momentum is not with us. Carter is dominating the news as only the President can and has undoubtedly programmed the entire federal apparatus to do so for the next twenty days. A debate would eclipse the news for several days before and after and perhaps diminish this Carter advantage. Our problem with the additional six or seven percent that we need is convincing them that he is competent, compassionate, and not dangerous. These things can be dealt with to some degree by 30 minute speeches to the nation, but these speeches will not



reach anything like the audiences which a debate would reach. Further, the "peace" issue is part of a composite problem that is hard for polls to reflect because it is not quite an "issue." It is: Is he properly calm, serious, careful? In short, is he "Presidential"?

A challenger gains, automatically, by stepping on to a stage with a President, so the question is: Are the risks of debating so substantial that we should pass up the guaranteed gain? Ronald Reagan performs best when under the kind of pressure a Presidential debate involves, the kind absent from a relaxed question-and-answer session with a friendly audience. The loss of two or three days on the schedule could be to some degree compensated for by telegenic events (photo opportunities, etc.) held on briefing days at Wexford.

If the decision is made to debate, it should be made soon. We can gracefully decide to debate now because we are generally thought to be ahead. If we wait too long, we might appear to be doing it only to avoid the political fallout of not debating. We can't let it appear that we are debating only because we're pressured into it. Carter might, for some reason, now refuse, in which case we would regain the issue of Carter "ducking".

Bottom Line: Tough call, but Ronald Reagan has performed well in six debates this year, surprising many. I'd hate to see us lose this election and forever wonder whether it was because we were afraid to debate. The other side, of course, is - "if you hadn't been trapped into debating, you'd have won!"



*This is paid for with Fed. Govt. funds*

## President Carter Speaks On The Record

REPORT FOR:

EDITORS, NEWS DIRECTORS

PREPARED BY:

OFFICE OF MEDIA LIAISON  
THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS OFFICE

DATE:

October 14, 1980

*The following is a compilation of some statements by the President, covering the last two and a half months and supplementing ten previous reports for 1977, 1978, 1979 and 1980. The President's statements in this report deal with a variety of topics and may be helpful to you as a reference resource.*

*Please direct inquiries to Patricia Bario or Karen Ahn, Office of Media Liaison, 160 Old Executive Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20500. (202) 456-6623 or 2832.*

### AFRICA

When I became President it was my resolve that we should open up a new and ambitious diplomatic and trade effort in the continent of Africa, an area too long neglected by my predecessors in this office. We recognize that among the 150 nations of the world that there is a great diversity and also a need for each nation to be treated as an individual people even though the diverse nature of its own people might be quite exemplary.

We have made visits now to the continent of Africa and to its nations, myself and the Vice President. As a matter of fact, in 1978 I made the first official visit by an American President to that great continent. And of course, I was honored to visit the people of Nigeria on that occasion.

*Remarks Welcoming His Excellency Alhaji Shenu Shagari,  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria  
10/7/80*

### AGRICULTURE

It's extremely important for an American farmer to be productive, to have storage on his farm, so that he can market grain and other products when prices are good—so prices don't fluctuate wildly and rob the housewife and the homeowners each time the markets change. We now have set records since I've been in office: the highest gross income in history for American farmers, the highest net income in history for American farmers. In 1977 we set a world record on agricultural exports. In 1978 we broke that record. In 1979 we broke it again. In 1980, we increased American exports of farm products \$8 billion and this year \$40 billion worth of American farm products are going overseas and bringing those good dollars back home where they belong. That's what we're doing.

*St. Louis, Missouri, Town Hall Meeting  
10/13/80*

• • •



Today, American agricultural strength is unsurpassed. We account for half the world's agricultural trade, 60 percent of world grain exports, 80 percent of soybean exports. These startling figures continue to improve.

To paraphrase Winston Churchill, never in history have so many been fed by so few.

Our success in exporting U.S. farm products is the direct result of aggressive sales and promotion.

—We have completed the multilateral trade negotiations.

—We have opened the China market. As one of the benefits of normalized relations, China is now buying nearly \$1 billion worth of U.S. farm products a year.

—We have opened trade offices in importing countries, increased export credits, improved grain inspections.

*Remarks to Employees of Continental Grain Terminal*  
9/23/80

• • •

I tried the best I could to stabilize American farm prices in spite of the interruption of sale of some grain to the Soviet Union and at the same time to open up in the rest of the world more permanent customers for American agricultural products. In the long historic perspective, our biggest single strategic asset of a peaceful nature is the productivity of our land. It's much more important on an historical scale than OPEC oil, for instance, and so I believe we've got a very sound farm economy now, stable prices compared to what they were, good bargains for American consumers, and I would guess that in the future these prices would increase only at very moderate rates compatible with market pressures that are much less fluctuating than they were before.

*Remarks at National Press Club*  
10/14/80

## ALASKAN LANDS

The full Senate overwhelmingly approved legislation that guarantees essential protection for the nationally significant natural resources in Alaska, allows for needed development of Alaska's valuable energy potential, and provides opportunities for economic growth for all the citizens of that state. In significant measure, this bill closely resembles the proposals I sent to the Congress more than three years ago. It is a victory in the long struggle to resolve this issue.

The bill designates more than 43 million acres of national park system lands, 54 million acres of national wildlife refuges, 56 million acres of wilderness, and 1.3 million acres of national wild and scenic rivers. In essence, the "crown jewels" of the Alaskan natural wonders are afforded protection. At the same time, the bill provides for development of Alaska's oil, gas, mineral and timber resources while conveying to the state and native communities lands of interest to them.



The resolution of the Alaska lands question is the most important conservation measure to come before any Congress or any President in this century. It has been my highest environmental priority since taking office...

*Statement  
8/19/80*

## **AMERICAN AUTOMOBILES**

There may have been times in the past when buyer preferences changed and foreign cars met needs that couldn't be met by American automobiles. If that is the case, when American consumers now get ready to spend American dollars on a new car, my advice is for them to look first and foremost to fine new American cars that can meet any competition.

*Flint, Michigan, Town Hall Meeting  
10/1/80*

• • •

You can all think back three or four years ago, whenever, the adversary relationship, a competitive relationship, between government and the automobile industry and between management and labor. About the only time we faced each other across the table was to bargain, and to argue and to debate about government regulations and about wage settlements.

That time has passed in that we now sit regularly around the negotiating table thinking how we all can work on the same team to overcome these threats to our nation's basic industry. And what is happening in automobiles is now beginning to happen in steel, and with the new energy policy now intact, we can move to the future and completely rebuild the American economic system, to modernize basic industries, such as steel and auto; to encourage high technology industry that keeps us in the forefront of production; research and development, to keep us on the cutting edge of new changes so that America, as it always has been in the past, will be the first ones to get bright ideas to be competitive on an international basis.

*Flint, Michigan, Town Hall Meeting  
10/1/80*

## **AQUACULTURE**

Although commercial aquaculture development is clearly the responsibility of the private sector, the Federal government has a role in conducting and supporting research and in establishing, through a national plan, a framework for cooperation between government and the public sector.

The government also has a strong interest in developing new sources of food for this country and for the poorer nations of the world. Many developing countries have already recognized the potential benefits of aquaculture. In China, for example, where fish is a staple, aquaculture accounts for a major portion of the seafood consumed. Here at home, an expanded aquaculture industry can help overcome a trade imbalance caused by the importation of some \$2 billion of seafood each year. Since only 3% of our current domestic seafood supplied are produced through aquaculture, there is considerable potential for expansion.

I believe that this legislation will greatly benefit the many farmers of this country who will be encouraged to grow fresh water fish in their lakes and



ponds. At the same time, commercial fishermen will see larger stocks of wild fish as a result of increased commercial aquaculture.

*Statement Upon Signing  
The National Aquaculture Act of 1980  
9/26/80*

## BLACKS

About 1.3 million more black people are at work today than there were in January of 1977. That's not enough because we still have a lot of people unemployed. In the last four months or so the unemployment rate has not increased. It's been about 7.7 percent, 7.8 percent. We're doing the best we can to get it down. We've tried to channel opportunities for minorities in this country to places outside of Government jobs, that the taxpayers have to finance, into permanent jobs in the private free enterprise system. For instance, I've been very eager to see black ownership of some radio and television stations because in the past, because of discrimination, they've been excluded from that. We've tripled the number of black-owned or controlled stations in the last two years.

I've also been very eager to see that when the Government has local development funds spent for public works or when the Government buys things like file cabinets or uniforms and stationery and so forth, that a certain portion of those expenditures—and you help pay the taxes—go to minority-owned businesses.

That's been a very fruitful pursuit and we've more than tripled the purchases from black-owned companies and we've had about 15 percent of our total public works channelled into minority-owned businesses, that's helped. Another thing that we're doing now is trying to increase the so-called countercyclical aid to communities where the unemployment rate is high. We have a billion-dollar program that I believe the Congress will pass before they adjourn this year.

*Dayton, Ohio, Town Hall Meeting  
10/2/80*

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There is only one way to destroy forever the seeds of hatred and fear. We must provide justice and equal opportunities for every Southerner, for every American—white, black, Hispanic, Asian-American, native American, male, female—everybody.

*Question-and-Answer Session, Atlanta, Georgia  
9/16/80*

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I see a future in this country where those that fought hard to achieve civil rights will continue in the Federal Government and all other governments to administer the very laws that they were willing to risk their lives to achieve. I see a Federal court system that's filled not only with a desire for justice but a desire for understanding of the special deprivation of justice that still prevails in this country against those who are poor or inarticulate or not well organized or not well educated. We've got a long way to go in the Federal courts



where still money available to have competent lawyers is an obstacle to true justice.

But whenever I appoint a black judge or Hispanic judge or even a woman judge I know that they not only have committed in their own hearts a vision of what this nation ought to be but a special knowledge of the effects of past discrimination that are still there as a means to prevent equality of opportunity.

*Remarks to Southern Black Leaders  
9/16/80*

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There are three main things we must do to solve our economic problems: We must end the drain of importing foreign oil at ever higher prices, fueling inflation. We must build an economic base capable of providing jobs for all. We must give our people the basic education and skills to do those jobs.

We are on the right road in energy, and making good progress. We have cut our oil imports by 24 percent, and embarked on the largest peacetime program of any kind to develop alternative fuels.

We are on the right road in education. We have increased Federal education funds by 73 percent, primarily to help disadvantaged children learn basic skills and to help students from low and moderate-income families to go to college. On top of that is the \$2 billion youth employment and training bill that you and I are fighting for in Congress right now.

We are on the right road to a stronger economy. The economic program I have recommended for enactment early next year helps ailing industries such as steel and autos and new industries so they can grow. It will create one million new jobs over a two-year period, over and above those provided by normal recovery and by our youth employment and training program and our energy program. Not temporary jobs, not dead-end jobs, not make-work jobs. Real jobs. Good jobs. Career jobs.

*Question-and-Answer Session, Atlanta, Georgia  
9/16/80*

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We've got a proposal in Congress now to add two more billion dollars to put our young people to work because we've got so far to go in that respect, a way to tie together the high school graduates and the trade school graduates with the jobs available in that community and make sure they know how to hold a job when they get there and to help tide over that salary payment for those few months as they become qualified. It's going to meld together labor and education now for a change and we'll have a much brighter future because of it.

We've solved to a great degree the problem of not having an energy policy and we'll have \$88 billion in the future to have help for poor people to pay their energy bills and to have a better transportation system to get to and from work and to create new technology and an exciting life and a dynamic life for our country, to rebuild America's industry and to give our workers



tools with which to be more productive and we are opening up the world now and in the future for additional trade.

*Remarks to Southern Black Leaders*  
9/16/80

## CITIES

We'll direct investments to communities and industries which have been hard hit by economic change. I'd like to point out to you that the economic change is inevitable. We'll help to retool the automobile industry that's moving forward very well to produce fuel-efficient cars that American consumers want now and will want in the future. We'll help to modernize our basic industries like steel and encourage the new high-technology industries, some of which we've not even yet been able to encompass in our minds. We'll help to rebuild our cities and towns with job-producing investments. And we'll rebuild our transportation system both to carry goods and to improve public transit. Finally, we'll invest heavily in our human resources. We'll provide new training and new skills to workers which have been hit by sudden economic change. We'll strengthen existing programs for those who lack the skills to face the future.

*Remarks to AFL-CIO General Meeting*  
9/4/80

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We can be proud that direct government support for economic development has increased by nearly 40 percent in the past three years. We have instituted effective urban and rural programs to stimulate private investment in distressed areas. Funding for programs to promote small business has more than doubled. The Congress now has before it my proposal for substantial increases in economic development financing.

But we must do more.

I will propose a large additional annual increase in funding for economic development for FY '81 and for FY '82 to create permanent jobs in industries and regions hard hit by industrial changes.

We also need a special targeted investment tax credit to provide strong incentives for American businesses to invest and create jobs in areas threatened by economic decline.

These measures stimulate business, but when a community is in financial distress—when it cannot maintain good police, fire or sanitation services—it loses both new and old industry. In order to help communities maintain the services necessary to promote development, I will propose countercyclical revenue sharing at a level of \$1 billion in 1981.

My major new domestic program this year is a jobs and training program to help young Americans look forward to a future of hope, not a life of waste. This is the one action we can take now that will make a difference to the lives of a whole generation of Americans.

*Announcement of Economic Renewal Program*  
8/28/80



## CIVIL RIGHTS

I wish I could celebrate with you here this morning the end of the age of racial antagonism, but as you know so well, the days of racial violence are not all behind us, not while groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the re-emergence of that group to stir up racial and religious hatred is seen in our country, and not while so many citizens of all races are afraid for their personal safety, and not while the code words of bigotry are still heard in the political arena and even in the legislative halls in Washington and in state capitols.

Every American should know that the President of the United States, the chief law enforcement officer of our country, is absolutely determined that the liberties and well-being of every citizen will be protected to the full extent of the law. All Americans must know that the Government of the United States is on their side.

*Remarks to National Urban League  
8/6/80*

## CUBAN REFUGEES

My responsibility is to administer the laws of the United States and the Constitutional provisions and I'm sworn to do that, so I tried to stop the illegal flow of Cubans and others into this country. Now the Cuban officials have announced that no more will the boats be encouraged to come to Mariel harbor and no more will they be permitted to bring Cubans back to the southern part of the country, primarily Florida.

With that stopping of the Cuban refugee flow we'll now be able to handle the matter, I think, well. We will put a few Cuban refugees that have been in excess and haven't yet been placed, in Puerto Rico. I talked to the Governor of Puerto Rico after I took off from Washington this morning on Air Force One to explain to him what was going to happen. We will continue to place these refugees in places where the unemployment rate is lowest and where they have family members that can help them get assimilated into our society. We're trying to handle them humanely. We have stopped the flow. I will not let that flow recommence and we will abide by the laws of the United States using the Coast Guard, the Navy, and the full resources that I have to enforce the laws.

*Flint, Michigan, Town Hall Meeting  
10/1/80*

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We still have a problem in that, although we are placing these new Cubans, Cuban-Americans now, as rapidly as we possibly can in a humane and legal way, we've had an influx of about 150 per day ever since we stopped the massive influx which was running 3,000 or 4,000 per day.

...We've had tens of thousands of those newcomers in Florida, in Arkansas, in Wisconsin, and other states in the nation. It's been a very difficult thing for me. The adverse reaction has been unbelievable and now, searching about for a place to put a few thousand, 3,000 or 4,000, where they would be accommodated in a military base—I decided to put some in Puerto Rico.

...it's necessary for me to treat the people in Puerto Rico the same way I treat the people in Wisconsin or Florida or Arkansas. I wish that we had all the Cubans settled already. That's not possible.

*Remarks at 1980 Hispanic Democratic Victory Dinner  
9/26/80*



## DEFENSE

Every year since I've been President we've had real increases in our commitment to a stronger nation, increases which are prudent and rational.

There is no doubt that the United States of America can meet any threat from the Soviet Union. Our modernized strategic forces, a revitalized NATO, the Trident submarine, the Cruise missile, the Rapid Deployment Force, all these guarantee that we will never be second to any nation.

*Nomination Acceptance Speech*  
8/14/80

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Thus far in my Administration we have both strengthened every element of our strategic deterrent and worked to enhance strategic stability through negotiation of mutual and balanced limits on strategic arms.

We could have spent more money, but we would not have spent more wisely.

*Remarks to The American Legion*  
8/21/80

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If an unlimited nuclear arms race should be forced upon us, we will compete, and compete successfully. Let no one doubt that for a moment. To initiate such a dangerous and costly race ourselves would be totally irresponsible.

The destructive power of the world's strategic arsenals is already adequate for total devastation. It does no good to increase that destructive power in search of a temporary edge or in pursuit of the illusion of absolute superiority. Chasing either advantage can undercut the stability and assured deterrence that is our real goal and need. To limit strategic nuclear weapons, as the SALT treaties do, is not to reduce our strength but to reduce the danger that misunderstanding and miscalculation could lead to global catastrophe.

*Remarks to The American Legion*  
8/21/80

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Our strategy, now modernized to take account of Soviet planning and attitudes, must leave them no room for the illusion that they can obtain advantage through the use of force. No potential enemy of the United States should anticipate for one moment a successful use of military power against our vital interests. To insure that no adversary is even tempted, however, we must have a range of responses to potential threats or crises and an integrated plan for their use. We continually work toward that goal.

*Remarks to The American Legion*  
8/21/80

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But there's a difference between keeping a nation strong militarily and using those strong military forces in combat and that's a distinction that a President alone must exercise. My record as President has been to keep our nation



strong. After seven years of downward commitments to American military capability, in seven out of eight of those years that the Republicans were in office before me, we had a decrease in American budget commitment to our military strength. We've been going upward every year since I've been in office and we'll continue to do that to keep our nation strong.

*Interview with KNBC-TV, Los Angeles, California  
9/23/80*

**ECONOMIC  
DEREGULATION**

We've had a more profound change in the Government-business relationship since I've been President of any time at least since the New Deal. We have deregulated completely the CAB. We have deregulated the trucking industry. We're now on the verge of deregulating the rail industry. We have deregulated the financial institutions of this country and we have an excellent prospect of deregulating the communication industry in the next few months.

Nothing like this has ever been done before and I think it's a very major achievement. I have the same basic philosophy about government intrusion in the private enterprise system as is exemplified by these actions that the Congress has taken with my full support and in some cases my leadership.

I think it's absolutely important that we continue this deregulation process and reduce the amount of paperwork and the onerous burden of government intrusion into the free enterprise system. But I don't stand aside for anyone in acknowledging the importance of it and I believe this is one of the notable achievements that we've had for our country in these 3½ years.

*Question-and-Answer Session with New Jersey Editors  
9/9/80*

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I think that the intrusion of the Federal Government into the free enterprise system of our country ought to be minimal. I believe in intense competition and as I believe in the worth of an individual human being and the freedom for that individual, I also believe in the freedom of our competitive business and financial system.

*Remarks at Democratic National Committee Fundraiser  
9/16/80*

**ECONOMY**

The thing that we must do, though, is to realize that the election pressures cannot be permitted to shape economic policy. We have got to keep inflation under control while we deal with the increase in productivity over a long period of time in the future, build permanent jobs for people in the private industry sector, not in make-work jobs that are very expensive to the American taxpayer, continue to deregulate the American free enterprise system, getting Government's nose out of the affairs of American business and American families, these kinds of basic things to increase productivity, to increase investment and to have long-range, permanent jobs are the major challenge that I face as President.

*Press Conference  
9/18/80*

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The economic outlook has now brightened. We see the beginnings of recovery. We see a reduction in inflation, an increase in the number of jobs, a decline in the unemployment rate.

I'm confident about our future, not simply because the immediate outlook is improving but because at long last our country is coming to grips with some of its chronic, underlying economic challenges.

*Remarks at National Press Club  
10/14/80*

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We must now build on the progress we have made in many vital areas. In the last 3½ years, we have added more than eight million new workers to America's job rolls—more than in any similar period of time in our history. Exports have grown substantially. And with the 1981 budget we will have cut in half the real growth in Federal spending.

We are reducing the anti-competitive regulation of the airlines, trucking, rail, banking and communications industries. This is the most fundamental restructuring of the relationship between government and business since the New Deal.

Above all, after vigorous debate and painful political decisions, we have put in place a national energy policy that has already helped reduce our oil imports by 20 percent and has encouraged more drilling of oil and gas wells today than at any time in the past quarter of a century.

We must continue to build. Our task is nothing less than to revitalize America's economy. Increasing productivity is the foremost economic challenge of the 1980s.

*Announcement of Economic Renewal Program  
8/28/80*

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Let us not forget that this country or ours still has the most productive work force on earth. Our standard of living is the highest in the world. Our industrial base is the strongest in world history. We have the greatest human and physical resources of any nation on earth. But we cannot draw them down forever. We must renew these resources—and we will.

We are embarking on a course to build a major synthetic fuels industry, to double our production and expand the export of coal, to retool our automobile industry to produce more fuel-efficient cars, to modernize our basic industries, to make our houses and buildings and factories more energy efficient, to shift our electric power generation from oil to coal and other fuels, to create a whole new industry to produce solar and other renewable energy systems, to rebuild our cities and towns, to continue progress toward a cleaner and healthier and safer environment, to expand and modernize our public transportation, to provide our work force with skills and jobs, to ease the burdens of change, and to continue to build the homes and produce the goods and services needed by a growing America.

*Announcement of Economic Renewal Program  
8/28/80*

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**Economic Renewal  
Program for  
the 1980s**

The fundamental challenge to our economy in the 1980s is to create full employment, stable prices, and real growth, with jobs that attack our declining productivity and energy dependence—the major causes of inflation and recession in the first place.

*Announcement  
8/28/80*

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Our detailed program sets forth measures I will ask the Congress to enact next year. There are four major goals:

1. Increase private and public investment to revitalize America's economy.
2. Create a forward-looking partnership between government and the private sector to deal with those national problems that only cooperation can solve.
3. Help people and communities overcome the effects of industrial dislocation.
4. Help to offset rising individual tax burdens in ways that do not rekindle inflation.

My new proposals will add almost a half million jobs in the coming year and a total of one million jobs by the end of 1982. These are in addition to those which normal recovery and our other new programs will provide. We expect to add two percent growth to the GNP, increase real investment by 10 percent, and help to hold down inflation at the same time.

*Announcement  
8/28/80*

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In the first place, the economic plan that we have proposed is designed to build on the energy progress we've made and to give Americans an exciting, progressive, better life throughout the 1980s by revitalizing America's industry and creating new jobs that we've never foreseen in the past.

We've designed our economic plan to be non-inflationary. It'll actually reduce the inflation rate instead of increasing it.

Our plan is designed primarily to create faster investment in order to create jobs. We also included in our plan a proposal that would reduce income taxes enough so that as we increase Social Security taxes next year to keep the Social Security system sound there would be no net increase for Americans.

*Corpus Christi, Texas, Town Hall Meeting  
9/15/80*

Creating jobs is what my economic revitalization program is all about. I have proposed that, in areas suffering high unemployment and a declining industrial base, an additional tax credit be allowed for qualifying investments; also that depreciation schedules be simplified and depreciation rates accelerated, and that investment tax credits be made partially refundable,



which will help new companies and those hit by cyclical downturns whose profits are not high enough to pay high rates of taxation.

I've also recognized that economic change sometimes requires difficult adjustment. I have proposed tax incentives and the establishment of an industrial development authority to channel public and private resources to help industries and communities adjust to inevitable economic change.

All these proposals have one thing in common. They put people to work in real jobs without triggering higher prices.

*Remarks at National Press Club  
10/14/80*

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### **Productivity**

I propose that we encourage capital investment in new plants and equipment, the investments we need to increase worker productivity.

If living standards are to rise, productivity must grow. There's no way around this. It's an economic fact of life...Our workers can continue to be the most productive in the world if given the proper tools. To do that government must encourage investment. We must make sure that American research and development does not lag behind. We must provide the kind of tax incentives that will help to modernize the nation's industries.

*Remarks at National Press Club  
10/14/80*

### **EDUCATION**

We have now expanded, with this legislation, the Elementary and Secondary Act and we've also been able to increase, in spite of severe fiscal constraint, the budget increases for education by 75 percent, for education in general and for Headstart and other programs for deprived children in particular.

We have doubled funds for student aid and for educating handicapped children. We have tripled funds for basic skills education, and provided new funds for the disadvantaged students in our urban centers. Through the Middle Income Students Assistance Act we have brought college within the reach of every single student of this nation who is qualified for higher education. The idea that lack of money should be no barrier to a college education is no longer a dream, it is a reality.

We have put more Federal resources behind the historically black colleges, which award nearly half of the degrees received by black students in our country. And by creating the new Department of Education we have given education its proper place in the highest councils of government.

*Remarks Upon Signing Education Amendments of 1980  
10/3/80*



## EMPLOYMENT

A strong economy is a centerpiece to a strong and viable nation. It is the only way to achieve our national goals of full employment, balanced growth and price stability.

Over the past 3½ years I have sought to build a stronger economy. In that period, more than 8 million additional jobs have been created.

*Statement on 1980 Democratic Party Platform*  
8/13/80

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To accomplish our goal of full employment we need to do several things. We need to insist, first of all, on fair rules of trade with other nations in every product. Our program to help the American steel industry will help to achieve this kind of fairness. We are awaiting a decision from the International Trade Commission to determine if action should be taken with regard to Japanese automobiles. We must not embark on the kind of trade war that wrecked the world economy of the 1930s.

The way to full employment does not lie in escalating an already persistent inflation. It lies in the right kind of tax incentives. It lies in measures that bring about investment in modern plant and equipment. It lies in controlling inflation so that industry can plan for the future with confidence and so that interest rates can be brought down within the reach of homebuyers and consumers. It lies in stimulating competition, deregulating the airlines, the railroads, the financial institutions, energy, the truck lines, and communication industries, just as we have done.

*Remarks at National Press Club*  
10/14/80

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We must deal with this critical problem by putting our people to work in permanent jobs to build a better America. At the same time we must and we can deal with our long-run economic problems. We must reduce inflation, improve productivity, increase capital investment, expand exports, create more job opportunities for blacks, Hispanics and other minorities, retrain skilled workers displaced from declining industries, train and educate young people for skilled jobs, implement a new industrial policy for the 1980s and improve the economic viability of our States, cities and counties.

*Statement on 1980 Democratic Party Platform*  
8/13/80

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We've been able, in the last 3½ years in spite of worldwide economic problems, as you know, to add 8.6 million jobs in this country. We've never had that many new jobs created in any similar period of time in the history of our nation. We've also been able to focus those job opportunities, outside the government, into the private free enterprise system where the jobs could be permanent. And we've had a special emphasis on minority citizens in providing jobs for them.



In addition to that, with the economic plan that I just outlined, we have a possibility of at least a million additional new jobs in the next two years, above and beyond what we'll get with our proposals that are already in Congress' hands and already on the books. And also, above and beyond what normal economic recovery would bring.

We have about 500,000 new jobs in 1981, another 500,000 jobs in 1982. We also have, now in Congress—which has an excellent chance to pass—what we call a Youth Bill. This will add another \$2 billion in training for young people, about your age, at the junior and senior level in high school, for instance, full preparation for a career in private industry. And that's a good program too.

What this will do is to let a young person find a job in private industry, and they may not be qualified yet, but to receive special training at the high school on how to hold a job, how to show up on time, how to keep records and do things like that. And then as they become qualified in a job working for an oil company or working for a department store or...something like that, then the Federal government gets out of it and the young person holds the job from then on permanently.

*Corpus Christi, Texas, Town Hall Meeting  
9/15/80*

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I want to emphasize that I have no higher domestic priority than full employment. But we must make it clear that to achieve full employment we must also be successful in our fight against inflation. To be lasting, a jobs policy must not only promote economic growth and provide opportunities to the disadvantaged, but also create an environment of reasonable price stability.

*Statement on 1980 Democratic Party Platform  
8/13/80*

## ENERGY

Three years before I became President our oil imports from the OPEC nations increased 44 percent. Since I've been in office, although we had some delay in passing on the legislation, oil imports have decreased 24 percent. Today and every day this year our country is importing from overseas 2 million barrels less of oil. We recognize the importance of this economically because we not only import oil; we also import inflation and unemployment.

*Remarks at Democratic National Committee Fundraiser  
9/16/80*

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The soul of our energy policy is this: That there are many paths to energy security and all must be explored.

We are mining American coal in record quantities, and we want it to become a powerful rival of OPEC oil. Our goal for the year 2000 is that 20 percent of our energy will come from the sun—energy that is renewable, non-polluting, and can never be embargoed. In 1981 alone, we will spend more than \$1 billion on solar energy. In 1975, two years after the oil embargo, the Republican Administration spent only \$54 million on solar.



We have more oil locked up in our shale than three Saudi Arabias, and through our new synthetic fuels industry we can tap that resource.

*Remarks at Lincoln Land Community College,  
Springfield, Illinois  
9/22/80*

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Coal production in the United States this year is at an all-time high. We will produce more coal in the United States in 1980 than we have ever produced in any single year in the history of this country.

Second, crude oil production has increased this year. This is only the second time in a decade that this occurred. More oil wells will be drilled in the United States this year, 1980 than in any other year in the entire history of this country and some experts are predicting that next year we will again set an all-time high record.

*Remarks Announcing John Sawhill as  
Chairman for Synthetic Fuels Corporation  
9/10/80*

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Our strong emphasis on gasohol will make farmers more self-sufficient and all Americans more secure. Eighteen months ago, virtually none was produced. Now we have the capacity to produce 135 million gallons of ethanol and by 1981, we should reach 500 million gallons. My goal is that by the end of 1990, we will produce enough alcohol fuel to replace 10 percent of America's gasoline use.

As we develop new sources of energy, it is vital that we increase conservation—the quickest, cheapest and cleanest energy there is. And we must also conserve our air, our water and our land. In our haste to develop we must not weaken our environmental standards. We must not forget that whenever we dig coal, shale and tar sands we dig into the living earth, and that wherever we produce waste, we will affect the water we drink and the air we breathe.

*Remarks at Lincoln Land Community College,  
Springfield, Illinois  
9/22/80*

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I want the private sector to have a major role in our energy future. In fact, all of the actual production we envisage is in the hands of free enterprise.

But I want all of us to participate in our National Energy Policy. All of us can contribute to it—and all of us will benefit from it.

Our goal is nothing less than changing the way America produces, uses and even thinks about energy—and it is the most exciting single undertaking in the last part of the 20th century.

In the past when we switched from wool to coal, and then from coal to oil, those changes brought only better things to Americans—better lifestyles, more leisure time, essentials like electricity and heat. Now, as we switch from foreign oil to American fuels, we stand only to gain—for our economy, our security and our confidence.

*Remarks at Lincoln Land Community College,  
Springfield, Illinois  
9/22/80*

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America's fight for energy security is the most important struggle in our peacetime history. It is a fight for jobs. It is a fight against inflation. It is a fight for freedom. And, in a very real sense, it is a fight for peace.

*Remarks at Lincoln Land Community College,  
Springfield, Illinois  
9/22/80*

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The Federal government is not in the oil-producing business. We're not in the oil refining business. We're not in the oil exploration business. We're not going to get into it.

What we are doing, however, is to try to protect the consumers and at the same time remove the shackles that have bound up the free enterprise system for too long. There's been an effort made to deregulate natural gas and oil ever since Harry Truman was President back in the late 1940s and early 1950s. We have finally passed a bill—it wasn't easy—to deregulate oil and natural gas, careful, phased, predictable, and that's what meant so much to the oil explorers who now have 2,800 rigs running, a number that's never been equaled in the history of this country.

*Corpus Christi, Texas, Town Hall Meeting  
9/15/80*

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Before I became President, there was no energy policy for our country. In 1976, we were importing from overseas 8½ million barrels of oil every day and sending the money for it out of the United States to those foreign countries.

Oil and natural gas were regulated which was discouraging American production and there was no way to finance a better transportation system, conservation in our homes, increased production of American energy, or a way to help poor people pay their heat bills with the increasing cost of energy.

We have corrected all of those problems with our comprehensive energy policy...Now we have a law that deregulates all the natural gas. It's paying rich dividends.

...We are seeing a rapid increase in the use of solar power in homes. We are now using 10 times more coal, solar power, than we were just four years ago.



The windfall profits tax, which is on the unearned income of oil companies, will have to finance some of these programs. When we begin to collect this money it'll be used fairly.

*Corpus Christi, Texas, Town Hall Meeting  
9/15/80*

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**Energy Security Act** There are two parts of the foreign oil import question. One is to save energy, the other one is to produce American energy. The OPEC oil nations, all put together, have about 6 percent of the world's energy reserve. We've got 24 percent in this country and it's oil, natural gas, geothermal supplies, it's tar sands, shale oil and coal—all kinds of energy that we've got here. One of the important new developments will be the development of synthetic fuels—that is clean-burning oil and clean-burning gas that's gotten out of oil shale and coal...

So we will have, in the next 10 years, about \$80 billion available to put into the production of synthetic fuels in this country, which means that our almost unlimited supply of coal of all kinds, both high sulphur and low sulphur, bituminous and anthracite coals, that have in the past not been used for various reasons, can now be used to produce synthetic fuels. And this will give us a chance to be self-reliant and also open up tremendous numbers of hundreds of thousands of new jobs to produce the synthetic fuels.

*Question-and-Answer Session,  
DuPage County, Illinois  
10/7/80*

## **ENVIRONMENT**

The superfund is a great idea that absolutely must be implemented. In my opinion, the superfund is better for the communities, for the people, for business, including those that produce toxic materials, and obviously is better for the Federal government. It's kind of an insurance program where a very small amount of money is put in for each barrel of toxic material sold, into a fund...And if in the future damage to a community is threatened or materializes or to a person is threatened or materializes then out of that insurance fund, so-called, the damages would be paid, and within very narrowly defined limits the Federal government would coordinate this effort.

We have more than 50,000 potentially toxic dumpsites in this country, each one of which could become a very serious threat in the future. And unless we take some action now, I believe we're going to have a serious developing crisis in our country.

*Question-and-Answer Session with New Jersey Editors  
9/9/80*

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Shortly after entering office, in my May 1977 Environmental Message to the Congress, I urged prompt expansion of the National Wilderness Preservation System. On February 24, 1978, I had the privilege of signing the Endangered American Wilderness Act of 1978, which added about 1.3 million acres in ten Western States to the National Wilderness Preservation System. That was the largest single addition to the wilderness areas of this

country since the original enactment of the Wilderness Act in 1964. On October 21, 1978, I again had the privilege of signing into law the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness Act, which expanded and perfected that area's designation. In addition, I have approved other legislation which added about 3.4 million acres to the Wilderness System. Thus prior to the Central Idaho Wilderness Act a total of 4.7 million acres has been added to the Wilderness System in the last three years.

On May 2, 1979, as a result of the Roadless Area Review and Evaluation, I recommended to the Congress wilderness designations for an additional 15.4 million acres of roadless areas on the National Forest System lands, consisting of 5.5 million acres in Alaska and 9.9 million acres in 35 other States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

*Statement Upon Signing  
Central Idaho Wilderness Act of 1980  
7/23/80*

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The Central Idaho Wilderness Act will add more than 2.3 million acres to the Wilderness System and will designate 125 miles of the Salmon River in Idaho as a Wild and Scenic River. This wilderness designation brings the total acreage in the National Wilderness Preservation System to 21.4 million acres, an increase of about 48 percent during this Administration.

*Statement Upon Signing  
Central Idaho Wilderness Act of 1980  
7/23/80*

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Title III of that Act authorizes the Secretary of Commerce, upon obtaining the President's approval, to designate marine sanctuaries for preservation or restoration of ocean, coastal, and Great Lakes waters that have conservation, recreational, ecological, or aesthetic value.

In approving this legislation, I reaffirm my commitment to environmental protection and, in particular, to the protection of the ocean and the living marine resources in those areas deserving special status as protected marine sanctuaries.

*Statement Upon Signing S. 1140  
8/29/80*

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Progress is also being made in the effort to ensure that adequate areas of our forests are preserved in their natural state for the enjoyment and benefit of Americans both now and in the future. Congress is now considering my recommendations for classifying an additional 15.4 million acres as wilderness within the National Forest System. These lands, in addition to the wilderness already created by Congress, will preserve the pristine quality of more than 30 million acres of National Forest.

While our forests continue to meet our demands for wood and recreation today, careful management is needed if they are to continue to do so in the



future. All of us need to become more aware of the role woodlands play, directly and indirectly, in our lives. We must strive to improve our small woodlots as well as our large, professionally managed, public and private forests.

*Proclamation*  
9/4/80

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For over 50 years, in what has been one of the most successful and harmonious relationships in our Federal system, Federal and State agencies have labored together to conserve the fish and wildlife resources of our Nation. However, as I stated in my 1977 Environmental Message to Congress, almost always our activities have been focused on species that are harvested by hunters and fishermen. Usually, it is only when a species is threatened with extinction that we take note of the nongame species of wildlife—and then it is often too late.

This legislation will benefit the vast majority of species which have too often been neglected, and, quite wisely, the legislation establishes a system within the existing framework of Federal-State relations. H.R. 3292 sets up a Federal-State planning process to inventory nongame wildlife species, identify their habitats, determine problems affecting their survival, and develop priorities for protecting them, if necessary. The Federal government will assist them financially and technically to achieve this objective. This program will not diminish the support we give to game species, but it will encourage the comprehensive planning we need to conserve the full spectrum of our Nation's wildlife.

*Statement Upon Signing*  
*Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act of 1980*  
9/30/80

## FAMILY

Karen asked about the importance of the unity of the American family—what it means to our country and how we can promote it. The answer is obviously yes. Our country is so diverse in nature, with people coming here from like 120 nations on earth, that the structure that holds our country as a unified entity, is the families being cohesive and the communities being self-reliant and sharing responsibilities for the future.

*Question-and-Answer Session,*  
*DuPage County, Illinois*  
10/7/80

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The longer I'm in the White House as President the more I realize that the basic structure of our nation is founded and must be preserved not in a government bureaucratic system, even at the local and state level, but in the individual family structure and magnified from there into the community structure as well. Strong families, strong communities are the basis for a safe life and a good life for our people. I believe there's been a move back toward a deeper commitment to moral principles in our country. We did have a very serious shock to our country and to our beliefs and to our ideals with the Vietnam War, with the revelations about the CIA violating American law,

and during the Watergate era when Americans lost faith in their own government, lost faith in truthfulness, and also lost faith to some degree in one another. I think we've helped already to repair that damage.

*Torrance, California, Town Hall Meeting  
9/22/80*

## **FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT**

I've been in office 3½ years. We've had an inevitable growth with a 75 per cent increase in Federal funding for education with a steady upward growth in our military, with the new Energy Department with a lot of things that our people need to have, better transportation systems, but on top of all that we've had several tens of thousands fewer Federal employees now than when I took office and by now we've probably reduced the Federal rolls about 45 thousand. We've cut down on waste and we've increased efficiency. We've still got a ways to go. But my hope and my commitment is to continue this downward trend in total number of Federal employees at the same time we have to meet the needs of an increasing population. And, of course, lately we've had an increase in the problems that have been brought on us by the unexpected increase, almost more than doubling the price of OPEC oil.

So we've cut down on the total number of employees. We've cut down on the number of agencies and departments and at the same time increased services; still have a long way to go to improve it further.

*Question-and-Answer Session, Lansdowne, Pennsylvania  
10/2/80*

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

America requires the authority and strength—and the moral force—to protect ourselves, to provide for the defense of our friends and to promote the values of human dignity and well-being that have made our own Nation strong at home and respected abroad. To this end, our national security policy has four specific objectives:

—First, to prevent war, through the assurance of our Nation's strength and will.

—Second, to share with our friends and allies the protection of the industrial democracies of Europe and Asia.

—Third, to safeguard and strengthen our vital links to the nations and resources of the Middle East.

—Fourth, to defend our vital interests if threatened anywhere in the world.

All this requires our great military strength. But arms alone cannot provide the security within which our values and interests can flourish. Our foreign policy must be directed toward greater international stability—without which there is no prospect of a lasting peace. Thus, our strength in arms must be matched by creative, responsible and courageous diplomacy.

*Remarks to The American Legion  
8/21/80*



The independence, security and development of the countries of the Third World are also very important to our national security. Violence and radical revolution thrive in an atmosphere of political repression, economic want, massive unemployment, and hunger.

Our interests are served when the countries of the developing world are able to meet the needs and aspirations of their people peacefully, democratically, and through cooperation with the United States and other countries of the West. In helping them to achieve these objectives, we are encouraging democracy and strengthening our ability to compete effectively with the Soviets. Those most concerned about Soviet activism in the world should be the strongest supporters of our foreign aid programs designed to help the moderate transition from repressive tyranny to democratic development and to bolster the strength and independence of our friends.

*Remarks to The American Legion*  
8/21/80

## HISPANICS

Hispanic peoples have played a distinguished role in the history of our Nation.

The Hispanic community has given us generals, admirals, philosophers, statesmen, musicians, athletes, and Nobel Prize-winning scientists. Hispanic Americans have contributed gallantly to the defense of our Nation, and many have received the highest decoration our country can bestow—the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Outstanding Hispanic men and women add daily to our Nation's accomplishments in science, technology, the arts, and politics. And Hispanic citizens contribute daily to the quality of our lives. Hispanics exhibit an eminent pride in our American heritage, a passionate love of family, a profound devotion to religion, and an energetic commitment to hard work.

*Proclamation*  
7/31/80

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We've been able, in the last 3½ years in spite of worldwide economic problems, as you know, to add 8.6 million jobs in this country. We've never had that many new jobs created in any similar period of time in the history of our Nation. We've also been able to focus those job opportunities, outside the government, into the private free enterprise system where the jobs could be permanent. And we've had a special emphasis on minority citizens in providing jobs for them.

As a matter of fact, employment among Spanish-speaking Americans has gone up 22 percent—1 million total increase in jobs and among black Americans has gone up, I think, 18 percent—1.3 million jobs. So, so far we've done a good job.

*Corpus Christi, Texas, Town Hall Meeting*  
9/15/80

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And I'm equally determined to ensure justice in the Federal court system. With your help, I have been able to quadruple the number of Hispanic Federal judges, in less than four years. I'm proud of the fact that I have been able to appoint more Hispanic judges than all other Presidents combined in the two hundred year history of our Nation. And I'm not done yet.

And I might add, parenthetically but importantly, as we have made these appointments, maintained the highest possible standards, of professional competence, and dignity, and ethics, and integrity in the judicial system. It's been a credit to the judicial system to have these appointments.

As you all know, these appointments are for a lifetime. And these judges will exert their influence on our system of justice for many generations to come.

*Remarks to Congressional Hispanic Caucus  
9/13/80*

## HUMAN RIGHTS

How can we—as free people—be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere? How can we, as people with the most abundant economy on the globe, be indifferent to the suffering of those elsewhere who lack food, and health care and shelter?

We cannot be indifferent—and we will not retreat one step from our human rights policy.

Human rights is the very soul of our foreign policy—because it is the soul of our identity as a nation. We support human rights because our conscience commands it. But the fact is that our human rights policy—in general—also pragmatically serves our national interest.

Both our Nation and the world are more secure when basic human rights are respected.

Our words and our actions have left their mark.

—Governments have released political prisoners, lessened political repression and economic misery.

—Hundreds of thousands of people have emigrated to freedom from the Soviet Union, Cuba and elsewhere.

—Increased trade with African and Third World nations has resulted in part from the growing trust generated by America's human rights policy.

*Remarks to Polish National Alliance  
9/20/80*

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Here at home, our Nation's commitment to fundamental values is strengthened by advancing human rights—the rights of all Americans, regardless of color or national origin or accent or sex. That commitment makes us proud to be Americans. And it makes us realize that America's foreign policy in the 1980s must always emanate from those values.

*Remarks to Polish National Alliance  
9/20/80*



## HUMAN RESOURCES

I believe, as you do, that people have the right to a decent living. That is why we fought together for the largest increase ever in the minimum wage. We won that fight—and four million Americans are living better lives today.

I believe, as you do, that in the Nation with the richest agriculture in the history of the world, there can be no excuse for allowing anyone to go hungry. That is why we fought to eliminate the cash requirement for purchasing food stamps—and we won that fight, too.

I believe, as you do, that every worker has the right to work in safe, healthy conditions. That is why we worked to improve OSHA and successfully defended it against attempts to destroy it.

*Remarks to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*  
9/29/80

## INFLATION

Inflation is beginning to decline. We need to maintain that trend. To make further progress we will consult with business, labor, and other groups about how to improve our voluntary wage and price policies. We also need to work together to design future tax reductions that help to moderate the wage and price spiral.

Government can help to build an exciting and healthy economic future for our country, but if we are to succeed it cannot be because of government alone or business alone or labor alone. It must be because government, business, labor and the public work together.

*Remarks at National Press Club*  
10/14/80

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To overcome inflation we need to attack its causes directly and at their roots.

First, we need to pursue prudent overall fiscal policies. We've made substantial progress in controlling the budget. The rate of real growth in government spending is half what it was when I took office, and the budget deficit has been reduced by more than half as a percentage of the Gross National Product.

We can exercise real fiscal restraint and still maintain a compassionate and a progressive society. We need to eliminate waste. We need to target government programs to areas and citizens who are most in need. We need to attract and encourage private investment to join with government in achieving our various economic and social goals.

*Remarks at National Press Club*  
10/14/80

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What we've done there and what we'll continue to do in the future is to hold down the Federal deficit; try to encourage people to invest in new plants and new tools and also to save their money so it can be loaned to people to buy new houses and so forth, and to cut down our dependence on imported oil.

We've passed now legislation to set up a very good national energy policy—the first time we've ever had one in our history, and we're saving energy and not wasting it any more and producing more American energy, not only producing more coal than any year in history, but we also have more oil wells and natural gas wells being drilled than any year in history.

As we cut down on this amount of oil that we bring into this country, we control inflation, we'll continue that in the future. This day and every day in 1980 we're buying two million barrels of oil less than we were the first year I was in office; we're making good progress there. So those are the kind of things that we're doing now and in the future to hold down inflation.

*Dayton, Ohio, Town Hall Meeting  
10/2/80*

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But, and this is essential, while inflation has been dampened down, it's still a major continuing concern. I'm standing firm against any tax reduction in this pre-election political climate. But I will press ahead to strengthen our economy, to increase productivity, to revitalize our American industrial system, and to create real jobs.

*Press Conference  
9/18/80*

## **IRAN**

### **American Hostages**

We've never been on hold. This is a problem that's always on my mind. We've had two basic commitments since the first day the hostages were taken. The first one is to protect the honor and the integrity of our Nation and to protect our own vital interest and secondly, to avoid taking any action on my part that might endanger the lives or the well-being of the hostages or their chance ultimately to come to freedom. We're still pursuing that policy, steadily and cautiously, but firmly.

We also used every possible avenue of communication with Iranian officials...

*Interview with KOMO-TV, Tacoma, Washington  
9/23/80*

## **IRAQ-IRAN CONFLICT**

The fighting between Iran and Iraq is causing needless hardship and suffering among the people involved. It represents a danger to the peace and stability of the region. There should be absolutely no interference by any other nation in this conflict.

The fighting should be promptly terminated. Any grievances between Iran and Iraq should be settled at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield.

We strongly support international efforts, both the statement made by the Secretary General of the United Nations and also by the President of the Security Council of the United Nations to bring this fighting to a prompt end and to obtain a negotiated settlement.

*Remarks  
9/24/80*

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It's important that I add my own strong support and that of my Nation to the declaration which the nine European community nations made yesterday. Freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf is of primary importance to the whole international community. It is imperative that there be no infringement of that freedom of passage of ships to and from the Persian Gulf region.

Let me repeat that we have not been and we will not become involved in the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

One final point, very important to Americans, is in our concern for the dangerous situation created by this conflict we have not forgotten for one moment the American hostages still held captive in Iran. We continue our work for their prompt and safe release and we continue to hold the government of Iran responsible for the safety and the well-being of the American hostages.

*Remarks*  
9/24/80

**JAPANESE  
AUTOMOBILE  
IMPORTS**

First of all, when Japan abuses privileges as they did with the recent assembly loopholes on small trucks, I am determined to act forcefully. I have imposed, as you know, a 25 percent duty on the small trucks that have come into our country almost assembled and then just a little bit of assembly went into them, and I believe that's very important, and I just got word that the Japanese manufacturers of those small trucks will increase their price 25 percent beginning in the near future, which will make the American small and efficient trucks competitive, so meeting competition in that respect and preventing dumping and unfair competition is very important to me.

Secondly, we're trying to encourage the Japanese to restrict their shipment of automobiles to this country this year during this transitional phase. Recently, a top Japanese official announced that their shipments of cars to this country would not be increased further, that their total shipments would not exceed those of 1979, and that the last six months of this year the anticipated rate of Japanese automobile shipments would be down 200,000 below what we had thought it would be. That helped.

In addition, we are encouraging Japanese who are going to sell their cars in this country to put their manufacturing plants or assembly plants in the United States to employ American workers to make Japanese cars. When I got into the airport this morning in Detroit there was a Volkswagen there, manufactured in this country, and the man who represented Volkswagen, an American, told me that 70 percent of all the Volkswagens sold in this country are manufactured in the United States with American workers. The only two things they import from Germany now is the transmission and the motor itself.

In addition, we are trying to get the Japanese to buy spare parts and parts for assembly of their own automobiles in the United States and we're trying to force them to lower tariff barriers—that's important—but also distribution techniques that in the past have almost completely excluded American cars from the market in Japan. All those items put together will help.

I've also asked the ITC, the International Trade Commission, to make a quick ruling on whether or not unfair competition has been exerted against American workers by the Japanese automobile imports.

They will have hearings in about a week and make a determination then about whether we can restrain excessive and improper shipments of Japanese and other cars into this country. If and when the ITC rules, my intention is as quickly as possible to consult with the Japanese leaders and provide some means to communicate with Reubin Askew, our special trade representative, or perhaps later on after the election with the Japanese leaders themselves with me.

*Flint, Michigan, Town Hall Meeting  
10/1/80*

## **MENTAL HEALTH**

Despite advances in research, increases in the number of mental health personnel, and the dramatic shift from in-patient to community-based care, many of our citizens still do not have access to high quality mental health care at a reasonable cost. This act is specifically aimed at addressing the problems of underserved groups, minorities, people who live in rural areas, the poor, and it targets new funds for services to severely disturbed children, to adolescents, and to the elderly.

Special emphasis is placed on the care and treatment of chronic mental illness to insure that mental health support and after care services are available at the community level. The act also provides Federal grants for the first time for projects to prevent mental illness and to promote mental health care. It also includes grants to initiate advocacy programs to protect the rights, the legal and other rights, of the mentally ill.

In the past a lack of flexibility in Federal funding of community-based services has prevented some communities from providing any services at all and has limited programs for underserved populations and others. This act creates significant new opportunities for communities to address the most pressing needs first and forges a more flexible partnership between the Federal and State governments so that they can chart a new course that is comprehensive and responsive to the needs of all our people.

One of the great benefits of this act must be and will be the improved care of emotionally disturbed within families, especially when handicapped persons such as mentally retarded individuals are involved.

*Remarks Upon Signing  
The Mental Health Systems Act  
10/7/80*

## **MIDDLE EAST**

We are going—this is very important—we are going to persevere in the Camp David process which has already brought the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, the first peace ever between Israel and one of her neighbors. This is a treaty between Israel and her most powerful Arab neighbor. There are now open borders between the two countries. They have now exchanged ambassadors, as you well know, full diplomatic relationship, regular airlines flights between the major cities of Egypt and the major cities of Israel, tourists regularly visit each other in those neighboring countries and negotiations are now continuing to perpetuate permanent peace and secure borders by Israel and between her and her neighbors.

*Remarks to Community and Civic Leaders  
10/13/80*



One of the abiding commitments of my Administration is to a strong, secure Israel at peace with its neighbors, living within secure and recognized borders. There is no issue on which I have devoted more of my time and energy than to ensuring lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors. The Camp David Accords are an historic step toward this ultimate result. Our policy in the Middle East has been and will continue to be guided by those Accords.

The Platform well states principles of United States foreign policy in the Middle East. It reaffirms what has been and will always be the position of my Administration—that we will not negotiate or recognize the PLO unless and until it accepts Israel's right to exist and accepts U.N. Security Council's Resolutions 242 and 338.

*Statement on 1980 Democratic Party Platform*  
8/13/80

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We cannot forget the Palestinian issue. It's foremost in the minds of the leaders of Israel and Egypt and the United States, along with the security of Israel, the unity of the city of Jerusalem, free access to the city of Jerusalem for worship by all people. I hope that when the history books are written about my own Administration, that a small paragraph at least will say that President Jimmy Carter was able to contribute to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East when Israel stayed secure, when Jerusalem was honored by those of all faiths and the Palestinian people had a voice in the determination of their own future and the issue was solved in all its aspects. That's what I'm going to work for continuously.

*Independence, Missouri, Town Hall Meeting*  
9/2/80

## Israel

The United States has opposed and we will continue firmly to oppose any attempt to deprive the state of Israel of its legitimate rights as a respected member of the international community.

I noted with great pleasure the UNESCO Conference which met in Belgrade last week and which rejected an effort to question Israel's credentials. We will strongly oppose any effort to exclude Israel from the United Nations General Assembly.

There is absolutely no doubt that Israel is a bona fide member of the United Nations and Israel has the right to participate fully in that organization and all of its specialized agencies. The illegal expulsion of a member of the family of nations from the General Assembly would be a challenge to the basic principles of the United Nations. It would raise the gravest questions about the future of the General Assembly and further participation of the United States and other nations in the deliberations of that body. We will not permit it.

*Remarks to International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*  
9/29/80

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I am very proud that nearly half the aid that our country has ever given to Israel in the 32 years of her existence has come during my Administration. Unlike our Republican predecessors, we have never stopped nor slowed that aid to Israel. And as long as I am President, we will never do so. Our commitment is clear: security and peace for Israel, peace, for all the peoples of the Middle East.

But if the world is to have a future of freedom as well as peace, America must continue to defend human rights.

*Nomination Acceptance Speech*  
8/14/80

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The President will never turn his back on Israel. I never have and I never will.

This President will never do as the previous Administration has done, and I quote, "reassess" America's relationship with Israel. The President never has and I never will. And this President will never use economic and military aid to Israel as a lever against Israel, not in the last four years, not now and not in the next four years.

*Remarks to Community and Civic Leaders*  
10/13/80

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#### **Jerusalem**

As a strong democracy in a troubled part of the world, Israel is a major strategic asset. A strong secure Israel is not just in Israel's interest. It's in the interest of the United States and in the interest of the entire free world.

On Jerusalem, let me repeat the policy of the United States. We believe in an undivided Jerusalem. We believe in a Jerusalem with free access for all faiths to the holy places. We believe that the future of Jerusalem can only be decided through negotiations with the concurrence and with the co-agreement of Israel.

*Remarks to Community and Civic Leaders*  
10/13/80

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#### **Jewish Emigration from U.S.S.R.**

The year before I became President, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union was about 14,000. Last year it was up to 50,000, the highest level in more than 10 years. This year's lower rate in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is of great concern. We will not rest until every Soviet Jew is free to emigrate.

This will be an important item on the agenda of the Madrid Conference. The Soviets have an obligation to honor their Helsinki commitment.

*Remarks to Community and Civic Leaders*  
10/13/80



**MILITARY  
PERSONNEL  
INCENTIVES**

We've had several appropriations bills that I have signed since I've been in office amounting to more than \$2 billion in increased pay and benefits for military people. The last one, the so-called "Nunn-Warner Bill", was just signed recently, and that's the one to which you refer. It primarily increases pay in general. It also provides more housing allowance and also helps with the transportation allowance, and I believe in addition it will help encourage people to re-enlist, particularly at the mid-skill levels among petty officers who in the past have not done so.

I'm committed to the voluntary military force.

...Another thing is that we are trying to explore ways now to extend the time that military personnel are assigned to one particular location, to minimize how much time they have to spend going to and from training courses, schools, and going to a new assignment. I think a more stable assignment of military people will help to let their life be better and to tie them more closely with the civilian community around them.

*Dayton, Ohio, Town Hall Meeting  
10/2/80*

**MINORITY  
BUSINESSES**

We're increasing the share of Federal procurement going to small business—especially those owned by minorities and by women. Purchasing from minority-owned firms, as a matter of fact, was only about \$1 billion when I became President, early in 1977. We expect to reach my goal of tripling that amount by the end of this fiscal year and we hope to triple again the dollar volume of minority procurements.

Further, I've accepted the Commission's goal that contracts and subcontracts to minority firms account for 10 percent of all government procurement by the end of this decade.

We expect to double the current level of \$200 million in purchases from women-owned firms by the end of fiscal year 1981. And my goal is that the Federal procurement from women-owned firms will be tripled again to reach \$600 million in fiscal 1982.

*Remarks Upon Signing Regulatory Flexibility Act  
9/19/80*

**NEW YORK CITY**

Every New Yorker can take a deep and just pride in what we have accomplished together—in economic development, public transit, education, health, Federal grants—and the 247,000 jobs we have created here since I became President.

All this was possible because we did the most necessary thing of all. We acted when we had to act—and saved this city. The \$1.65 billion loan guarantee program is now the cornerstone of New York City's recovery program.

*Remarks Announcing New York City  
Business and Labor Committee for Carter/Mondale  
9/29/80*

## U.S.-PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TRADE AGREEMENTS

We are here today to share some good news with each other. With the four agreements we are about to sign, the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China is at last complete.

That relationship is a new and vital force for peace and stability on the international scene. In addition, it holds the promise of ever-increasing benefits in trade and other exchanges for both the United States and the People's Republic of China. I am personally committed, Mr. Vice Premier, to the proposition that our relationship will not be undermined but strengthened.

*Remarks Upon Signing Trade Agreements*  
9/17/80

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Our economic ties, like our cooperation in science and technology, grow broader and closer every day. Trade between the U.S. and China this year will be nearly four times what it was in 1978. China will buy some \$3 billion worth of American goods. That means jobs for American workers and opportunities for American businesses. And it means help for China's efforts to modernize and develop her economy.

Almost 700,000 Americans trace their roots to China. There are strong bonds of kinship and history between the United States and China. Yet both countries have acted not out of sentiment, but out of mutual interest.

*Remarks Upon Signing Trade Agreements*  
9/17/80

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### Civil Aviation Agreement

This agreement will mean regularly-scheduled, direct flights between the United States and China—beginning in the very near future. I have instructed the Civil Aeronautics Board to move quickly to name the first of the two U.S. airlines which, along with Chinese carriers, will fly the new routes. At the airports in New York or Los Angeles or San Francisco or Honolulu a few months from today, we will hear flights announced for Shanghai and Beijing as well as London and Paris.

*Remarks Upon Signing Trade Agreements*  
9/17/80

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### Consular Agreement

It spells out the duties of consular officers in providing services to citizens of both countries.

One immediate benefit is to ensure the protection of the rights and interests of American citizens in China. We have two consulates in China already, and now we will open three more. These offices will promote trade, travel and cultural and educational exchange.

On this side of the Pacific Ocean, China now has two consulates in the United States—one in San Francisco and one in Houston. Soon, thanks to



this agreement, there will be new Chinese consulates in New York, Chicago and Honolulu as well.

*Remarks Upon Signing Trade Agreements*  
9/17/80

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**Maritime  
Agreement**

For the first time in more than 30 years, all U.S. ports will be open to Chinese merchant ships, and American ships will have access to all Chinese ports of call. This will mean a stronger American maritime industry. It will mean revenue for U.S. shippers from the growing Chinese market for American goods, and growing trade and commerce will benefit the people of both China and the United States.

*Remarks Upon Signing Trade Agreements*  
9/17/80

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**Textile  
Agreement**

By permitting orderly marketing in this country of Chinese textile products, this agreement will benefit American retailers and consumers without damaging our own textile industry, which was fully represented in the negotiations.

*Remarks Upon Signing Trade Agreements*  
9/17/80

**POLAND**

I've directed today the U.S. Department of Agriculture to extend \$670 million in new credit guarantees to Poland for the purchase of agricultural commodities. In plain language this means that the American people and American farmers will guarantee loans to sell some 4 million tons of grain and other farm products to the people of Poland.

I'd like to say just a word about why we are doing this. In taking this action the Government of the United States is responding quickly and completely to a request from the government and the people of Poland. But in a deeper sense we are responding to the moral obligation that's rooted in the fundamental beliefs of the people of the United States and the people of Poland.

This action is a significant proof of the solidarity between the American people and the Polish people. It's an expression of our admiration for the dignity with which the entire Polish nation, the workers, the government, and the church, is conducting itself during this difficult time of evolution and change. It's a demonstration of our willingness to use our greatest material asset, the bounty of the American earth, for humanitarian and constructive reasons.

Finally, it's a manifestation of the undiminished belief that a central human reality, the yearning for basic human rights, that yearning is one of the most powerful and constructive forces in the world and our support for it is more than just a matter of words.

*Remarks Announcing Approval of  
Commodity Credit Corporation Guarantees*  
9/12/80

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**Polish Workers  
Strike Settlement**

Celebrating our own Labor holiday, Americans can look with gratitude and admiration at what the working people of Poland have accomplished. We are inspired and gratified by the peaceful determination with which they acted, by their discipline, their tenacity, and their personal courage. The working men and women of Poland have set an example for all those who cherish freedom and honor human dignity. They have shown the world at least two things: one, how to win a victory for labor, and the other one is that the hunger for human rights covers the entire world. I am particularly grateful that the workers of Poland accomplished this by themselves, without outside interference, but with quiet prayer that their struggle for freedom would be successful. We have seen how a society that deals frankly with its problems can strengthen itself in the process. We pray for the well-being of the people of Poland, for the independence of their nation, for the freedom of their people, for their future prosperity.

*Remarks at Labor Day Picnic  
9/1/80*

• • •

During this period of exciting change in Poland, the U.S. government has pursued a careful policy—a policy based on the need for a calm atmosphere, free from outside interference. We will not interfere in Poland's affairs—and we expect that others will similarly respect the right of the Polish nation to resolve its problems on its own.

*Remarks to Polish National Alliance  
9/20/80*

• • •

We have also substantially increased Pacific Coast allocations of fish to Poland.

These steps, urged by many of you here tonight, are intended to meet an urgent and basic need for food.

They are also intended to show our admiration for the dignified manner in which the entire Polish nation is conducting itself in this time of wrenching and positive change.

*Remarks to Polish National Alliance  
9/20/80*

**PRESIDENCY**

And I've learned something else—something that I have come to see with extraordinary clarity. Above all, I must look ahead—because the President of the United States is the steward of the nation's destiny.

He must protect our children—and the children they will have—and the children of generations to follow. He must speak and act for them. That is his burden—and his glory.

And that is why a President cannot yield to the short-sighted demands, no matter how rich or powerful the special interest might be to make those demands. And that's why the President cannot bend to the passions of the moment, however popular they may be. That's why the President must



sometimes ask for sacrifice when his listeners would rather hear the promise of comfort.

The President is a servant of today. But his true constituency is the future.

*Nomination Acceptance Speech*  
8/14/80

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My number one responsibility above everything else is to keep our nation secure and at peace. The question illustrates I think perhaps better than any other question we've had the crucial nature of the presidency itself and the decisions that are made in the Oval Office. It's not a place for simplistic answers. It's not a place for shooting from the hip. It's not a place for snap judgments that might have very serious consequences. I have a lot of potential crises that come to my desk on which I need to make a decision. If I make the right judgment then you never know about it. But if I should make an error in judgment then my error would cause a crisis that would affect every life here or perhaps every life in the whole world.

*Question-and-Answer Session,*  
*DuPage County, Illinois*  
10/7/80

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...the office of the Presidency is a major and vital force in the life of every human being in this country and every family, perhaps in the entire world.

The decisions that come to the Oval Office have a profound importance to us all. The decisions are not easy. If they are easy, they would be resolved somewhere else.

It's sometimes a lonely job, but the life or death of many people are at stake. If sound judgment is used and the strength of our nation is wisely applied, our nation can make progress, lives can be enhanced, the quality of American life can be preserved, and peace throughout the world can have a better chance to persevere.

*Remarks at Democratic National Committee Fundraiser*  
9/23/80

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It's the greatest elective office in the world, the leader of the greatest nation on earth and there is a respect for the Presidency and an acknowledgement of the importance of the President in the life of every American family. The world's future is shaped to a major degree by the decisions and the actions and commitments of our nation expressed by the chosen leader. I've been there now about 3½ years. I've seen the complexity of the problems that come to the Oval Office. There are no easy questions that come there. There are no easy decisions made in the Oval Office. If the questions or the decisions are easy ones, they're made somewhere else—in the county courthouse or city hall or in the state legislature or in the governor's office or in a private

business or home. But when they reach me I am sure they're difficult, and the more vital they are and the more complex and the more difficult the more sure I am that my own advisors will be divided almost equally in telling me what they think ought to be done. I'm the one that has to make the decision.

*Remarks at Democratic National Committee Fundraiser  
9/15/80*

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I've been in there for 3½ years; I've learned a lot. I've learned about our own country; I've learned about our people, the conflicting demands that are made on government; I've learned about the organizational structure of our government; I've learned about foreign countries; I've learned about the leaders of foreign countries; I've learned about the troubled places in the world and what we can do to avoid and to perpetuate peace. I've negotiated with people who see things differently. I've tried to be a peacemaker when I could. I've tried to exert the beneficial influence of our nation in human rights and in other areas for the benefit of the other people of the world.

So I think the experience that I've had will pay rich dividends in the next four years. I can do a better job, I think, the next four years. I've made some mistakes. I'm sure I've done many things with which all of you disagree. But I have to balance all of the conflicting interests that come before the Government and essentially work in harmony with the Congress.

*Question-and-Answer Session,  
Lansdowne, Pennsylvania  
10/2/80*

## **REGULATORY FLEXIBILITY ACT**

Small businesses are crucial to a competitive, healthy, and productive economy. However, regulations often impose heavier burdens on small organizations than on big ones. The Regulatory Flexibility Act recognizes that regulations need not be uniform to be effective. It requires agencies, whenever appropriate, to tailor their rules to the size and resources of those affected.

Under this bill, agencies will assess the impact of their rules and paperwork requirements upon small businesses and other small organizations and government jurisdictions. These agencies will publish advance notice of proposed rules, and will include, for public comment, possible approaches such as exemptions and reduced requirements that would eliminate the rule's disproportionate impact upon these smaller entities. Agencies will also publish similar notices in business and trade journals in order to help those affected by the rules to participate in the review process. The agencies will also reexamine existing rules every ten years to see if their impact on small entities can be reduced.

This bill will not sacrifice the legitimate goals of regulation. It recognizes instead that many of those goals can be achieved without imposing rigid, uniform requirements.

This process is already working. I consulted with the sponsors of this bill last year when developing a directive to the Executive agencies instructing them to use flexible approaches in regulations, and already dozens of rules have been adjusted.

*Statement Upon Signing Regulatory Flexibility Act  
9/19/80*

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Politicians have talked about regulatory reform for a long time—for decades. We've acted on it. This is the fifth major regulatory reform bill that I have been able to sign—the broadest reform program in history.

We have deregulated airlines, trucking, banking and fossil fuels. And I hope to sign a railroad deregulation bill before this Congress adjourns. I've ordered Federal agencies to analyze all the costs and benefits and to choose the least burdensome way to meet their legal objective.

These measures that I've just outlined to you so briefly are increasing competition and helping us fight inflation at the same time—without sacrificing environmental quality or the protection of the health and safety of Americans and other vital public interests.

These steps correspond to the major regulatory concerns that were expressed to me and to the public by the White House Conference on Small Business. In May, Chairman Arthur Levitt presented me with the Conference Commission's report. Since that time my Administration has already acted on many of the recommendations we received.

*Remarks Upon Signing Regulatory Flexibility Act  
9/19/80*

#### **RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT**

Since I've been in office for the last 3½ years, every year in the Federal budget we've increased substantially the percentage of our budget allotted for basic research—for research and development. This has not only been in the educational institutions like universities, but also in the Department of Energy, the Department of Defense, the Department of Education, the Department of Health, and I would continue this process of improving the percentage of the total expenditure in our country in the budget for research and development.

One of the things that we've agreed to do, for instance, in the steel industry is to allot several hundreds of millions of dollars over the next five years to research on more efficient ways to produce energy—to produce steel. In addition to that, we've made the same commitment to the automobile industry to help share with them, not applied research, but basic research.

*Question-and-Answer Session,  
DuPage County, Illinois  
10/6/80*

#### **RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY**

This legislation is the culmination of a joint effort by the Congress and the Administration to fashion a process for building sound and comprehensive strategies for the development of rural America.

Last December 20, I announced my Small Community and Rural Development Policy. It is a plan for generating a real and productive partnership among Federal, State and local governments, and the private sector, to enhance the development of rural areas and to improve the quality of rural life.

*Statement Upon Signing  
Rural Development Policy Act of 1980  
9/24/80*

The Rural Development Act of 1972 gave the Secretary of Agriculture primary responsibility for marshalling Federal resources to support development efforts in rural areas. The bill I am signing today strengthens the Secretary of Agriculture's role in this endeavor and provides for annual reports to Congress of the Federal government's rural development strategy and progress. It creates an Office of Under Secretary of Agriculture for Small Community and Rural Development. The Under Secretary and my Special Assistant for Intergovernmental Affairs will serve as co-chairmen of the Federal Executive Working Group that I have established to coordinate Federal participation in rural development.

The bill authorizes grants of \$15 million a year through the Farmers Home Administration for planning and technical assistance and for the establishment of a circuit rider program to facilitate the delivery of Federal programs to rural areas. It also provides for dissemination of more information to the rural public about the availability of these programs.

This bill will improve the Federal government's capacity to meet the needs of our small towns and country areas. It will move us from a protracted period of analysis to a program of active involvement in rural and small-community development.

*Statement Upon Signing  
Rural Development Policy Act of 1980  
9/24/80*

## SALT II

Equally vital for our strategic forces is the pursuit of nuclear arms control and reduction. Just as we build strategic forces equal to our needs, we seek through negotiated agreements to keep the strategic competition from carrying us into a purposeless and dangerous arms race. We will continue to make every responsible effort to bring our forces and those of our potential foe under strict, balanced and verifiable controls, both in the quantity of strategic arms and in their quality.

*Remarks to The American Legion  
8/21/80*

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In my opinion, the SALT II Treaty is very good for the United States of America. It puts balanced limits on the nuclear weaponry of ourselves and the Soviet Union. It would result when implemented by the Senate through ratification in a 10 percent cut in the number of missiles that the Soviet Union presently has. It would not cut our nuclear arsenal at all. It would prevent the development of future missiles and future weapons that might destabilize the international relationship and cause some movement toward a nuclear war.

The SALT II Treaty also puts stringent limits on what the Soviets can do secretly. It requires them to develop and to test any permitted nuclear weapons so that we can observe and monitor what the Soviets do.

*Independence, Missouri, Town Hall Meeting  
9/2/80*



## **SENIOR CITIZENS**

We have a need to protect the Social Security system, to keep it sound, to make sure that Social Security payments are never taxed, to make sure they're never reduced, to make sure that when inflationary pressures impose themselves on retired people, the Social Security payments will increase to accommodate the changes of inflation.

We need to make sure that we protect the Medicare program, also Medicaid. We need a nationwide comprehensive health program for our people—and we also need to recognize that senior citizens—and if I am re-elected President I'll be 60 years old four years from now—we need to recognize that people who've reached retirement age still have a lot to contribute in ways that are beneficial to our country. And I want to make sure that in the future, as we have since I've been in the White House, that we give senior citizens a chance to work part-time if they choose, to enjoy themselves without working as they choose, but there's a full life to be lived even during retirement years.

*Flint, Michigan, Town Hall Meeting  
10/1/80*

## **SOCIAL SECURITY**

As long as I'm President, we're going to keep the Social Security system sound. We're not going to tax Social Security income. We're not going to reduce the Social Security program to, quote, its original concept of the 1930 s and eliminate SSI and all the benefit that have been done. We're going to continue to index Social Security so that as inflation goes up, the Social Security payments will stay in touch with the changing costs of goods and we're not going to reduce the age at which Social Security recipients have to retire to get benefits or raise the age either.

So we're going to protect the Social Security system as you know it and we will not tax the Social Security income.

*Torrance, California, Town Hall Meeting  
9/22/80*

## **SOUTH KOREA**

We hope that the present commitments of the Korean leaders to have a new Constitution which will move Korea toward more freedom of political expression and also more democracy will come true.

We'll continue to use our influence to bring about this desired goal, which I believe is the goal of most citizens of Korea as well, and in the meantime we will maintain our close relationship to the people of Korea and our shared security arrangement which helped to stabilize the whole Northern part of the Asian Continent on the Eastern Coast.

*Independence, Missouri, Town Hall Meeting  
9/2/80*

## **SOUTHERN AFRICA**

With the needs and the rights of people of all nations in mind, one of my earliest goals as President, supported by many of you and spoken to the world by Andy Young and Secretary Vance, was to have a peaceful and a just settlement in Zimbabwe and, as you know, just a few weeks ago the new prime minister of that great country, a new democracy, was here in this same room to celebrate in an emotional way the births of additional freedom and human rights and equality and the end of racial discrimination in that country. We are very proud of that development.

America's influence is never stronger than when we are meticulously true to our own highest principles. There is no way that a country even as strong as ours can force peace on the rest of the world. But we can be a powerful force for peace when we act to help other nations whose people are committed to resolve their differences in a just and fair manner without war or combat. This is our aim in the Middle East and this is also our aim in Africa. The United States supports the political, economic and social justice in southern Africa through peaceful efforts by the people of southern Africa themselves.

*Remarks to the Congressional Black Caucus  
9/25/80*

## **STEALTH PROGRAM**

...an absolutely false and ridiculous allegation that Stealth information was promulgated improperly and with some derogation to our nation's security. That is absolutely not true and it's unwarranted and I resent it very much.

As a matter of fact, the existence of a Stealth program was not even classified when I became President. The program did exist in an embryonic stage; it was unclassified. Public testimony was given about the Stealth program; not in a closed session. A contract was let for the evolution of a Stealth-type airplane and it was a public contract. In the three months after I became President we classified this program, Harold Brown did, the Secretary of Defense in the springtime of 1977,... and we began to move forward with a development of this very important and technological advance.

*Question-and-Answer Session with  
New Jersey Editors  
9/9/80*

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It is a profound change in military capability. And since that time, the program has grown more than a hundred fold. It's now hit the stage where large numbers of people have to be involved in it. Literally thousands of workers have been involved in the so-called Stealth program and we have had to brief several dozen House and Senate members and the crucial members of their staffs because we're getting ready now to move toward a great commitment to this program and you cannot keep something like this secret. It is amazing and we were able to keep it secret this long. Nothing has been revealed about the Stealth program except that it exists. That's all. Nothing has been revealed about the technological developments or the details of this program. So there has been no violation of our nation's security.

*Question-and-Answer Session with  
New Jersey Editors  
9/9/80*

## **STEEL MODERNIZATION PROGRAM**

The comprehensive steel agreement that we've reached has proved that the proper role of Government is to be a partner in economic change, not an impediment and also not an uninterested or indifferent spectator. The American steel industry is our third largest, exceeded only by petroleum and automobiles. Not only is the revitalization of these basic industries important to our economic health, it's necessary to preserve our national security, our ability to defend ourselves in case of a crisis.



No nation can be a world power with the ability to defend itself and to deter aggression, no nation can adequately defend itself without a strong industrial base to provide the necessary implements of national defense.

Obviously steel is perhaps the most crucial of all these industries.

Resolving conflicts among business, labor, and government in the steel industry has not been a simple matter of getting off each others' backs. It's required us to work together and to hammer out ways to keep America producing and working.

*Announcement*  
9/30/80

## VETERANS

As President, I am conscious of your service, and I have full confidence in Max Cleland to represent you well. We have worked hard to meet the needs of the Nation's veterans. Pension benefits, as well as compensation for veterans disabled in the service of our country, will increase by a third during my first term. The Veterans Administration is providing more and better health services, particularly in the critical areas of out-patient and long-term care.

We have initiated a new psychological counseling and readjustment services program for Vietnam-era veterans. We already have 91 centers under this program all across the country, reaching thousands of young veterans who, until now, felt they had no place to turn. Also, the Veterans Administration and the Department of Labor are working to increase employment among veterans, particularly through the Disabled Veterans Outreach Program, which has successfully helped thousands of disabled Vietnam-era veterans to find jobs.

*Remarks to The American Legion*  
8/21/80

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On Veterans Day, 1980, we pay tribute to 30 million living and 14 million deceased patriots who served in our Armed Forces so that you and I might live in freedom. We must honor these men and women as they deserve, not only with special ceremonies, not only through our support of veterans' benefits and services, but also by committing ourselves anew to the task of ensuring that the freedoms they helped to preserve and the Nation they fought to defend will be safe and secure for future generations of Americans.

*Proclamation*  
9/10/80

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Consistent with the Administration's recommendation, the bill provides significant cost-of-living increases in rates of compensation for over two and one-quarter million service-disabled veterans and over 375,000 of their survivors, effective October 1, 1980.

These benefits are an expression of our gratitude to the men and women who were injured or died as a result of service to their country. I am proud that

annual increases in these benefits have been enacted during each year of my Administration.

The bill will also benefit veterans by increasing maximum loan guaranties for the purchase of condominiums, conventional and mobile homes, and will permit veterans who have previously used their loan guaranty entitlements to take advantage of reduced lending rates. It also provides special housing grants for certain veterans who are blind or have lost the use of their hands as a result of service injuries.

*Statement Upon Signing Veterans' Disability Compensation  
and Housing Benefits Amendments of 1980*  
10/7/80

**WHITE HOUSE  
CONFERENCE ON  
SMALL BUSINESS**

Let me tell you very quickly how we followed other recommendations of the Conference in addition to those that I've outlined in which will be encompassed in this bill.

A major concern was capital formation and the retention of capital by small businesses. The economic revitalization program that I announced on August the 28th directly addresses the most important recommendation. My program will help to create—above and beyond existing programs, normal recovery and even all the proposals on Capitol Hill—a million new jobs in the next two years.

And we'll increase productivity of American workers without rekindling inflation. As a matter of fact, the total program to revitalize industry and create all those jobs will be anti-inflationary in its impact.

*Remarks Upon Signing Regulatory Flexibility Act*  
9/19/80

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The same White House Conference that has made all these recommendations which we are trying to carry out as rapidly as possible, encouraged the Small Business Administration to expand its \$3 billion a year loan guarantee program—establishing targets for minority-owned and women-owned firms. We've already more than doubled funding for small business programs and we'll propose further expansion.

We've been able to act quickly under sometimes almost emergency circumstances when necessary. To help revitalize the automobile industry, for instance—the SBA worked closely with local banks, this summer, to lend over \$100 million to more than 500 automobile dealers so that they could stay in business.

The Office of Advocacy of the SBA has been strengthened and its mission has been broadened. You can see that we have begun to implement many of the conference's recommendations in this short period of time and we're not through yet. I intend to reconvene the conference and its leadership in 1982 to review the progress made by that time, to reassess priorities which were set this year to see how much progress we have made and to establish new goals, as appropriate, for future years.

*Remarks Upon Signing Regulatory Flexibility Act*  
9/19/80



## WOMEN

...I am not waiting until women enjoy full equality in all areas of our national life before doing all I can to help women share fully in the responsibilities of government. In my first three years as President, I have appointed as many women to Cabinet positions as were appointed in the previous 200 years. Women have headed the Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, Commerce, and Housing and Urban Development, and serve in high-level posts in agriculture and defense, in transportation and mine safety, in management and budget, in every area of government. There are 43 women now serving as Federal judges. I appointed 38 of them. Those judges will be interpreting your rights and those of our children and grandchildren for the rest of this century.

To eliminate discrimination in employment and promotion and to improve our government, I proposed and fought for the first Civil Service reform in 100 years. Since those reforms took effect, the number of women in the highest ranks of the Civil Service increased by 45 percent. The number is still far too small, but the reforms we put in place are working. In mid-level grades, women now hold three out of 10 jobs. The total number of Federal employees has declined slightly since I took office, but the number of women workers has increased by 66,000.

We have set high goals for every Federal agency and department to increase the prime contracts for goods and services held by businesses owned by women—and we have exceeded those goals.

*Remarks at Proclamation Signing  
on Women's Equality Day  
8/26/80*

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In the intervening years women have faithfully carried out responsibilities at all levels of government, in every area of employment and education, and in the nurturing of families and children. Yet many of the rights that should accompany those responsibilities are missing. Despite our hard-won progress, the rights of women vary from state to state. The Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which would set a clear national standard outlawing discrimination against women, is still an unfulfilled promise.

Today, I reaffirm my own commitment to make the Equal Rights Amendment part of our Constitution. I urge all Americans to rekindle the spirit of early Suffragists, to use their energies, their wisdom and their compassion to achieve full equality for women. To advance the cause of women's rights is to advance the cause of human rights.

*Proclamation  
8/26/80*

• • •

On the job and in the home, working mothers are making a vital contribution to the national economy and to the strength of the American family. Working mothers do not shed homemaking and parental responsibilities; they merely add the demands of a job to those of wife and mother. As we recognize the hard work and dedication of these women, we also

acknowledge the many special problems they confront in meeting their dual responsibilities. We have an obligation to reinforce and support them in their endeavors.

*Proclamation*  
8/29/80

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Make no mistake—equal rights for women is a bread and butter issue.

For every dollar that men are paid, women are paid 59 cents—for the same amount of work. That is wrong.

In many parts of our country, women cannot work or borrow or dispose of their property on equal terms. That too is wrong.

Equal-pay-for-equal-work is a standard the ILG set a long time ago. It is time that the rest of the country caught up with you.

*Remarks to*  
*International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*  
9/29/80

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Women make up 43 percent of the work force. A fourth of American households are headed by women. More and more American families depend on the wages women bring home. When we help women achieve greater economic rights, we are helping the American family.

That is why we have put muscle behind our anti-discrimination laws—why we have toughened the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—why I personally have appointed more women to top Federal positions and more women to the Federal bench than all previous Presidents combined—why we have boosted Federal employment of women by 66,000 at a time when the overall Federal payroll was shrinking—why we have strengthened support of day care—why we have pioneered pace-setting innovations like flexi-time and compressed time to help women meet both job and family responsibilities.

*Remarks to*  
*International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*  
9/29/80

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I've appointed more women by far than all the other Presidents in this nation combined in Federal judgeships and I'll continue that process but I think it is a mistake for a President to promise that in the Supreme Court appointment that it would be a particular kind of American. I'll consider all of them and I'll continue to treat women fairly.

*Interview with John Chancellor, NBC News*  
10/14/80



**YOUTH  
EMPLOYMENT  
INITIATIVES**

So far in my Administration, we've increased funding for youth employment and for training almost 100 percent, but we've not yet done enough and we're determined to do more without further delay. That's why, with your help, with the active participation of Al and many of you, we've developed the most far-reaching youth measure ever proposed to Congress. We call it the Youth Bill. It bolsters basic education and job training. It offers part-time work that's linked to the learning which is going on in the classroom. It encourages those who would otherwise drop out of school to stay there and it ties much more closely to educational process with a chance for successful career after the classroom work is completed.

The measure will add two billion dollars in more muscle into our existing four-billion-dollar commitment to youth programs. That's a lot of money but it's the kind of money that we cannot afford not to spend. Investing in education, investing in youth is one of the essential ways that we can provide for a better future.

*Remarks to American Federation of Teachers  
8/22/80*

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# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 14, 1980

### MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Meese

FROM: Stef Halper

*SAH*

SUBJECT: Thoughts on the Debate--Man in the Arena

As per your request, the following attempts to present the argument in favor of debating President Carter.

There is a near consensus that we are even or slightly ahead (but within the margin of error) in 9 of the 11 mid-Western states. There is also near consensus among pollsters that the trend, although quite slow, is not favorable to us. That is to say, that Carter may well pull ahead in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Pennsylvania towards the end of next week.

In terms of the media, Carter is getting about one-and-a-half the amount of coverage we are--and, I would anticipate that 2-3 days from now the perception will be that Carter is slowly, steadily gaining momentum. This is partly a function of scheduling, partly the incumbency, partly the types of events involved.

As we discussed earlier, my view is that to win we must confront Carter directly. We must show the American people three things: that RR is compassionate; that he is competent; that he has the character and vision to be President. Ideally this is done through direct comparison with Carter. That means a debate--toe to toe. You can't slip into the White House, you must seize it.

### Arguments Pro & Con

Preparatory time: One could say we only have 20 days left. Debate preparation takes time, maybe 2 or 3 days. Time is better spent in the border states and North Central industrial. But the issue here is media exposure. A full day of campaigning (yesterday at Pomona is an example) can yield mixed results for the 3 or 4 minutes the networks provide. And even with a perfect day the media always puts a hook in.

A debate should take no more than 3 days of preparation. The audience for a Reagan-Carter debate would be approximately 90 million. The time would be well spent in terms of the exposure in that more people feel they know Carter than RR and also the misperceptions painted of RR would make him a winner if we simply debated to a draw.

### Risks

Some feel RR would make a fatal mistake. Yet he has debated 5-6 times (Carter not once) and never made a mistake--or lost. The issue for us is whether President Carter can hurt RR with past quotes more than we can hurt President Carter with his record of failure. I would submit that on the quote issue one can say people, time and circumstances change. Most people understand that a man has the right to grow and mature--that it shouldn't be held against him.

### Anderson

If the League extends an invitation to RR and President Carter without Anderson, we should accept. We should then extend an invitation to Anderson. Several things will happen. First, Carter may not respond immediately in which case we can hit him for trying to avoid the debate. Second, he may again try to exclude Anderson in which case we attack him for being mean spirited, petty. Third, the League excludes Anderson in which case we object, blame W.H. pressure and interference, but agree to debate having done all we could. (This can be an excellent vehicle to appeal to the departing Anderson voter). Finally, this gambit would provide at least one, maybe more days of positive media coverage.

### Summary

One week from today President Carter probably won't accept a debate challenge. These next 3½ days are critical. By next week the public perception could very well shift to the notion that President Carter is closing the gap--that its a dead heat. At this point all the polls are showing a very close race. Some put us ahead, others don't. If we accept a debate challenge the mere fact that there will be a confrontation should slow down, if not halt, the trend. People will want to wait and see.

It goes without saying that Carter intends to make an issue of RR's refusal to debate. I understand he intends to emphasize it in a Friday speech. If he does, and we haven't acted by then, we will either appear defensive or as though we caved in to White House pressure.



I suggest you convene a War Council on this within 48 hours.

Addendum

If you decide not to debate there is a distinctly less palatable alternative. Man in the arena. I believe we must do one or the other to win.

# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 14, 1980

TO: Ed Meese

FROM: Stef Halper *SAH*

SUBJECT: Man In The Arena

This follows my earlier memorandum advocating that RR debate President Carter.

Accepting the premises of the debate memo, I would reiterate that RR must be seen as Presidential, competent, compassionate and in free exchange with the American people. An excellent vehicle for this is the "Man in the Arena" concept. It's a flexible, sophisticated strategic weapon. It can be used in a variety of ways and localities.

### Background

The Bush campaign made excellent strategic use of the concept in an otherwise hopeless political situation. In Pennsylvania, Bush went from 2 to 1 behind to a 7 point victory as a result of the use of the strategem. In Michigan, the result was even more dramatic. Bush went from 2 to 1 behind to almost 2 to 1 ahead. In Texas, the "man in the arena" was also used but the buy was limited by money considerations and the result was less dramatic. Had money been no object and a truly statewide buy achieved, Bush would probably have won by ten points or more.

### Today's Uses:

Obviously the general election is a different animal entirely. Furthermore, the results of the primary contests were affected by the lack of a response in the paid media by the Reagan campaign. Nevertheless, the results do not have to be as dramatic as the primaries to achieve success. A proper goal in the general would be anywhere from a one to three point turnaround. Such a turnaround in a close state would put that state out of reach of the Carter campaign. It is hoped that such a goal will be achieved in Michigan and Pennsylvania this week.



## Key States

There are many strategic uses for the "man in the arena" concept. Perhaps one of the most attractive would be to maximize the Reagan vote in a key state. The obvious example of this would be Illinois. A Reagan show could be used especially to maximize the traditional Republican vote in Downstate Illinois. It certainly would be effective in the 16th district to combat Anderson. It would also turn the tide against Carter in the southern part of the state where the Democratic Party has left over strength from the Civil War. Ohio is another state where a Reagan show could deal Carter a death blow in the rural areas.

## Conservative States

Another likely use of the concept, and one which would carry almost no risk, would be a statewide show in a conservative southern state. Perhaps two states could be tied together, such as Louisiana and Mississippi or Kentucky and Tennessee. All of these states are close. If the GOP ticket carries any one of these states Carter will be doubly hard pressed to put together 270 electoral votes. In a conservative state, there would be no risk of offending liberal Republicans. Governor Reagan would be in his natural constituency.

## Blocking Action:

A third possibility for use of "man in the arena" would be to use Governor Reagan in a Carter state such as Missouri or South Carolina. A show in such a state could deal Carter a knockout blow from which he could not mathematically recover.

## Summary


Governor Reagan would be well suited to a statewide format. It could be done live or edited for a tape delay without losing any spontaneity. Furthermore a roadblock is possible only on a local level during the prime time access slot. It is this overkill in the time buy which renders the medium so efficient.

There is still time to utilize this strategic weapon in regard to Governor Reagan. A quick but careful decision is needed. It might be possible to monitor the results of the "Ask George Bush Show" in Michigan before a final decision is made.

Finally, the beauty of the concept is that there is little chance of Carter mounting an effective answer to one of these shows in a local area. At best he could broadcast a regional speech with much less impact than a "live blockade."

October 15, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Meese  
FROM: Stef Halper   
SUBJECT: Debates

Following our conversation this morning, I thought it would be useful to put the RR-Carter-Anderson idea on paper.

I would start with the blunt observation that regardless of the polling data on public preference for a three-way debate, to issue such a challenge will invite a response by the networks, political writers and editors to the effect that we are afraid of a head to head with Carter. It is fair to say that no matter how forceful or well executed the RR challenge is, it will be viewed as a dodge. Anderson can't win and isn't a viable candidate.

The real danger in this plan is that if the media sides with Carter and labels it a dodge, it will accelerate Carter's momentum. Further, we will have great difficulty dominating the news in the next week if this issue plays for Carter.

The silver lining in this black cloud is that:

- 1) Carter won't debate Anderson
- 2) RR has a reputation for fairness and decency
- 3) Carter has appeared mean and small in the past two weeks

Proposal

We can capitalize on these variables with the following proposal:

Governor Reagan proposes an hour-and-a-half debate in the spirit of a debate format which Mr. Carter has already accepted. To wit:

- 1) The first forty-five minutes of the debate will be Reagan and Carter one-on-one.
- 2) The second forty-five minutes of the debate will be Reagan and Anderson, with Carter invited to join if he so chooses.

Note: This is identical to the format which Carter earlier accepted, except that the debates run consecutively instead of on two separate nights.



This initiative would have several effects:

- 1) RR looks Presidential. They both come to him.
- 2) RR looks fair - decent.
- 3) Anderson kept alive.
- 4) Carter can't back out; but helps build audience for RR and Anderson.
- 5) Carter there for only one-half the program; would not join RR-Anderson debate.
- 6) Carter known better than RR or Anderson. The latter two gain from the exposure.
- 7) It's a news event in itself. 90 million watch.
- 8) We sell idea that President Carter out maneuvered (possible side bar story).
- 9) We end the program with Anderson--easy to focus on President Carter and his remarks. (Carter will most likely have left.)
- 10) Utilize the national platform provided to launch a closing drive on the Carter record.



# Ronald Reagan is a better choice

## *Southwest Times Record election '80 editorial*

**W**hen President Carter asked for your vote four years ago, he promised many new government programs to lower the jobless rate rapidly. "I'd put my emphasis on employment," he said, "and take my chances with inflation."

That's a promise Jimmy Carter kept. And it's one of the reasons we endorse Ronald Reagan today. In the days ahead, we will tell you why we believe Reagan is the better choice to lead this nation for the next four years. But first, let us examine the consequences of the promise Carter kept.

Partly because President Ford had vetoed 50 of Congress' spending bills, the inflation rate in this country in 1976 was 4.8 percent. But by reckless spending and overstimulating the economy, Carter got it up to 6.8 percent in 1977, 9 percent in 1978, 13.3 percent in 1979.

Prices rose at the frightening rate of 18.2 percent in the first quarter of this year, triggering a sharp national recession. Now, Carter is telling us that because inflation is down to 12 percent because of the recession, he should be re-elected.

We do not believe it is enough to spell out Carter's failure in office just in cold statistics. That story should be spelled out in a clear picture of the blighted lives of American citizens: the poor who must choose between food and heat; the elderly whose comfortable

pensions have lost value and forced them into lives of poverty; the countless young people who have been priced out of home ownership.

Yes, Carter kept his promise to spend, spend, spend to create jobs, but it did not work. The American people became the victims of his cruel and short-sighted policies. He even failed to provide employment for millions who wanted and still want to work and be full partners in the American system. When he took office, unemployment stood at 7.1 percent. Now, billions of taxpayer dollars later, unemployment stands 7.8 percent. We don't see much progress there.

The president's mismanagement of the economy, however, is only one of his many costly blunders.

His foreign policy has failed with Russia, with Iran, in the Middle East, with Cuba and Nicaragua. He handled the SALT II treaty ineptly.

Carter has demonstrated unbelievable lack of leadership. He has been unable to deal with a Congress of his own party. He has a nasty habit of misleading the American people with his carefully worded statements. Who has forgotten what Carter said after the hostage-rescue mission that ended in failure and death in the Iranian desert? He hailed this major humiliation and defeat as an "incomplete success."

When a newspaper accuses an incumbent

president of failure in domestic, foreign and military matters, when it says he is slippery as an eel, it had a responsibility to back up those words. This will be done in the days ahead.

But other than Carter's failures, why do we support Ronald Reagan?

If we could choose an ideal presidential candidate, it would not be Reagan. We would like to see a younger man, one more experienced in national and international affairs, one who would not say some of the things Reagan has said and regretted.

But this year, we do not have a Lincoln or a Jefferson running for president. And there is much good that can be said for Reagan.

He was a far more successful governor of the largest state than Carter was of a small one. He surrounded himself with capable, intelligent people. He listened to advice. He has recruited an impressive brain trust to help him in his bid for the White House and to help him run this nation.

His running mate, George Bush, makes up for Reagan's experience weaknesses, unlike Walter Mondale who is simply a carbon copy of Carter.

Reagan may not be able to reduce the size of government, but he will stop it from growing as fast as Carter has allowed. Federal taxes and spending will be lower under Reagan than under a re-elected Carter. More emphasis will be put on a strong national defense without

tricks and doubletalk. He can reduce the costly burden of unnecessary government regulations over the lives of the American people. He can return initiative to individuals, businesses and communities.

Unlike Carter, who reacts to crises, Reagan sets goals and sticks to them. Cynics may sneer at his vision of a "shining city on a hill," but is not that far better than Carter's complaint that he is helpless to do anything about our national "malaise"? Call us foolish, if you will, but we do not believe the American dream is dead. We believe life can be made richer and fuller and better for all our people. We will not accept that America's greatness is behind her, that we have entered a period of hardship and problems that have no solutions.

Carter is seeking re-election by ignoring his own miserable record. He is waging a campaign of fear. If the American people are as smart and as alert as we believe them to be, Carter will fail again — this time at the polls on Nov. 4.

If Ronald Reagan deliberately tried to be a worse president than Jimmy Carter, he could not do it. Reagan, offering the best instead of the worst, genuine plans and goals instead of excuses, will give everything he has for his country, if his country will accept it. Without fear and with much hope for the future of this land, we endorse Ronald Reagan.



## Argus Leader

Sioux Falls, South Dakota  
A Gannett Newspaper

Larry Fuller ..... President and Publisher  
Richard N. Thien ..... Managing Editor  
Anson Yeager ..... Associate Editor  
David F. Licko ..... Controller  
William M. Barry ..... Advertising Director  
Gary F. Ruhberg ..... Circulation Director  
William R. Bogert ..... Production Director

# Reagan's our ballot choice

We believe Ronald Reagan and George Bush are the best choice for South Dakota voters for election as president and vice president on Nov. 4.

The Republicans offer hope to Americans that what is wrong will be fixed. Reagan holds the promise of acting firmly, fairly and resolutely as the head of the world's most powerful free nation.

We believe Reagan's promise of fiscal restraint in federal spending, tax policies to encourage productivity by individuals and business alike and his optimistic outlook that the American dream has not dimmed are what this country needs.

And while we do not agree with his once-announced goal of achieving overall military superiority over the Soviet Union, we applaud his firm approach and his willingness to talk to the other superpower. Maintaining adequate and equivalent defenses is imperative.

We also take exception to Reagan's and the Republican Party's position on the Equal Rights Amendment. The party dropped its long-time support of ERA. We firmly support ERA. Reagan has promised to work for equal rights in practice.

And while we applaud Reagan's commitment to appoint a woman as Supreme Court justice, we also take issue with a Republican party platform plank to appoint judges who have an anti-abortion viewpoint. The personal views of a judge should have nothing to do with interpreting the law.



Ronald Reagan

pansion of the federal government.

Re-election of Carter offers the prospect of four more years of drift. Indecision in economic policy and foreign affairs and continuation of fiscal policies that haven't worked. We also think that Reagan understands the West. Carter doesn't.

We sense a reluctance by Carter to offer Americans meaningful tax cuts next year and beyond. Neither he nor the Democratic Congress could balance the 1981 budget. And this despite the fact that inflation will bring a windfall of up to \$85 billion this fiscal year over 1980 in additional tax receipts.



Reagan, as governor of California, established his competence in leading the nation's largest state. His record in that respect is much better than that of President Jimmy Carter as governor of Georgia.

Carter, whom we consider an intelligent, basically honest and decent individual, has not delivered on his lofty campaign promises of 1976.

He made much of former President Gerald Ford's inflation — then less than 5 percent. Carter brought us inflation ranging up to 18 percent. His economic, tax and other policies have changed with the wind. Inflation is wrecking this country.

The Georgian has had some foreign policy successes — such as the Camp David agreement which led to peace between Israel and Egypt. But his general record has shown the same vacillation as in his economic policies.

Carter's National Security adviser, Zbigniew Brezinski, seems to be in charge of foreign affairs most of the time. This contributed to the departure of Cyrus Vance as secretary of state. Edmund Muskie's assumption of the State Department post was a plus — until the same questions about "who's in charge" quickly surfaced in Washington.

The results have been unsatisfactory for the American people, for our allies and, in a measure, for possible adversaries. They don't know what U.S. foreign policy is.

Carter, instead of acting resolutely to gain quick return of the hostages seized last Nov. 4, proved indecisive. He waited for months before authorizing a rescue attempt — cheered by most Americans for the effort if nothing else. But his delay contributed to failure of the mission.

The people around Carter in the White House — particularly his Georgia friends and aides — are excellent at playing politics. But as outsiders to the federal establishment, they have not given Carter what he needed to grapple with the bureaucracy and the government he promised to change.

If Reagan uses advisers of substance and ability, as he has promised, he can avoid many of the problems Carter has encountered.

We like Reagan's philosophic approach better than Carter's. Reagan's ideas place more emphasis on Americans doing things for themselves. He would give the states more responsibility. Surely, that is a better way to go than continued ex-

We have winced at some of Reagan's unfounded generalities, such as his assertion that the eruptions of Mount St. Helens give off more sulphur dioxide than "the last 10 years of automobile driving or things like that." But Reagan seems to have brought under control this tendency to offer such spur-of-the-moment observations. He must do so if he is elected president.

We also have winced at Carter's mean statements that Reagan would not make a good president, that Americans are voting for choices like peace or war or dividing the country and its people. All these comments by Carter were greatly overstated. Firmness and a sense of direction are requisites for the country's basic wellbeing. We haven't received them from Carter.

Carter has a topnotch running mate in Vice President Walter Mondale. Bush's credentials as a successful businessman, former Texas congressman, director of the Central Intelligence Agency and ambassador to Peking are equally a good.

The independents, John Anderson and Patrick Lucey, do not have a chance either to be elected or effect change.

There has been a lot of moaning about the Republican and Democratic choices this year. They are the product of the political system and are their partisans' selections.

Carter and Reagan in a general way do offer a choice — between conservatism or liberalism. That has to be balanced with the expectation that presidents recommend, but Congress decides many issues. We do not quarrel with that moderating prospect.

We think Reagan will be effective and provide new direction for the country. We believe his friendly approach, his emphasis on family work, neighborhood, peace and freedom are appealing. Reagan has an air of confidence and leadership that has eluded Carter.

The expectation of competence from Reagan and Bush warrants their election Nov. 4.

**Editor's note:** This recommendation is from the Argus Leader's editorial board: Larry Fuller, publisher; Richard N. Thien, managing editor and Anson Yeager, associate editor.



# The Presidency and the People

By Walter H. Annenberg

During a Presidential political campaign, television's remarkable ability to deliver a clear message to a great number of people can be used to sell a candidate to voters by blurring the issues and distorting facts about his opponent.

Unfortunately that seems to have been the case in this campaign, with President Carter's advisers persuading him to picture Governor Reagan as a warmonger with simplistic, antiquated economic ideas who would divide the country into antagonistic racial, religious and geographical factions.

It is distressing to find our most pervasive and most effective communications medium used to mislead rather than to inform. The President has shown that he is a well-intentioned, hard-working public servant and it is demeaning to the Presidency and to the country for him to participate in so dishonest an effort to discredit his political opponent.

The overwhelmingly important issue of this campaign is the *state of the Nation*. How we perceive ourselves and how others perceive us certainly are vital criteria in assessing the condition of the country.

We see ourselves as a Nation beset with problems that we are told are beyond solution. Inflation is now the norm, and a rate of anything less than 10 per cent a year is considered a tri-

umph. Unemployment, especially among young black people, is glossed over with sporadic announcements—at politically expedient times—with Mr. Carter promising "millions and millions and millions of new jobs." Our energy policy remains a frustrating mystery to most Americans, because of a failure of coordination between the White House and the Congress and because of confrontation rather than cooperation between the Administration and the energy companies. Industry, over-regulated and overtaxed, has little incentive to modernize its plants and join with labor to meet devastating competition from Japan and West Germany. In the matter of defense, it is evident that the Soviet Union is building the greatest war machine in history while in our country the Administration and its generals cannot even agree on whether we do or don't have a handful of combat divisions ready for action.

To put it bluntly, we see ourselves as a nation on the decline.

That is the way the rest of the world sees us too. Our foreign policy in the past three and a half years has been characterized by indecisiveness alternating with vacillation. Not until the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan was President Carter convinced that the Soviets meant what they had been publicly proclaiming for decades: that

they are committed to the spread of communism—without war if possible, with war if necessary.

The Soviets' Cuban mercenaries occupy Angola and Ethiopia in Africa and stand ready to move into other countries there. Close to our shores, the Caribbean is in turmoil, with Cuban influence increasing after recent disturbing events in Grenada, Jamaica, Guyana, San Salvador and Guatemala.

On occasion there are strong words from the White House, such as President Carter's insistence that we would not put up with Soviet combat troops in Cuba. The Soviet combat brigade remains in Cuba and obviously we are putting up with it.

European and other world leaders are impressed by performance, not conversation. They are no more interested in going to war than we are, but they understand that to be at all effective, diplomacy must be backed by strength. The West does want us to lead, but we offer none of the qualities of leadership except good intentions. As a result, Western nations have lost their respect for the American Presidency.

It is not easy for proud Americans to have to admit that in our own eyes as well as in the eyes of the rest of the world our country is losing its power and its influence. We should not be in such a predicament. We have great resources; we are a free people with an equitable system of government. We can and we must regain our self-respect and our national momentum.

TV GUIDE has never before taken a position in a Presidential election and as head of the company that publishes the magazine I intended that it remain silent in this one. I cannot, however, as a matter of conscience, refrain from speaking up when the result of this election is so critical to the future of the Nation.

While I respect the President's supporters for their loyalty to him and have high regard for Rosalynn Carter

and her dedication to her husband, his unfortunate record of performance in office does not warrant his reelection. But be assured that I have the same high regard for Nancy Reagan and her dedication to her husband.

I have known Ronald Reagan for more than 30 years, as an actor, as a union leader and as a capable governor. When he was chief executive of the important state of California he surrounded himself with the most qualified and capable men and women available to help him direct what has been termed the most successful administration in that state's history.

As President, there is no doubt that he would select to head Government departments and agencies the men and women best equipped by virtue of experience and talent and would delegate authority to them. He has shown by his performance as governor that he knows how to use the abilities of such people to help him shape the firm, far-reaching decisions only a Chief Executive can make.

Our country needs an administration determined to solve our painful problems by attacking the basic causes of social and economic ills rather than by applying local anesthetics in the form of quickly dissipated Government handouts. Equal opportunity is an admirable concept, but it takes on reality only when it also means equal jobs.

An administration headed by Ronald Reagan, with the experienced and able George Bush as Vice President, promises to offer—in place of more years of political expedients to bolster weak domestic and international positions—an end to disillusionment with Government and an end to the feeling that we no longer can control our own destiny. It would promise to restore the self-confidence and the self-respect that until recent years have been the foundation of the American spirit. As we achieve these goals, our friends abroad—and our potential enemies—will respect us too.



OCT 20 1964

DRAFT SCHEDULE

FRIDAY, OCT. 24

10:00 - 11:30 a.m. Private time with briefing books.  
1:00 - 2:00 p.m. Staff discussion on debate strategy  
2:00 - 3:30 p.m. Staff skirmish  
3:30 - 4:30 p.m. Campaign TV "Report" taping  
5:00 - 6:00 p.m. Foreign policy review

SATURDAY, OCT. 25

10:00 - 11:30 a.m. Private time with briefing books  
1:00 - 2:00 p.m. Domestic policy review  
3:00 - 4:30 p.m. Staff skirmish (Q&A)  
4:30 - 5:00 p.m. Summary and wrap-up  
5:30 - 6:30 p.m. Wexford fund raiser

SUNDAY, OCT. 26

10:00 - 11:30 a.m. Simulation with staff and critique (Q&A)  
2:00 - 5:00 p.m. Simulation with surrogates and critique (Q&A)

MONDAY, Oct. 27

10:00 - 11:30 a.m. Staff skirmish (Q&A)  
1:00 - 2:30 p.m. Private time with opening and closing remarks

TUESDAY, OCT. 28

3:00 p.m. Depart for Dulles

Weinberger Sat 10 am  
Broskie  
Kirkpatrick } Sun  
                                pm  
                                12 30  
                                pm  
                                - 5 or 6



## DEBATE PREPARATION SCHEDULE

### Friday, October 24

10:00 - 11:30	Review Debate Briefing Book & Economic Speech
11:30 - 12:30	Lunch
12:30	Chopper to WETA
1:00 - 3:00	Tape TV Address and "Reagan Reports"
3:30 - 4:00	Meeting with Arl. Headquarters Staff, 1st floor
4:00 - 4:10	Meeting with Senator Brooke, 4th floor
4:15 - 5:30	Debate Strategy and Film Review Meeting, 3rd floor conference room

### Saturday, October 25

10:00 - 11:00	Strategy Session
11:00 - 12:00	Q & A (Foreign Policy and Defense)
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 2:00	Foreign Policy Briefing
2:00 - 4:00	Q & A (Foreign Policy and Defense)
5:30	Wexford fund-raiser

### Sunday, October 26

10:00 - 11:00	Domestic Policy Briefing
11:00 - 12:30	Q & A (Domestic Policy)
12:30 - 2:00	Lunch
2:00 - 5:00	Simulation (Domestic and Foreign Policy)

### Monday, October 27

10:00 - 12:30	Simulation (Domestic and Foreign Policy)
12:30 - 1:30	Lunch
1:30 - 4:00	Review of issues Review of Opening/Closing Statement
4:00 - 5:00	Strategy Wrap-Up

### Tuesday, October 28

3:00	Depart for Dulles
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# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

### M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Reagan/Bush Campaign  
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin  
DATE: October 21, 1980  
RE: Reagan-Carter Debate Strategy

#### Campaign and Debate Axiom

If the Governor succeeds Tuesday in making Jimmy Carter's record the major issue of the debate and the campaign, we will succeed in the debate and win the general election.

If, however, Carter makes Ronald Reagan the issue of the debate and the campaign, we will lose both.

The above axiom holds because the major debate task turns on enhancing Ronald Reagan's perceived trustworthiness.

- Simply, if voters believe Ronald Reagan is more worthy of their trust after the debate than they did before, his vote support will expand and strengthen.
- This can be accomplished if the debate focuses on Carter's incompetence and weak record in office, and Reagan's compassion. Neither position can be reinforced when the Governor defends past positions.

#### Target Audience and the Voter Turnout Objective

The target audience consists of a key segment of the American vote--Republicans and ticket-splitters. It is these voters, not the panel and certainly not Carter the Governor is addressing.

- The Governor has already built a coalition large enough to win the presidential election, and hence, we want to use this debate to re-inforce our base and motivate them to turn out on election day.



- Our empirical studies show that if we increase the turnout of our voters by 2% over Carter's, it increases our electoral margin by 30 electoral votes.

The campaign strategy has been to deal initially to our Republican and conservative base, then to broaden our appeal, and finally to return to the base during these last two weeks of the campaign.

- The surveys show that we need, at this juncture, to increase our appeal among Republicans and ideologically moderate ticket-splitters who need to be reinforced through the Governor's debate performance.
- In answering the questions during the debate, the Governor must remember that ticket-splitters are solution oriented, somewhat skeptical and more interested in the issues and public policy than the image traits of the candidates.

These voters will respond to references to the "Nine Steps" in the Governor's peace strategy with the three critical elements of the "Strategy for Economic Growth." It is extremely important to avoid references to "Republicans and Democrats" or "I am a conservative" because ticket-splitters are non-partisans who are put-off by these words.

The Anderson debate helped, generally, to broaden our political base. Today the Reagan vote is larger, more committed and includes more segments of the voting population than does Carter's. Carter's base remains very fluid and uncertain.

The debate should help to solidify further the Reagan base and motivate them to turn out on election day. Only 22% of the electorate are self-identified Republicans, hence without the support of these ticket-splitters the Governor could not be elected.

#### Major Advantages

The principal advantages the Governor maintains going into this debate are:

- He has already debated six times before in this campaign and is more accustomed to such events.
- He is the best electronic media candidate in history.
- He will appear robust and vigorous by comparison to Carter who will likely appear bleached out and tense.

## Principal Strategic Objectives

Televised political debates focus on image attributes more than issue positions. The image attributes we need to reinforce are:

- Competence
- Compassion
- Reasonableness, moderation, and thoughtfulness
- Strength

Essentially, the debate objective is:

Present Ronald Reagan as a reasonable and compassionate man with a vision of America and the competence to take us from simply providing the hope that vision conveys to its actualization.

How is this objective achieved?

Carter's attack strategy will undoubtedly try to represent Reagan's policies as "naive, unrealistic, anachronistic, and Alice-in-Wonderlandish." In response to this attack, the Governor has an excellent opportunity to show constraint, thoughtfulness and strength. And, when the attack becomes overblown, he should use disarming humor which will build both rapport and trust with the electorate.

It is essential for the Governor to use his answers to show that he is aware of different sides of the issues, that they are complex and that only after thoughtful consideration has he settled on a particular policy-orientation. In response to the Carter attacks that "he has flip-flopped," the Governor can use such attacks to demonstrate reasonableness and the lack of policy rigidity.

### Carter's Attack Strategy

Exploit Reagan's flip-flops.

Make extensive use of Reagan quotes, e.g. during Democratic Convention.

Attack the Reagan California record and how Reagan has "distorted it."

### Reagan's Response Strategy

Use changes to show reasonableness; defend public policy changes because circumstances have changed.

Counter with Carter and Kennedy quotes; avoid unnecessarily strident reactions; bring the discussion back to the Carter record.

Defend with confidence and indignation moving as quickly as possible back to the Carter record as the real issue; avoid unnecessary stridency; counter with "when Governor Carter approached this problem in his state, the record shows..." but the real issue of this is the Carter record which show he still hasn't been able to solve the



Carter's Attack Strategy

Attack Reagan's ideas as "quick fixes" that are unrealistic and even unworkable.

Suggest Reagan would be a dangerous man in the White House.

Reagan's Response Strategy

problems and maintain presidential tone and demeanor; act humored by Carter California record attacks--he doesn't understand the problems of California anymore than of the nation.

Given the Carter record, the Carter Administration is incapable of evaluating what would work or not work; argue most Carter policies are in place for such a short time before Mr. Carter changes his mind that their only impact is a quick fix.

Respond with righteous indignation; no one wants peace more than I, after all, what reasonable person would not; the difference between Mr. Carter and I is my commitment to deter conflict by being economically and militarily strong, and pursuing a consistent foreign policy; uncertainty in our foreign policy is more apt to cause an international crisis that would result in war, than to have a strong economy and military.

Several general points should be followed in the Governor's response strategy during the debate.

- It is not necessary to answer or respond to each of Carter's charges.
- It is especially important that the Governor be prepared for Carter's distortions of the California record. A good response to much of what Carter will say in this regard is something the Governor has already said: "You know, it's one thing when the Carter Administration jimmies its own economic figures to make its record look good, but when Mr. Carter starts jimmying my figures, that's going too far."
- The bottom line on the California record is that Californians were better off after the Governor's two terms of office, than this country is after four years of Jimmy Carter.

- The Governor's responses must appear confident and strong, not strident.

#### Reagan Attack Strategy

The Governor should use his answers to remind the public of:

- Carter, instead of leading the people to greater peace and prosperity, was content to declare there was a malaise in the country and that it would not matter who was President the economy would be just as bad.
- Carter has failed to provide a steady hand at the helm, especially in foreign policy. We have very little support from our allies and largely undeveloped and fragmented policies toward our adversaries.
- Carter has been indecisive, and unwilling to pursue vigorously domestic and international policies.
- More than any previous administration, the Carter Administration has politicized the cabinet and compromised the non-partisan functions of the Departments of State and Defense.

#### Tactics and Special Considerations

- Emphasize strength and decisiveness while avoiding stridency. Anderson's stridency hurt him in the previous debate.
- Use ~~of a combination of Mister and President~~ Carter ~~with more frequent use of Mr. President.~~
- Remember the debate is between Ronald Reagan the candidate for President, and Jimmy Carter the candidate for the same office. When making references to the 1976 campaign, use "Jimmy Carter."
- Compassion is most easily communicated by referring to situations during the course of campaign experiences.
- Make use of the voter appeal of George Bush by referencing consultations and policy discussions with him.
- Avoid unnecessary references to "the past" and buzz words that alienate blocs of voters, e.g. "detente."



Reagan: Competence and Compassion

The man who will be the President of the United States for the next four years is:

The man who correctly identifies the nation's most pressing problems, and has the drive and ability to resolve them compassionately.

- What the American people want most is leadership in the White House that will give them hope that the country is heading in a direction that will mean greater security and prosperity.
- They are tired of pessimism and the acquiescence to mediocrity. But they are equally wary of political promises by office seekers who are not truly committed to the welfare of the people.
- Americans are looking for specific policy options such as those enumerated in the two speeches--"Strategy for Peace" and "Strategy for Economic Growth," which will already be given by the time of the debate. The Governor should not hesitate to repeat the steps outlined in each.

The Governor must communicate to the American people through his answers that it is the people's interests he intends to serve. The people say the thing that is killing them is inflation, and a weak economy. What will restore this country to its proper bearings is a president committed to reducing inflation and improving the economy.

October 21, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill Casey  
Ed Meese  
Jim Baker

FROM: Rich Williamson *RW*

REGARDING: The Debate

I am sure you are being bombarded with gratuitous advice -- much of it useless, and the few good ideas probably ones you have thought of long ago. I apologize for being presumptuous and wading into these waters. Nonetheless, a few thoughts for your consideration.

I) SYMBOLS -- NOT DEBATE POINTS: Often in preparing for a debate type confrontation, a candidate is overwhelmed with facts. While it is important that the candidate be able to recite some facts in order to give the impression that he is knowledgeable about the issues, facts per se are not important in political persuasion.

The voter has a mosaic of impressions about each candidate. These impressions sway him. And the more vivid impressions are not facts, statistics, literal arguments. Rather the more vivid and persuasive impressions are images and symbols.

The voter wants to know whether a given candidate shares the individual voter's concerns, experiences, and hopes. Candidate Jimmy Carter in 1976 was a master at conveying the impression of shared experience with the swing voter (farmer, small businessman, family man, small town main street America



values, church-goer).

Our polls show the voters think Ronald Reagan is a strong leader. They think he is best able to lead us to economic recovery. But they do not seem to associate images with Ronald Reagan that counter their general bias against conservative Republicans as lacking compassion, being trigger happy, being more concerned with balance sheets than health care for the elderly.

Our biggest asset in countering that image is letting voters see Ronald Reagan. To watch him is to like him. His decency, reasonableness and kindness are self-evident when one watches him on television. The debate will provide intense exposure for him and those who see him to be reassured. That plus should be reinforced and accentuated by having Governor Reagan personalize his responses, show shared experiences, project common concerns.

For example, in talking about Social Security, Welfare or the Economy generally, Ronald Reagan should let voters know that he himself has experienced the hardships of a bad economy. During the depression his father was fired and without a job! His father worked for the WPA! Those are powerful images. Here is a man who knows "economic insecurity." Here is a man who knows how government can constructively help the truly needy. He is not just some wealthy country club Republican with white shoes, white belt and a martini in his hand. Similarly, during the debates Governor Reagan should seek out an opportunity to say he is a former union president. And when addressing the "war and peace" issue he should say he has sons

and a grandson; he too worries about their safety; he too has a powerful personal reason to work for a lasting framework of peace . . . etc.

II) THE ECONOMY: The economy and Jimmy Carter's failed Presidency are the strongest Reagan issues. "War and peace" is Mr. Carter's issue. If people vote on the economy, we win; if they vote on war and peace, we may lose. Governor Reagan should focus his responses to questions towards constant referrals to the ailing economy and Jimmy Carter's responsibility for high inflation and high unemployment. To the extent possible, statements should not be in terms of billions of dollars and millions of jobs; but in supermarket food basket terms. It is a simple equation, who watching the debate feels better off today than four years ago? Can they afford four more years? Ronald Reagan offers a return to prosperity.

III) WAR AND PEACE - (SALT II): Governor Reagan should focus on his powerful personal reasons for seeking peace. As mentioned above, he should cite his sons and his grandson whom he never wants to see forced to take up arms. Further, he should dismiss SALT II questions with prompt dispatch by reiterating that like so many Senators -- many Democratic -- he knows SALT II is fatally flawed, not in our national interest. He will not embrace a flawed treaty however politically expedient it may be. But nothing is more important to him than building a lasting framework for peace. And with the help of the bipartisan Senate leadership and such advisors as Henry Kissinger and Vice President George Bush he will work tirelessly for a meaningful workable SALT III treaty.



IV) FRAMING THE PRE-DEBATE: I think you are 100% correct in seeking to position us that Carter is reluctant to debate. Also, you are correct to posture us as expecting Carter to win the debate given his unique access to facts, figures, etc. due to his position of incumbency. A further point that might be made with the press -- and one I think is correct -- is that politically Ronald Reagan does not have to win the debate. He just has to hold his own and be reassuring. The burden of proof on the challenger is lower than the burden of proof on an incumbent President. Further, Governor Reagan will enter the debate with a strong electoral college lead. He is not seeking to win converts so much as to reassure his substantial base.

V) FRAMING THE POST-DEBATE: Obviously the importance of this event warrants a full court press to get out our line on the debate outcome. A program was developed and well executed under Cliff White and Bob Gray for the Baltimore John Anderson - Ronald Reagan debate. I assume a similar program is being set up for this debate and that someone is coordinating it. I urge we pull out all stops to get the big guns at the debate site (Kissinger, Simon, et al). I further suggest that in our key states we have the Republican Governors host debate viewing parties at their respective Executive Mansions inviting key state figures and the local media. Where possible MCs and Senators in those key states could have similar events in various media markets. The result would be mini-media events that would provide a vehicle to get out our line of a Reagan debate victory.

cc: Senator Paul Laxalt

FOR: Ed Meese

FROM: Wayne Valis

## Memo

From: WAYNE VALIS Wayne

To: Jim Baker

Date: 10-21-80

FYI

I sent this  
intelligence on to  
Jim Baker.

WV

Jim --

These are notes based  
on a brainstorming session  
attended by Carter-Mondale  
staffers (middle level types).  
They are provided by a  
very reliable source who  
has intimate connections  
to a Carter debate staffer.

Wayne



## Proposed Carter Tactics for Debate and Campaign Advertising

- 1.) Carter plans to expose Reagan flip-flops.
  - E.g. Reagan's positions on tax breaks for private education:
    - Before: in favor of tax credits for high school and college.
    - After: in favor of credits only for college.
  - E.g. Reagan's positions on bilingual education
  - E.g. Reagan's position on OSHA

Where Reagan has not flip-flopped, Carter plans to portray him as having blurred or dangerous positions.

Where Reagan has changed his position, Carter plans to portray Reagan as indecisive, as a political opportunist, or as opposed to an enlightened set of policies (especially on such questions as ERA and Minimum Wage)
- 2.) Carter is hoping to be portrayed as the underdog in the debate. But in the week preceding the debate, he hopes to come across as having momentum.
- 3.) Carter plans to brand Reagan-Kemp-Roth as an "Alice-in-Wonderland" medicine.
- 4.) Carter is pleased with the recent statistics showing an economic upturn. But he is very concerned about the high interest rates. He plans to blame the Fed for these, but he fears that the people won't be able to distinguish between the Fed and his own administration.
- 5.) He plans to continue to harp on the warmonger issue.
- 6.) He plans to raise the age issue again. He plans to point out that when Bush was a congressman, he proposed a bill that would require mandatory retirement for congressmen at age 70. Carter hopes to point out the incongruity of the situation.
- 7.) Carter may have ads which interview Reagan's old classmates in order to highlight how old they are.
- 8.) Carter is trying to get a hold of film-clips of Reagan filming campaign ads. (He may already have such film-clips.) These clips apparently show Reagan being corrected time and again for various mistakes by voices of aides who are saying: "No, Governor, the figure is 75% and not 10%". . . . "No, Governor, the head of the USSR is Brezhnev not Khrushchev" and similar such corrections.
- 9.) Carter may use a film-clip of Reagan asking "Who is that?" when reference in conversation is made to Giscard d'Estaing.
- 10.) Carter's people are afraid of the effectiveness of the Reagan ads which use the bar graphs showing the inflation rates and the ads which show the grocery carts.



# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

October 22, 1980

To: James A. Baker III  
From: Bill Carruthers  
Re: Debate Negotiations

### Attendees were as follows:

President Carter: Strauss and Powell  
Governor Reagan: Baker, Burch, and Carruthers  
League of Women Voters: Ruth Hinerfeld and Harriet Hentges

The following items were discussed and agreed upon during today's meeting at the League of Women Voters:

Debate Location: Cleveland, Ohio  
Date: October 28, 1980  
Time: 9:30 P.M. E.S.T.  
Debate Length: 90 minutes  
Panel: Moderator, Howard K. Smith; four panel members, to be determined  
Format: 90 minute program will be segmented as follows:

- Welcome by League President: 30 sec's.
- Moderator open-- ground rules and introduction of panel and candidates: 2 minutes.
- The debate will combine two question and answer formats as follows:

### Format I

#### Four first-round questions:

Question to Candidate A:	:30
Candidate A response:	2:00
Follow-up question:	:30
Candidate A response:	1:00
Same question to candidate B:	:30
Candidate B response:	2:00
Follow-up question:	:30
Candidate B response:	1:00
Candidate A rebuttal:	1:00
Candidate B rebuttal:	1:00

TOTAL 10:00

( 4 X 10 minutes= 40 minutes )



Format II

Four second-round questions:

Question to Candidate A:	:30
Candidate A response:	2:00
Same question to Candidate B:	:30
Candidate B response:	2:00
Candidate A rebuttal:	1:30
Candidate B rebuttal:	1:30
Candidate A surrebuttal:	1:00
Candidate B surrebuttal:	1:00
TOTAL	10:00

(4 X 10 minutes =40 minutes)

Closing Statements

Candidate A:	3 minutes
Candidate B:	3 minutes
Moderator close:	30 seconds

cc: Allen, Anderson, Burch, Casey, Darley, Deaver, Gergen,  
Goode, Halper, Hodsell, Martel, Meese, Spencer, Timmons, Wirthlin

RICHARD NIXON  
October 22, 1980

MEMO FOR: Governor Reagan

The following observations reflect some thoughts Ray Price and I have developed with regard to the decisive last two weeks of the campaign.

Analysis

The four principal needs now are: 1) to reassure possible Reagan voters that he is not an ogre, an imbecile, or one who will blunder us into war; 2) to continue the erosion of Carter's "good guy," "trustworthy and true" public image; 3) to remind the voters of what a disaster the Carter presidency has been, for them personally and for the country; and 4) to give the voters not only a negative reason to vote against Carter, but also a positive reason to vote for Reagan.

Given what appear to be the dominant present attitudes, in the final analysis the election is probably going to turn principally on how the voters balance their doubts. We want to soften the doubts about Reagan, while hardening the doubts about Carter.

In Carter's case, we want to harden their doubts about:

- Character
- Competence
- Handling the economy
- Naivete about defense and foreign policy

In Reagan's case, we want to soften doubts about:

- Competence
- "He'll get us into war"



Reagan needs a strong finish -- a determined drive to the wire, not to protect a fragile lead but to lead a frazzled country.

Those people out there in never-never land where the verbal artillery barrages are dropping, and who are saying "never, never" to both sides, need a reason to vote for Reagan. They need at least a glimmering of faith that he can and will provide that sense of direction that the country has lost and yearns for.

In these final weeks, Reagan needs to come across as a man with a mission -- as the leader of a "crusade," as Eisenhower was both portrayed and perceived in 1952.

This isn't just a narrow ideological crusade; Carter's not that identifiable an ideological target. It's a crusade to replace incompetence with competence, polls with soul, drift with direction.

Carterism means Billy and the rest of the Carters slopping around the hog trough, while Jimmy bares his teeth, ices his eyes and prates of his virtue.

It means a Georgia gang that know everything about below-the-belt campaigning, and nothing about running the country.

It means a slander and sanctimony, hypocrisy and hyperbole, meanness and mediocrity.

If Carter were competent, perhaps we could forgive him his personal failures. But his sole claim to the office was that he was somehow, personally, better than the rest of us, that he was holier-than-thou, more good, kind, loving, honest, selfless, ethical -- but now he has exposed himself. On the campaign trail he's opened his overcoat to show us Jimmy, Jimmy the mean-spirited, the small-minded, the vicious. He's shown us that Carter the man is, after all, no better than the dismal record of Carter the President.

We've had four years of leadership by a man who wanted desperately to be President, but who had no coherent idea of what he wanted to do with the Presidency; and now that he sees the prospect that his precious Presidential seal is about to be ripped from his hands, he's getting mean and desperate -- but still showing no sense of purpose beyond his own ambition, his own ego, his own stubborn pride.

Carter has come to identify himself with the Presidency, in an almost imperial and certainly imperious way, but as a mantle for himself, not as an office to be used in the service of a larger mission. Reagan has a mission; he views the office as a means of pursuing that mission.

The Reagan "crusade" has two aspects. One is the negative view of what these next few years will bring if we don't get rid of Carter. The other is Reagan's own positive view of America and its future. The negative view is of the meanness, the scheming, the manipulation, the self-service, of the Georgia gang, and the cost to the nation of weakness and drift. The positive view is one of unlocking the nation's -- and the people's -- potential, of renewing the upward climb, getting us back on track, enlisting our energies and energizing our hopes, fulfilling our dreams, restoring our strength and ensuring our security.

An important theme to get across is this:

As the campaign winds down to its final days, both pundits and people are calling it empty and bemoaning the frailties of both major candidates. This of course is in large part due to the nature of media, and especially television coverage, which would reduce any candidate to rubble. But it does reflect the fact that most people are still not persuaded that either candidate has the self-evident stature one would hope for from the prospective leader of the free world at a time of maximum crisis.

Yet there is a choice -- a clear choice. Carter has demonstrated clearly for the past four years what we can expect from him if we give him



another four. Reagan has, over the years, given a consistent picture of the direction from which he would approach a president's tasks, the philosophical orientation that would guide his choices - but also has demonstrated the flexibility to adapt that philosophical orientation to changing circumstances, and the capacity to compromise where necessary. Thus we can't predict with certainty just what his reaction in a given situation would be, but we can be pretty well aware of the kinds of considerations that would guide him.

Reagan wouldn't dismantle the Federal government, but he would place the burden of proof on those who want more government rather than less.

Reagan wouldn't launch us willy-nilly into an all-out arms race, but he would place the burden of proof on those who say we should have fewer arms rather than more.

Reagan wouldn't send our armed forces careening to every trouble-spot around the globe, but he would be readier than Carter to use the credible threat of force in situations where our interests were directly threatened. This is the only way to defend our interests and deter the use of force by our enemies. In a nutshell, Reagan stands for power not because he wants war but because this is the only way to keep the peace.

These are important differences. And, at a time when the Soviets are rapidly surpassing us in military power, and when every tinhorn dictator in the world is learning to treat the United States as fair game for mischief-making, they could, in the most precise and sobering sense of the word, be vital differences.

### Tactics

The economy is Reagan's issue because Carter has no answer for the inflation and unemployment his policies have created. Foreign policy is Carter's best issue because of the fears he has been able to raise on Reagan. If voters are thinking primarily of the pocketbook issue when they vote, Reagan will

win. If they are thinking primarily of the fear of war, Carter will win.

The tactics become obvious. For the last two weeks Reagan, Bush, the surrogates, and the ads must keep inflation and unemployment front and center and address foreign policy only to the extent necessary to reassure voters who have fears about Reagan. I believe the debate will have a very positive effect on that score.

The practice of having a different speech each day should be discarded for this period. Repeat over and over again the inflation and unemployment themes. Don't give the media a chance to report on other issues. They will desperately try to avoid reporting on the economic issue not because they think it is an old story (which they will contend) but because deep down they know it helps Reagan and hurts Carter. Don't let them get away with it.

In these last two weeks big crowds and audience enthusiasm is essential. I urge again that you over rule the P.R. types who want outdoor rallies for "color" purposes. Packed halls where they can't say that crowds were less than expected are essential. In addition, the applause factor is at least three times as great in a hall as it is outdoors.

In this period, use your best cheer lines even if you are tired of them. The time is past for reading important but dull lines prepared by speech writers. Hammer the same themes so that the voters are forced to focus on your issues and avoid scattering your shots. Otherwise, undecided voters will not be motivated to vote for a change and will vote for the incumbent. Hit hard. Excite people. A complacent electorate always votes for the incumbent.

In the debate, let the visual and verbal image be the contrast between a small man in a big job and a big man for a big job.



Possible Quotes(some for surrogates; others for Reagan)

"If Carter's energy policy is, as he once boasted, the moral equivalent of war, I'd hate to think how he'd perform as Commander-in-Chief. If his military performance was the moral equivalent of his energy policies, he'd probably be bombing our own cities."

---

"Why do I care so deeply about winning this election? Because I don't think America can afford to continue for four more years on the course that it's on."

"We can't afford to continue the shameful neglect of our defenses. We can't afford to continue waffling and wobbling and wavering in our foreign policy, so that our allies don't trust us, our adversaries don't fear us and nobody respects us."

"What has increased the danger of war has been a consistent pattern of inconsistency, a weakening of our defenses against war, a failure to recognize that strength is the surest guardian of peace."

"If we continue on that course, then within the next four years we'll either be at war or be well on our way to defeat without war."

---

"I didn't get into politics and then search for something I could point to as a set of beliefs. I developed a set of beliefs, and then these led me into politics. That's one of the fundamental differences between us."

"I've been advocating these principles for 20 years -- on the lecture circuit, in radio and newspaper commentaries, in the political arena -- for eight years as Governor of the nation's largest and most diverse state, and in three campaigns for my party's presidential nomination. I've adapted to changing circumstances, I've made those

compromises that are the essence of a democratic system, I've sometimes signed legislation that I didn't agree with as part of the give-and-take of a free society. But on the basic principles, my record has been consistent over these 20 years."

"Anyone who would take casual, off-hand remarks that someone made 10 or 15 years ago, rip them out of context and try to sell them to the American public as if they were considered statements of policy isn't just being dishonest toward his opponent. He's being dishonest toward the American people."

"In his repeated distortions of my positions, President Carter is not just lying about me. He's lying to the American people, and that's a much more serious thing.

---

"The only President in the whole 20th Century who served two full terms and who didn't get the country into war was Dwight D. Eisenhower. During his first months in office Eisenhower ended the war in Korea, and he kept the peace for the rest of his eight years in office."

"How did he do it?"

"By weakness? No. By waffling? No. By truckling to the truculent? No."

"He did it by keeping the United States strong, consistent and respected -- whereas under Carter America has become weak, waffling and held in contempt."

(If some version of this is used, note that the precise wording is important. We cannot say "who served two full terms without getting the country into war;" the U.S. didn't enter World War II until FDR was in his third term.)

---



"Where others have a soul, Carter has a poll."

---

"Carter vs. Reagan: a man with ambition vs. a man with a mission."

---

"Carter has blown so much smoke in his campaign speeches that they're going to give him this year's Oscar for special effects."

---

"It's funny that a saint would be surrounded by so many sinners."

---

"The question is not whether we're going to stumble into a shooting war. It's whether we're going to continue drifting toward defeat in a non-shooting war."

---

"It's time for the people of America to take this country back again -- to take it back from the politicians, take it back from the bureaucracy, and claim it as their own again."

---

"Those pioneers who crossed the ocean from Europe 300 years ago, 200 years ago, 100 years ago, and who crossed the land itself in covered wagons -- they made this country their own. They created something new in human experience -- a land born in freedom, built on liberty, a land that belonged to its people. And because of this, America thrived and grew, and became the richest, the strongest, most respected nation on earth."

"But then something happened. We turned to the Federal government to meet more and more of our needs, to satisfy more and more of our wants -- and for a while, this seemed to work. But then the government got bigger and bigger, more powerful, more intrusive. Taxes got higher and higher, and the government spent more and more, and inflation ate away at our currency and at our incomes. And as all this was happening, people began to feel powerless, to feel no longer in control of their lives, to be uneasy, fretful, fearful, insecure -- in a word, dependent, rather than independent -- dependent on the whims of Federal workers, on the dictates of Federal courts, and trapped in a maze of laws and regulations so vast and so tangled that no one could even read them all in a lifetime, much less understand them."

"This has gone too far. If I'm elected, I'm not going to dismantle the Federal government. But I'm darn sure going to whittle away at it every chance that I get. And I'm going to do everything I can to turn power back to the people, recognizing of course that it takes time to adapt to new ways of doing things. But the direction of change is going to be away from bigger government, and toward freer people, away from arrogance in Washington and toward independence on Main Street."

---

"I don't question Mr. Carter's sincerity when he says he believes his policies will lead to peace."

"I am sure he sincerely believed that when he cut out the BI and delayed other weapon programs, the Soviet Union would respond by cutting back their defense programs."

"I am sure he was sincere when he said we should not have an inordinate fear of communism and that Mr. Brezhnev wanted peace just as we do."

"I am sure he is sincere when he approves going ahead with arms control in spite of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, their conquest of Angola, Ethiopia and South Yemem, and their brigade in Cuba."



"I don't question his sincerity. What concerns me is that he believes so sincerely in the wrong things."

"During his presidency, over 100,000,000 people have come under communist control or have been lost to the West. The Soviet Union has become number one in military power and the United States has slipped to number two. We simply can't take the terrible risk of four more years of Jimmy Carter in the White House. It is time to stop the retreat and defeat which could inevitably lead us to war or defeat without war."

---

"There is nothing wrong with America that new leadership can't cure. After campaigning across this great land of ours and looking into the faces of millions of great people, I say the heart of America is sound. What America needs is a new head."

---

---

"The Jimmying of the economic statistics by the liberal bureaucrats in the department of labor isn't fooling the American people. America knows that Carter's inflation is making it impossible to balance the family budget, they know that Carter's high interest is destroying the ability of young Americans to realize their dreams of owning their own homes. 8,000,000 unemployed Americans want jobs -- not phony statistics which tell them things are getting better."

"Based on his record of failure, four more years of Carter's policies means four more years of higher unemployment, higher prices, higher interest rates and a lower standard of living for millions of Americans."

"He has had his chance and he has struck out on all fronts. It's time to bench him and to get a new batter up to the plate."

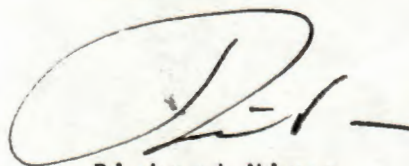
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"The October surprise which the Carter crowd has been desperately trying to pull off is not going to work. It's too late and whatever they pull, it will be too little. The American people are too smart to be fooled by such a shabby trick."

"A last minute gimmick cannot cover up the abject failure of the Carter administration at home and abroad. Millions who can't make ends meet aren't going to be fooled. Millions who have lost their jobs aren't going to be fooled. Millions who see America losing strength and respect around the world aren't going to be fooled."

"He was able to sell that peanut oil cure-all once. But people now know it won't work and they aren't going to buy it again."

Sincerely,



Richard Nixon

The Honorable  
Ronald Reagan

*Pat joins me in  
sending our best wishes for  
what we confidently believe  
will be many happy returns  
for Nancy & you on Nov. 4.  
Pat*



Olean, NY  
Oct. 23



## Reagan Should Be Elected

# Time To Choose Substance Over Shadow

Ronald Reagan should be elected the 40th president of the United States — if only by default.

Jimmy Carter has presented the American public with an administration marked by ineptitude, bungling and indecision, snarled communication lines between major government agencies and a thoroughly uncohesive executive branch.

\* The secretary of state is not informed of a major change in tactical nuclear strategy.

\* The American ambassador to the United Nations must embarrassingly reverse his vote condemning expansion of Jewish settlements on the West Bank after contradictory instructions from the White House.

\* The head of the Federal Reserve System, attempting to combat strangling inflation by imposing high interest rates, is publicly rebuked by Carter for following administration policy.

It is the stuff of *Alice in Wonderland*, but not nearly so entertaining and harmless as Lewis Carroll's classic. The next four years will undoubtedly be parlous — and it's time for Jimmy Carter's on-the-job training program to be brought to a halt.

At home, the Carter Administration has done nothing to minister to a sick economy for three-and-one half years, and only since last spring has Carter even addressed himself to this problem — or even admitted there was one.

Food and housing costs have skyrocketed and only the wealthy are seemingly able to maintain their stan-

dard of living. Pity the unfortunates on a fixed income.

Abroad, the Carter Administration is looked upon with distrust and suspicion, only capable of staging media events such as the transparent Camp Davis accords. Our NATO allies deplore the current American vascillation in maintaining a united front against the Soviet bloc, and are frustrated by the erratic tendencies of Carter to negotiate unilaterally.

Carter has been too late born-again in realizing that the Russians are not to be trusted, and a strong American defense posture is the greatest insurance for world peace. In his hands, we are slowly losing our position as leader of the Free World, unsupported by allies because of the administration's insistence that all of our geopolitical partners be without evangelical sin.

The candidate the American voter sent to Washington four years ago has proven himself incapable of making a decision and backing it up, but instead has shown himself to be weak and indecisive . . . only capable of reacting to situations rather than anticipating them.

The insistence by Carter adherents that Reagan is no more than a Grade B movie actor is a canard that facts lay to rest. He has proven himself to be much more than that as an able governor of the country's most populous, and complex, state.

In California, the Republican candidate exhibited an admirable talent for bring the best brains together — a

form of braintrust — and listening to them, avoiding the cloud of confusion that currently lay over the White House.

Reagan's approach, in this campaign, has been one of common sense and not the doctrinaire knee-jerk philosophy of the liberal establishment with its attendant gargantuan federal budgets.

He questions whether a separate Education Department is necessary. He urges a practical approach to pollution and environmental problems, shunning a rigid, costly confrontation with industry. He advocates letting business do what business can do best and throttling ever-growing government interference into the private sector. There is, he feels, nothing obscene about capitalism, working in the free enterprise system.

The Republican ticket is further strengthened with George Bush as the number two man. Reagan has made known his intentions to delegate wider authority to Bush, especially in the foreign relations field where the Texan has demonstrated his expertise as ambassador to the UN and in dealings with China. Bush is articulate and persuasive and brings balance to the ticket.

It is patently clear that this is one of the most important elections recently confronting us. Prayerfully, the American voter will not be beguiled by imagery and hypocritical posturing. It is a time for choosing substance over shadow.



# THE PLAIN DEALER

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## Reagan for president

Most Americans will address two main questions when they consider whom to vote for on Nov. 4 for president of the United States.

First, does the United States have the kind of military capability to assure our security?

Second, what are the trends relating to our economic well-being?

The answers to these gut questions are very simple. America has slipped into a second-rate position militarily and the standing in the world of the industrial productivity of the United States has been declining. The trend lines are bad. Without change, the trend lines will get worse.

President Carter's vindictive campaign has not covered up the fact that the Carter administration does not admit that America has been slipping. Carter has not offered credible programs to deal with our declining economic and military positions. The United States has not had a strong, cohesive foreign policy the last four years.

Americans must have a change in the office of president of the United States. They have lost confidence in their country under President Carter. For the security and well-being of this country it is essential to elect a replacement.

Among the candidates, Ronald Reagan best understands the need to change some of this nation's laws and institutions to get the country rolling again. He seems to best understand the basic problems of declining economic productivity and international military stature. And more than any other candidate, Reagan seems ready to call on some of the country's best minds to help him do the job.

A president is elected to set this nation's course. He is expected to steer it in a direction that strengthens the country's basic fiber so that its stature — within and without — and its people continue to grow. Four years ago Jimmy Carter, as a new president, set his course, or courses. In many ways they have proved to be the wrong ones. The best case that can be made for the re-election of Jimmy Carter is the hope that he has learned how foolish he has been, that his second term would be better than the first, that the so-called ship of state would not continue to bob and weave as if steered by whim. That is not a good case for re-election.

Ronald Reagan has steered a steadier course. His views are clear and straightforward. We especially endorse one essential Reagan pledge — to appoint the best people to help him significantly change this country's economic and financial institutions and military capability. Unlike



Ronald Reagan

Carter, Reagan has recognized that the trend lines are bad in these areas and must be improved for the sake of the strength of the nation.

In a race in which neither of the two major candidates for president has great personal support from the public, the most important issue in the campaign is the appointing of people to run the government.

Who will appoint the best people? On this issue, Reagan wins hands down. Carter presides over a dispirited and shattered administration. Is it any wonder? His best appointees he does not seem to listen to. His worst surround him in the White House.

Reagan, however, has shown throughout the campaign that he surrounds himself with people of ability. He has first-class economic and military advisers.

As a successful governor of California for eight years, he demonstrated executive ability by appointing quality people to positions of administrative importance, particularly in his second term.

Because Ronald Reagan understands the nation's need to change, because Reagan offers a solid program directed at those needs, and because Reagan promises to appoint the best minds to help him lead the nation, The Plain Dealer endorses Ronald Reagan for president and urges its readers to vote for Reagan Nov. 4.

Bill H. Henders  
FVI  
C. Tyson

23 1980

TO  
Bob  
Graft

BT



October 23, 1980

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Bill Casey Dick Wirthlin  
Bill Timmons Pete Dailey  
Stan Anderson Clifford White  
Ed Meese ✓ Bob Gray  
Mike Deaver Jim Baker  
Stu Spencer

FROM: Max Hugel

SUBJECT: Suggested Strategy for Balance of the Campaign  
and the Debate -- namely Offense.

HOSTAGES:

The hostage issue should be our issue instead of Jimmy Carter's issue. We took it up and we dropped it. We should state clearly that while all Americans hope the hostages are returned, Mr. Carter's approach, not that of our candidate, will take us into war. Mr. Carter called on this country to be neutral in the Iranian/Iraq situation. Simultaneously, he has agreed or is agreeing to provide replacement parts to the Iranians as a condition to the release of the hostages. We did not call that neutrality, Mr. Carter did. Yet, Mr. Carter has or is engaging in an act that could get us into a war in the Middle East after November 5th.

Mr. Carter stayed in the rose garden until April, stating the hostage crisis prevented his participation in the primaries. At that point he stated all was well and undertook the viciousness of his campaign. Had the hostages cooled their heels in Iran so as to coincide with Mr. Carter's political ambitions? Our candidate should join Mr. Carter on this issue and do it now. Obviously, through surrogates, a press conference and our press releases between now and the debate will help set the stage for what is perceived to be the critical need to take the offensive in the debates.

SALT II;

This is our issue, not Mr. Carter's. Mr. Carter created the monster and could not even pass it through his own Democratically controlled Congress with the fervent support of major Democratic Senatorial leaders.

Mr. Carter is a failed President on the issue of arms control. He did not succeed in his first term nor will he succeed in his second term to achieve a Salt II treaty. As curious as it may seem, Eugene McCarthy is the only one to date to ridicule in a hard selling fashion, coming from the complete opposite end of the spectrum, his belief that Salt II is a



disaster; his belief that Mr. Carter is a failure in arms limitation control; his belief that Carter will continue to fail after reelection; and his belief that Ronald Reagan will either negotiate a more favorable Salt III agreement or have a better chance of passing Salt II. We should attack Mr. Carter on his failure to consummate negotiations in a reasonable period of time -- Salt II and his failure to achieve passage of even that through a Democratic Congress.

ISRAEL (JEWISH VOTE):

We have been on the attack against Carter's vacillating on the issue of Israel especially the abstention in the U.N. vote on the subject of Jerusalem, the weapon sales to Saudi Arabia and Jordan, the connection between Libya and Billy Carter, and the vacillation on the latest subject of the sale of F15 airplanes to Israel --and which Defense Secretary Brown recently announced when the Special Session of Congress convened after the election to take up this and other matters -- it would seem politically advantageous and imperative to require Mr. Carter to make a commitment prior to the election as to his intentions with regard to aircraft sales to Israel.

It is obvious from the Carter record that the Jews in this country must have serious concerns as to what Carter will do about Israel after the election, based on his past actions that have been politically motivated toward the Arab world in order to obtain the compromises needed because of the imported oil. He has played into the hands of Arab blackmail for political reasons.

UNEMPLOYMENT:

Eight million people unemployed -- probably more than this if you add the people on parttime that would like to be fulltime and youngsters who would like to have jobs but can't find any. The misery suffered by people who can't find work is something we should be laying on Carter continuously through our media by showing lines of unemployment and speaking to people in those lines and making a TV spot of people being interviewed in those lines and asking how they feel about Carter's performance.

The saddest and most vivid picture of this terrible situation facing Americans today happened recently when 26,205 applicants turned out for 70 non-skilled federal jobs. If this is not a depression, then I don't know what is.

The black unemployment far exceeds that of any other minority group and there is no end in sight with the policies of the Carter administration now and nothing in his new economic policy gives any comfort that this situation will change for the poor and the minorities that desperately need jobs to survive.



INFLATION:

We must do a lot more to hit this point home because that is the number one issue on everybody's mind. If a burglar came into your home and stole your possessions, you would be indignant and call the police. Yet, this administration has been robbing the American public of their hard earned assets -- this must be driven home to the voter -- must be driven home by the candidate, by the surrogates and by the media. The paid media has to be vivid. It has to show senior citizens -- and I have seen it myself in Miami at night -- going into garbage pails because they can't afford to buy food. It must show housewives going into super markets buying potatoes and macaroni because they can't afford to buy meat and staples for their children.

While we have done some spots with the Governor in super markets, I think the man on the street spots showing actual people suffering because of inflation in every single area, whether it be Blacks, Hispanics or the elderly, is essential and should be made and driven home.

Impact on Middle Class:

Related to the above and a natural issue for Governor Reagan is the impact of inflation on the middle class which is carrying the tax burden anyway. We need to reach the financially strapped family and the small businessman who has had to sacrifice his standard of living and those good aspirations so long a way of life in this country: the college education for your children; the new car; the new home; expanded business production; capital availability; high interest rates.

Again, a "man on the street" approach to this subject is infinitely better than graphs and statistics and this is our issue.

MORALITY:

- the Burt Lance scandal under Carter.
- the Marston scandal under Carter.
- the "Amoretto" incident of Hamilton Jordan.
- the drug convictions of Peter Bourne.
- the cocaine charges against Tim Kraft.
- the John Gacy photos with Rosalyn Carter.
- the Jim Jones communications with Rosalyn Carter.
- the Joe Califona "cook as Special Assistant" ripoff.
- the Secret Service having to overlook the marijuana parties of Chip Carter.



Added to the litany above, is the most damaging incident involving Billy Carter and the Libyans. Billy Carter was a failure; a bankrupt; a man with nothing to sell to the Libyans but his relationship with his brother. It is not disputed that Billy Carter received money; it is not disputed that he had private briefings in the White House; and it is not disputed that Jimmy Carter wrote his brother congratulating him on his good performance in Libya under "dry" conditions.

Only after the termination of the Billy Carter affair did the President issue guidelines for his family in dealing with the Government and for the Government in dealing with his family. Too little too late and an embarrassment in themselves.

If anything, our candidate is perceived to be moral, good and decent. We have spent a fortune causing him to be portrayed as such. The time is now to take the offensive on the issue of the morality of the Carter administration. There has been none and there is none. This is a subject worthy of communication in the waning days of this campaign to the American public.

#### PRE-DEBATE STRATEGY:

Between now and next Tuesday all resources should be reallocated to focusing attention on certain or all of the above issues. It should be done through a reprogramming of the surrogates; and it should be done by the candidate himself in the forum of a press conference or press release to set the stage for the all important debate. Enough good has been said about Ronald Reagan by us and through our efforts. Enough bad has been said about Ronald Reagan by Jimmy Carter and it is obvious that it is starting to make inroads. We firmly believe that success is absolutely dependent upon a major offensive, with reprogrammed paid media focusing on the above items immediately.

Its importance cannot be overemphasized. To succeed is to set the stage for Ronald Reagan to focus attention in the debates on the Carter record. We have been defensive and apologetic in countering Mr. Carter and his surrogates vicious attacks and allegations. We should no longer apologize; we should no longer be defensive -- because we cannot afford to be.

While we realize that what we are suggesting may call for major rethinking of the entire approach to the last 10 days of this campaign, we feel that it is imperative.

#### DEBATE STRATEGY:

In the debate, it is essential that Governor Reagan instantly assume the offensive. At the earliest opportunity, when the first question is asked about what he will do as President, he should reply: "One of my first priorities will be to undo the severe damage that you and your administration have done to the American people."



Following this offensive should be a continued attack on the Carter record. Every time there is an opportunity to answer a question or rebut a Carter answer, it must be an attack on the Carter record and his broken promises to the American people. We should never allow him to put us on the defensive and we know he is going to try and we should not bite the bait.

I don't believe that Ronald Reagan should spend his time defending his record in California. He should not spend his time in defending his position on his past statements about the war and peace issue. We should just turn around and attack -- whatever the question is -- the Carter record and his failures.

In the final analysis, the issues have been and always will be on our side and we have to show it like it is.

POST DEBATE STRATEGY:

Preparation must begin immediately on the paid media with the attacks outlined above and should saturate the market through November 3rd. All resources should be allocated to this objective.

FROM:

Max Hugel

In choosing from among the many recommendations, including my own, which have been made in connection with next week's debate, I should like to make the following additional observations:

The audience, of course, will be a mass audience and not necessarily a sophisticated one, therefore:

1. The Governor should consider limiting his remarks to a few fundamental issues rather than to a potpourri of many issues.
2. Ideas should be presented in a graphic rather than an abstract manner. For example, in presenting the war-peace issue, the Governor may wish to remind the audience that the calamity of Pearl Harbor occurred, not because any President pushed a button, but because the Japanese thought that we were weak and that they could get away with it.
3. Put the audience in the picture; humanize the presentation. Instead of talking about inflation and the recession in the abstract, address the concerns of the masses. Ask why a desperate father, anxious to support his family, cannot find a job; ask why a man who holds a job and does an honest week's work cannot earn enough to feed, clothe and house his family, let alone find himself unable to buy his kid a bike for Christmas. Ask why a person who has labored all his life finds himself unable to meet the needs of old age. Assure the audience that at long last the nation will no longer address only the symptoms, but will also eradicate the disease.