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IV FOREIGN POLICY

(A) Andy Young Affair

When he ran for president, Jimmy Carter also promised the American people a consistent foreign policy, a foreign policy clear to our allies, clear to the world.

On June 24, 1976,

(Jimmy Carter criticized Henry Kissinger for being too independent - he attacked the idea of a lone ranger of American diplomacy and on July 17, 1976, he promised that in a Carter administration American foreign policy would have only one voice: that of the president.

He said he would be tough with the Soviets; he said the Soviet Union would have to learn that military adventurism in places like Africa would not be tolerated. On Dec 18, 1975 he said he even favored assistance to Angolan rebels fighting ~~the~~ pro-Soviet regime propped up by thousands of Castro's mercenaries.

That's what Jimmy promised.

But what did Jimmy do?

Now some of us here tonight remember the name of Andy Young. And let me assure our Democratic friends that in the weeks and months ahead that is a name they are going to hear again and again and again.

Even an administration capable of the political cynicism shown in the Nimitz incident or the Fitzgerald and Marston

affairs would be expected to show at least some caution in injecting cronyism into the delicate area of international diplomacy.

But Jimmy Carter showed no such caution -- even in conducting America's foreign policy.

The day Jimmy Carter appointed Andy Young ambassador to the United Nations, he said he was keeping his promise to bring only the best to American government.

"Of all the people I have ever known in public service," Jimmy Carter said, "Andy Young is the best."

Jimmy Carter said that Andy Young, his old Georgia political ally, was going to have the same status as the Secretary of State.

Jimmy Carter said his one fervent hope was that he, as President, could live up to the standards he knew Andy Young would establish as UN Ambassador.

"And his closeness to me personally", Jimmy Carter said about his new ambassador, "will ensure that there is never a division of a sense of purpose."

No division of a sense of purpose.

That's what Jimmy promised.

But what did Jimmy do?

Jimmy Carter gave the American people a UN ambassador who said only months after his appointment that Castro's mercenaries brought a "certain stability and order in Angola."

"I don't believe Cuba is in Africa because it was ordered there by the Russians," he said. "I believe Cuba

is in Africa because it really has shared in a sense of colonial oppression."

At an April 11, 1977, press conference, the new spokesman for America explained his own world view: "The only thing I'm thinking is, don't get paranoid about a few communists."

Even after Andy Young expressed views clearly at variance with American foreign policy, Jimmy Carter refused to rebuke his old friend from Georgia.

And the new lone ranger of American foreign policy flew into other clouds of dust: he announced that Abraham Lincoln and Gerald Ford were racists, that Sweden was racist, that England was "chicken" on the racial issue. He even insisted there could be no internal settlement in Rhodesia.

Even at the very moment when the State Department was trying to obtain the release of Soviet dissidents, he compared the Soviet system to our own, noting that there were thousands of political prisoners in this country too - announcing that he had once been a political prisoner when he was arrested in a demonstration, but then was later elected a Georgia Congressman.

"Things don't change that quickly in the Soviet Union," he said, "but they do change there also."

And although the Soviet press gleefully trumpeted these comments to the world - still Jimmy Carter issued only a mild rebuke to his ambassador.

That mild rebuke didn't slow down Andy Young..

Not long afterward he was calling the Ayotollah Khoumeni a "saint." He even defended the Ayotollah's firing squads in Iran, asking if they were any different from a death sentence given to a convicted murderer in Florida.

And then Andy Young went to a late night meeting with the Palestinian Liberation Organization - a terrorist group ~~known primarily~~ ^{distinguished} for its murders of Israeli school children.

Because Andy Young's meeting was in direct violation of his own government's guarantees to Egypt and Israel that there would be "no diplomatic contact" with the PLO, that meeting caused an international incident.

Andy Young had a simple solution to that. He simply denied the meeting ever took place - something our State Department told the world.

Then Andy Young said it was only a social meeting - something else our State Department told the world.

Then Andy Young admitted there had been a diplomatic exchange at the meeting - and then the State Department had to tell the world something else; that our UN Ambassador hadn't told the truth.

You remember that on December 12, 1974, Jimmy Carter said that if a cabinet officer ever told a lie he would be gone the next day?

That's what Jimmy promised.

But what did Jimmy do?

Even with the credibility of American foreign policy at stake, Jimmy Carter couldn't bring himself to fire his old Georgia political ally, Andy Young.

So finally Andy Young offered to resign and Jimmy Carter thanked him in relief and praised him for a "superb performance."

Superb performance?

The New York Times said it better than any Republican could when it spoke of Andy Young's "clumsy foolish diplomacy that led his government into a lie, violated its policy and broke its promises."

(B) Diplomatic Vaudeville?

But clumsy, foolish diplomacy was hardly the exception in ~~the Carter administration's~~ ^{the changing} make-shift, ramshackle foreign policy of the Carter administration.

Andy Young went to midnight meetings with Palestinian terrorists, Ambassador Ali denounced his own State Department in Africa, Mr. Brezinski nearly got shot at the Pakistani border handing out aid packages that nobody wanted, Secretary Vance couldn't get our signals straight at the UN and Jimmy Carter said that a Soviet combat brigade was positively unacceptable in Cuba and ~~then~~ ^{we had} four days later said ~~he could~~

could learn to live with it.

was this policymaking, or diplomatic vaudeville?

Even a member of Mr. Carter's own party - Senator Edward Kennedy - and Senator Kennedy isn't always wrong - put it more bluntly than any Republican could:

"Whether by incredible misjudgment, mismanagement or irresponsible action, the Carter administration has managed to jeopardize the security of Israel, damaged the peace negotiated in the Middle East, undermined our relations with other friends and made American foreign policy the laughing stock throughout the world."

(C) Inordinate Fear of Communism

Yes, Jimmy Carter's foreign policy has been marked by chaos - marked by chaos in every way except one: the unrelenting refusal to take seriously the Soviet Union's commitment to world expansion.

You remember Jimmy Carter promised during the 1976 election campaign to be firm with the Soviets, to make it clear to the Soviets that adventurism in Africa and all around the world would not be tolerated.

That's what Jimmy promised.

But what did Jimmy do?

The Carter administration stood aside as the Central Intelligence Agency was crippled by so many legislative

restrictions that its activities might just as well be performed by the Library of Congress;

The Carter administration proposed a Salt II Arms Treaty that guaranteed American strategic inferiority;

The Carter administration ~~ignored~~ ^{rejected for nearly a year} repeated warnings ~~for nearly a year~~ about Soviet designs on Afghanistan;

The Carter administration ignored warnings about danger to our Embassy in Teheran until there were 50 American hostages.

The Carter administration carried out a tragic rescue attempt in Iran that Senate staff studies are already showing was ill-timed and poorly planned.

And everywhere the Soviets moved to extend their influence, the Carter administration replied with vacillation and weakness.

In Africa, 50,000 Cuban mercenaries now prop up pro-Soviet regimes in Angola, Ethiopia and South Yemen while thousands more Soviet, East German and Warsaw bloc advisors increase their influence in Libya, the Congo, Algeria, and other nations.

In the Caribbean, Grenada, Nicaragua, Jamaica, and Guyana have ^{established} close ties with Castro's Cuba while El Salvador and Guatemala are now threatened by Castro trained revolutionaries. ~~and~~ In Cuba itself, Soviet engineers construct a submarine base, Soviet pilots fly ^{advanced} ~~Cuban~~ fighter planes and an entire Soviet combat brigade maneuvers near Havana.

In Southeast Asia, the outlaw regime of Vietnam has opened its ports to the Russian Navy, invaded Cambodia, used poison gas in Laos, and stirred insurrection in Thailand.

In the Middle East, all that stands between thousands of Soviet troops and ^(the) oil fields ^(which provide) ~~that are~~ the lifeblood of the Western ^{economy} ~~world~~ is miles of desert.

Our alliances and relationships suffered one after another in the Carter administration:

-- The Carter administration did not even bother to consult Japan and South Korea when it announced troop withdrawals from the strategic Korean peninsula - a decision an embarrassed administration later withdrew.

-- The Carter administration let the West German Chancellor go out on a diplomatic limb to support the deployment of the neutron bomb and then cancelled ^{it} the deployment, leaving Chancellor Schmidt twisting slowly in the wind.

-- The Carter administration cruelly and arrogantly abrogated a long standing mutual defense pact with Taiwan, an old and trusted ally.

-- The Carter administration began its "Taiwanization" of Israel by undercutting, for the first time in our history, an Israeli position in the UN.

Is it any wonder that our allies now seek separate diplomatic arrangements with the Soviet Union?

And will Jimmy Carter send Andy Young to tell the boat people of Cuba or Cambodia or Vietnam not to ^{be} ~~get~~ paranoid

about a few communists?

Will Jimmy Carter himself instruct the people of Afghanistan about their inordinate fear of communism?

(D) Carter's Little Kissingers - The New Boy Network

And tonight as I speak, millions of Americans ask themselves how did it happen? How is it possible that so many blunders could follow one upon the other? How could Jimmy Carter's State Department be so naive about the Soviet Union's intentions? How could men with views such as Andy Young's rise to the top in our policymaking apparatus?

The answer to that question does not involve a conspiracy. But it does involve a phenomenon known only to a few in Washington - a phenomenon that carries the nicknames of "the New Boy Network", "the State Department Junior Varsity", and even "Carter's Little Kissingers."

You see, some years ago, a group of young, bright, super-educated foreign policy specialists began hoisting each other into one position of influence after another in Washington.

Living off tax dollars or grants from foundations, these specialists moved in and out of positions in the foreign service, congressional staffs, foundation think-tanks, and the political campaigns of candidates like George McGovern.

They started their own magazine, they reviewed each other's books, they praised each other's work the Senators, Congressmen, and diplomats.

And they made no secret of their world view: the arms race and international tension were not the result of Soviet expansionism - but just a tragedy of history for which the United States was also to blame.

They refused, these men, to believe that some governments - like some men - are evil and bent on total power. They refused to believe that the only restraint such governments understand is countervailing power.

So like the British elite of the late 30s - the diplomats and journalists who counseled restraint and appeasement in the face of Hitler - this group of specialists advised in the face of Soviet aggression that America show good faith, give ground, seek accommodation.

For men who so avidly sought positions of influence in Washington, Jimmy Carter's 1976 presidential campaign was a prime and obvious target - and when Jimmy Carter came to Washington, entirely inexperienced in foreign affairs, the new boy network went to work: the junior varsity took over - Carter's little Kissingers filled the State Department.

One State Department memo showed that of the 36 senior policy posts at the State Department, 22 were filled with political appointees - mostly from the new boy network - as compared to only 12 such appointees in the Republican administration.

The new boy network saw to it that the State Department infrastructure was entirely dominated by McGovernites and compulsive defeatists. Of the 53 names of foreign policy specialists sent to the Carter administration by the coalition for a Democratic Majority - a group headed by moderate men like Senator Patrick Moynihan and Senator Henry Jackson, who had a realistic view of Soviet intentions - only one was appointed and he received a token post.

The New Republic described the workings of the new boy network better than any Republican could:

"They write the memoranda, shade the briefings, bargain with bureaucrats, manipulate the varying doubts, prejudices, and ignorance of their superiors and in the process quietly shape much of the Carter administration's foreign policy and defense policy."

It was, the New Republic went on, "a group with little diversity" inhabiting a world "not of the innovator, the reflective or even the politician occasionally in touch with the grass roots" but a world rather of "the Washington hangers on."

Jimmy Carter appointed men like State Department Planning Chief, Anthony Lake, who helped orchestrate appointments that insured a rigid accommodationist line, or Africa specialist, Richard Moose, who couldn't get upset about Cuban mercenaries in Africa, or Professor Marshall Schulman who - obviously embarrassed after Afghanistan his long standing belief that the Soviets are "insecure" not

aggressive - began speaking hopefully about the Soviet "miscalculation" there.

But Jimmy Carter also had a problem after Afghanistan because he had so carefully listened to the advice given him by his accomadionist advisors.

Soviet aggression forced Jimmy Carter into a fast change of mind about the Soviet Union, and on ABC television he told newsman Frank Reynolds that the Afghanistan invasion had radically altered his view of Soviet intentions.

But Jimmy Carter did nothing about those who made a shambles of American foreign policy, who were so wrong in their estimates of Soviet intentions.

Do not mistake me: these policymakers are sincere and patriotic but they are also dangerously, desperately wrong about geopolitics - asking them to suddenly get tough with the Soviet Union is like asking hamburger to start rejecting the grinder.

Tonight I call on Jimmy Carter to show that his recent awakening to the threat of Soviet expansionism is real, not just a transient phenomenon.

I call upon Jimmy Carter to break up the new boy network, to fire the junior varsity, to send home all of Carter's little Kissingers.

But the resignations Jimmy Carter asks for in his administration should not just include the members of the

new boy network. There is at least one other Carter administration official who, if Jimmy Carter is serious about showing the world that he is no longer naive about communist aggression, should be asked to leave.

Sam Brown, the man Jimmy Carter named to head ACTION - a federal department which runs the Peace Corps - embraced at a UN reception in 1977 the representatives of North Vietnam, and told the delegation from this outlaw regime that their victory in the war was one of his proudest moments.

At the time Jimmy Carter uttered not a word of protest about words of praise for one of the most repressive regimes in the world - the tormentors of our POW's and of the Cambodian and Laotian people.

So tonight I call on Jimmy Carter to prove he has had a change of heart, to show that he is no longer harbors an inordinate fear of communism.

I call on Jimmy Carter to ask Sam Brown for his resignation.

And let me be clear - if Jimmy Carter will not fire Sam Brown - if Jimmy Carter will not break up the new boy network - believe me, I know a presidential candidate who will.

V MANAGING THE BUDGET AND THE BUREAUCRACY

(A) Bert Lance

CRIME AND JUSTICE: THE RECORD

--The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation recently said, "Crime remains one of our nation's most serious problems...Every American should be troubled." (Source: Press Release, Federal Bureau of Investigation, April 30, 1980)

--Although Mr. Carter said,

"There is no excuse for crime...The time has come to declare that crime is unacceptable in our nation,"
(Source: Carter speech to the Economic Club of Detroit, October 15, 1976)

Crime Index offenses soared 8 percent in 1979, with all city and county population groups, areas, and regions sharing in the increase. (Source: Press Release, Federal Bureau of Investigation, April 30, 1980)

--In 1979, one household in five was hit by crime at least once, with either property stolen or a member of the household a victim of physical assault. (Source: Gallup Poll, December 2, 1979)

--Violent crime has increased by nearly 20 percent during Mr. Carter's term of office. In 1979, 1,178,627 violent crimes were reported, the third straight year of 7-digit violent crime figures. (Source: Uniform Crime Reports, Federal Bureau of Investigation)

--Mr. Carter has systematically undermined the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency, one of the most popular and successful law enforcement programs. In his latest budget, he requested \$177 million for the LEAA, only 23 percent of its 1976 budget. (Source: Fiscal Year Budget Revisions, March 1980)

--Mr. Carter dismantled the White House Office of Drug Abuse Policy which had been widely credited with effectively coordinating the federal government's drug abuse enforcement and treatment agencies and with reducing the availability of heroin to a seven-year low in 1976. (Source: Congressional Quarterly, October 7, 1976)

--Despite proclaiming

"We can no longer afford to treat the administration of justice as political patronage," (Source: Carter Position Paper, Criminal Justice, 1976)

Mr. Carter's "independent" judicial selection commissions included 162 commissioners through April 1979, of which 82 percent were Democrats, 9 percent Republicans, and 9 percent independents. (Source: "A Study of the U.S. Circuit Judge Nominating Commission," Judicature, September 1979)

--Of the first 84 commissioners appointed, 46 percent had participated in Mr. Carter's presidential campaign. (Source: Judicature, September 1979)

--Of the first 28 Commission selections nominated by Mr. Carter, 24 were Democrats. (Source: Judicature, September 1979)

--Although Mr. Carter stated,

"The Attorney General of this nation must be removed from politics," (Source: Carter Position Paper, Criminal Justice, 1976)

his then-Attorney General, Griffin Bell, fired Philadelphia U.S. Attorney David Marston "solely because of political considerations" after Mr. Carter received a phone call from Congressman Joshua Eilberg, D-Pa., who was under investigation, that Marston's dismissal be "expedited." (Source: Washington Post, February 4, 1978)

DEFENSE -- THE RECORD

Despite his promise to maintain "a strong national defense, a defense second to none," Jimmy Carter has followed a course of unilateral disarmament. He:

- Cut \$38 billion in three years from President Ford's projected defense budget.
- Delayed the MX missile by at least three years.
- Shut down our Minuteman III ICBM production line.
- Cancelled the B-1 bomber.
- Slowed down the Trident submarine and the Trident II ballistic missile programs.
- Slowed down all three cruise missile programs (air-, ground-, and sea-launched cruise missiles).
- Deferred any decision on enhanced radiation weapons (neutron bomb).
- Cut naval ship-building programs in half.
- Vetoed a nuclear aircraft carrier.
- Allowed our armed forces to fall far below their recruitment goals and our military reserves to fall 20 percent below necessary war-time preparedness levels.
- Cancelled a fleet of Advanced Tanker Cargo Aircraft.
- Jeopardized alliance cohesion and credibility with his vacillating policy stands and his failure to meet commitments or to consult in a timely and meaningful manner.
- Promised to adhere to the terms of an unratified and inequitable strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II).

(Source: "An Evaluation of the Carter Administration's Defense Policies," prepared by the Defense Subcommittee, Republican National Committee's Advisory Council on National Security and International Affairs.)

EDUCATION: THE RECORD

- Public confidence in our schools is at an all-time low. Fifty percent of the American people believe that the quality of education is worse now than 10 years ago. (Source: Consensus, Inc. survey, March 1980)
- Scholastic Aptitude Test scores have declined steadily during Mr. Carter's term of office. (Source: Educational Testing Service)
- Despite Carter Administration promises that the creation of a separate Department of Education would require no new employees and cost no more than was formerly devoted to education programs...
- The Department of Education, by September 30, 1980, will include 157 more people than a year ago and 1,121 more people than two years ago in the agencies that now make up the new Department.
- Department of Education personnel compensation costs will rise \$50 million or 44 percent between fiscal years 1979 and 1981, contractual service costs will go up \$176 million or 51 percent and the budget for capital assets will rise \$298 million or 47 percent. (Source: Press Release, Senator William Proxmire, May 20, 1980)
- Federal paperwork will require educators to spend over 9 million man-hours or 50,000 man-years filling out forms during the 1980-81 academic year, creating a cost of more than \$70 million. (Source: Statement of Congressman John Ashbrook, R-Ohio, in the House of Representatives, February 28, 1980)
- Although Mr. Carter promised tax relief for parents who send their children to private schools and colleges, he threatened to veto such legislation after becoming President, and his opposition killed the Comprehensive Tuition Tax Credit Bill of 1978.
- Despite Mr. Carter's promises of expanded vocational and career opportunities, increased education for the elderly, and a nationwide consumer education program in schools, no initiatives in these areas have been taken by the Carter Administration.

THE FAMILY: THE RECORD

- Mr. Carter has been described as having, "the worst record for family issues of any president in history" by Paul Weyrich, head of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation; (Source:)
- The breakdown of American family life has worsened during Mr. Carter's term of office as evidenced by the following statistics:
 - In 1976, one child in eight was born out of wedlock; it's now one in six.
 - One child in seven was living in a single-parent household in 1976; the proportion has now become one child in five.
 - Children in foster homes numbered 350,000 in 1976; they now total 500,000.
 - Two of every five marriages ended in divorce in 1976; that ratio has not improved.
 - Nearly one-third of U.S. families could afford to buy a home in 1976; that share has plunged to less than five percent. (Wall Street Journal, May 1, 1980)
- Although Mr. Carter promised that,
 - "each federal program present a family impact statement, to analyze how it would affect the family." (Carter speech, Manchester, N.H., August 3, 1976),

no such initiative was ever enacted.

- Thirty-eight months after saying,

"we need a government that. . . makes its every decision with the intent of strengthening the family" (Carter speech, Manchester, N.H., August 3, 1976),

Mr. Carter announced he was creating an "Office for Families" within the Department of Health and Human Services, but no director for this office has yet been named, only one professional staffer has been employed, and no funds have been provided. (Wall Street Journal, May 1, 1980)

- Despite Mr. Carter's promise of

"soon after becoming President. . . to convene a White House Conference on the American Family." (Carter speech to the National Conference of Catholic Charities, October 4, 1976),

it was three and one-half years before the Conference began.

- Mr. Carter said in 1976,

"We have tax policies that often seem to descriminate against families." (Carter speech, Manchester, N.H., August 3, 1976)

Yet, the average family of four will have seen its federal tax burden increase fully 55.5 percent during Mr. Carter's four-year term (Joint Committee on Taxation) and now lose more than 27 percent of their gross income to federal taxation (Tax Foundation study, February, 1980)

FOREIGN POLICY -- THE RECORD

Mr. Carter's foreign policy has:

- Vacillated and produced an impression of inconsistency and incoherence.
- Pursued a course of conciliation and appeasement toward the Soviet Union.
- Ignored, until lately, the expansion of the Soviet Union and its surrogates throughout the Third World.
- Undermined our alliance system and the United States' credibility as spokesman for the free world.
- Confused the world as to the practical application of "human rights" policy.
- Emasculated our intelligence capabilities.
- Failed to stem the expansion of terrorist tactics throughout the world.

July 7

HEALTH CARE -- THE RECORD

- Despite his campaign pledge to implement a national health insurance plan, Mr. Carter has failed to carry out this ill-advised promise. Originally an advocate of a comprehensive, federally-financed, universal and mandatory national health insurance, Mr. Carter finally opted for a modified catastrophic coverage proposal that is yet to be enacted. (Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, March 8, 1980)
- Since Mr. Carter took office, health care costs have risen 44 percent overall, with hospital costs rising 43.3 percent; physician fees, 43.9 percent, and prescription drugs, 31.4 percent. (Source: Department of Health and Human Services -- Health Care Finance Administration)
- Failure to eliminate fraud, waste, and abuse from government health programs, particularly in the Medicare and Medicaid programs, cost the American taxpayer \$8 billion in 1979 alone. Millions more have been wasted due to poor management and administration. (Source: United States General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C.)
- Fraud committed by health care practitioners virtually continues unabated. Only 54 investigators were assigned to the Health and Human Services Department's fraud unit in Fiscal Year 1980; only 21 indictments were executed by that unit in 1979 while the number of actual convictions totaled only 17. (Source: Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Inspector General, Annual Report, March 1980)

HOME OWNERSHIP -- THE RECORD

- The number of American families who can afford to buy a home dropped from 27.5 percent in January 1977 to less than five percent in April 1980. (Source: Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs)
- Interest rates on conventional home mortgages have nearly doubled, jumping from 9.01 percent in January 1977 to 16.93 percent in April 1980. (Source: Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Office of Economic Statistics)
- The median price of a new home has increased 49.32 percent.
In January 1977, the median price of a new home was \$44,200. In May, 1980, the same home cost \$66,000. (Source: Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs)
- Housing starts have dropped 49 percent.
Since January 1977, housing starts fell from an annual rate of two million to 1.02 million in April 1980. (Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Construction Statistics Division)
- -Building permits issued fell 35.7 percent.
Some 1,400,000 building permits were issued in 1977 while only nine million permits are estimated to be issued in 1980. From January 1979 to April 1980 alone, building permits issued declined 52 percent, dropping from two million to 950,000. (Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Construction Statistics Division)
- Housing industry unemployment rate reached 15 percent.
The U.S. Department of Labor projects this rate will hit 24 percent in Fall 1980, with 1.6 million construction workers out of jobs.
- House sales declined 22.4 percent.
Houses sold in 1977 numbered 3,547,000 while 2,750,000 are estimated to be sold in 1980. From April 1979 to April 1980 alone, housing sales dropped 25 percent. (Source: Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs)
- Construction of rental multi-family housing has declined 15.2 percent, from 446,000 units in 1977 to 378,000 in May 1980. (Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Construction Statistics Division)
The Joint Economic Committee has projected that close to 9.4 million rental units will be required in the 1980s to meet the American people's housing needs.

July

INFLATION -- THE RECORD

Despite Mr. Carter's promise to strive "for an inflation rate of four percent or less *Stalics* by the end of the first term," since 1976 to the end of the first quarter of 1980:

- Inflation, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, rose from an annual rate of 4.8 percent to 18.2 percent. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)
- All consumer goods and services have risen by 40.6 percent.
It now costs \$1.40 to buy the same quantity of goods and services that \$1.00 could buy in 1976. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)
- Food prices have risen by 36.7 percent. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)
- Wholesale prices have risen by 40 percent. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)

Other indicators show that:

- Productivity growth has fallen from 3.5 percent in 1976, to 1.9 percent in 1977, 0.5 percent in 1978, 0.9 percent in 1979, an anemic 0.6 percent in the first quarter of 1980. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)
- Real GNP growth fell from 5.9 percent in 1976, to 5.3 percent in 1977, 4.4 percent in 1978, and 2.3 percent in 1979. In the first quarter of 1980, it dropped even lower to an annual rate of 1.1 percent. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)
- Savings from after tax incomes has fallen from an annual rate of 5.8 percent in 1976 to 3.4 percent in the first quarter of 1980.
This rate of savings is one of the lowest of Western industrialized nations. (Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis)
- Farm income (as measured in 1967 dollars) has fallen 20.3 percent. (Source: United States Department of Agriculture)
- Interest rates, as measured by the prime rate, rose from 6.8 percent in 1976 to a high of 20 percent in mid-April 1980.
This is nearly three times higher than the rate when Mr. Carter took office. The prime rate charged to small business rose even higher to about 22 to 23 percent. (Source: United States Department of the Treasury)
- The Stock Market, as measured by the Dow Jones Industrial Average, fell from an annual level of 974.9 in 1976 to 787.78 for the week ending April 26, 1980.
This is a drop of 187 points or 19 percent. (Source: New York Stock Exchange, Dow Jones and Company)
- Real Purchasing Power of the average worker in the private non-agricultural sector is five percent lower today than it was in 1967.
In the first quarter of 1980, the average worker saw his purchasing power shrink 6.5 percent per month. (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)

SMALL BUSINESS -- THE RECORD

- Small business bankruptcies have increased 48 percent since October 1979. ("Small Business Bankruptcies Rise After Credit-Tightening," Washington Post, May 15, 1980)
- An estimated 666,000 small businesses will fail in 1980. ("The Impact of Inflation on Small Business," Small Business Administration, May 1980)
- Small businesses have been forced to borrow money at rates upward of 22 to 23 percent, a 220 percent increase since January 1977. ("The Impact of Inflation on Small Business," Small Business Administration, May 1980, p. 9)
- Small business faces a 3.2 billion job and \$228 million sale loss in 1980. ("The Impact of Inflation on Small Business," Small Business Administration)
- Although small business accounts for 43 percent of the nation's gross national product, small companies received only 22.2 percent of federal procurement monies in 1979. ("America's Small Business Economy: Agenda for Action," Small Business Administration)
- Small business is now receiving less than 3.5 percent of federal research and development dollars. ("America's Small Business Economy: Agenda for Action," Small Business Administration)
- Federal regulations cost small businesses \$12.7 billion a year above and beyond their normal operating costs. ("Agency Says Government Paper Work Costs Small Business \$12.7 billion a Year," Los Angeles Times, January 4, 1980)

SOCIAL SECURITY -- THE RECORD

- The 1977 Social Security Amendments provided the American taxpayer with the largest peacetime tax increase in history. ("Congress Clears Social Security Tax Increase," Congressional Quarterly, December 17, 1977)
- The Social Security System now faces a long-term deficit of nearly \$800 billion. (House Ways and Means Committee)
- The Old Age and Survivors Insurance Fund, the largest of the Social Security Trust funds, will run short of money to meet benefit demands sometime in 1981, barring Congressional action. (House Ways and Means Committee)
- The maximum Social Security payroll tax on employees will have risen from \$965 in 1977 to \$1,975 in 1981, a leap of 105 percent in just four years. ("Social Security: Will it be There When You Need It?", U.S. News and World Report, April 30, 1979)
- Self-employed businessmen, professional people, and farmers face even steeper Social Security tax rises. By 1981, their maximum tax bite will have jumped 112 percent in four years. (Source: "Social Security: Will it be There When You Need It?", U.S. News and World Report, April 30, 1979)
- Payroll taxes would have to exceed 20 percent of payroll by early in the next century to continue the present financing system for Social Security. (Source: "The Social Security Deficit," Wall Street Journal, December 6, 1979)
- Mr. Carter has failed to live up to his promise to end Social Security benefit discrimination against women.

UNEMPLOYMENT: THE RECORD

--From the first quarter of 1979 through May 1980:

--the overall unemployment rate rose from 5.8 percent to 7.8 percent;

--the unemployment rate for adult men rose from 4.0 percent to 6.6 percent;

--the unemployment rate for adult women rose from 5.7 percent to 6.6 percent;

--the unemployment rate for teenagers rose from 15.9 percent to 19.2 percent;

--black unemployment rose from 11.4 percent to 13.9 percent.

Almost 3 million workers joined the ranks of the jobless.

(Source for above: Department of Labor, The Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 1980)

Three and one half years into the Carter Presidency, the nation's welfare roles show no significant change. Currently the number of recipients of AFDC benefits is in excess of 10 million with no prospect in sight for reversal.

Family Assistance Study Staff of HEW: AFDC expenditures

Published by the Office of Policy and the Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in Public Assistance Statistics.

URBAN POLICY: THE RECORD

Jimmy Carter's urban policy has been a total failure. By all estimates, the original fourteen point package introduced by the Administration in 1978 have been dropped, diluted, or merged with other programs. Those that passed will guarantee more bureaucracy, regulation and frustration.

First quarter figures from 1980 show that the unemployment rate is currently 6.6% in metropolitan areas and 7.7% in the central cities, with the unemployment level for blacks and other non-whites in central cities being 13.4% and the rate for teen-agers, 20.5%

Bureau of Labor Statistics: Office of Current Employment Analysis
Published by the Department of Labor in Employment and Earnings, April 1980, Table A-69.

Under Jimmy Carter, the number of assisted housing units placed under low and moderate income programs by HUD dropped from 517,000 in 1976 to 325,000 in 1979. In addition, the projected number of units for 1980 is only 240,000.

National Low-Income Housing Coalition
HUD Statistical Yearbook and HUD Budget Book

There has been an 11% increase in violent crimes nationwide in 1979 alone. Total crimes rose nationally by 2% in 1978 and by 8% in 1979. In both 1977 and 1978, there was a 2.9% increase in personal crimes in central cities.

FBI Uniform Crime Report: 1979 Annual Preliminary Release
Bureau of Justice Statistics: Victimization Rates
Published in Criminal Victimization in the United States by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service.

Judy original

WELFARE -- THE RECORD

During Mr. Carter's Administration:

- Spending on social welfare programs has increased by percent. Expenditures have risen from in Fiscal Year 1977 to in Fiscal Year 1981.
During the period Fiscal Years 1978-1981, just under \$1 trillion will be spent. More will have been spent for welfare programs during that period than was spent by the entire federal government from 1776 through 1956.
- Expenditures for Welfare as proposed in the Fiscal Year 1981 budget rose to \$298 billion, a 57 percent increase since 1977.
During the same period, defense outlays increased by only \$48.7. (Source:)
- From Fiscal Year 1978 to Fiscal Year 1981, Welfare Spending increased 46 percent while the federal budget as a whole increased by 36 percent. (Source:)
- Unemployment compensation has increased by 45 percent since 1977. (Source:)
An estimated \$18.7 billion will be spent for unemployment in Fiscal Year 1981. (Source:)
- Food Stamp Program funding has increased by 91 percent since 1977, from \$5.4 billion to a projected \$10.3 billion in Fiscal Year 1981. (Source:)
- The Supplemental Security Income Program has grown by 33 percent from \$5.2 billion in Fiscal Year 1977 to a projected \$6.9 billion in Fiscal Year 1981. (Source:)

from the desk of —

EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD

August 18, 1980

file:
attach
points
Serrano

TO: Tony Dolan

I thought the attached piece
from the Village Voice might be
useful.

White House stuff

Delegates! Clip and Save!

GREAT MOMENTS IN THE CARTER PRESIDENCY

By Peter G. Samuels

President Carter is in rare form these days, doing his own version of the "modified limited hang-out" with continual revelations, denials, and retractions in the Billygate Affair.

Carter's bungling and lack of judgement in dealing with Brother Billy's Libyan connection should come as no surprise. The years since the Democrats first gathered at Madison Square Garden to hear Jimmy Carter promise a presidency of competence and compassion have been notably short on either commodity. With the economy on the skids, the White House contradicting its own policies almost daily, and our allies on the verge of a collective nervous breakdown, Jimmy Carter appears afflicted with terminal ineptitude.

With the Democratic Party returning to New York, presumably to pass judgment on the last four years, it seems appropriate to recall some of the Great Moments of the Carter Presidency.

January 1977. Carter begins his administration with a widely publicized, nationwide talent search. The process turns up among others, Ham Jordan, Bert Lance, Jody Powell, and Griffin Bell.

Jimmy Carter also directs a sermonette to his aides: "I have asked my own White House staff to protect the integrity of their families," he says in a memo. "Those of you who are living in sin, I hope you'll get married. Those of you who have left your spouses, go back home."

February. Billy Carter Beer appears



KEN HAWKINS/STOMA

on supermarket shelves.

March. President Jimmy brings his populist style to the SALT talks. Ignoring compromises already concluded and a Russian penchant for negotiating in secret, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is dispatched to Moscow to publicly announce sweeping new disarmament proposals to his startled Soviet hosts. "Cunning trickery... a cheap and shady maneuver," is the predictably classy Russian response. Negotiations revert to square one.

April. Carter announces his comprehensive energy program, calling it the "moral equivalent of war."

May. One Carter campaign promise was to cut the White House staff by a third. When it's noticed that the staff has actually grown by 100, Carter explains that the additional help is needed to answer the mail.

June. UN Ambassador Andrew Young confides to a *Playboy* interviewer that presidents Ford and Nixon were "racists of sorts." Young later adds John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, and Abraham Lincoln to the list.

Also in June, the president is surprised to discover in a newspaper story that the United States is hard at work on a neutron bomb.

July. Carter tells women denied abortion funds by a Supreme Court decision that "life is unfair."

August. The president announces that he will remain a member of a segregated, Plains, Georgia, church, saying that he will work for change from within.

September. Budget director and Georgia crony Bert Lance resigns after being accused of improper practices during his days as an Atlanta banker. Before the



DENNIS BRACK/BLACK STAR

resignation, Jimmy Carter had announced to a White House press conference "Bert, I'm proud of you." In the spirit of Charles Colson, Jody Powell recklessly issues a false statement that Lance-critic Charles Percy had accepted improper corporate plane rides during a 1972 political campaign.

October. News reports explain why Jimmy sometimes has trouble keeping track of the big picture: he spends his day reading and annotating minutes of Cabinet meetings, even those he has attended, and once took 270 pages of tax legislation minutiae for weekend reading at Camp David. Later we learn that Carter personally controls access to the White House tennis courts.

December. How many presidents does it take to screw a light bulb? Jerry Ford forgot that Poland was a Russian satellite, and lost the 1976 debates and maybe the election as a consequence. Jimmy Carter does little better when he arrives in Warsaw accompanied by a translator who first assures the welcoming dignitaries that Carter understands Poland's "lust for the future," and then lapses into Russian.

January 1978. Hamilton Jordan begins the new year at a Washington bar, where after trading insults with a young woman, he allegedly spits his drink at her. Previously, the presidential assistant had reportedly stared down the dress of the Egyptian ambassador's wife and commented on the twin pyramids of Egypt. To fully utilize his evident gifts as a diplomat, the White House announces Jordan will henceforth play a key role in international affairs.

During the same month Philadelphia U.S. Attorney David Marston is fired by Attorney General Griffin Bell, at the behest of Carter who complains that Marston "doesn't do anything but prosecute Democrats." The firing follows a call to Carter from Congressman Joshua Eilberg (himself under investigation by Marston for fraud).

May. Media adviser Gerald Rafshoon joins the White House staff to help Carter get his message across to the American people. Presidential drug adviser-provider Peter Bourne resigns after he is caught writing a prescription under a fictitious name. On the way out, he tells the press about marijuana and cocaine use on the White House staff.

August. Midge Costanza, Carter's liaison with women, liberals, and minorities, quits as a special presidential assistant, citing differences in style. One example of this difference in style may have occurred when Costanza invited a gay activist to a White House meeting. "She's an idiot in public as well as private," commented one senior presidential aide.

October. The president tours Charlotte Street and the South Bronx to symbolize his commitment to urban America. Unfortunately for urban America, Carter's commitment is short-lived.

December. In a midterm interview, Carter reflects on how far he has come in two years in office. After all, he explains, when he was first elected he had to learn the names of all the countries on the map and what our relations with them were.

January 1979. An unregistered agent of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi, brother Billy takes time out from urinating against the wall of an Atlanta airport where he is waiting for Libyan friends to state that he wants a new era of Arab-American friendship. "There's a hell of a lot more Arabians than there are Jews," he sagely notes.

February. Carter responds to complaints by Mexican President Lopez-Portillo about American insensitivity by recalling his bout with "Montezuma's revenge," on an earlier trip to Mexico.

March. Andrew Young announces to the press that Ayatollah Khomeini is really a misunderstood "saint."

April. Swimming past Secret Service guards, a hissing killer rabbit attacks Carter while the president is canoeing in a Plains pond. Jimmy beats off the rabbit with a paddle.

June. While in Seoul Jimmy Carter attempts to convert to Christianity. President of Korea, Park Chung Hee. "I told him about our faith and he was interested," the president later reported.

July. When the president unexpectedly cancels a nationally televised energy speech at the height of the gasoline shortage and disappears to Camp David, doubts arise about his mental stability. Treasury Secretary Blumenthal places an urgent call to inform the president that his behavior has caused a plunge in the dollar's value. Blumenthal's call does not go through. An aide tells the treasury secretary that Carter is out walking his dog and cannot be disturbed.

With his new energy experts—pollster Pat Caddell, Gerald Rafshoon, and Rosalyn—Jimmy fashions his famous "crisis in confidence" speech, placing the blame for the country's ills squarely on the American public. Then, deciding that disloyalty among his aides might be equally to blame, Carter fires half his Cabinet and promotes Hamilton Jordan to Chief of Staff.

August. The State Department leaks information that 3000 Russian troops have been discovered in Cuba. Pushed by the Senate's demand that this grave threat to the nation's security be exterminated, and with visions of President Kennedy's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis undoubtedly dancing through his head, Jimmy boldly announces that the "status quo is unacceptable" and denounces the Russians as "liars" when they claim that their unit is on a training mission. Unfortunately for Jimmy's place in history, the Russians decline to leave. Never at a loss for words, Carter announces that the Soviets have given "significant assurances that



the troops would not assume a combat function..."; that is, the unacceptable status quo remains status quo.

September. Wobbling, moaning, and pale with exhaustion, Jimmy drops out of a six-mile race near Camp David.

October. At the urging of that great humanitarian Henry Kissinger, Carter permits the Shah to visit New York for medical treatment despite threats that the American Embassy in Teheran would be seized in retaliation.

November. The American Embassy in

Teheran is seized in retaliation. To demonstrate the strength of our democracy, the president suspends the right to demonstrate in the nation's capitol and initiates a massive program to deport Iranian students.

December. The Russians invade Afghanistan. Carter terms the Soviet move "the greatest threat to world peace since World War II," then responds by announcing a boycott of the Olympics.

January 1980. Angered by press leaks about administration foreign policy deliberations, Carter demands sworn statements of innocence from his secretary of state, national security adviser, CIA Chief, as well as other top aides.

February. Zbigniew Brzezinski visits a Pakistani military outpost in the Khyber Pass, where he is photographed peering through a gunsight at Soviet Military positions. He then assures cheering Afghan rebels that "God is on your side."

March. The United States votes in the United Nations to condemn Israeli settlements on the West Bank. Two days later (and after adviser Robert Staus explains the likely effect of the vote on the forthcoming New York primary), Carter announces that the vote had been cast by mistake.

On March 14, the president announces a new anti-inflation plan (the fourth in a year, by some counts) in a nationally televised speech. Understandably confused by running through so many contradictory economic programs, Carter forgets to read a page of his speech, containing key productivity proposals.

Carter ends this busy month by noting that he hasn't sent any American boys into combat overseas.



GAMMA LIAISON/ABRIS

April. Nervous American allies come to the support of economic sanctions against Iran on the promise that the U.S. won't use force to end this crisis.

Carter orders a raid on the American Embassy in Teheran. The mission is cancelled when helicopters malfunction, and eight American soldiers are killed in a collision.

The president announces that the crisis in Iran has been "alleviated" and lifts his self-imposed ban on campaign travel.

May. Carter should have stayed at home. In Philadelphia in his first post-Rose Garden appearance, Jimmy unexpectedly launches an attack on Cyrus Vance, whose resignation as secretary of state he had graciously accepted only a few weeks earlier. "I see Ed Muskie," says Carter "as being a much stronger and more statesmanlike senior citizen (sic) figure who will be a more evocative spokesman for our nation's policy..."

June. Carter states his "inclination" to prosecute Ramsey Clark for traveling to Iran to attend an anti-American conference. Attorney General Civiletti responds that the Justice Department will decide independently whether to seek penalties. Secretary of State Muskie says he would be glad to meet with Clark to discuss anything significant he had learned on the trip.

July. Senior Carter aides tell the press that even if Carter is not reelected this November, he'll run again in 1984.

incomplete mess

A P P E N D I X

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June 16, 1976

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"The first thing is to make Medicaid and Medicare delivery systems work..."

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Plains, Georgia
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September 3, 1976

"Only last week we learned that as much as \$7.5 billion of Medicaid is wasted or stolen every year."

--Statement Issued at Columbus, Ohio
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August 6, 1977

"This bill will go a long way to eliminating fraud in the administration of the health care programs of our country. It will shift to heavier penalties for those who are convicted of false claims...prohibiting those who are convicted of this crime from delivering any services in the future..."

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"Carter Pledges Action on Health Insurance"
Harry Bernstein
May 18, 1977

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July 1, 1979

"Domestically, the most significant challenge that I face is a high inflation rate, which is attributable in a major degree to the fact that after all these years we still do not have a comprehensive energy policy. And even after we have reached a crisis stage in energy supplies and inflation, the three major bills that will help to resolve the issues are still languishing in Congressional conference committees."

--New York Times
February 26, 1980

"So, I don't see any possibility of my supporting any move toward mandatory wage and price controls. There are other things that we can do. We are assessing a wide gamut of possibilities, and we're doing it very carefully and very cautiously. I would like to point out that the basic principles that we've espoused and the basic policies that we've espoused suit me fine; the tuning of those and the enhancement of those is something that we intend to do."

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February 26, 1980

Copy to
Bullock and
me

TO: Bill Brock
FROM: Barry Beringer
RE: Carter Debate History

1. 1970 Gubernatorial Campaign

- A. Carter refuses to debate Democratic Primary rival former Governor Sanders saying he didn't have the time. Yet he "often arrived at a place fifteen minutes before or after Sanders." (Betty Glad, Jimmy Carter In Search of the Great White House, p. 136.)
- B. Carter debates general election rival Republican Hal Suit. Carter finds the time to debate and even challenges Mr. Suit. (Ibid, p. 137)

2. 1976 Presidential Campaign

Carter, not as well known as many of his rivals, debates all comers both Democrat and Republican

3. 1980 Presidential Campaign

- A. November 1979, Carter says he will debate Kennedy-set date for Iowa.
- B. December 28, 1979. Citing events in Iran, Carter says he will not debate Kennedy.
- C. June 1980. Carter campaigns but still refuses to debate Kennedy.

(General Election)

- D. June 1, 1980. Carter says he does not want to debate Anderson. "I think it's ridiculous for an incumbent Democratic President...to debate two Republicans simultaneously who from the same philosophy..." (Los Angeles Times, June 1, 1980)
- E. June 11, 1980. Carter indicates he may debate Governor Reagan and others. Carter said he maintained an "aversion" to a three-way debate, but that "...whensome other forum is presented to me...I could debate both Gov. Reagan and other candidates even, who might be defined in some fashion...My own thought is that if any candidate is theoretically able to get a majority... by qualifying in enough states, that that may be one way to decide who might be involved in a debate and who might not." (Washington Star, June 11, 1980)
- F. August 23, 1980. Carter says he is willing to debate any candidate. "I am willing to debate any candidate who might even have a theoretical chance to be elected president. I am eager to let the issues be made clear and to let the people decide. But the thing I am most eager for is a clear, two-way debate between myself and Ronald Reagan so that the choice between

us can be made clear."

- G. Carter presently demands one on one debate with Reagan alone.

New book details Carter's frailties

AFTER THE 1972 Democratic convention Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn and Jody Powell and Hamilton Jordan and Charles Kirbo decided there was no reason why Jimmy couldn't go after, and win, the 1976 nomination.

The inner circle drew up a battle plan. Bert Lance suggested Jimmy read "The Presidential Character" by David Barber. Sister Ruth found "positive-active" traits in the book.

The family bought Jimmy a jigsaw puzzle of the United States so he would know where each state was.

I found this nugget in "Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House," a new book by Betty Glad, professor of political science at the University of Illinois.

Prof. Glad spent much of the past four years doing research on Jimmy Carter, his work, and his character. She has an academician's objectivity, and she must now be considered among the authorities on the subject of the current President of the United States.

I recommend the book, which is not written in a zingy popular style but is loaded with fascinating details about the life, work, and character of Our Leader.

We called Prof. Glad in Champaign.

SHE WAS WORKING on a research project in Washington in 1976 and decided to stop in Plains, Ga., on her way home. "I managed to get some press credentials and stayed for much of August," she recalled.

"What I saw was so fascinating I decided to stop what I was doing and go to work on this book.

"Plains was like a rural Camelot. Whatever problems Carter did reveal to the press were ignored. It was like magic . . . like Carter had already been elected President and was a great one. Yet we knew very little about him."

The Illinois professor talked with everyone. She drove on country roads to ask farmers about Jimmy. She hired someone to do research in Atlanta full time for a year. She poured over documents.

"The research showed me he was a spoils politician all along," she said.

"From the beginning his letters and memos said things like 'Let us take credit for these funds. . . .'

"I think Carter has a tendency to overestimate his virtues and political skills. He lacks a well-developed philosophy. He lacks a structure of where he's going . . . a set of externally anchored values.

"PEOPLE TOLD ME he was an extraordinary politician and had the qualities of greatness. And that was his own attitude, too.

"But nobody could run the kind of campaign he ran without being an astute politician and engaging in the spoils system.

"I don't think he's a standard politi-

Jack
Mabley



cian. He aspires to greatness, but he lacks something that would enable him to carry it off.

"Sometimes he's able to do extraordinary things. He feels he can go out and take risks. Sometimes it works. But he may take big risks that result in bad consequences. The world doesn't expect that from a modern, good administration.

"He has a drive to be extraordinary. He wants to go down in history as a great president. I think he thinks he already is a great one.

"He tends not to see the discrepancy between what he wants to be and what he is. He tends to elaborate on the past so he sounds stronger than he is. He said he was a nuclear scientist. Actually, he took some non-credit graduate work for one semester. That was the little seed for the claim. But he built it up to create an impression, and he began to think it was so.

"I HAVE MIXED feelings about the election. Like many Americans, I'm caught in an avoidance-avoidance reaction.

"I have strong reservations about Carter. I'm concerned about him as a leader, and I worry about his being a high-roller who's not aware of the extent of the risk he's taking.

"I guess I wrote the book because I want people to understand Carter. My goal was to get Americans to be less naive about politics.

"We can't believe politicians when they say they won't put their friends in, and that decisions will be made on merit. I wish Americans were more realistic. It would help us get better leaders.

"Carter has had high ambitions since boyhood. He always wanted to get to the top. He has enormous drive and manipulative skills. And he feels it's all justified because he is extraordinarily able and virtuous."

Prof. Glad said the book was due out two years ago but was delayed. She'd hoped now it would come out after the election and not be a "campaign book."

Whatever it is called, I think it will influence the campaign. It is 500 pages of details and observations such as: "His opposition to criticism suggests a need to be right, a need never to lose a point. On occasion, Carter's reactions to criticism even suggest rage at being questioned. When pressed hard, his eyes and face freeze and sometimes a vein on his forehead or temple visibly throbs as he reaches for defenses."