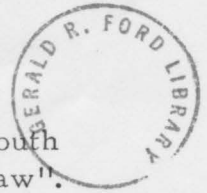


The original documents are located in Box 26, folder “First Debate, 9/23/76: Q & A Briefing Sheets” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Pres. Ford
you have indicated your support for
Q. ~~Mr. President,~~ the Republican platform^{which} states "A youth differential must be included in the minimum wage law". Do you intend to request such legislation of the next Congress should you win on November 2?



F/Q. If a "youth differential" is enacted, what will be the impact on the unemployment figures and to what extent will jobs for youths simply replace existing jobs for adults?

Q. Your opponent favors banning Saturday night specials and the registration of guns. What is your position on gun control and registration?

F/Q. How does this square with your proposed crime legislation that calls for registration of hand guns?

Q. How would you propose to reform welfare and the other transfer payment programs in HEW which are such a mess?

F/Q. Governor Carter has said that every leader wants welfare reform so the only explanation of why we don't have new laws is the lack of leadership from the White House. How do you respond?

Q. Why do you oppose National Health Insurance when most polls show 60 or 70% of the American public support it? Many middle income families have their savings wiped out by medical costs. What will you do about this if elected?

F/Q. What will your proposal do to stop the rising cost of health care and medical insurance?

Q. What are the main challenges facing the country for the next four years?

Q. Which of Nixon's policies do you support and with which do you differ in your approach to solving the nation's problems?

Q. You oppose forced busing, quota systems, and integration of housing by federal projects, yet you support the concept of an integrated society. How do you see the federal role in redressing years of discrimination against blacks and other minorities?

F/Q. Polls show blacks voting overwhelmingly for Governor Carter. Can you give them any reason to vote for you?

Q. Why do you want to be President for these next four years? What do you want to accomplish?

Q. ~~Part of the problem facing our cities is the flight of business and of white middle class residents to suburbs. What are you doing to save our cities, to encourage business to stay in cities and to make cities safe, desirable places to live?~~

F/Q. Do you think urban areas should get back in federal benefits an amount proportional to their contribution in tax payments?

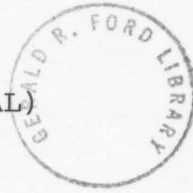
Q. Why are you trying to cut-off GI benefits at the end of eight years?

Q. What policies have you recommended or plan to recommend which will come to grips with the tragedy of 40% black teenage unemployment?

✓ Q. You have made energy independence a high priority -- yet little seems to be happening. Imports ^{higher than 1974 - prices higher} continue to rise. How do you plan to attack this problem? Have you discarded your policy of allowing oil prices to rise sharply?

- Q. Our central cities continue to deteriorate. The taxpayers continue to leave the city and the welfare load is threatening to bankrupt many of our municipal governments. You have steadfastly held to a laissez-faire philosophy. Will you continue down this road as our cities cease to become capable of being lived in?
- Q. Why have you made abortion, which is a personal, moral decision, a political issue? Isn't this a cheap, political move?

LIST OF KEY DEBATE QUESTIONS (GENERAL)



1. You have said that this election presents the American people with a real choice. What are the specific differences between you and Governor Carter?
2. Isn't it true that your domestic and economic programs (just like your foreign policy) are essentially an extension of the Nixon Administration policies?
3. In summary, what will you do differently over the next four years, if elected, than you have done over the past two years?

Q. The Republican platform supports a youth differential in the minimum wage to solve the youth unemployment problem. Do you support this position?



A. I have long felt that our minimum wage legislation should provide the means for an employer to pay a bit less to young people in order not to curtail job opportunities for this age group. This is what the platform calls for and I agree with it.

There is at the same time much legitimate concern, that a minimum wage differential would be used to substitute low wage youth for older workers with family responsibilities. Recognizing this concern, the Secretary of Labor is already authorized under present legislation to grant differentials in a wide variety of apprenticeship, student and youth programs.

Approximately 550,000 persons presently are authorized to be employed below the minimum wage under this exemptions authority, and as many as one million youth are employed in industries where the minimum wage requirements do not apply at all. This represents a very significant increase over previous years.

DON

Follow
up

Q

Oh really, Mr. P, wasn't it the Congress that saved us from a deeper recession or even a depression.

Followup: It seemed to me when you called for a tax increase in September 1975 and then a few months later asked for a tax cut you were either a victim of poor advice or you were not able to understand the economic forces in place at the time. Please comment?

(2) Mr. President, we are more dependent on foreign oil than ever before, why were you unable to convince the Congress of the urgent necessity that they pass your legislation?

Followup: Isn't there some point at which you should refuse to compromise and stick to principle?

(3) Some have commented that because of your experience as a House Minority Leader you are an inveterate compromiser, that you have been unable to make the transition and act like a President. May I have your response?

Followup: Mr. Carter has suggested that you are timid and dormant. Is this fair and what will you do to exert more forceful leadership in the next four years?

(4) Do you think there are other measures you might have taken that would have made a bigger dent in unemployment than has been the case?

Followup: Is a 6% inflation rate something to boast about? Even at the rate of three percent a workers savings would be cut in half over a 25-year period. Don't we need to do better? Just how do you intend to bring the inflation rate down to an acceptable one?

(5) Mr. President you have talked about our third century as "the century of the individual." But isn't rampant individualism at the bottom of some of our most serious social ills? I refer to the plight of the elderly, neglected wives and children, ~~rampant sexual gratification~~ *the problem of blacks and other minority groups* Does there not need to be more emphasis on cooperation, consideration, loyalty and self-denial?

Followup: Realistically, isn't all this talk about the family, neighborhood schools, abortion just the stuff of politics?

For Mr. Carter:

(1) I am interested in your sudden interest in the problem of inflation. Is this the result of polling information?

Followup: Can we expect that if you are elected, policy will be determined by polls rather than principle?

(2) I wonder what you hoped to achieve through that Playboy interview. Were you trying to tell us you are one of the boys, a regular fellow?

*I doubt
will be
asked*

Followup: I found it shocking that you have on the one hand gone about this nation preaching love in noble terms and then in this one interview you managed to degrade love in such vulgar terms. Please comment.

(3) Mr. Carter, in the Democratic platform and in your acceptance speech you embraced a number of expensive programs. Now you have backed off from them. Did you not realize that these proposals would cost billions of dollars?

Followup: Will we see throughout this campaign a conservative Carter one week and a liberal Carter another week?

(4) The budget for the State of Georgia is about $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent of the Federal budget. There are more employees in the VA alone than there are residents in the State of Georgia. Isn't your experience thin for the job of President?

Followup: You have recited your accomplishments reorganizing the Georgia government. Your successor has termed it a nightmare. Aren't you exaggerating your accomplishments?

(5) Governor Carter on your very first campaign swing you excoriated the Ford Administration for the breakdown in family life. Realistically isn't the erosion of family values rooted in broad social and cultural trends, including the "Playboy Philosophy?"

Followup: If you agree with the above premise, what can any President do to reverse such trends?

Elizabeth Drew

For the President:

(1) Mr. President, aren't these new programs you announced campaign rhetoric?

Followup: If these programs are so desirable, why are we just now hearing about them?

(2) I too am concerned about all your vetoes, don't you think we could have avoided a lot of human suffering and be further along out of the recession, if you had not vetoed all those bills?

Followup: Given the roller coaster economy for the past few years, isn't it time for a change?

(3) We really have made little progress domestically these last few years. We have been through the terrible trauma of Watergate, recession and inflation. Shouldn't you and your party take responsibility for all of these maladies and don't you deserve defeat?

Followup: While you may divorce yourself from Watergate, aren't you following Nixon's economic policies?

(4) Black teenage unemployment is at 40 percent. Recently we saw in Detroit some disturbing implications of this. What is your Administration doing that will effectively cut this huge rate and offer these youngsters some hope for the future?

Followup: Do you really think the measures you outlined are adequate? Does Mayor Young agree?

(5) Mr. President much of what you have described as achievements are nothing more than a holdup action. Can a dynamic, huge nation like the U. S. continue in such a holding pattern?

Followup: But your policy of no new programs means no progress. Please comment.

For Mr. Carter:

(1) I took offense at your Playboy interview. I thought your remarks degrading and an insult to Americans who have had quite enough insults from the Oval Office. Whatever were you trying to accomplish with such vulgar talk?

Followup: Weren't you really using God to tell some people you are a regular guy?

(2) Mr. Carter in 1970 you ran for governor as a segregationist. Once elected you became a liberal. In your campaign you run as both conservative and liberal, how can the voter know what you will do if you are elected?

Followup: Don't these campaign tactics make you something of a windsock responding as the wind blows?

(3) Mr. Carter, you have reversed yourself on so many issues that you have created great unease in many voters minds. Can you tell us how you reach decisions on policies and what influences you?

Followup: If you do pursue such a logical and methodical process to arrive at positions, why do these positions shift so rapidly and so often?

(4) I note that there are no women in your campaign high command--just the good ole boys. Does this mean women will play a small role in your administration.

Followup: If you have all these women in a talent bank, why is it you have not enlisted them in positions of responsibility in your campaign?

(5) There are many startling resemblances in your campaign from strategy to staff to the Nixon campaign in 1968. Does this mean we are going to have another insular White House with all the attendant dangers if you are elected?

Followup: You say there is no resemblance--that your staff has high morals etc. When the Nixon people came to Washington they had high morals too. Why should the voters not be wary of a repetition of Watergate?

PERSONALITY

Mrs. Carter said that at first she didnot believe her son when he told her one night in 1973 that he was going to run for President, "I thought he was kidding, but Jimmy has a vein in his forehead that throbs and throbs when he's excited. I saw that vein relly working, so I knew he was serious."

TEMPER

Says Chip: "Dad's got a vein in his temple and it just starts pounding. He can be laughing and everything and his temple will start pounding and youknow it's time to leave."

Women's Wear Daily
July 7, 1976

STUBBORNESS

As a friend of Carter said yesterday: "Jimmy hates to have his motives questioned or misunderstood."

New York Times
July 13, 1976

QUESTION: -- You have been accused by many who say that your economic policies are not directed at people's problems.

ANSWER: -- On the contrary, ~~when you look at statistics~~ and when you make economic policy what you become acutely aware of is that under the the statistics are people and when economic policy affects the statistics it's people who are being effected.

For example, soon after I became President it became quite apparent that the weakening in the economy was being caused , to a very substantial extent, by the fear and uncertainty which gripped the ^{individual} average family in this country. Our inflation statistics showed a 12% rate of consumer price inflation overall. But what this meant to the housewife was an accelerating increase in prices at the supermarket, sharply increasing rents, medical costs, utility costs and the like, and great concern about how the family was going to be able to make ends meet with an uncertain acceleration in inflation

eating into the average family paycheck. Moreover, in many homes, ~~in addition~~, the sharp rise in layoffs created still greater fear that although the family bread winner may well still have been gainfully employed, people were being laid off right and left and the sense of job security, the sense ^{that} ~~of~~ the paycheck ^{might not} ~~would~~ continue to be coming in, increased the caution of the average family. What this meant is that the grave uncertainties that confronted the average family were causing a sharp curtailment in their purchases of cars, homes, big ticket household items; anything which in effect could be postponed.

This was showing up in the statistics in a major fall in consumer buying which in turn was undercutting the economy.

As a consequence, it was clear that the major policy that we'd have to implement overall was to bring down the uncertainty-generating-inflation, an inflation which clearly, because it curtailed consumer purchases, was destroying jobs ~~and~~ feeding on itself and creating uncertainty and fear amongst America's families.

What has ^{my Administration} ~~this~~ economic policy ^{accomplished} ~~done~~? It's cut the inflation rate more than in half, and while the average housewife is still concerned about prices ~~rising~~, prices at the supermarkets have flattened out and overall the rate of inflation is half or less of what it was when I came into office. We still have a good long way to go, but let's not forget ^{the} ~~that~~ progress has been made in this particular area, very important progress.

As a consequence, we now have found, first a gradual and more recently a much stronger restoration ^f ~~of~~ confidence families have with respect to their future^s. They are now buying passenger cars at near record levels, they've started again to move to buy homes at a rate which is a major improvement, but as I ~~have~~ indicated in my speech at the University of Michigan, still not what I would like it to be. Nonetheless, it's becoming increasingly apparent that the American family is now willing to again invest in ^{its} ~~the~~ future of ^{and} ~~the family to~~ show for the first time in quite a number of years a growing sense of confidence in the future of the American economy.

This is what I believe my economic policies have generated. We have a long way to go but I think we are now well on the track toward success. The success shows up in the statistics but much more importantly, it shows ~~itself~~ up in the evident increase in confidence that individual families feel ^{towards} about their future.

5/21

Goldwin

National Journal Questions

*Dual
for debate briefing*



1. Q. Have the Presidency and the powers of the President been significantly altered in the post-Watergate period (as a result of Vietnam, the civil rights disturbances of the 1960s, the Watergate scandal and disclosures of other governmental improprieties and the Nixon resignation)?

A. There has been no substantial change in the basic powers of the Presidency. The powers to execute the laws and to make appointments are, for instance, largely unimpaired--and the veto power is obviously, still available for effective use. But there can be no doubt that Vietnam, Watergate, and the present two-to-one Democratic majority in Congress affect, at least temporarily, the influence of the presidency. The President is the only member of the government elected by all the people. Anyone--Gerald Ford or anyone else--who becomes President by a constitutional process, rather than by a nationwide election, must naturally expect to find some unusual obstacles placed in the way of his exercise of authority until he has been elected in his own right.

Since assuming office in August 1974, I have made significant progress in restoring trust in the Presidency. My Administration is more open, diverse, and consultative. There is increased access. Cabinet officers have more responsibility for formulating policy and for running their own Departments. And the Administration has tried to observe constitutional and legal restraints to the letter. We are, I am convinced, well on the way to restoring the full confidence of the American people in the Presidency.

2. Q. Assuming there have been changes, do you believe they are of a lasting or transitory nature?

A. Every President puts his own stamp on the Presidency. It is the most personal office in our government. The character and working style of the President strongly influence his conduct of his office. But most of the changes I have made will last as long as I am, or some future incumbent is responsive to the people and energetic in leadership,

capable of sustained thought and action, and aware of the place of the presidency in a balanced constitution--that is, considerate of the proper role of the Congress and the courts.

Congress has recently made some unwise changes in constitutional balance, which harm the nation by trying to limit presidential authority. These changes will not endure because the good sense of the American people, and of an increasing number of members of Congress, will soon swing the pendulum away from congressional curtailment of constitutional and essential Presidential powers.

3. Q. The conventional view is that Congress is bent on reasserting its authority; is it? And how?

A. After recent events, and more than forty years of fairly steady growth of executive power, some congressional self-assertion was to be expected. It is natural for Congress to attempt to assert influence over foreign and domestic policy. But Congress is not now simply reasserting lost authority. It is engaged in an unprecedented effort to direct, in detail, through prior restrictions and after-the-fact legislative "vetoes," the execution of our foreign policy. This is a confusion of executive and legislative roles which is harmful and dangerous while it lasts, but it will not last.

There is a built-in tension in our political system between the Congress and the Executive. Throughout our history the pendulum has swung back and forth, correcting the imbalance whenever excessive power develops in either branch. Sometimes, and the present situation is unfortunately an example, the pendulum swings too far the other way. In its recent efforts to correct Executive abuses, the Congress has made inroads on the executive power. But, as I have said, the good sense of the people and of many Members of Congress will correct this new imbalance.

4. Q. If it is, how has this affected your Presidency and the course of your proposed policies?

A. It is difficult to conduct a consistent foreign policy that serves the long-run interests of the nation when the Congress involves itself in the daily conduct of foreign affairs. Recent Congressional involvement

with assistance to Angola, sales to Turkey, Soviet emigration and trade, and legitimate foreign intelligence activities all worked out very badly and illustrate that everyone loses when Congress begins to encroach on executive powers and limits too narrowly executive discretion. Executive steadiness and flexibility are undermined. Partial interests influence policy at the expense of the public interest. And Congress is able to devote less attention to the many important matters for which it has primary responsibility.

5. Q. More specifically, do you think the War Powers Act and the establishment of the congressional budget committees inhibit or restrain presidential action or have any impact at all?

A. I have reservations about any effort to manage by detailed legislation, rather than by traditional political restraints, the relations of the President and the Congress in matters of war and peace. Clearly something had to be done to check Congress' propensity to spend without measuring one program against another, against an overall budget, or against revenues. The Budget Act has brought these considerations to the attention of the Congress. Will it help to give more coherence and restraint to the difficult budget decisions Congress will have to make later this year? Will the War Powers Act restrain Presidents from making ill-considered commitments which lack sustained public support as hoped, or will it, rather, cause our policy to be timid, hesitant, and erratic when it should be bold, decisive, and consistent? It is too soon to tell, in my opinion. The unintended and unforeseen consequences of legislation are often the most important.

6. Q. Can Congress realistically compete with the White House in the formulation and promotion of public policy?

A. When there is a strong public consensus for a new initiative, or when the nation is sharply divided over some clear public issue, the Congress can play a significant part in formulating or changing public policy. Most of the time, however, the Congress reacts to Presidential initiatives. Focused energy is at hand in the White House, under the Constitution, and this gives impetus and direction to our policy-making process.

7. Q. Do you think the anti-Washington theme underscored by some presidential candidates is a legitimate issue? If not, why not?

A. Experience is the best teacher--for people who are good learners. I try to benefit from experience, not become its prisoner. In the primary campaigns, the anti-Washington theme has been associated with the mistaken notion that experience and intimate knowledge of the Federal government are not assets for a President. This is nonsense. A President who does not know the workings of the machinery of government will be ineffective until he learns its intricacies.

When criticism of defects of government get transformed into anti-government talk, they go too far. Under our system of liberty, government exists to secure our most important rights. We shouldn't talk of it as something loathsome, but as one of our most valuable national treasures.

We know that government can be too strong for the liberties of the people. But liberty is also in danger when government has too little power. A government that is indecisive, flounders in bureaucratic confusion, and does not enforce its own laws, is too weak to protect the rights of citizens or to provide a strong defense against foreign dangers.

8. Q. How does it differ, if it does, from your criticism of "big government"?

A. There is no doubt that the Federal Government has grown too big in its reach and interferes in many things that are not its business. We need to restore the proper limits of government by reducing the inflated expectations of what can be accomplished by government spending and government regulation.

Rather than running against Washington, I have run in favor of positive policies designed to reduce the growth of government spending and regulation, and protect and enhance liberty at home and abroad. I have spoken of the specific abuses by the Federal Government which endanger liberty and have proposed realistic programs, such as deregulation, block grants, and budgetary restraint. You have a better chance of getting rid of abuses and strengthening the beneficial powers of government to protect our liberty if you know how the government works.



WHY YOU SHOULD BE ELECTED



Question: Can you give four or five important reasons why the American people should vote for you on November 2nd.

Answer:

One: my performance in Office. In the past two years, inflation has been cut from over 12% to under 6%. More Americans have gone to work in the last 18 months than in any similar period in our peacetime history. America is finally at peace once again, and trust and faith have been restored to the White House.

Number two: experience. I have had the privilege of serving the people of Michigan and the people of the United States for over 27 years. I have dealt first hand with our national and international challenges. (I might add that over the past 60 years, the American people have never elected a President who had virtually no experience with national and foreign affairs of our nation. I don't believe that this is the year to break tradition).

Number three: specific, reliable programs for the future. I have laid out a specific set of policies and programs to restore full prosperity and keep America at

peace. It's on the record for all to see. (I believe that the voters deserve more than smiles from a candidate, more than cleverly chosen words; they need specifics, and I've got them.)

Number four: candor and trust. In the last two years, we have tried to make candor and trust the hallmarks of this Administration. As I said in my inaugural address, truth is the glue that holds the nation together. The American people can count on me for reliable, honest leadership, and I think they know it.

ENERGY



- Q. You have been in office for two years, and we still don't have a national energy policy. Have you failed in the energy area?
- A. In my first State of the Union Address, I laid before the American people a comprehensive program that would make this Nation free from the threat of embargo and substantially more self-sufficient in energy by 1985.

Although I've had to deal with a Congress that seems to more often consider their own short-term political benefits more important than the long-term welfare of our people, after a year and a half they have begun to act on my proposals. We now have just about one-half of the program that I proposed in January 1975.

The program provided for measures which would substantially decrease our consumption of energy and increase the production of U.S. energy. This is not only important from a national security standpoint, but it's important in my mind to put Americans to work producing American energy rather than transferring American dollars to oil producing countries for the benefit of their people. I'm delighted to see that Congress now is coming around to my proposals, and I'm confident that next year we'll be able to get the Congress to complete the necessary action.

Zarb
9/17/76

URBAN PROBLEMS



Q. Mr. President, the Democrats say you don't care about the cities. What is your urban program?

A. First, I represented a city of 200,000 -- and I have a strong personal feeling for all Americans who live in cities.

Second, the first law I signed as President was the Community Development Act, which took power away from the bureaucrats and returned it to the people in the local community to resolve their community problems.

Third, the biggest single thing done for cities in this century is Federal Revenue Sharing. This meant help to all cities and all communities for police, firemen, for other essential services. It kept your property taxes from going higher.

I was one of the first sponsors of revenue sharing, and I was the leader of the side of the House that provided more than half the votes to pass Revenue Sharing.

In the interest of laying out all the facts, I think it is fair to point out that Governor Carter is quoted in the Atlanta Constitution of January 12, 1973, as saying: "I think revenue sharing is a big hoax and mistake."

Well, I strongly disagree with that. Without revenue sharing, property taxes would probably go up in every community of the country.

A fundamental problem of our cities is jobs -- permanent jobs.

Good jobs is what we need to help our cities. I asked Congress last January to join me in providing an incentive to create jobs in those cities with the worst unemployment. But Congress refused to act.

Finally, there is the problem of crime. Law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility, but the Federal government must do more to help -- particularly in getting the habitual criminal off the streets and in jail. We must make our streets and our neighborhoods safe again.

WELFARE REFORM

Q. Mr. President, you have been in office for two years. Why haven't you cleaned up the welfare system?

A. The answer to that question is that Congress has blocked every major reform that my Administration has attempted by legislation and by executive action.

My policy follows exactly what I believe: We should, within the limits of our resources, help those who are truly in need.

But we should not use \$1 of the taxpayers money to support those who are not in need.

For example, a few months after I came into office, I directed the Secretary of Agriculture to make certain administrative reforms in the food stamp program. But both houses of the Congress passed a law blocking that action.

Last October I submitted to the Congress legislation to reform this important but widely abused program. Congress has not yet taken action.

Last February I again directed the Secretary of Agriculture to make reforms. This time the courts have blocked action.

In my last State of the Union Address, I asked Congress to work with me to clean up the nation's welfare programs. But Congress has refused and refused to reform welfare programs that are outdated and inadequate, programs which are unfair and invite abuse.

I want to help those truly in need. I want to stop wasting badly needed resources, but Congress and the courts have prevented this.

I shall ask the next Congress to clean up the nation's welfare programs. But until Congress acts, we cannot make the reforms we need to help those who should be helped, and stop the waste and abuse.

ENERGY

Q. It seems to me your Administration has been defending big oil companies and higher prices. Why?

A. That simply is not correct. There are those who would demagogue the issue of petroleum industry organization without in any way examining the real causes or needed solutions to our energy difficulties.. Those same people would try to convince the American people that there is a cheap and easy way out of our energy difficulties.

My Administration has simply attempted to lay the hard, cold facts on the table so that we could get on with a realistic solution.

We have not only dealt with all of the issues related to the conservation and production of American energy -- we spent a considerable amount of time working internationally so as to create a climate in the Mideast which has reduced the possibility of political embargo and encouraged responsible attitudes on the part of those in oil producing countries which have resisted price increases by OPEC in the last year.

Zarb
9/17/76



Q. Why are your economic policies not more concerned about people ?

A. What more serious economic problems can people have than 1) to be without a job or 2) to have a job but to have inflation wipe out your earnings.

My policies have produced 4 million new jobs in the last 17 months -- more than in any similar period in the history of the United States.

My policies and 55 vetoes -- have cut inflation in half.

The American people -- from the blue collar workers to the farmer to the housewife -- know this Administration cares about people because they know how far this country has come since its dark hours two years ago.

They remember worrying about being laid off 2 years ago. For most Americans those worries have disappeared today.

I think most Americans are more and more confident about their future. And, I think they should be, if we stay on the same course we've been on.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 7, 1976



TO: DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

D/hja

For your information _____

Comments:

I think the attached Q&A
should be given to the Presi-
dent before he is subjected
to any questioning by the
press.

Q. Mr. President, according to news reports, Jimmy Carter will seek your advice on how he should address you during the debates. How do you want to be addressed? As "Mr. President", as "Mr. Ford", as "President Ford"?

A. How Mr. Carter addresses me is up to him.

M.D.
9/7/76

- Q + A
1. Mr. President there has been extensive discussion of regulatory reform but not much progress. Why not?

To the contrary, we have made significant progress in this area. For example:

- We have repealed the Federal fair trade laws which made consumers pay high prices for goods at retail.
- We have increased civil and criminal penalties for antitrust violations to ensure more effective competition.
- We have permitted competition in the setting of stock brokerage fees for the first time in 200 years.
- We have reduced ICC regulatory controls over railroads for the first time since the creation of that agency in 1887.
- We have reversed the trend of growing Federal paperwork requirements. In the last year, we have reduced the number of Federal forms by 12.5 percent and will reduce by 5 percent or seven million hours the time spent by American citizens filling out Federal forms.
- We have made special efforts to see that Federal policymakers consider the full effects of their actions on the American public. Eighteen months ago, I required all Federal agencies to analyze the inflationary impact of their actions before issuing new regulations.

My own meetings with both the independent regulatory agencies and those in the Cabinet departments led to their setting targets for improving their performance. In the hands of capable new Chairman of the FPC, SEC, FTC, and CAB, the Commissions have reduced regulatory delays and costs, and have begun to eliminate unnecessary regulations. In fact, the greatest progress has been made by my appointing to the Commissions a number of distinguished public leaders who have kept the pressure on to reduce unnecessary regulations.

2. Is more legislation necessary? Does Congress have a role to play in continuing government regulation?

I have proposed other fundamental reforms to the Congress but unfortunately they have failed to act. Proposals to reform regulations governing our airlines, trucking firms, and financial institutions were submitted during the last session of Congress. In May of this year, I sent up the Agenda for Government Reform Act which is essentially a master plan for subjecting all government regulations to a systematic reexamination and reform over the next four years. These bills have been awaiting congressional action for months -- some of them for more than a year. I believe the American people have a right to expect their Congress to be more responsive than that.

3. Mr. President, you have been talking a lot about less regulation on the one hand but you have signed into law national building codes for energy, regulation of medical devices, etc. Aren't you being inconsistent?

We have pushed vigorously for less Federal regulation in areas where regulatory controls have been used to suppress competition. In particular, we have looked to ways to effect a better balance between regulation and competition for achieving our economic and social goals.

In some areas, more regulation can be justified, particularly in health and safety matters where consumers are not able to make informed choices. Their use of certain medical devices is an example. In addition to relying on more regulation in these cases, we have also tried to strengthen existing controls so that they will better achieve their goals at less costs to the economy. Task Forces set up under my direction in OSHA, the FEA, and the Export Administration for example, have been probing these agencies for new ways of achieving their statutory mandates at lower costs to everyone concerned.

4. Mr. President, you are for making regulation more responsive to the consumers but opposed to a consumer protection agency. How do you reconcile this conflict?

There is no conflict in these positions. I have encouraged our regulatory agencies on several occasions to improve their regulatory practices in order to ensure that they operate in the consumers best interests. These agencies

were created to protect consumers and they have that as their most important responsibility. If they are not serving that need, they must be changed. I have sent to Congress bills on banking, airlines, surface transportation and fair trade to change our governments practices when they no longer meet consumer needs. I believe it would be a cop out to create a new agency to work for consumers, because it would acknowledge that our original "consumer" agencies serve other interests. I recommend the Congress get on with the job of passing the bills I have sent up there which deal with the fundamental problem of excessive and protectionist regulations and not look for the easy way out which always seems to be more government.



Q: Mr. President, in retrospect, do you think the embargo on grain exports to the Soviet Union was correct?

A: I believe the decision needs to be viewed in the context in which it was made.

Admittedly, if we had it to do over, we would have done some things differently. For example, I believe we left the embargo on a month longer than was needed.

But, as for the initial decision to hold up sales after we had made the first sales of 10 million tons, I think we had no choice. If we had not acted, I believe the maritime unions or the Congress would have imposed something worse on the farmers.

George Meany and the maritime unions were threatening to stop all shipments to the Soviets, including the 10 million tons that had just been sold. We felt they had the power to do that.

As for Congress, they were threatening to put farm grain export sales under control of a government board. More than 70 Democrats co-sponsored a bill that would have done just that. This would substitute government action for private action. Mr. Meany and his labor union leaders wanted the same. This included Senator Mondale who called for imposition of a strict export control license (S.513 2/3/75).

The Administration instead chose to opt for a long-term grain trade agreement with the Soviet Union whereby the trade would

be left in private hands and our farmers would continue to produce for a market and not a government board.

As part of the procedure leading up to that agreement, we asked exporters to hold up new sales to the Soviets until we finished the agreement.

As a result of this procedure, we didn't miss a day's shipments of grain to the Soviet Union, and the Soviets purchased another 6 million tons out of our 1975 crops after the agreement was concluded.

The agreement has turned an erratic buyer into a long-term, stable purchaser. In fact, with the Soviets' larger grain crop this year, and without the long-term agreement, we do not believe the Soviets would be buying much grain from the U.S. this year.

Contrast this with what would have happened under a situation of export controls imposed by the Congress, or if the maritime unions had stopped all shipments.

As for the 1974 temporary withholding of sales to Russia, that was done in the midst of a severe reduction in the corn crop due to a drought in the Midwest. This allowed us to propose, and attain, an adjustment in the mix of corn and grain purchased by the Soviet Union. This was better for our livestock industry and better for our wheat growers.

(The soybean embargo was in 1973 and there is no reason to defend that.)



QUESTION: -- You have been accused by many who say that your economic policies are not directed at people's problems.

ANSWER: -- On the contrary, when you look at statistics ~~and~~ when you make economic policy what you become acutely aware of is that under the the statistics are people and when economic policy affects the statistics it's people who are being effected.

For example, soon after I became President it became quite apparent that the weakening in the economy was being caused , to a very substantial extent, by the fear and uncertainty which gripped the ^{individual} average family in this country. Our inflation statistics showed a 12% rate of consumer price inflation overall. But what this meant to the housewife was an accelerating increase in prices at the supermarket, sharply increasing rents, medical costs, utility costs and the like, and great concern about how the family was going to be able to make ends meet with an uncertain acceleration in inflation

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eating into the average family paycheck. Moreover, in many homes, ~~in addition~~, the sharp rise in layoffs created still greater fear that although the family bread winner may well still have been gainfully employed, people were being laid off right and left and the sense of job security, the sense ^{that} ~~of~~ the paycheck ^{might not} ~~would~~ continue to be coming in, increased the caution of the average family. What this meant is that the grave uncertainties that confronted the average family were causing a sharp curtailment in their purchases of cars, homes, big ticket household items; anything which in effect could be postponed.

This was showing up in the statistics in a major fall in consumer buying which in turn was undercutting the economy.

As a consequence, it was clear that the major policy that we'd have to implement overall was to bring down the uncertainty-generating-inflation; an inflation which clearly, because it curtailed consumer purchases, was destroying jobs ~~and~~ feeding on itself and creating uncertainty and fear amongst America's families.

What has ^{my Administration} ~~this~~ economic policy ^{accomplished} ~~done~~? It's cut the inflation rate more than in half, and while the average housewife is still concerned about prices ~~rising~~, prices at the supermarkets have flattened out and overall the rate of inflation is half or less of what it was when I came into office. We still have a good long way to go, but let's not forget ^{the} ~~that~~ progress has been made in this particular area, very important progress.

As a consequence, we now have found, first a gradual and more recently a much stronger restoration ^{of} confidence families have with respect to their future. They are now buying passenger cars at near record levels, they've started again to move to buy homes at a rate which is a major improvement, but as I ~~have~~ indicated in my speech at the University of Michigan, still not what I would like it to be. Nonetheless, it's becoming increasingly apparent that the American family is now willing to again invest in ^{its} ~~the~~ future of ^{and} ~~the family to~~ show for the first time in quite a number of years a growing sense of confidence in the future of the American economy.



This is what I believe my economic policies have generated. We have a long way to go but I think we are now well on the track toward success. The success shows up in the statistics but much more importantly, it shows ~~itself~~ up in the evident increase in confidence that individual families feel ^{towards} ~~about~~ their future.

THIS IS WHAT I BELIEVE MY ECONOMIC POLICIES