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FIRST ANSWER



[Answer specific question in one minute or less, then say:]

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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.

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He wants to reform the tax laws, but changes his specifics everyday.

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.

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first draft

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September 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: DICK CHENEY
FROM: DOUG BAILEY
SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON FREEDOM



1. People all think positively about "freedom."
 - a. They do not think of it as a license for promiscuity or deviation; they think of it as a protection from those who deviate.
 - b. They do not think of it as "laissez faire" for big business; they think of it as opportunity for individuals.
 - c. They see no noticeable difference in the use of the term whether it is used by Ford, Carter, Rockefeller or Kennedy.
 - d. Some good volunteered definitions:
 - "opportunity for choice among alternatives in my life."
 - "the ability to choose a way of life without harassment or restrictions except those imposed to protect the welfare of others."
2. "Freedom" may be the best word among the alternatives:
 - a. "Independence" seems to mean virtually the same thing.
 - b. "Rights" and freedom seem inseparable; virtually all people start their discussion of freedom with the Bill of Rights.
 - c. "Justice" is a trouble word. While essentially positive, it leads to criticism of current criminal justice system.
3. Freedom, while difficult to articulate, is seen as both a shared value and a very personal thing. Examples of lost freedom seem to be expressed in terms of very personal experiences: E.g. (all volunteered with probing)

- a. Freedom to choose the kind of job I want, rather than freedom of the unemployed. (Tie ins: job satisfaction, quality of the work place, portability of pensions -- as well as job opportunity for women.)
 - b. Freedom to be safe in the streets. (Tie in: by protecting rights of criminals we lose our own rights.)
 - c. Freedom to conduct our own lives without harassment. (Tie in: need for local permits to make home improvements, need for permits to use the parks, etc.)
 - d. Freedom to buy own home and meet own goals. (Tie in with inflation.)
4. There seems to be a perception that the concept of freedom doesn't really change -- but that since conditions change, we emphasize different freedoms at different times.
- a. For example, FDR's Four Freedoms (especially freedom from want) were not volunteered as an example of the concept of freedom. But when reminded, people remembered and stressed that they were all still needed today. But because conditions are changed they aren't at the forefront.
 - b. One conclusion: The phrase "new dimension of freedom" may not be quite right, because there are no new dimensions of freedom, there are only new problems to which the constant concept of freedom is applied. "A new generation of freedom" has no such problem.
5. The people's attitude toward today's problems in relation to freedom might be summarized as follows:
- a. They think FDR's Four Freedoms are still right, but tend not to be in the forefront of their minds because "want" is not their personal experience today.
 - b. They believe strongly that freedom from want is still a legitimate goal of society and government. They think government should protect the freedoms of the disadvantaged by helping them acquire the basic skills and opportunity to exercise their freedom.
 - c. They believe government has made progress in assuring freedom from want. But in the process the complexity of government and its bigness (also the bigness of labor, business, etc.) have imposed other restrictions on individual freedom. On the one hand, government restricts (paperwork, need for permits, etc.), and on the other hand, bigness leads to huge organizations of which they are a part but over which they have very little control.



In other words, there must be a balance and government in pursuing freedom from want may have gone too far in restricting individual freedom to control their own lives.

- d. At the same time, the people feel that society is experiencing progress (not complete yet) in expanding individual opportunity (for Blacks, women, etc.).
6. A warning: One reason there seems to be no difference between the people's perception of the meaning different political leaders give to the word freedom is that it is one of those values so commonly shared they expect all politicians to use it. (They particularly expect Carter to use it -- without defining it.) Use of the term without giving it definition can seem empty, vague and predictably (and disappointingly) political.
 7. A recommendation: With specifics and history, "a new generation of freedom" is right. An outline of thoughts to be included:
 - a. The historical context.
 - (1) Our basic genius as a nation has always been to recognize the new imperatives of freedom which new conditions required. Each generation has extended freedom to the realities of its time -- slavery, Black opportunity; agrarian society to industrial society; women's suffrage, 18 year vote; Bill of Rights to Lincoln's rebirth of freedom to FDR's Four Freedoms.
 - (2) This election as turning point in history: two centuries ended, third to begin; Vietnam and recession and Watergate behind us, more confident future before us; best of the New Deal achieved but its imperatives of freedom are incomplete to meet the needs of this generation.
 - b. Today's imperatives of freedom.
 - (1) Freedom from want. While New Deal goal of economic security for all has been achieved for most, we can never rest while some are without jobs or safe housing or fit schools. We must honor our commitment to secure for all the basic skills and tools which make each individual's freedom of opportunity real.
 - (2) Freedom of equal opportunity. We have made progress in recent years. Discrimination



against Blacks and women and minorities has diminished. But we have a long way to go. Statistics on unemployment among Blacks. Statistics on discriminatory laws against women.

- (3) Freedom in our individual lives. In securing freedom from want and pursuing freedom of opportunity, we have fostered a bigness in business, labor and government which has circumscribed our freedom to seek quality in our individual lives: Government restrictions on individuals, paperwork, permits, taking decisions to Washington rather than leaving them at the local level, bureaucracy and its indifference, etc.

c. Specifics in each category.

- (1) Freedom from want: Articulate definition of jobs program; commitment to basic skills for disadvantaged.
- (2) Freedom of equal opportunity: Equal Rights Amendment; something for Blacks and Spanish-speaking.
- (3) Freedom in our individual lives: Specific reform of bureaucracy for the taxpayers; end of embargoes for farmers; local control of education for bused children; right to privacy for homes; control of inflation for elderly; something for those who want their own home; tougher courts for law-abiding; open politics for voters; government to be proud of for the young; open parks for all; etc.

The approach is solid. It is new. But one key will be to provide at least one really new specific to give the "laundry list" some substance. Either that, or some broad hints at 2 or 3 new things. Despite that need, this is still most valuable because it gives us a context within which to describe existing programs.



Debate Thesis: "Winning the debate" will result from the President seeing it not as a contest with Carter, but as an opportunity to communicate with the people, regardless of what Carter does. The goal, therefore, is for the President to know exactly what he wants to communicate and to do so -- without trying to influence what Carter does.

Basic Strategy: The dominant fact of the debate will be that it is not between two candidates but between one candidate and the President. Everything said, done and projected by the President should emphasize that fact. If the President is consistently, persistently presidential, Carter (no matter what he does) will not measure up.

Guidelines:

- 1) The President should always stand, never using the stool. He should show relaxed confidence (eager to answer questions; always attentive to, but never surprised by, what Carter says; takes notes when Carter is making strong point; ignores the cameras, always assuming they are on him).
- 2) By and large, the President should ignore Carter -- in the sense of bring intent on communicating his own message. He should refer to him as "Mr. Carter." He should avoid any direct conversation with him -- and comment on Carter's answers only when they provide a chance to hit one of the major points on the attached chart.
- 3) The attached chart lists the seven points to be made, the type of question or comment which can be used to make them, and some memorable summary lines on each. Every question, comment, or time period should be seen as an opportunity to hit one of these points.
- 4) The President should not "nitpick" or "bicker" or "pick on" Carter. That is not presidential. Any reference to Carter or to a Carter answer should show his own understanding and command of the Presidency. Hence, the "key lines" on the attached chart. The President should never directly attack Carter unless he is attacked first -- and even then he should be "above the battle." For example, it is appropriate to be "sad over use of partisan attacks in these historic debates
- 5) The President should not seem defensive about his own record. For example:
 - a) Don't try to prove a questioner wrong; state that he is wrong.
 - b) Don't ~~state~~^{cite} statistics in strong areas (e.g. inflation); simply state that the people know that progress has been made.
 - c) In weak areas (e.g. pollution, cities) ~~state~~^{cite} a few statistics to show the major effort being made -- but don't dwell on the subject.
 - d) After a brief response, virtually any question can be turned to one of the major points on the attached chart.
- 6) The President should not ~~state~~^{cite} Congressional anecdotes. He should always be presidential by referring to the past two years.
- 7) Every answer should contain a "people" reference (e.g. "there is nothing more discouraging than wanting to work and not finding a job" -- "most families I know are tired of living with the fear of crime).



Basic Message to Communicate

1. America's two year recovery has been extraordinary. Sometimes we forget how bleak things looked two years ago. But we've gone from Vietnam to peace, from economic fear to a feeling of confidence, from betrayal by our leaders to mutual trust with our leaders, from recrimination to a spirit of pride. It's been an extraordinary recovery that shows how strong America really is.
2. With recovery of peace, economic stability and trust we can enter a new generation of freedom -- starting a new century with a renewed commitment to freedom.
3. There's a difference between a President and a candidate for President. A President feels responsibility for all the people. He can't evade issues. He must make tough choices. A candidate tries to make everybody happy. A President must lead.

When to Use It

- Questions on accomplishment, economic record, changes since Watergate, etc.
- Question on the pardon.
- Question on why you should be or want to be elected.
- Carter comment on "no leadership."
- Question on or discussion of goals or future.
- Questions on priorities
- Issues such as busing, government reorganization, equal rights, crime, education.
- Whenever subject matter allows discussion of balanced budget, or seems critical of non-spending in various areas, or proposes new spending.
- Whenever Carter is vague or self-contradictory.

Key Lines to Use

- "Mr. Carter says we've had no leadership. What I've tried to provide is a new kind of leadership -- strong in protecting the people's rights, but a little less frantic, a little less strident, a little quieter than past years. I think it's helped bring about an amazing American recovery in the past two years; and I'm proud to be a part of it."
- "FDR's Four Freedoms are still valid. But today we must also seek freedom from government restrictions in our lives -- freedom from Washington in our lives."
- "We all want justice in our courts. But how about justice for law abiding citizens to feel free from the fear of crime on our streets."
- "A candidate can promise the sky one day and a balanced budget the next. But a President can't be all things to all people. He must make tough choices. He must lead."
- "There is no button in the Oval Office marked 'maybe'."

Basic Message to Communicate

defensive

~~While signing a bill is more satisfying than vetoing it,~~ whenever Congress adds to the inflation burden, the President has no choice but to veto it. I've done it 56 times, and I'm going to keep right on. Economic stability for every American family is priority #1.

- 5. I'll never be satisfied if there is one willing worker who can't find a job, but the unemployment statistics are misleading. Two years ago workers were being laid off; that's not true today. More are working than ever before. And one reason the unemployment statistics are high is that more are entering the job market than ever before. One measure of our recovery is that more people have found jobs in the last two years than in any two years in history.
- 6. Our economic problems have come from Vietnam, Congressional spending, and zig-zag economic policies by previous presidents. Our economic recovery has come from a steady and even policy which I believe should be continued.
- 7. There is one policy decision I think I would make differently with hindsight. Except under extraordinary circumstances embargoes on farm trade are wrong. That won't happen again.

add war

When to Use It

- Any veto discussion.
- Any spending discussion.
- Any discussion of the economy.
- Any Carter criticism of unemployment going up.
- Any criticism of too slow an economic recovery.
- Any Carter proposal for new economic incentives or programs.
- Any question on agriculture.
- Any question on doing things differently.
- Even a question on whether the



Key Lines to Use

- "The mandate I seek will, I believe, be seen as a mandate for the Congress too. The people want economic stability above all. That has been my goal. My election will help the Congress see that it should be their goal too."
- "Surely Mr. Carter understands why vetoes are necessary. As Governor of Georgia he vetoed his own legislature 138 times in four years. ↑ ?
- "No American President will ever rest while there is one willing worker who can't find a job. But in pursuing jobs, no American President should make the mistake of backing spending programs which through inflation threaten the earnings of the ~~28~~ million Americans who are working."
- "Candidates live by the press release -- a new proposal for every problem everyday. A President needs to set a stable course and pursue it day in day out. That may not be good politics, but it's what leadership is all about."
- "George Meany was wrong on the farm embargo. And in hindsight I think I was wrong to listen to him. Freedom for the farmer means freedom to sell his crops." ?

Doug Bailey

Post debate - Family should be there.

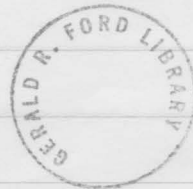
P should write down at beginning
six (?) points he must make.

~~Dick - I raise~~

[Dick - I raise w/ key stuff;
Points I should make.]

One point

+ Carter generalities - nothing
specific; no past performance;
want him to in this debate



September 30, 1976

TO: Dick Cheney
Bob Teeter

FROM: Doug Bailey

SUBJECT: Foreign & Defense Policy Debate.

The President's major opportunity to win the election is in this debate. Accordingly, while the "presidential" character of the first debate should be maintained, it will be important (and appropriate) for the President to be aggressive from the opening bell.

1. Basic Strategy. There is peace. And Carter has no experience. Those two points, repeated over and over, can generally destroy any Carter argument.

e.g.: "This debate is between a man without two minutes experience in formulating or executing foreign and defense policy and the first President since Eisenhower to be able to say this country is at peace."

e.g.: "Mr. Carter's call for U. S. troop reductions in Europe and Korea shows his inexperience. Those steps must be the result of negotiations with our allies in which their commitments are sought to match our troop cutback. Mr. Carter has naively played all his chips before even getting to the table."

e.g.: "I will keep Secretary Kissinger. The people know my team. Because Mr. Carter has had no experience at all, I hope he will tell the people in this debate who his Secretary of State will be, who his Secretary of Defense will be. The people have the right to know who will be running the country's foreign policy."

and defense

(This is my nominee for the lead statement, putting Carter on the defensive from the outset. The President must be prepared to comment on his choices if he names them: Brzezinski -- no government experience; George Ball -- of the Rusk, Bundy, Rostow group; Henry Jackson -- does he want a \$7 billion defense cut?)

e.g. "Mr. Carter last July proudly said he had never met an American President. Now he has. But has he ever met a Secretary of State? Or a Secretary of Defense? Or, more important, a foreign Secretary of an ally -- or a head of State, friend or foe?"

e.g.: "Mr. Carter in our first debate said he couldn't think of anything I've done. Well, quite aside from 4,000,000 jobs and cutting inflation in half and restoring trust to the White House, I would hope Mr. Carter has noticed that this country is at peace. To suggest that that is not an *American* accomplishment simply underscores his lack of experience in this area."

2. Other points to hit hard on.

- a. 5-7 billion budget cut. "It's misleading to promise to re-organize government but not say how. It's irresponsible to promise to reform taxes but not say how. But it's truly dangerous for an inexperienced man to promise to cut \$7 billion from the defense budget but not say how."
- b. B-1 bomber. "Mr. Carter's indecision on the B-1 bomber reflects either his inexperience or evasion or both. I think it's important for Mr. Carter to make up his mind and tell the people where he stands. There's no button in the Oval Office marked 'maybe'."
- c. Radio Free Europe. "Mr. Carter is quite proud of having written the Democratic Party Platform. Why did he omit any mention of Radio Free Europe? I assume it isn't indifference to the people of Eastern Europe? Or is it lack of experience again?"
- d. Grain Sale Embargo. "The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which Mr. Carter supports, would restrict the right of the American farmer to sell abroad. I oppose any such restriction. Because I insisted on a U.S./Soviet agreement I now cannot foresee any circumstance in which an embargo on trade would be justified."

OK in our Platform

3. Some strategy reminders.

- a. Avoid the Republican vs. Democrat language. Even the fact that each of the last 4 wars began under Democratic Presidents is better said by naming the Presidents rather than their Party.
- b. Avoid citing "Congressional experience." Rather: "It's been my responsibility for 25 years to know the details of the nation's defense budget."
- c. Henry Kissinger is unpopular only on the far extremes. And a heavy attack on him can always be thwarted by asking Carter who he would appoint, given his own inexperience.



- d. "Open diplomacy" does not have a broad constituency. "It shows Mr. Carter's naivete and inexperience to think that national security treaties can be negotiated publicly."
 - e. Peace is the answer to any criticism. "Mr. Carter's criticism makes it sound as if this country is at war rather than at peace. As far as I am concerned, peace with freedom is the only valid test of a nation's policy. That's exactly what we have."
 - f. Even in the foreign area, it is unwise to claim credit for the last 8 years -- only the last two. If we claim credit in one area, we may have to accept blame in other areas.
4. A Clincher Point. At any point in the debate, when Mr. Carter mis-states facts or policy or seems vague, an effective comment might be: "Mr. Carter may wish to revise what he just said. I think it's important that both of us realize that in addition to the 100,000,000 Americans watching tonight, 200,000,000 more people are watching throughout the world, including many foreign leaders. I'm sure Mr. Carter would not wish the Kremlin to think that he is uncertain whether America needs the B-1 bomber." (Or: "I'm sure Mr. Carter would not wish our allies to think we would withdraw troops without discussing the subject with them carefully.")



[ca 9/20/76]

Bailey
Memo

Debate

After reviewing all practice transcripts and tape, we think a few minor adjustments would be helpful, for maximum impact:

1. If possible, please call him "Mr. Carter" rather than "Governor Carter".
2. Please try to avoid talking about "Republican" and "Democrat".
We should want this to be a debate between the two men.
3. If you can, whenever you express opposition to spending, add that the reason is that it either produces higher taxes or greater inflation.
4. Please be careful not to use too many examples of your recommendations which Congress hasn't acted on. After a while it can sound like you aren't effective.
5. In rebuttal to Carter, it isn't necessary to comment on each and every issue he raises. Sometimes it's better not to get into the issue itself, but rather to comment on the vagueness or contradictions of the answer, (e.g., right-to-work, where the point was not your position but his vagueness.) To help, here are three short comments, which when appropriate can be both strong and sufficient:



-- "As a candidate, maybe Mr. Carter can afford to be vague or uncertain. A President, however, must make tough yes or no decisions. There's no button in the Oval Office marked 'maybe'."

-- "I've noticed that Mr. Carter has a tendency to answer the same question a little differently to different audiences. A President doesn't have that luxury. A President's State of the Union Message must read the same way in Texas as it does in New York."

-- "A candidate for President can always choose to promise the sky one day and a balanced budget the next. I think Mr. Carter's campaign can be described that way. A President has to be a little more responsible than that. When he sends his budget to the Congress, it's all got to add up; he can't just leave the bottom line blank."

6. Finally, please try to see every question and rebuttal as an opportunity to communicate one of the six basic strategic points:
 - a. The extraordinary comeback of the last two years.
 - b. 4,000,000 new jobs in the last 17 months is more new jobs than any similar period in U.S. history.

- c. 56 vetoes have protected Americans from inflation -- and you're going to keep on vetoing.
- d. Quality of life agenda for the future.
- e. You are running on the record of the last two years -- even though Mr. Carter would obviously prefer to run against your predecessor.
- f. Carter the candidate for President vs. Ford the President.

Candidates can be vague; Presidents must make tough decisions.

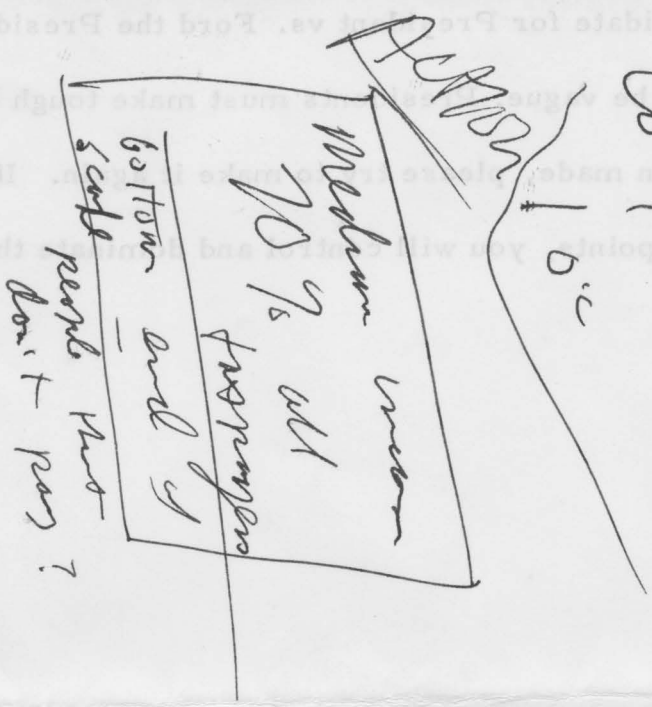
(Once a point has been made, please try to make it again. If you concentrate on these points, you will control and dominate the debate.)



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Debate Thesis: "Winning the debate" will result from the President seeing it not as a contest with Carter, but as an opportunity to communicate with the people, regardless of what Carter does. The goal, therefore, is for the President to know exactly what he wants to communicate and to do so -- without trying to influence what Carter does.

Basic Strategy: The dominant fact of the debate will be that it is not between two candidates but between one candidate and the President. Everything said, done and projected by the President should emphasize that fact. If the President is consistently, persistently presidential, Carter (no matter what he does) will not measure up.

Guidelines:

- 1) The President should always stand, never using the stool. He should show relaxed confidence (eager to answer questions; always attentive to, but never surprised by, what Carter says; takes notes when Carter is making strong point; ignores the cameras, always assuming they are on him).
- 2) By and large, the President should ignore Carter -- in the sense of bring intent on communicating his own message. He should refer to him as "Mr. Carter." He should avoid any direct conversation with him -- and comment on Carter's answers only when they provide a chance to hit one of the major points on the attached chart.
- 3) The attached chart lists the seven points to be made, the type of question or comment which can be used to make them, and some memorable summary lines on each. Every question, comment, or time period should be seen as an opportunity to hit one of these points.
- 4) The President should not "nitpick" or "bicker" or "pick on" Carter. That is not presidential. Any reference to Carter or to a Carter answer should show his own understanding and command of the Presidency. Hence, the "key lines" on the attached chart. The President should never directly attack Carter unless he is attacked first -- and even then he should be "above the battle." For example, it is appropriate to be "sad over use of partisan attacks in these historic debates.
- 5) The President should not seem defensive about his own record. For example:
 - a) Don't try to prove a questioner wrong; state that he is wrong.
 - b) Don't ~~sign~~^{cite} statistics in strong areas (e.g. inflation); simply state that the people know that progress has been made.
 - c) In weak areas (e.g. pollution, cities) ~~sign~~^{cite} a few statistics to show the major effort being made -- but don't dwell on the subject.
 - d) After a brief response, virtually any question can be turned to one of the major points on the attached chart.
- 6) The President should not ~~sign~~^{cite} Congressional anecdotes. He should always be presidential by referring to the past two years.
- 7) Every answer should contain a "people" reference (e.g. "there is nothing more discouraging than wanting to work and not finding a job" -- "most families I know are tired of living with the fear of crime).

Basic Message to Communicate

1. America's two year recovery has been extraordinary. Sometimes we forget how bleak things looked two years ago. But we've gone from Vietnam to peace, from economic fear to a feeling of confidence, from betrayal by our leaders to mutual trust with our leaders, from recrimination to a spirit of pride. It's been an extraordinary recovery that shows how strong America really is.



2. With recovery of peace, economic stability and trust we can enter a new generation of freedom -- starting a new century with a renewed commitment to freedom.

3. There's a difference between a President and a candidate for President. A President feels responsibility for all the people. He can't evade issues. He must make tough choices. A candidate tries to make everybody happy. A President must lead.

When to Use It

- Questions on accomplishment, economic record, changes since Watergate, etc.
- Question on the pardon.
- Question on why you should be or want to be elected.
- Carter comment on "no leadership."
- Question on or discussion of goals or future.
- Questions on priorities
- Issues such as busing, government reorganization, equal rights, crime, education.
- Whenever subject matter allows discussion of balanced budget, or seems critical of non-spending in various areas, or proposes new spending.
- Whenever Carter is vague or self-contradictory.

Key Lines to Use

- "Mr. Carter says we've had no leadership. What I've tried to provide is a new kind of leadership -- strong in protecting the people's rights, but a little less frantic, a little less strident, a little quieter than past years. I think it's helped bring about an amazing American recovery in the past two years; and I'm proud to be a part of it."
- "FDR's Four Freedoms are still valid. But today we must also seek freedom from government restrictions in our lives -- freedom from Washington in our lives."
- "We all want justice in our courts. But how about justice for law abiding citizens to feel free from the fear of crime on our streets."
- "A candidate can promise the sky one day and a balanced budget the next. But a President can't be all things to all people. He must make tough choices. He must lead."
- "There is no button in the Oval Office marked 'maybe'."

Defensive

Basic Message to Communicate

4. ~~While signing a bill is more satisfying than vetoing it,~~ whenever Congress adds to the inflation burden, the President has no choice but to veto it. I've done it 56 times, and I'm going to keep right on. Economic stability for every American family is priority #1.

5. I'll never be satisfied if there is one willing worker who can't find a job, but the unemployment statistics are misleading. Two years ago workers were being laid off; that's not true today. More are working than ever before. And one reason the unemployment statistics are high is that more are entering the job market than ever before. One measure of our recovery is that more people have found jobs in the last two years than in any two years in history.

6. Our economic problems have come from Vietnam, Congressional spending, and zig-zag economic policies by previous presidents. Our economic recovery has come from a steady and even policy which I believe should be continued.

7. There is one policy decision I think I would make differently with hindsight. Except under extraordinary circumstances embargoes on farm trade are wrong. That won't happen again.

When to Use It

- Any veto discussion.
- Any spending discussion.
- Any discussion of the economy.
- Any Carter criticism of unemployment going up.
- Any criticism of too slow an economic recovery.
- Any Carter proposal for new economic incentives or programs.
- Any question on agriculture.
- Any question on doing things differently.
- Even a question on whether the



add war

Key Lines to Use

- "The mandate I seek will, I believe, be seen as a mandate for the Congress too. The people want economic stability above all. That has been my goal. My election will help the Congress see that it should be their goal too."
- "Surely Mr. Carter understands why vetoes are necessary. As Governor of Georgia he vetoed his own legislature 138 times in four years. ↑ !
- "No American President will ever rest while there is one willing worker who can't find a job. But in pursuing jobs, no American President should make the mistake of backing spending programs which through inflation threaten the earnings of the 28 million Americans who are working."
- "Candidates live by the press release -- a new proposal for every problem everyday. A President needs to set a stable course and pursue it day in day out. That may not be good politics, but it's what leadership is all about."
- "George Meany was wrong on the farm embargo. And in hindsight I think I was wrong to listen to him. Freedom for the farmer means freedom to sell his crops." ?