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Experience (foreign policy)

I just wonder what the American people think -- what America's allies think -- and what America's enemies think -- when they hear a Presidential candidate with no foreign policy experience

- propose slashing the defense budget;
- call for removing U.S. forces from Europe;
- call for removing U.S. forces from Korea;
- waffle on the B-1 bomber, an essential weapon in the strategic balance of power with the Russians;
- and, extend a friendly hand to the Communist Parties of Western Europe.

My reaction is to ask you to reassure the people by telling them who your Secretary of State would be. I agree it wouldn't be traditional to do so; but neither has it been an American tradition to run for President without any experience whatsoever in foreign or defense policy.



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DB/10-20-76

EMPLOYMENT

This Administration will never be satisfied if there is one American who wants a job but can't find one.



And I think the record of the past two years proves that. In 17 months we have created 4 million new jobs -- that's a record. That's more new jobs than in any peacetime period in American history:

- We've done it without a single combat job.
- We've done it without drafting a single person.
- We've done it while cutting inflation in half for the 88 million Americans who are working.

During the same time the people entering the work force looking for jobs has also expanded at a record rate. We'll meet our goal of ^{providing a good job for anyone who wants to work.} ~~2 1/2 million new jobs a year for them.~~ We know it can be done because we've done it.

Mr. Carter's drastic answer is the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill which will rapidly increase spending which can only result in higher inflation or higher taxes, or both.

Sure, every economic recovery has its pauses. But I think most Americans know the economy has been getting much, much better. I think most Americans are feeling good about America. And I don't think they want the kind of drastic change Mr. Carter seems to want.

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PEACE

As a young man entering public service, my inspiration was Senator Arthur Vandenburg who used to say: "It's easier to be critical than correct." Mr. Carter might think about that.

There is one overpowering truth about America today: We are at peace.

- And I will maintain our strength so we can stay at peace.
- We are at peace -- and no Americans are fighting and dying anywhere on this earth.
- We are at peace -- and ~~no Americans are being drafted.~~ *every American family knows what it means that there is no draft.*
- We are at peace -- and we are using our diplomatic skills and initiative to keep the peace.

Mr. Carter, with no foreign policy experience of any kind, can criticize. But I believe that most Americans are feeling good about this country. And one reason is that we are at peace and we're strong enough to stay at peace.

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FIRST ANSWER

[We suggest you directly and specifically answer the first question after repeating the essence of the question asked. You should try to do this in one minute.]

Mr. _____. That was a good question and I hope that I have given you a direct and responsive answer, and I hope that you will ask a follow-up question if you do not feel my answer has been directly responsive. However, (with a smile), before I give you another chance to fire away, let me make an additional point. There are 10 days left before the people must make the crucial choice of who their President will be for the next four years.

I challenged my opponent to these debates because I felt that we both had an obligation to present our differences on the issues openly and directly to the American people.

My performance is a matter of public record based on 27 years of service.

When the people make their choice on November 2 I expect to be judged on my record, ^{particularly} /~~partly~~ on my performance as President over the past two years and my vision for the next four.



But Governor Carter has no record of national experience. He has only the rhetoric of a two year campaign for the Presidency.

In this last debate may be our last opportunity to find out what Mr. Carter stands for and what he would do if elected President.

I hope each member of the panel will probe deeply into my record and my vision and into Mr. Carter's positions on specific issues.

I have kept the peace. How will he maintain peace while weakening our defense capability?

My proposals have resulted in an average of \$ _____ tax cuts for the average family. Who will pay increased taxes to finance Mr. Carter's performance?



TAXES

My proposals would cut the taxes for every middle-income family in America -- by raising the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1000. *The result would be a substantial tax cut for all families.* ~~The result for a family of 4 would be a tax cut of \$1,000.~~



Mr. Carter is all over the lot.

- He has said he would raise taxes on everybody making over \$13,000. Now he says he's changed his mind.
- He has said he wants to eliminate the mortgage interest deduction, which would raise the taxes on nearly every American homeowner.
- He has said he wants to close the tax loopholes on the very rich. But these are the very loopholes he has used on his own tax forms.

All of Mr. Carter's talk about tax reform is a shell game. His support of Humphrey-Hawkins, comprehensive national health insurance and the Democratic Platform, which he wrote, would vastly increase spending. That means higher taxes, not lower.

The difference is simple. Mr. Carter wants higher spending which will mean higher taxes. I want to control spending and give middle-income Americans a tax cut.

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Mr. _____, I hope you'll ask a follow-up question, if you want to.

At at the outset of this last debate, let me say this. I asked for these debates because I felt Mr. Carter and I owed the people a full presentation of our different positions. But with 10 days to go in this election, that hasn't happened. Mr. Carter has been running for President as long as I have been serving as President, but the people still don't know what he would do as President.

We know of little he did as Governor of Georgia. We know he has no foreign or defense policy experience at all. In his campaign and in these debates he has talked only in general terms. The moment of truth has come.

I hope he, and you on the panel, will both help make these debates successful by assuring the American people that specific questions get specific answers.

Mr. Carter wants to reorganize government -- but he won't say how. He wants to cut the defense budget, but he won't say how. He wants to raise spending and balance the budget, but he



Page 2

won't say how. He wants to reform the tax laws, but changes his specifics every day.

The American people deserve to know more than Mr. Carter has given them. That surely is what these debates are for.

I think my record is clear. It is a record of honor restored to the White House. It is a record of peace. Inflation cut in half. More new jobs than any peacetime period in American history. And tax cuts proposed for every middle income family.

After the comeback of the last two years, I think most Americans are feeling good about America. Mr. Carter promises to change things drastically. I think it's time for him to tell us precisely what he would do differently and how he would do it.



Page 2

When you remember the despair and recrimination of two years ago, it is an incredible comeback. The question now is whether we keep on this steady course to greater prosperity for all Americans -- or pursue an uncertain future ~~through~~ *with untested leadership.*
~~drastic change.~~

If we really are feeling good about America, then this election is vital. To stay on our steady course, I need your help. ~~To avoid drastic change,~~ I need your vote.

In the ten days remaining before Election Day I ask you to think about this country we love, to think about the importance of experienced leadership, to think about the kind of government best designed to assure the stable prosperity of each American family.

I am confident that your decision will be right for America.

Thank you.



Unemployment ANECDOTE

When the economic history of this period is written one of the highpoints will be a fact that has been little noted. In November and December of 1974, at my initiative the Administration and the Congress worked together in anticipation of the ~~next~~ recession. Together we fashioned a broadened ~~to~~ program of unemployment insurance that provided a safety-net for 12 million Americans that previously had no coverage -- ~~before~~
This action was taken before

unemployment rates shot up.
And as a result we avoided
what otherwise would have
been a disastrous social
problem. In my judgment,
this was government action
at its best -- anticipating
a problem, and dealing
with it. As I say,
~~then~~ when the economic
history of ~~this~~ this period
is written, this will be
noted as one of our
finest hours.



CARTER'S Attempt
TO REPEAL the LAWS of Arithmetic

Carter wants to straddle the issue of support of the programs in the Democratic platform and his goal of a balanced budget without tax increases by 1980. *On Septem*

On September 3, Carter said "~~if we are falling short of our goal to balance the budget, I will delay initiation of major new spending programs~~". *There will be no new spending programs implemented under my Administration unless we can be sure the cost of those programs is comparable with my goal of having a balanced budget by the end of my term.* (fill in exact quote)

On October 19 in Miami Beach he again supported "comprehensive national health insurance" with a start on the program ~~as if~~ he took office on January 20. But he again waffled on his commitment by inserting the loophole "as revenues permit".

Carter cannot have it both ways. No responsible estimate of the cost of comprehensive national health insurance is remotely consistent with a balanced budget by 1980 with no tax increase. Carter either supports or doesn't support the Democratic platform on major spending proposals. Carter either supports or doesn't support the achievement of a balanced budget by 1980 without a tax increase. Which is it?

insert **A**

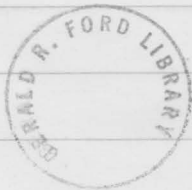


AG/10-20-76

Insert A

The American people understand
that when a politician promises
everything to everybody he
is really promising nothing at all.

~~to anybody~~ The American people
^{know}
~~understand~~ that a ~~promise of~~
~~no free~~ ~~taxes~~ it is nonsense
to promise not to raise taxes
one day, a balanced budget the next
and free health care the day after.



Reichley
10/19/76

If we hold down government borrowing, more money sources will be available for home mortgages at lower interest.

DEBATE TOPICS - HOUSING

~~My policy~~
President Ford aims to bring homeownership within the reach of every American family that wants to own a home and is willing to work for and save for it.

Homeownership will be increased through continuation of the ~~Administration's~~ anti-inflationary economic policies, and enactment of the President's request for a reduction in the personal income tax. Holding down inflation will cut mortgage interest rates, and slow the rise in construction costs. Reducing the income tax -- as recommended by the President, but rejected by Congress this year -- would put an additional \$200 annually in the pocket of the average American taxpayer, which he could use to help make a down payment on a home or pay mortgage interest. *with those monthly mortgage interest payments.*

While Sound economic policies are the basic answer to a growth in home ownership, ~~But the President has~~ taken further steps to aid families setting out to own their own homes. In 1974, the ~~Ford~~ Administration extended Government National Mortgage Insurance to cover conventional mortgages.

Last month, the ~~President~~ ^I ordered implementation of a new Federal guarantee program to lower monthly interest payments in the early years of homeownership and gradually increase them as family income rises. The ~~President has~~ ^{I also} called for changes in the FHA loan program to reduce down payments on lower-priced and middle-priced homes by as much as 50 percent.

For low income families, ~~the~~ ^{my} Administration has sponsored a rent subsidy program, ~~signed~~ ^{which I} into law by ~~President Ford~~ in 1974. This program gives low income families freedom of choice in selecting their own housing, instead of arbitrarily assigning them to vast public housing developments. This year, 400,000 families are authorized to receive rent subsidies. In fiscal year 1977, this figure will rise to 800,000 families.

Under no circumstances would ~~President Ford~~ ^{I ever} approve elimination of the income tax credit for mortgage interest payments, as was proposed by Jimmy Carter before a national television audience on February 23, 1976, *during a primary debate in Boston.*



CRIME

Q. Mr. President, in a recent speech in Detroit on crime, Mr. Carter accused your Administration of failure to take effective action against the rising crime rate and outlined his own plans in this regard. What has your Administration done about crime? And what could we look forward to under the new Ford Administration?

A. Well, first of all, let me talk just a little about Mr. Carter's speech. Mr. Carter has said, in fact, that if he is elected President he will solve the crime problem. Anyone who knows anything about America's Constitution or her history and tradition would know better than to talk like this.

Under our Constitution, and for the 200 years of our existence, the fundamental responsibility for law enforcement rests with State and local governments. We have no national police force in this country -- and I don't think the American people want one.

The proper role for the Federal government in the area of crime prevention is one of leadership and support, and this is what I have tried to provide during my tenure in office. Let me be more specific.

In my crime message to the Congress, I called for the enactment of a comprehensive criminal code to serve as a model for State and local governments to follow.

I called for mandatory minimum sentences for violent offenders, particularly those using guns, and for drug pushers.

I called for legislation increasing the number of Federal judges, and I increased the number of Federal prosecutors.

And I called for legislation to provide compensation for the victims of Federal crimes.

It troubles me to have to tell you that the Congress has done nothing on these recommendations. In fact, Congress has done virtually nothing at all to address the serious crime problem facing this country. Fortunately, we have been able to do some things without the help of the Congress.



For example, two years ago -- shortly after I became President -- I directed the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to develop a new Career Criminal Program designed to focus the attention of the criminal justice system on the professional criminal -- the repeat offender who makes his living through crime. This program is now operating in almost 20 States across the nation and it has had dramatic results. Over 95 per cent of those identified as career criminals have been convicted and sentenced to more than 20 years in jail.

Another area where we are making considerable progress is in combating drug abuse. I have personally met with the leaders of Mexico and other countries to let them know of my concern about the shipment of drugs, particularly heroin, from their countries to ours. I think these meetings have stimulated greater cooperation and we are now beginning to see reductions in the amount of "brown heroin" coming into this country from Mexico.

These are just two of the areas where we are making progress. There are more. And I think these efforts are beginning to have an impact throughout the country.

In the year in which I became President, crime increased 18 per cent over the previous year. After my first full year in office, the rate of increase had been cut to 9 per cent. For the first six months of this year, the rate of increase was only 3 per cent, and serious crimes -- rapes, murders, robberies and the like -- had actually declined for the first time in years. So we are beginning to see positive results. But I fully realize that we have a long way to go.

If the American people are going to beat this problem, and I believe we are, punishment for those who break our laws must be swift and certain. This is what I have been advocating. But I can't do the job alone, without the help of Congress. That is why I have stated that one of my top priorities next January will be the rallying of America behind Federal anticrime legislation. I realize that this legislation will not answer the crime problem, but it will be a good beginning.

*immediately
when Congress
returns*

completely



10-19-76

Reichley
10/19/76

DEBATE TOPICS - BLACK AMERICANS

~~President Ford~~ ^{my policies} essentially offers black Americans what ~~he offers~~ all other Americans: More jobs, equal opportunity, stable prices, better education, better health care, protection against crime, equal enforcement of the law.

The ~~President~~ ^I recognizes that blacks in the United States are still to some extent the victims of discrimination. ~~He~~ ^I am ~~is~~ determined, first of all, to stamp out vestiges of discrimination wherever they exist; and, second, to provide blacks with the means to get the fullest possible use out of their abilities and talents.

In carrying on the continuing struggle against discrimination, ~~the President~~ ^I sponsored and signed extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1975. The extended act was broadened to include protection for Spanish-Americans, Indians, and Asian-Americans -- who will now benefit from the same safeguards that were first successfully demanded by blacks.

The federal budget for civil rights activities next year will be \$3.9 billion -- up from \$2.9 billion when ~~President Ford~~ ^I first came into office. Funding for the activities of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has risen by more than 20 percent under ~~President Ford~~ ^{my Administration}.

Blacks, such as Secretary of Transportation William Coleman, hold many top posts in the Ford Administration -- not because they are blacks but because they are the individuals best qualified for their jobs.

~~The Administration's major domestic objective has been to foster the development of economic conditions under which blacks, along with all other Americans, can make full use of their personal resources.~~

We are not going to achieve full equality in this country until we have defeated the problem of unemployment. There is simply no way for government, by reaching into economic transactions all over the country, to eliminate completely the effects of past discrimination and current prejudice. Blacks will gain full equality when the economy needs full utilization of their energies and talents in order to function at top efficiency. Achievement of full employment depends on bringing inflation under control.

Inflation causes unemployment. Unemployment feeds discrimination. To conquer discrimination, we must wipe out inflation.

This does not mean that government must stand still in dealing with social problems until the war against inflation is won. ~~President Ford~~ ^{I have} has recommended programs for catastrophic health insurance, job incentives in areas of chronic unemployment, and low cost housing, which, when enacted, will give special help to those whose incomes have not kept pace with overall economic growth.

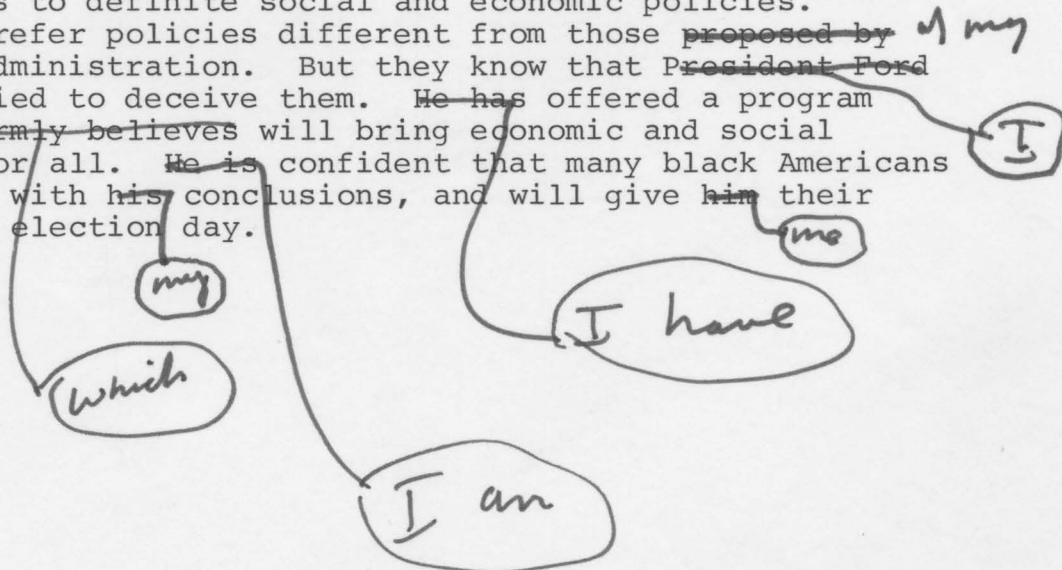
In addition, ~~the Ford~~ ^{my} Administration in two years has more than doubled loan and loan guarantee funding available through the Small Business Administration for minority enterprises.

With the return of health to the economy, ~~President Ford~~ ^{I have} has promised in the next four years to assign top priority to six "quality of life" issues: Jobs, housing, education, health care, law enforcement, and improved recreation opportunities -- all among the major interests of black Americans.

~~The opposition candidate for President~~ ^{Mr. Carter} has attempted to achieve rapport with black Americans by telling black audiences again and again that he "understands" -- while offering very little in the way of concrete programs to improve the conditions under which black Americans live. The time is past when blacks can be won by vague professions of "understanding," and emotional tokenism.

Black Americans -- like all Americans -- now demand firm commitments to definite social and economic policies. Some may prefer policies different from those ~~proposed by the Ford Administration~~ ^{of my}. But they know that ~~President Ford~~ ^I has not tried to deceive them. He has offered a program that he firmly believes will bring economic and social progress for all. He is confident that many black Americans will agree with his conclusions, and will give him their support on election day.

the votes of



ON BALANCING THE BUDGET

My opponent says that the ^{best} simplest way to balance the budget is to restore full employment, thereby increasing tax revenues and reducing unemployment insurance payments. Unfortunately, his view of how to increase employment and reduce deficits is through more government spending. You can't cure deficits by creating more deficits. It's like giving liquor to a drunk to make him sober. [You can't balance the budget through more deficit spending.] The only way to restore full employment and higher tax revenues is to stimulate the private sector by improving the confidence and incentive of Americans, both consumers and business, to invest in their future.

Perhaps ^{we} he should heed the advice of Prime Minister Callaghan who at a Labour Party Conference (9/28/76) said:

"We used to think that you could just spend your way out of a recession and increase employment by cutting taxes and boosting government spending. I tell you in all candor that that option no longer exists, and that insofar as it ever did exist, it worked by injecting inflation into the economy. And each time that happened the average level of unemployment has risen. Higher inflation, followed by higher unemployment. That is the history of the last twenty years.

"And each time we did this the twin evils of unemployment and inflation have hit hardest those least able to stand them -- our own people, the poor, the old and the sick."

TAX THE RICH

ASIDE FROM MY PROPOSAL OF A SIGNIFICANT MINIMUM TAX FOR ALL INCOME BRACKETS, I DO NOT SUPPORT ANY PUNITIVE OR UNFAIR TAX PROPOSAL ON ANY GROUP OF AMERICANS.

- 1) I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT WHATEVER THE LEVEL A MAN HAS REACHED ON THE ECONOMIC LADDER HE MUST HAVE AN INCENTIVE TO MOVE UP. I WAS PARTICULARLY TOUCHED BY SENATOR PASTORE'S FAREWELL REMARKS TO THE SENATE LAST MONTH. HE SAID, "KEEP THE TORCH OF OPPORTUNITY LIGHTED WHEREVER YOU GO."

WE MUST NEVER STRIP AWAY THE INCENTIVE FOR FAMILIES TO MOVE UP THE ECONOMIC LADDER.

- 2) A 100% TAX ON ALL INCOMES OVER \$50,000 WILL PRODUCE LESS THAN \$9 BILLION IN ADDITIONAL REVENUES. IT WOULD ONLY PAY FOR 4% OF MR. CARTER'S PLATFORM. EACH TAXPAYER SHOULD ASK HIMSELF --WHERE WILL THE OTHER 96% COME FROM? IF THE GOVERNOR IN SEEKING ADDITIONAL INCOME TO TAX DECIDES TO REACH DOWN INTO, ~~SA~~THE \$25,000 FAMILY INCOMES AS SOME OF HIS ADVISORS HAVE IMPLIED, REMEMBER THAT "MORE THAN SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE FAMILIES REPORTING INCOME OVER \$25,000 HAVE TWO OR MORE WAGE EARNERS IN THE FAMILY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT ^{Police men} COPS WHOSE WIVES TEACH SCHOOL, TRUCK DRIVERS WHOSE WIVES WORK AS SECRETARIES,



AND SO ON. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE HARDEST WORKING FAMILIES IN AMERICA. PEOPLE WHO SHOULD BE REWARDED, NOT PENALIZED FOR THEIR LABOR.

- 3) IF WE WANT JOBS, A PRODUCTIVE AND VIABLE ECONOMY, AND THE TYPE OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT WE NEED IN THE LONG RUN, SUCH AN UNFAIR TAX PHILOSOPHY IS EXTREMELY SHORT-SIGHTED AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. IN THE END, IT WILL BE THE POOR WHO WOULD SUFFER MOST.

10/19/76

~~DEBATE INPUT FROM STU SPENCER / DUKAK~~

~~RE: Compassion~~

Why the President is Compassionate

The President should relate ^{his} process for making budget decisions to the same steps a family goes through in allocating their limited funds.

The President, ^{you} having made his own way through life earning the money ~~he~~ needed to go to school, ^{etc.} and ~~running his~~ ^{you} early campaigns on a shoestring, did not have enough money to do everything for his family that they wanted.

^{you} Thus he appreciates the desires and the needs of people for any number of programs, ^{But just as your family has had to} ~~and probably would want to fund~~ ^{carefully live within your pay check, so must the Nation live} most of them if the funds were available. ^{within its means.}

However, the fact is that just as families have to choose and pick among the things they want to do and allocate their resources wisely, the President must do the same thing with the federal budget.



The President ^{you prepare} prepares the federal budget much the same way as a family prepares their budget. ^{You} He sits down with ^{your} his budget director and cabinet officers and discusses the many programs which are being advocated and then sets priorities based on the funds available.

Just like a family is unable to take all the vacations it wants or buy all the clothes it wants, so the President has to say no to ^{some of} ~~all~~ the programs he wants.

Jimmy Carter on the other hand, is promising all the programs without worrying about where the money is going to come from. ~~The President~~ ^{you} knows where it comes from —
It comes from people like ~~himself~~ ^{you} and ~~families~~ ^{you} who have had to work for every penny they ^{have} /to spend and who ~~always~~ ^{already} want more than the money they have to spend.
~~make~~ pay too much in taxes.

~~Art/Adapt~~ ON COMPASSION
~~Why Carter is NOT Compassionate~~

Some people say I am insensitive to the plight of the unemployed and the less privileged. Certainly that's not the way I feel. Some say I am not as adept as my opponent at the rhetoric of compassion. Perhaps that is because I believe that talk is no substitute for effective action. Compassionate words are soothing, but they don't get a job back for somebody who has been laid off. Words are nice - but they do not help pay the doctor when the family is confronted with a tragic illness.

I believe the American people are fed up with overblown promises and hollow rhetoric. They want policies which work, not ~~P. R.~~ → a politician's rhetoric.

My opponent seems to exude compassion for the world at large but not towards individual people. He is quick to call for this person or that person to be fired -- often without knowing the facts. He forgets that these are people: you don't irresponsibly rush to destroy careers and reputations. People have feelings and families. They deserve justice and true compassion, not meanness.

Comeback - Feeling Good

Mr. Carter has said he can't think of a single thing I've done as President. How about peace? How about 4,000,000 jobs? How about inflation cut in half? How about honor restored in the White House? I think Mr. Carter makes a mistake to belittle America's comeback. I think the American people are feeling good about America. And I don't think they want the kind of drastic change Mr. Carter represents.



DB/10-20-76

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