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June 9, 1987

Dear Frank and Paul:

Thank you for your letter of June 1 inviting me to join the Commission's Advisory Board on Presidential Debates. I will be glad to do what I can to be of assistance to you in this endeavor.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

Mr. Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
Republican National Committee Chairman  
and  
Mr. Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
Democratic National Committee Chairman  
Commission on Presidential Debates  
1825 I Street, NW, Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20006



Commission  
on  
Presidential  
★ Debates ★

1825 I Street NW • Suite 400 • Washington, DC 20006 • (202) 429-2034

June 1, 1987

Melvin Laird  
Senior Counselor  
Reader's Digest  
2nd Floor  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Laird,

As Chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, we are proud to have established the Commission on Presidential Debates early this year. The Commission is a non-profit, bipartisan organization which will make party sponsorship of the presidential and vice presidential debates a permanent part of the American political process.

As the experience of 1960, 1976, 1980 and 1984 has shown, the debates have been major factors in determining the outcome of presidential elections. In 1988, for the first time in twenty years, there will be no incumbent running for re-election. The nominees, whoever they are, will be relative "unknowns." Thus it is more important than ever for the voter to get the best possible information in order to make an educated decision. The Commission's primary objective is to deliver debates that provide that information.

In the next few months, the Commission will develop a series of recommendations for the number, schedule and format of the 1988 debates. After circulation to the candidates, these recommendations will be announced in the fall. We will also select locations in several different regions as the sites where the debates will be held. The Commission has contacted all declared and potential candidates for our two parties' nomination; they support our agenda and have agreed to appear in the Commission's debates.

We are now inviting a small number of leaders from various sectors -- business, the arts, academe, public policy, and media -- to join the Commission's Advisory Board. We would be honoured to have you become a member of that Board. Its task will be to help the Commission's directors and staff decide the format and execution of the debates. We are planning meetings during which members of the Advisory Board and the Board of Directors will discuss different aspects of the debates and their contribution to voter education.

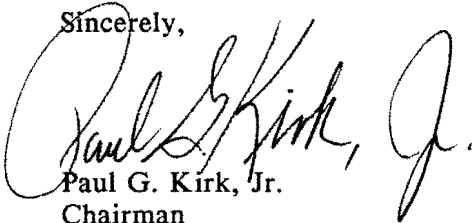
Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
*Republican National Committee Chairman*  
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
*Democratic National Committee Chairman*

John C. Culver  
Pamela Harriman  
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Richard Moe  
David Norcross

Governor Kay Orr  
Representative Barbara Vucanovich  
Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*

The Commission would benefit greatly from your participation on the Advisory Board. We hope this invitation will receive your favorable consideration. With our thanks and best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Paul G. Kirk, Jr.".

Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
Chairman  
Democratic National Committee

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.".

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
Chairman  
Republican National Committee

July 29, 1987

Dear Jim:

Many thanks for your letter of July 24th and I do appreciate your recommendation on the possibility of using Wake Forest University as a site for one of the 1988 presidential debates.

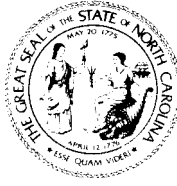
I can well understand your pride in this university and I will certainly discuss your recommendation with the other members of the Presidential Debate Committee.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

The Honorable James G. Martin  
Governor  
State of North Carolina  
Raleigh, North Carolina 27611



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
RALEIGH 27611

JAMES G. MARTIN  
GOVERNOR

July 24, 1987

*OK  
Thank  
MR*

*Dear  
Jim*

Mr. Melvin Laird  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Melvin:

On behalf of the citizens of North Carolina, I am pleased to commend to you Wake Forest University as a site for one of the 1988 presidential debates.

Wake Forest would be an excellent choice because of its tradition of political activity and its location in a vital part of the most progressive state in the South. President Hearn, his staff, the faculty and students of Wake Forest are enthusiastic in their commitment to hosting a debate at the University.

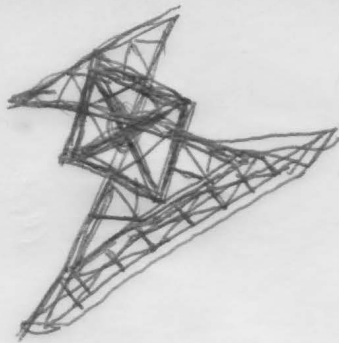
Having been a guest speaker and visitor to the campus, I know that efficiency and dignity characterize Wake Forest events. I am convinced that you can find no more appropriate setting in the South than this excellent university and the attractive city that is its home.

We, North Carolinians, would be very pleased to have one of the debates at Wake Forest.

Sincerely,

*Jim Martin*  
James G. Martin

JGM/crw



September 29, 1987



Dear Mark:

I appreciated your letter of September 24 in which you enclosed a copy of a proposal that has been submitted to the Commission on Presidential Debates. The new program, "At Issue: America's Future", does sound worthy of consideration. I will certainly discuss this proposal with the other members of the Commission when we meet this week.

I thank you for your interest.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

The Honorable Mark O. Hatfield  
711 Hart Senate Office Building  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 24, 1987

Mr. Melvin Laird  
Senior Counselor, Readers Digest  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mel:

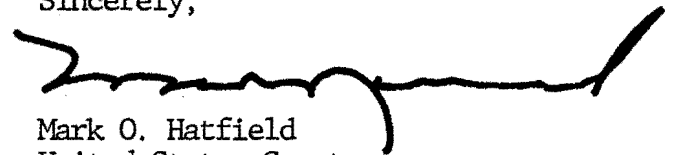
A new program entitled "At Issue: America's Future", which involves junior high and high school students in live, televised debates with the 1988 presidential candidates, has recently been proposed to the Commission on Presidential Debates. (A copy of the proposal has been enclosed for your perusal.) There is no doubt in my mind that such a program would greatly enhance the interest and enthusiasm of our youth in this country's electoral and political process and I am writing to express my strong, personal support of this project.

Communication between students and the nation's leaders serves to heighten student's involvement and awareness of government issues which can only benefit our next generation of voters and leaders. Because the forum will be televised, it's influence will reach literally hundreds of thousands of our nation's young people. I have seen the video of last year's Oregon gubernatorial debate and was extremely impressed with the intelligent and knowledgeable questions posed by the students who participated. Your personal support of this project would significantly increase its chance of success and I encourage your most positive and thoughtful consideration of this request.

Thank you for your time and effort in this matter and if I can provide you with additional information, please do not hesitate to call or write.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

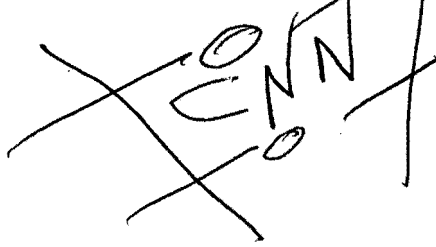


Mark O. Hatfield  
United States Senator

MOH:rnk  
Enclosure

# Young American

P.O. BOX 12409 • PORTLAND, OREGON 97212 • (503) 230-1895 • AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER FOR KIDS



## AT ISSUE: AMERICA'S FUTURE

A 60-Minute National Television Special  
Where America's Youth Face the 1988  
Presidential Candidates

A Proposal to the  
Commission on Presidential Debates  
to co-sponsor a  
National Forum  
involving  
the Major Presidential Candidates  
in a Live, Televised  
Dialogue with Selected Students  
from across the United States

Executive Summary

Prepared by

Young American Publishing Company  
and  
Portland General Electric Company  
Office of Community Relations

September 1987

## AT ISSUE: AMERICA'S FUTURE

It has often been said that children are our future. Yet, too often young people feel left out of the political process and feel that their views and opinions don't make a difference. America's future depends on the quality of education students receive and the ideas and leadership they generate.

Involving students in the political process is the theme of an unprecedented youth participation program designed to examine national politics from the point of view of young people, a perspective we cannot afford to ignore. These are America's leaders of tomorrow.

At Issue: America's Future is a national program designed to provide the opportunity for eight outstanding students from across the United States to interview the Republican and Democratic 1988 presidential candidates on a live, 60-minute national television special.

The Commission on Presidential Debates  
The National Education Association  
and the National Association  
of State Boards of Education  
are being sought as  
key sponsors of this program.

The program as planned will bring about the following:

- o Student panelists, representing different regions of the country, will pose questions to the two presidential candidates relating to concerns of young people.
- o The candidates will respond to the issues of importance to America's youth.
- o The forum will be carried live on national television.
- o The television special will be funded through an educational grant from a major corporate sponsor.



- o The student panelists will be selected through a national essay competition.
- o The proposed broadcast date is in October 1988.

The national "At Issue" program will be an exercise in participatory citizenship and political education. It creates a means to help young people understand both the political process in the United States and the important role they play in that system.

For teachers in schools across the country, this program will provide a rare opportunity for them to involve their students extensively in an important phase of the political process: learning about the comparative strengths of the major political candidates during the presidential election campaign. The presidential race will become a hands-on learning situation for students in the classroom.

Through sponsorship of the "At Issue" program, the Commission on Presidential Debates will initiate a unique partnership with education to establish a national dialogue which could increase young adult participation in the 1988 presidential election. The "At Issue" program will provide an opportunity to join with state education associations, state boards of education and teachers in more than 50,000 middle and high schools, both public and private, throughout the country.

#### BACKGROUND

The "At Issue" program was first conducted in Oregon during the 1986 state gubernatorial race. The program was sponsored by Portland General Electric (PGE) in association with the Oregon Department of Education and Young American, America's Newspaper for Kids. It resulted in the involvement of over 5,000 students in grades 7-12 in an extensive essay competition. Essays on the theme "Portrait of a Leader" were submitted by students from schools throughout the state. The essays were judged and 50 semifinalists were interviewed by a regional selection panel. Ten students were chosen as panelists for the television forum. To represent regional interests in the state, two students were selected from each of Oregon's five congressional districts. Immediately following the live forum, the candidates conducted a 30-minute press conference with 66 student journalists who reported on both the forum and the press conference in every high school newspaper in Oregon.

The "At Issue" student-candidate forum was broadcast live, via satellite, throughout the state on television and radio. The entire 90-minute program was taped and later televised by Oregon Public Broadcasting for classroom study. Press coverage was extensive, especially in smaller communities. The program was widely publicized and viewed by adults and children throughout the state.

### THE NATIONAL "AT ISSUE" PROGRAM

The detailed planning, program management and successful results achieved in Oregon provide an effective model for the development of the "At Issue" program on a national scale.

The "At Issue" Project Management Committee. The Project Management Committee will consist of representatives from the following organizations:

- \* Commission on Presidential Debates
- \* Young American Publishing Co., Inc.
- \* National Education Association
- \* National Association of State Boards of Education
- \* American Association of School Administrators
- \* National Public Broadcasting System

### STUDENT SELECTION AND INVOLVEMENT

Eligibility. The opportunity to appear as a panelist on the "At Issue" television special will be available to students grades 7-12 in all public and non-public schools in the United States and its territories.

Application Process. All students interested in participating in the program will be required to complete an application and also submit the following:

- o An essay on the topic "My Vision of America's Future".
- o Five proposed questions to ask the presidential candidates.

Student Selection Process. The selection of students for participation on the presidential forum interview panel will be conducted according to the following series of stages:

1. Congressional District Panelists. One student will be selected from each congressional district from throughout the nation. All applications will be screened at the high school and district level by local review panels according to selection criteria developed by the program sponsors.
2. State Candidates. The names of those students nominated from each congressional district will be forwarded to the review panel established within each state. Each state selection panel, in turn, will select two students from the congressional district nominee pool. (Alaska and Wyoming, each with only one congressional district, will nevertheless be eligible to submit two names.)
3. National Finalists. The names of state nominees will be forwarded to a national review panel which will make the final determination as to which students and alternates will serve on the Forum Interview Panel. The national review panel will conduct live interviews of all state nominees. The panel will conduct interviews in each of the four census regions of the country (i.e., west; north central; northeast; south). The process will be structured to assure that two student panelists will be selected from each census region.

Special consideration will be given to assure that the young people selected to participate on the interview panel will be from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and be an appropriate mix of young men and women.

The National Review Panel. The national review panel will consist of representatives from the Commission on Presidential Debates, Young American, the National Education Association, the National Association of State Boards of Education, and regional representatives of the corporate sponsor. The panel, by visiting each geographic region, will assure consistency in panelist selection, and also, that the interests of each geographic region will be represented.

## Television Special

The "At Issue" televised forum is designed as a question and answer format where students, representing different regions of the country, ask a series of questions addressed to the presidential candidates. The national Public Broadcasting System is considering a proposal to produce and broadcast the forum in cooperation with their Oregon affiliate station.

## Commission on Presidential Debates Involvement

The Commission is asked to fulfill the following responsibilities:

- o encourage bipartisan support from both Republican and Democratic party leadership to assure candidate participation in the program.
- o become involved in the development of the project curriculum guide which will be prepared for use by teachers interested in raising student awareness and interest in the presidential election. The curriculum activities will be designed as a cooperative learning experience to build concepts of leadership roles in society and to reinforce critical thinking and leadership skills.

## PROGRAM BENEFITS

The "At Issue" program will increase young adult interest and participation in the national electoral process and will reinforce the perspective that both major national political parties are strongly interested in America's future and our nation's young people.

Benefits of the "At Issue" program:

- o The national "At Issue" program will be an effective means to increase voter participation on the part of young adults.
- o The program will result in the formation of an unprecedented partnership of educators, politicians and a national corporate sponsor, to improve citizenship education for high school students.

- o Substantial numbers of teachers, administrators, and students will become involved in examining leadership characteristics needed for America's future in over 50,000 middle and high schools throughout the nation.
- o Both political parties will receive extensive positive bipartisan attention through unsolicited, coast-to-coast news coverage.
- o The Committee will be brought into a close working-relationship with school districts and other educational associations in a joint venture for the betterment of young people of today as well as the voting public of the future.
- o The "At Issue" TV special will portray a fresh, clean approach to politics. It will reflect national values of quality: belief in the democratic process; belief in America's youth; and that the ideas and opinions of young people can make a difference.
- o "At Issue" has social significance. It will create a national dialogue which will influence youth participation in the nation's future political process.
- o "At Issue" is quality programming at a cost-effective price.

Respectfully submitted,

Jerry Bingold  
Branch Manager Community Relations  
Portland General Electric

Allen L. Dobbins, Ed.D.  
Director, Educational Services  
Young American, America's Newspaper for Kids

Commission  
on  
Presidential  
★ Debates ★

1825 I Street NW • Suite 400 • Washington, DC 20006 • (202) 429-2034

October 6, 1987

MEMORANDUM TO THE ADVISORY BOARD

FROM: JANET H. BROWN *JB*  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

On behalf of the directors, thank you very much for attending the October 1 advisory board meeting. The success of the day's events was a direct result of your generous commitment of time and interest -- we're very grateful to have your involvement.

We will keep you posted on our progress in coming weeks and let you know as soon as the Chairmen set a date for the next meeting. In the interim, please let me know if there's anything this office can do to assist you.

My thanks and best regards.

Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
*Republican National Committee Chairman*  
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
*Democratic National Committee Chairman*

John C. Culver  
Pamela Harriman  
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Richard Moe  
David Norcross

Governor Kay Orr  
Representative Barbara Vucanovich  
Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*

Commission  
on  
Presidential  
★ Debates ★

1825 I Street NW • Suite 400 • Washington, DC 20006 • (202) 429-2034

November 23, 1987

MEMORANDUM TO THE ADVISORY BOARD

FROM: JANET H. BROWN <sup>JB</sup>  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The memorandum is to bring you up to date on the Commission's progress. As we reported in late September, a site selection process is underway to choose the locations for the debates. We have received seventeen proposals from cities and universities interested in hosting a debate. The applicants are:

Baltimore, MD	Chicago, IL
Annapolis, MD	Omaha, NE
Detroit, MI	Pittsburgh, PA
Houston, TX	Princeton Junction, NJ
Kansas City, MO	Raleigh-Durham, NC
Lincoln, NE	Indianapolis, IN
Louisville, KY	Northwestern University, IL
Madison, MS	Wake Forest University, NC
	Stanford/Berkeley, CA

We are now scheduling site visits and reviewing the technical facilities offered in each location. If we can stay on schedule, we hope to have sufficient information to make a final decision late this year.

We will continue to keep you informed of our progress. Again, my thanks for your participation in our work and best wishes for the Thanksgiving holiday.

Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
*Republican National Committee Chairman*  
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
*Democratic National Committee Chairman*

John C. Culver  
Pamela Harriman  
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Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*

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ADVISORY BOARD

Charles Benton, Chairman, Public Media, Inc.  
Julia Chang Bloch, Assistant Administrator, Agency for International Development  
Meredith Burch, Meredian Productions, Inc.  
Diana Prentice Carlin, Professor, University of Kansas  
Sheldon S. Cohen, Partner, Morgan, Lewis & Bockius  
Ambassador Holland Coors, 1987 Year of the Americas  
Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr., President and Chief Executive Officer, The Hudson Institute  
Frank Donatelli, Assistant to the President for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs,  
The White House  
Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund  
Mary Hatwood Futrell, President, National Education Association  
Carla A. Hills, Partner, Weil, Gotshal & Manges  
Robert E. Hunter, Director, European Studies, Center for Strategic & International Studies  
Barbara Jordan, Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas  
Lane Kirkland, President, American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations  
Melvin Laird, Senior Counselor, Reader's Digest  
Ambassador Carol Laise  
William Leonard, former President, CBS News  
Kate Rand Lloyd, Editor-at-Large, Working Woman Magazine  
Vilma S. Martinez, Partner, Munger, Tolles & Olson  
Newton Minow, Partner, Sidley & Austin  
Richard Neustadt, Professor, Harvard University  
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Paul H. O'Neill, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Aluminum Company of America  
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William Ouchi, Professor of Management, University of California at Los Angeles  
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Abraham Ribicoff, Special Counsel, Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays, & Handler  
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Jill Ruckelshaus  
Lawrence Spivak, former Producer and Moderator, "Meet the Press"  
Donald M. Stewart, President, The College Board  
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Marietta Tree, Chairman, Citizens' Committee for New York City  
William C. Velasquez, President, Southwest Voter Registration Education Project  
Thomas J. Watson, Jr., Chairman Emeritus, International Business Machines Corporation  
Anne Wexler, Chairman, Wexler, Reynolds, Harrison & Schule  
Marina V. N. Whitman, Vice President, Group Executive of Public Affairs,  
General Motors Corporation  
Mrs. Jim Wright

Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
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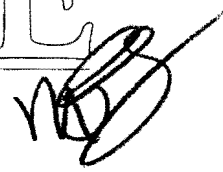
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Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*



# NEWS RELEASE

## ★ Commission on Presidential Debates ★



For Immediate Release

Contact: Kathy Bird  
(202) 429-2034

Date: April 27, 1988

The 10-member Commission on Presidential Debates today moved ahead on its commitment to sponsorship of general election debates this fall.

The Commission announced that it will recommend four cities as possible sites as part of its general election debate proposal to the candidates invited to debate under the Commission's sponsorship. Those cities are:

Annapolis, Maryland, September 14  
Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, N.C., September 25  
Omaha, Nebraska, October 11  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 27

In a joint statement, Commission Co-chairmen Paul G. Kirk, Jr., Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr., Chairman of the Republican National Committee, said, "While commitments have not yet been received from all the presidential candidates to debate under the auspices of our Commission, we believe the Commission, with its strong backing from the two major parties, is best situated to attract the candidates to our Commission as debate sponsor. The Commission anticipates that it will be prepared to provide the most attractive debate proposal to the candidates."

"The Commission has always recognized that the final decisions regarding debates lie with the candidates," the two Chairmen said.

According to Janet Brown, Executive Director of the Commission, the Commission is confident there will be debates this fall and that they will occur under the Commission's sponsorship.

Ms. Brown announced that Edward M. Fouhy will be the Executive Producer of the Commission's debates. Mr. Fouhy, formerly Executive Producer of NBC News, is currently a fellow at Harvard University's Institute of Politics.

Brown also announced the first three major donors to the Commission; they are: AT&T, Philip Morris, and Prudential. She noted that other corporations and foundations which have made contributions to date include Bankers Trust, the Benton Foundation, Marjorie Kovler Fund, Ford Motor Company, Hallmark, IBM, Joyce Foundation, Morgan Guaranty, RJR Nabisco, Twentieth Century Fund, Union Pacific, U.S. West and Xerox.

The Commission on Presidential Debates is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization based in Washington, D.C.

Commission  
on  
Presidential  
★ Debates ★

1825 I Street NW • Suite 400 • Washington, DC 20006 • (202) 429-2034

June 17, 1988

Mr. Melvin Laird  
Senior Counselor  
Readers Digest Association, Inc.  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 212  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mel:

As you know, the Commission on Presidential Debates, which Chairman Paul Kirk and I co-chair, evolved out of the Laird/Strauss Commission on National Elections. We are, at the present time, involved in intensive fundraising which is a tax deductible endeavor.

I know that you serve on the board of Metropolitan Life, Martin Marietta, and Phillips Petroleum. Would you be so kind as to assist the Commission by attempting to solicit financial support from the three companies in question? Any information you or representatives of the companies may need can be obtained from Janet H. Brown, the Executive Director of the Commission on Presidential Debates.

Kindest personal regards,

FRANK J. FAHRENKOPF, JR.

FJF/pt

Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
*Republican National Committee Chairman*  
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
*Democratic National Committee Chairman*

John C. Culver  
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Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*

# NEWS RELEASE

## ★ Commission on Presidential Debates ★

For Immediate Release

Contact: Kathy Bird  
(202) 429-2034

Date: June 23, 1988

### COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES LAUNCHES VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAM

Washington, D.C., June 23, 1988 -- The Commission on Presidential Debates announced today that eight national media and educational organizations have joined the Commission in a nationwide voter education program. The Commission's plans include the publication of brochures and classroom materials featuring the role of debates in the electoral process, and the provision of historical debate information to newspapers and newsweeklies. The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, has made historical documents and photographs available to the Commission for use in its materials.

The initial organizations working in cooperation with the Commission are:

- . American Library Association
- . American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation
- . Close Up Foundation
- . National Association of Broadcasters
- . National Association of Secondary School Principals
- . National Cable Television Association
- . National Federation of State High School Associations
- . National School Boards Association

"Our objective is to create voter education partnerships with these and other organizations," Commission Co-chairmen Paul G. Kirk, Jr. and Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr. said. "By reaching out to their members, we can share historic materials with schools, libraries, and a broad range of civic groups. We're very pleased that these organizations are willing to work with the Commission to make the voter education program a success."

The Commission on Presidential Debates is a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation formed to sponsor presidential and vice-presidential debates starting in 1988. Further information on the voter education program is available from the Commission's Executive Director, Janet Brown.

# Reader's Digest

1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W., SUITE 212  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

MELVIN R. LAIRD  
Senior Counsellor:  
National and International Affairs

September 15, 1988

(202) 223-1642

Dear Janet:

Concerning our conversation this morning, I thought you would like to have this advanced copy of the Presidential Debate article.

You will be receiving 500 copies of the article from our Reprint Editor. They will be sent to you by express mail and you should receive them on Friday, or no later than Monday morning. I am sure you will find them most interesting. There is, of course, no charge for these reprints.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

Ms. Janet Brown  
Executive Director  
Commission on Presidential Debates  
1825 I Street, N. W.  
Suite 400  
Washington, D. C. 20006



Handwritten initials, possibly "MS", in the top right corner of the page.

Suite 412  
400 North Capitol Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
202/737-3220

MIKE MICHAELSON  
Executive Vice President

September 16, 1988

Mr. Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
Mr. Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
Commission on Presidential Debates  
1825 I Street, N.W., Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Co-chairmen Fahrenkopf and Kirk:

We understand from the staff of the Commission that coverage of the upcoming presidential candidates debate in Winston-Salem by the electronic media has been restricted to the members of the network "pool".

C-SPAN regards this decision as unfair, unnecessary and unfortunate.

It is unfair because it forces C-SPAN to pay heavy costs which bear absolutely no relation to our methods and proven ability to produce quality television of political events; and because it was made before we were given an opportunity to be heard. It is unnecessary because we believe the site of the debate can easily accommodate non-pool cameras. It is unfortunate because this decision ignores the realities of television news in 1988.

Our solution is simple, and in two parts:

First, let C-SPAN cameras cover this debate, just as they have done throughout this political season many times before.

Second, C-SPAN will then make its coverage available to other bona fide news organizations, just as we did at the Republican and Democratic conventions. (A list of the news organizations that took C-SPAN's coverage at either or both conventions is enclosed.)

We believe this approach solves many problems, and accommodates everybody without burdening anybody.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

cc: Members of the Advisory Board of the Commission

Julia Chang Bloch, Assistant Administrator, Agency for International Development

Diana Prentic Carlin, Professor, University of Kansas

Sheldon S. Cohen, Partner, Morgan, Lewis & Bockius

Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr., President and Chief Executive Officer, The Hudson Institute

Frank Donatelli, Assistant to the President for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs, The White House

Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund

Mary Hatwood Futrell, President, National Education Association

Carla A. Hills, Partner, Weil, Gotshal & Manges

Robert E. Hunter, Director, European Studies, Center for Strategic & International Studies

Barbara Jordan, Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs, University of Texas

Lane Kirkland, President, American Federation of Labor & Congress of Industrial Organizations

✓ Melvin Laird, Senior Counselor, Reader's Digest  
Ambassador Carol Laise

William Leonard, former President, CBS News

Kate Rand Lloyd, Editor-at-Large, Working Woman Magazine

Newton Minow, Partner, Sidley & Austin

Richard Neustadt, Professor, Harvard University

Edward N. Ney, Chairman, Paine Webber/Young & Rubicam Ventures

Paul H. O'Neill, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Aluminum Company of America

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Former Speaker, US House of Representatives

William Ouchi, Professor of Management, University of California at Los Angeles

Nelson W. Polsby, Professor, University of California at Berkeley

Jody Powell, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Ogilvy & Mather Public Affairs

John J. Rhodes, Former Member of Congress, Counsel, Hunton & Williams

Abraham Ribicoff, Special Counsel, Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays, & Handler

Lynda Johnson Robb

Jill Ruckelshaus

Lawrence Spivak, former Producer and Moderator, "Meet the Press"

Robert Strauss, Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld

Richard Thornburgh, director, Institute of Politics, Harvard University

Marietta Tree, Chairman, Citizens' Committee for New York City

Thomas J. Watson, Jr., Chairman Emeritus, International Business Machines Corporation

Anne Wexler, Chairman, Wexler, Reynolds, Harrison & Schule

Marina V.N. Whitman, Vice President, Group Executive of  
Public Affairs, General Motors Corporation  
Mrs. Jim Wright

Members of Commission on Presidential Debates

John C. Culver  
Pamela Harriman  
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Richard Moe  
David Norcross  
Governor Kay Orr  
Representative Barbara Vucanovich  
Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown

NEWS ORGANIZATIONS USING C-SPAN'S FEED  
AT THE DEMOCRATIC AND/OR REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS  
1988

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ABC News: NewsOne	Bonneville International Corp.
CNN: Telemundo	CONUS
Fox Television Network	H&C Communications
Independent News Network	News Link
Group W Television	Midwest Communications (WCCO)
Gannett News Service TV	Potomac Communications
Cosmos Broadcasting Corp.	Gillett Communications
Florida News Network	Cox Broadcasting



September 19, 1988

Dear Steve:

In view of your interest in the Bush-Dukakis debates which will be held this Sunday evening at Wake Forest University, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed advance copy of the first great debate.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

The Honorable Stephen L. Neal  
2463 Rayburn House Office Building  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

September 2, 1987

Dear Steve:

I appreciated your letter of August 25 regarding your recommendation of using Wake Forest University as a site for one of the 1988 presidential debates.

I can well understand your pride in this university as I have visited Wake Forest on many occasions and know what a great institution it is. I will certainly discuss your recommendation with the other members of the Presidential Debate Committee.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

The Honorable Stephen L. Neal  
2463 Rayburn House Office Building  
United States House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

**STEVE NEAL**  
5TH DISTRICT, NORTH CAROLINA

August 25, 1987

Mr. Melvin Laird  
Reader's Digest  
1730 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Laird:

Wake Forest University is a school with which I have been affiliated for some time, and I am proud to add my endorsement to the University's invitation to host a presidential debate in 1988.

Wake Forest has grown from a small, principally liberal arts college to a university of national stature. Its alumni are active in North Carolina government and in many other areas of leadership. As a former member of the Board of Visitors of Wake Forest's Babcock Graduate School of Management, I know that events such as the Carlyle lecture Series and the Tocqueville Forum support the University's longstanding commitment to bipartisan political awareness.

Winston-Salem, the largest city in the Fifth Congressional District, is rich in cultural and educational resources. A microcosm of our state's economy, our service and manufacturing industries are varied and strong, with a representative social structure that would provide an excellent forum for a debate. I would be grateful for your serious consideration of Wake Forest's invitation.

Best wishes,

STEPHEN L. NEAL  
U. S. Congressman

SLN/cc

September 23, 1988

Dear Mr. Dent:

I have enclosed the packet of information on the Presidential Debate which will be held on Sunday, September 25th. The information contained therein is self-explanatory, and I don't believe you will have any problems.

You should pick up the tickets for the debate between 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. on Sunday at the Graylyn Estate of Wake Forest. You should see Miss Renee C. Kortum and she will hand you your tickets. Your social security numbers have been given to Miss Kortum and she will be expecting you. Her telephone number is 919-759-3803.

You will note that there is no parking available on the campus, but there is shuttle service from the various hotels.

Mr. Laird hopes you and your wife will enjoy the debate and he is expecting a full report of all the activities at Wake Forest University.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Laurie Hawley  
Administrative Assistant

The Honorable Frederick B. Dent  
President  
Mayfair Mills, Inc.  
1885 Hayne Street  
Arcadia, SC 29320



COMMISSION ON  
PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES 1825 I Street NW • Suite 400 • Washington, DC 20006 • (202) 429-2034

September 21, 1988

Mr. Melvin Laird  
Reader's Digest  
Senior Counselor  
1730 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.  
Suite 212  
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Laird:

The Commission on Presidential Debates is pleased to send you the enclosed packet of materials regarding the first 1988 presidential debate.

The debate will be held in Wait Chapel on the campus of Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina on September 25, 1988. The debate will begin at 8:00 p.m.

It is important to note that all ticket holders to the debate must comply with security requirements and be seated in Wait Chapel by 7:30 p.m. No one will be permitted to enter or exit the hall after 7:30 p.m. Seating is by sections only, and assistance will be provided at the point of check-in. We strongly urge you and your guests to arrive at Wait Chapel by 6:45 p.m. to be cleared through the magnometer.

Enclosed in the packet please find:

- 2 invitations to the Pre-Debate Reception.
- 2 invitations to the Post-Debate Reception.
- An itinerary of Commission-sponsored activities.
- A map of the Wake Forest University campus.
- Transportation and shuttle information.

You will note that the tickets to the debate are not included. These will be forwarded to you by express mail on Thursday for Friday delivery, or, will be distributed to you in Winston-Salem. Renee Kortum will be contacting you to keep you apprised of the distribution schedule.

Thank you for your generous support.

Sincerely,

Janet H. Brown  
Executive Director

Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
*Republican National Committee Chairman*  
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
*Democratic National Committee Chairman*

John C. Culver  
Pamela Harriman  
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Richard Moe  
David Norcross

Governor Kay Orr  
Representative Barbara Vucanovich  
Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*



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ACTIVITIES SPONSORED BY THE  
COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES  
FOR  
THE FIRST 1988 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1988  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

- 5:30 p.m. PRE-DEBATE RECEPTION  
Graylyn Estate of Wake Forest University  
1900 Reynolda Road
- 7:30 p.m. FINAL DEBATE SEATING  
in Wait Chapel for Ticket Holders  
(Doors close at 7:30 p.m. No one will be permitted to enter  
or exit the Chapel after that time.)
- 8:00 p.m. DEBATE BEGINS
- 9:30 p.m. DEBATE ENDS
- Immediately  
Following the Debate POST-DEBATE RECEPTION  
The Scales Fine Arts Center  
on the campus of Wake Forest University

Co-chairmen  
Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.  
*Republican National Committee Chairman*  
Paul G. Kirk, Jr.  
*Democratic National Committee Chairman*

John C. Culver  
Pamela Harriman  
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Richard Moe  
David Norcross

Governor Kay Orr  
Representative Barbara Vucanovich  
Senator Pete Wilson  
Janet H. Brown  
*Executive Director*

October 6, 1988

Dear Janet:

I thought you would be interested in the attached letter I received from former Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent who attended the Presidential Debate on September 25th. I was unable to attend the Debate, and as your office knows, I thought these tickets could be used to good advantage. Fred wanted me to let you and the Commission on Presidential Debates know that you did an excellent job at Wake Forest University.

Thanks for all your help.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Melvin R. Laird

Ms. Janet H. Brown  
Executive Director  
Commission on Presidential Debates  
1825 I Street, NW  
Suite 400  
Washington, D.C. 20006



*MB*

MAYFAIR MILLS, INC.    ARCADIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29320 • 803-576-2610

FREDERICK B. DENT  
PRESIDENT

September 27, 1988

Mr. Melvin R. Laird  
Suite 212  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mel:

Milly and I had a most memorable experience in attending the Presidential Debate on September 25th. You were wonderful to have thought of us in this connection and we are deeply indebted to you for your thoughtfulness and generosity.

The detailed and complex arrangements made by the Commission on Presidential Debates were carried out in what seemed to be flawless execution. Janet Brown and her associates are due tremendous credit for the outstanding organization of the event, the cooperation of Wake Forest University and Winston-Salem seemed also to be at the 100% level.

We had seats in the eighth row behind Mrs. Bush and thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity for seeing many old friends and former colleagues. I thought that the Debate got off to an excellent start with the Vice President, telling remarks on values. I think this was a ten-strike for him and set a fine tone for the balance of his remarks. Other highlights from his viewpoint I thought were his excellent presentation of the accomplishments of the Reagan Administration and his stressing of the liberality of the viewpoint of his opponent. While no conclusive blows were struck, I believe that George Bush came out of it leaving a good Presidential impression with those who saw it.

One conclusion which I reached thinking back over the experience was the wisdom of limiting the debates to two. So much material was covered in this first that I believe that the second will be repetitious and if it were followed by more they would rapidly lose audience and interest.

Milly and I were shocked to see the number of Dakakis-Bentson yard signs which were displayed in the area around the University. Not having seen any at all in South Carolina, it was quite a shock to us. However, we were extremely gratified to find that in the dormitory areas of the University, the reverse appeared to be the case as the students had



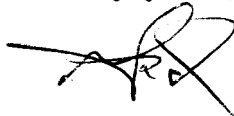


Mr. Melvin R. Laird  
September 27, 1988  
Page 2 . . .

many banners and signs out in support of Bush.

With deepest appreciation and very best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'AR' with a flourish.

mpg



*Handwritten signature or initials.*

# Transcripts of the 1988 Presidential and Vice Presidential Debates



**Wake Forest University**

Winston-Salem, North Carolina

September 25, 1988



**UCLA**

Los Angeles, California

October 13, 1988



**Civic Auditorium**

Omaha, Nebraska

October 5, 1988



COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES



ABOUT THE COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

**TRANSCRIPTS OF THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE  
PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

The Commission on Presidential Debates was established by the two political parties to institutionalize the debate process. In 1987, its mission is to instill a new spirit in American politics -- a spirit that reflects the caliber of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and looks forward to the still unexplored possibilities for substantive political discourse.

The Commission was formed by the Chairmen of the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee. It is a non-profit organization solely supported by private donations.

Perhaps the most compelling contribution we can make is in the area of voter education. With its strong cooperation from both political parties, the Commission seeks to inform and educate voters. The transcripts in this volume represent the Commission's commitment to the ongoing voter education process that is so important to the democratic system.

The Commission is pleased to have hosted the 1988 Presidential and Vice Presidential Debates and looks forward to continuing this role in the future.

**PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE  
Wake Forest University  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
September 25, 1988**

**PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE  
UCLA  
Los Angeles, California  
October 13, 1988**

**VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE  
Civic Auditorium  
Omaha, Nebraska  
October 5, 1988**

These transcripts are provided by the Commission on Presidential Debates as prepared by Janscripts and News Transcripts, Inc.

## **ABOUT THE COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

The Commission on Presidential Debates is an historic commitment by the two political parties to institutionalize the debates. Established in February, 1987, its mission is to instill a new spirit in American politics -- a spirit that reflects the caliber of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and looks forward to the still untapped possibilities for substantive political discourse.

The Commission was formed by the Chairmen of the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee. It is a non-profit organization solely supported by private donations.

Perhaps the most compelling contribution the Commission can make is in the area of voter education. With its strong commitment to the responsibility of political parties, the Commission seeks to inform and educate voters through the debates. The transcripts in this volume represent the Commission's contribution to the ongoing voter education process that is so important to the citizens of this country.

The Commission is pleased to have sponsored all of the 1988 Presidential and Vice Presidential Debates and looks forward to the tradition of this role in the future.





MR. LEHRER: Good evening. On behalf of the Commission on Presidential Debates I am pleased to welcome you to this first presidential debate of the 1988 campaign. I'm Jim Lehrer of the McNeil-Lehrer News Hour. My colleagues on the panel are John Mashek of The Atlanta Journal-Constitution; Ann Groer of The Orlando Sentinel; and Peter Jennings of ABC News.

For the next 90 minutes we will be questioning the candidates for president of the United States following a format designed and agreed to by representatives of the two candidates. The candidates are Vice President George Bush, the Republican nominee; Governor Michael Dukakis, the Democratic nominee.

(Applause)

MR. LEHRER: Our questions this evening will be about equally divided between foreign and domestic policy matters. The first question by agreement between the two candidates goes to Vice President Bush. It is a domestic question. You have two minutes for an answer, sir.

The polls say the number one domestic issue to a majority of voters is drugs. What is there about these times that drives or draws so many Americans to use drugs?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we've seen a deterioration of values. I think for a while as a nation we condoned those things we should have condemned. For a while, as I recall, it even seems to me that there was talk of legalizing or decriminalizing marijuana and other drugs, and I think that's all wrong. So we've seen a deterioration in values, and one of the things that I think we should do about it in terms of cause is to instill values into the young people in our schools.

We got away, we got into this feeling that value-free education was the thing. And I don't believe that at all. I do believe there are fundamental rights and wrongs as far as use. And, of course, as far as the how we make it better, yes, we can do better on interdiction. But we've got to do a lot better on education, and we have to do, be tougher on those who commit crimes. We've got to get after the users more. We have to change this whole culture.

You know, I saw a movie--"Crocodile Dundee." And I saw the cocaine scene treated with humor, as though this was a humorous little incident. And it's bad. Everybody ought to be in this thing. Entertainment industry, people involved in the schools, education. And it isn't a Republican or a Democrat or a liberal problem. But we have got to instill values in these young people.

And I have put forward a many-point drug program that includes what I would do as president of the United States; in terms of doing better on interdiction; and in terms of

doing better in the neighborhoods. But I think we're all in this together, and my plea to the American people is values in the schools.

MR. LEHRER: Governor, you have one minute to respond.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I agree with Mr. Bush that values are important. But it's important that our leaders demonstrate those values from the top. That means those of us who are elected to positions of political leadership have to reflect those values ourselves.

Here we are with a government that's been dealing with a drug-running Panamanian dictator. We've been dealing with him; he's been dealing drugs to our kids. Governors like me and others have been trying to deal with the consequences.

I remember being in a high school in my own state as we were organizing something we call the Governor's Alliance Against Drugs, and a young 16 year old girl coming up to me, desperate, addicted, dependent, saying, Governor, I need help. We're providing that young woman with help. But I want to be a president of the United States who makes sure that we never again do business with a drug-running Panamanian dictator, that we never again funnel aid to the contras through convicted drug dealers.

Values begin at the top, in the White House. Those are the values I want to bring to the presidency and to the White House beginning in January of 1989.

MR. LEHRER: Governor, a follow-up question. You have two minutes to answer it. Are you suggesting, sir, that President Reagan is one of the causes of the drug problem in this country?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I'm saying that those of us who are elected to positions of political leadership, Jim, have a special responsibility, not only to come up with programs, and I have outlined in detail the very important, very strong program of enforcement as well as drug education prevention. And Mr. Bush is right--the two go hand in hand.

But if our government itself is doing business with people who we know are engaged in drug profiteering and drug trafficking, if we don't understand that that sends out a very, very bad message to our young people, it's a little difficult for me to understand just how we can reach out to that youngster that I talked about and to young people like her all over the country, and say to them we want to help you.

Now, I've outlined in great detail a program for being tough on enforcement at home and abroad, doubling the number of drug enforcement agents, having a hemispheric summit soon after the 20th of January when we bring our democratic neighbors and allies together here in this hemisphere and go to work together.

But we also have to take demand seriously. You know, we have five percent of the world's population in this country. We're consuming 50 percent of the world's cocaine.

And in my state I'm proud to say we've organized a drug education and prevention program which the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration says is a model for the country. We're helping youngsters; we're reaching out to them.

And we're beginning with drug education and prevention beginning in the early elementary grades in every elementary school in our state, and that's the kind of effort we need in every elementary school in the United States of America. And we've got to begin early, in the first, second and third grade, before our youngsters begin to experiment with these very, very dangerous substances.

I guess the question I would ask of Mr. Bush is how we instill those values, how we create this environment for the drug free schools that we want in this country. If he or representatives of the administration are either with or involving people like Noriega in our foreign policy, or don't pursue that connection in a way that makes it possible for us to cut it off and to be an example to our kids all over the country.

MR. LEHRER: A minute to rebut, Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, the other day my opponent was given a briefing by the CIA. I asked for and received the same briefing. I am very careful in public life about dealing with classified information. And what I'm about to say is unclassified.

Seven administrations were dealing with Mr. Noriega. It was the Reagan-Bush administration that brought this man to justice. And as the governor of Massachusetts knows, there was no evidence that governor--that Mr. Noriega was involved in drugs, no hard evidence until we indicted him.

And so I think it's about time we get this Noriega matter in perspective. Panama is a friendly country. I went down there and talked to the president of Panama about cleaning up their money laundering, and Mr. Noriega was there, but there was no evidence at that time, and when the evidence was there, we indicted him. And we want to bring him to justice.

And so call off all those pickets out there that are trying to tear down seven different administrations.

MR. LEHRER: All right, the next question will be asked by John Mashek. It goes to Governor Dukakis, and you'll have two minutes to answer.

MR. MASHEK: Governor Dukakis, another troublesome issue for voters this year is the bulging federal deficit. In a Dukakis administration, you say taxes will be raised only as a last resort. Would you identify for us then please three specific programs that you are willing to cut to bring that deficit down?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Yes, I've been very specific about those, John. And let me lay out for you my own strategy for bring that deficit down, because as a chief executive



that's balanced ten budgets in a row, I've had to make those tough decisions and those tough choices.

First, I've suggested that there are certain weapons systems which we don't need and we can't afford. Mr. Bush has been critical of me for that, but I think those are the kinds of tough choices you have to make.

I've also suggested that there are weapons systems that we should proceed on, and I've outlined those in detail.

Secondly, we've got to invest in economic growth in this country, in every part of this country. Building that kind of growth expands revenues and helps to bring down that deficit.

Thirdly, we have to bring interest rates down, and we will as we come up with a good, solid plan with the Congress for bringing that deficit down.

And, finally, we've got to go out there and collect billions and billions of dollars in taxes owed that aren't being paid to this country. It's very unfair to the average taxpayer who pays his taxes and pays them on time to permit these monies to go uncollected.

I've also suggested that on the domestic side there are areas where we can make some cuts. We ought to be able to come up with an agricultural policy in this country that gives our farm families a fair price and a decent future without spending \$20-25 billion a year, which is what we've been doing under this administration.

We can help people to live better lives, and at the same time save money by helping hundreds of thousands of families on welfare to get off or welfare, and to become productive citizens again.

The thing I don't understand about Mr. Bush's approach to this is how he could possibly be serious about bringing that deficit down given what he says he wants to do. He seems to want to spend a great deal of money on just about every weapon system; he says he's against new taxes, although he's broken that pledge at least times in the last year that I know of; he wants to give the wealthiest taxpayers in this country a five year, \$40 billion tax break. He also wants to spend a lot of money on additional programs. If he keeps this up, he's going to be the Joe Isuzu of American politics.

(Laughter)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: But I hope you won't take my five seconds away from me. I will say this--

MR. LEHRER: Your two minutes is up, Governor.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: If he's serious about what he's saying, then the only place he can go to balance that budget is to raid the Social Security Trust Fund, and he tried that in 1985, and I think he's going to try it again.

MR. LEHRER: You have a minute to rebut.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Is this the time to unleash our one-liners? That answer was about as clear as Boston harbor.

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Let me help the governor. There are so many things there, I don't quite know where to begin. When you cut capital gains, you put people to work. John Kennedy proposed cutting capital gains. Paul Tsongas, a liberal senator from Massachusetts said the dumbest thing I did was to oppose the capital gains cut. It's not going to cost the government money. It's going to increase revenues to the federal government, and it's going to create jobs.

So that's one of the things that I think makes a big difference between us. Massachusetts doesn't have an enormous defense budget, but nevertheless, the governor raised taxes five different times. That happens to be a fact.

And so let's kind of stay on the issue, and I have made a specific proposal for what I call a flexible freeze. And it permits--economists on the East Coast and West think it's good--it permits the president to sort out the priorities, and we continue to grow because I will not raise taxes.

MR. LEHRER: Your time is up, too. A follow-up, John.

MR. MASHEK: Mr. Vice President, you have vowed not to raise taxes of any kind during your administration and at the same time you've proposed this capital gains cut, you've proposed more incentive breaks for the oil industry. You've suggested new spending programs and even some Republicans say the flexible freeze you just spoke about will hardly make a dent in the deficit. Is the deficit no longer really a concern of yours, the Republican Party or the taxpayers?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think it's the Republican Party and my concern to bring it down. And presidential leadership that I want to provide in this area will bring it down, but we've got to get the Democrats--Congress under control. They do all the spending, they appropriate every dime and tell us how to spend every dime. I'd like to ask the Governor to join in getting for the president what 43 governors have, the line-item veto.

He has to operate in Massachusetts under a balanced budget proviso. I would like a balanced budget amendment. But the dynamics of the economy--we cut the taxes and revenues are up by 25 percent in three years. So the problem is--it's not that the working is being taxed too little or the person working out -- the woman working in some factory being taxed too little. It is that we are continuing to spend too much.

So, my formula says grow at the rate of inflation. Permit the president to set the priorities on where we do the spending. And remember the Federal deficit has come down



\$70 billion in one year, in 1987. And if we--and the--actually this year Congress is doing a little better in controlling the growth of spending. Spending was only up something like 4 percent.

So, it isn't that we're taking too little--from taxpayer--we're spending too much still. And the formula I've given you works, we've put it through a good economic model, we've got good economists on the West Coast, Michael Boskin and Marty Feldstein up there who's a very respected economist in the -- Massachusetts. And they agree, that if we can do what I've said, we can get it down without going and socking the American taxpayer once again.

Capital gains, one more point on that, please let's learn from history. A capital gains differential will increase jobs, increase risk taking, increase revenues to the Federal Government.

MR. LEHRER: Governor, you have a minute to rebut.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I hope all of those Americans out there who are watching us, listening to us and trying to make up their mind about which one of us ought to be president of the United States listen to the Vice President very carefully.

What he's proposing after over a trillion in new debt which has been added in the Federal debt in the course of the past eight years, an IOU our children and grandchildren will be paying for years, is a tax cut for the wealthiest one percent of the people in this country, an average of about \$30,000 that we're going to give to people making \$200,000 a year. Why that's more than the average teacher makes.

We've had enough of that, ladies and gentlemen. We've run up more debt in the last eight years than under all the presidents from George Washington to Jimmy Carter combined. It's time for a chief executive who can make tough choices, can work with the Congress, can get that deficit down and begin to build a strong fiscal foundation under this country.

MR. LEHRER: All right, the next question will be asked by Anne Groer and it will go to the Vice President. You have two minutes to answer, sir.

MS. GROER: Mr. Vice President, you've said you want a kinder, gentler presidency, one that helps the less fortunate. Today, 37 million Americans including many working families with aging parents and young children cannot afford any health insurance, but earn too much to qualify for Medicaid. What will you do to provide protection for them and how will you pay for it?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: One thing I will not do is sock every business in the country and, thus, throw some people out of work. I want to keep this economic recovery

going. More Americans at work today than any time in history, a greater percentage of the work force. What I will do is permit people to buy into Medicaid. I believe that's the answer.

I am proud to have been part of an administration that past the first catastrophic health bill. And in that there are some Medicaid provisions that will be very helpful to the very kind of people we're talking about here. But we've got to keep going forward without killing off the engine and throwing people out of work.

So, the answer lies, it seems to me, in full enforcement of the catastrophic program. It lies to me in flexibility in Medicaid so people at the lowest end can buy in there and get their needs covered and then it also -- I do not want to see us mandate across the board that every company has to do this, because I really think that marginal operators are going to go say, "We can't make it." And I think then you're going to see that people are put out of work.

All these programs--and this cost on his--is--was--I saw an estimate, I'd love to know what he thinks, \$35 - \$40 billion--and it seems to me that somebody pays that. There isn't any such thing as something free out there. It either gets passed along as increased prices or it gets passed along by people being put out of work so the business can continue to compete.

So, I think we ought to do it in the Medicaid system. I think we ought to do it by full enforcement of the catastrophic health insurance. I think we ought to do it by everybody doing what they can do out of conscience. It's a terrible problems in terms of flexibility on private insurances. But I just don't want to mandate it and risk putting this--setting the recovery back.

MR. LEHRER: A rebuttal, Governor?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: But, George, that's no answer.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: You don't like the answer, but it's an answer.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, no, it's no answer to those 37 million people, most of them members of working families who don't have a dime of health insurance and don't know how to pay the bills if their kids get sick at night. I was in Houston on Tuesday meeting with a group of good citizens, working citizens. All of them with little or no health insurance. One of them was a father who had been laid off a few months ago and lost his health insurance. Has an 11 year old son and can't let that son compete in sports and Little League, because he's afraid he's going to get hurt and he won't be able to provide health insurance to pay those bills.

My state just became the only state in the nation to provide for universal health care and we did it with the support of the business community and labor and the health care



community and with virtually everybody in the state. The fact of the matter is that employers who today are insuring their employees are paying the freight, because they're paying for those who aren't.

And I think it's time that when you got a job in this country it came with health insurance. That's the way we're going to provide basic health security for all of the citizens of this country of ours.

MR. LEHRER: Follow-up, Anne?

MS. GROER: Yes. Since your Massachusetts health plan has been attacked by the Vice President and you have defended it in this way, I would like to move on to perhaps one of the most costly medical catastrophes facing Americans today and that is AIDS. In-- at the end of September, the thousands of AIDS patients will lose their access to AZT, which is the only Federally approved drug for treatment of the disease. Now, I'd like to now, sir, if--what your position is on extending that and what it is you think the government ought to be doing about making AZT and other drugs available to people who are suffering from this disease.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, Anne, let me just say before I answer your question that I didn't know that the Vice President attacked our program in Massachusetts. I hope he hasn't. Because has won the support of a great many people all over the state and I think it's a model for what I hope we can do across the country. But when I proposed my plan this past Tuesday, he or one of his spokesmen called it socialized medicine.

The last time the Vice President used that phrase, I suspect he remembers it, don't you? It was in 1964 and that's what he called Medicare. Well, he was wrong then and he's wrong now.

(Applause)

MR. LEHRER: If I may interrupt at this point and caution the audience as I did before we went on the air, please hold it down. You're only taking time away from your candidate when you do that. Governor, continue, please.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Let me say this about AIDS. It's the single most important public health crisis, single most important public health emergency we've had in our lifetimes and I think there are a number of things we have to do including supporting legislation which is now moving through the Congress, which will commit this nation to the resources to find a cure which will provide broad education and prevention, which will provide sensitive and caring treatment for the victims of AIDS.

I think we have to demonstrate some flexibility and I think the FDA is attempting to do so now in trying to make it possible for new and experimental drugs to be available to

people who are at risk at AIDS and I would hope that we could bring that kind of a policy to bear beginning in January. And I would encourage the current administration to proceed with that kind of flexibility where it's appropriate and where it's done carefully and responsibly.

But we have not had the kind of leadership we should have had. In this particular area, I think the Vice President and I are in general agreement on what we have to do. The special Federal commission made good solid recommendations. I think we're both supportive of them and I would strongly lead in that area as I have in my state as Governor.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President, a minute of rebuttal.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, we're on the right track. The NIH is doing a good job in research. The Surgeon General is doing a good job in encouraging the proper kind of education. I notice that the Governor did not mention any testing. But we got to have a knowledge base. Testing should be confidential, but we have to have a knowledge. We can't simply stick our heads in the sands in terms of testing.

I'm Chairman of the President's Task Force on Regulatory Relief and we are working with the FDA and they have sped up bringing drugs to market that can help. And you got to be careful here, because there's a safety factor, but I think these things--and then also I am one who believes we've got to go the extra mile in clean--being sure that that blood supply is pure. We cannot have a lack of confidence in the blood supply when it comes to operations and surgery and things of this nature. So, research, speeding the drugs to market, testing, blood supply are very important elements of this.

MR. LEHRER: Next question will be asked by Peter Jennings. It goes to the Governor.

MR. JENNINGS: Good evening, Mr. Vice President, Governor. Governor, one theme that keeps coming up about the way you govern--you've both mentioned leadership tonight, so I'd like to stay with that for a second. The theme that keeps coming up about the way you govern is passionless, technocratic--

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Passionless?

MR. JENNINGS: Passionless, technocratic, the smartest clerk in the world. Your critics maintain that in the 1960's your public passion was not the war in Vietnam or civil rights, but no fault auto insurance. And they say in the 1970's you played virtually no role in the painful busing crisis in Boston. Given the fact that a president must sometimes lead by sheer inspiration and passion. We need to know if this is a fair portrait of your governing or if it is a stereotype. And if it isn't fair, give us an example of where you have had that passion and leadership that sometimes a president needs?

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President, a rebuttal.



VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I don't question his passion. I question--and I don't question his concern about the war in Vietnam. He introduced or supported legislation back then that suggested that kids of Massachusetts should be exempt from going overseas in that war. Now, that's a certain passion that in my view it's misguided passion.

He--we have a big difference on issues. You see, last year in the primary, he expressed his passion. He said, "I am a strong liberal Democrat"--August, '87. Then he said, "I am a card-carrying member of the ACLU." That was what he said.

He is out there on out of the mainstream. He is very passionate. My argument with the governor is, do we want this country to go that far left. And I wish we had time to let me explain. But I salute him for his passion. We just have a big difference on where this country should be led, and in what direction it ought to go.

(Applause)

MR. LEHRER: Peter, a question? Question for the vice president, Peter.

MR. JENNINGS: I'd actually like to follow up if I may on this mention you've made of his card carrying membership in the American Civil Liberties Union. You've used the phrase "card carrying" so many times since Governor Dukakis first acknowledged that he was a card carrying member of the ACLU that some people have come to believe that you've used it to brand him in some way, to identify him as people were identified in the 1950's as less than patriotic.

I'd like to know why you keep repeating the phrase, and what's the important issue here? What is so wrong with the governor being a member of an organization which has come to the defense of, among other people, Colonel Oliver North?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Nothings wrong with it. But just take a look at the positions of the ACLU. But, Peter, please understand, the liberals do not like me talking about liberal. They don't like it when I say that he says he's a card carrying member. Now, if that quote was wrong, he can repudiate it, right here. I've seen it authoritatively written twice, and if I've done him an injustice, and he didn't say it, I'm very, very sorry.

But I don't agree with a lot of--most of the positions of the ACLU. I simply don't want to see the ratings on movies. I don't want my ten year old grandchild to go into an X-rated movie. I like those ratings systems. I don't think they're right to try to take the tax exemption away from the Catholic Church. I don't want to see the kiddie pornographic laws repealed; I don't want to see "under God" come out from our currency.

Now, these are all positions of the ACLU. And I don't agree with them. He has every right to exercise his passion, as what he said, a strong, progressive liberal. I don't agree

with that. I come from a different point. And I think I'm more in touch with the mainstream of America.

They raised the same thing with me on the Pledge of Allegiance. You see, I'd have found a way to sign that bill. Governor Thompson of Illinois did. I'm not questioning his patriotism. He goes out and says the man is questioning my patriotism. And then all the liberal columnists join in. I am not. I am questioning his judgment on these matters, or where he's coming from. He has every right to do it.

But I believe that's not what the American people want, and when he said, when he said at the convention, ideology doesn't matter, just competence, he was moving away from his own record, from what his passion has been over the years.

And that's all I'm trying to do, is put it in focus. And I hope people don't think that I'm questioning his patriotism when I say he used his words to describe his participation in that organization.

MR. LEHRER: Governor, a response.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I hope this is the first and last time I have to say this. Of course, the vice president is questioning my patriotism. I don't think there's any question about that, and I resent it. I resent it.

My parents came to this country as immigrants. They taught me that this was the greatest country in the world. I'm in public service because I love this country. I believe in it. And nobody's going to question my patriotism as the vice president has now repeatedly.

The fact of the matter is if the Pledge of Allegiance was the acid test of one's patriotism--the vice president's been the presiding officer in the United States Senate for the past seven and a half years. To the best of my knowledge he's never once suggested that a session of the Senate begin with the Pledge of Allegiance.

(Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Mr. Bush, I don't question your patriotism. When you're attacked for your military record, I immediately said it was inappropriate, it had no place in this campaign, and I rejected it. I would hope that from this point on, we get to the issues that affect the vast majority of Americans, jobs, schools, health care, housing, the environment. Those are the concerns of the people that are watching us tonight. Not labels that we attach to each other, questions about each other's patriotism and loyalty.

MR. LEHRER: The time is up, governor. Let's go now to John Mashek, again. A question for the vice president.



MR. MASHEK: Mr. Vice President, in a debate during the Republican primaries, you said most of the nation's homeless are suffering from mental illness, an assertion immediately challenged by one of your rivals.

Estimates of the homeless range from a low of 250,000 by the government, to around three million, including working families and their children. What commitment are you willing to make tonight to this voiceless segment of our society?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I want to see the McKinney Act fully funded. I believe that that would help in terms of shelter. I want to see--when I talked at our convention about a thousand points of light, I was talking about the enormous numbers of shelters and organizations that help.

The governor's wife has been very active in the homeless. My campaign chairman, Secretary Jim Baker's wife. This isn't government. These are people that care, that are trying to give of themselves. The government has a role. It is to fully fund the McKinney Act. There are certain army bases that the act calls for that can be used in certain cases to shelter people when it's rough.

And so I think that we're on the right track. I don't see this, incidentally, as a Democrat or a Republican or a liberal or conservative idea. I see an involvement by a thousand points of light. I see the funding that is required, and I hope the Congress will fully fund this bill. They gave it a great deal of conscience and a great deal of work. And we're on the track on this one. But--and I, look, mental--that was a little overstated it. I'd say around 30 percent.

And I think maybe we could look back over our shoulders and wonder whether it was right to let all those mental patients out. Maybe we need to do a better job in mental clinics to help them. Because there is a major problem there. A lot of them are mentally sick. And we've got to attend to them.

But fully, my short range answer is fully fund that McKinney Act.

MR. LEHRER: Governor, a response.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, this is another fundamental difference that I have with the vice president, just as I do in the case of health care for 37 million members of working families in this country who don't have health insurance.

The problem, Mr. Bush, is that you've cut back by 90 percent on our commitment to affordable housing for families of low and moderate income. And when you do that, you've have homeless families. We didn't have two and a half million, or three million homeless people living on streets and in doorways in this country ten years ago.

We've got to begin to get back to the business of building and rehabilitating housing for families of low and moderate income in this country; housing for young families that they

can look forward some day to buy. We've got communities in this country increasingly where our own kids can't afford to live in the communities that they grew up in. That's an essential commitment. And I think the housing community is ready. But it's going to take a president who's committed to housing, who's had experience in building and rehabilitating housing who understands that affordable housing for families of low and moderate income, for young families, first time home buyers, is an essential part of the American dream.

And while I'm all for the McKinney bill, that, by itself, simply won't do. We've got to have a president that can lead on this issue, that can work with the Congress, and I'm prepared to do so. This is one of the most important priorities that faces this country.

MR. LEHRER: John, a question for the governor.

MR. MASHEK: Governor, you've mentioned the American dream of home ownership, and it's certainly become an impossible one for many of the young people of our nation who are caught up in this economic squeeze of the middle class, as you've said so frequently during the campaign. And yet in spite of your answer just a few minutes ago, what promise can you realistically hold out to these people that with the costs of housing going up, and with limited help available from Washington, are we destined to become a nation of renters?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I certainly hope not. And it's all a question of what our priorities are. Mr. Bush talked about values. I agree with him. What are our values? Isn't providing housing for families of low and moderate income, isn't it making possible for young families, first time home buyers to own their own home some day something that's part of the American dream? I think so.

You know, back after World War II when we had hundreds of thousands of GI's who came back from the war, we didn't sit around. We went out and built housing. The government was very much involved; so was the housing industry; so was the banking industry; so were housing advocates; so were non-profit agencies; so were governors and mayors and people all over this country who believe deeply in home ownership and affordable housing.

Now, that's the kind of leadership that I want to provide as president of the United States. This isn't a question of a little charity for the homeless. This is a question of organizing the housing community.

I've talked to bankers and builders and developers, the housing advocates, community development agencies, and they want leadership from Washington. Washington, by itself,



can't do it all. We shouldn't expect that. But governors are ready; mayors are ready. Builders and community leaders are ready. It will require some funds, John. And we ought to be prepared to provide those funds. But that, too, will require some choices.

Mr. Bush wants to spend billions and trillions on Star Wars. Well, that's a choice we have to make, isn't it? Do we spend money on that weapon system in the billions and trillions, or is providing some decent and affordable housing for families of this country something that is at least as important and probably more so. Because it's so essential to our economic strength and to our future.

Now, that's the kind of presidency I believe in. And simply to say, well, the McKinney bill will do it just doesn't do. We need a president who will lead on this issue, who has had experience on this issue. It's the kind of priority that will be at the top of our list beginning in January of 1989.

MR. LEHRER: A response, Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think the governor is blurring housing and the homeless. Let's talk about housing which the question was. When you talk to those bankers, did they discuss where interest rates were when your party controlled the White House? Ten days before I took the oath of office as president they were 21 and a half percent. Now, how does that grab you for increasing housing? Housing is up. We are serving a million more families now. But we're not going to do it in that old Democratic, liberal way of trying to build more bricks and mortars. Go out and take a look at St. Louis at some of that effort. It is wrong. I favor home ownership. I want to see more vouchers. I want to see control of some of these projects, and I want to keep the interest rates down. They're half, now of what they were when we came into office, and with my policy of getting this deficit under control, they'll be a lot less. But if we spend and spend and spend, that is going to wrap up the housing market, and we'll go right back to the days of the misery index and malaise that President Reagan and I have overcome--thank God for the United States on that one.

MR. LEHRER: All right, the next question is to the governor. Ann Groer will ask it.

MS. GROER: Governor Dukakis, is there a conflict between your opposition to the death penalty and your support for abortion on demand, even though in the minds of many people, that's also killing?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: No, I don't think there is. There are two very different issues here, and they've got to be dealt with separately. I'm opposed to the death penalty. I think everybody knows that. I'm also very tough on violent crime. And that's one of the reasons why my state has cut crime by more than any other industrial state in America. It's one of the reasons why we have the lowest murder rate of any industrial state in the country. It's one of the reasons why we have a drug education and prevention program

that is reaching out and helping youngsters all over our state, the kind of thing I want to do as president of the United States.

You know, the vice president says he wants to impose the death penalty on drug traffickers, and yet his administration has a federal furlough program which is one of the most permissive in the country, which gave last year 7,000 furloughs to drug traffickers and drug pushers, the same people that he says he now wants to execute.

The issue of abortion is a very difficult issue, one that I think that we all have to wrestle with, we have to come to terms with. I don't favor abortion. I don't think it's a good thing. I don't think most people do. The question is who makes the decision. And I think it has to be the woman, in the exercise of her own conscience and religious beliefs, that makes that decision.

MR. LEHRER: Response, Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, the Massachusetts furlough program was unique. It was the only one in the nation that furloughed murderers who had not served enough time to be eligible for parole. The federal program doesn't do that. No other state programs do that. And I favor the death penalty. I know it's tough and honest people can disagree. But when a narcotics wrapped up guy goes in and murders a police officer, I think they ought to pay with their life. And I do believe it would be inhibiting. And so I am not going to furlough men like Willie Horton, and I would meet with their, the victims of his last escapade, the rape and the brutalization of the family down there in Maryland.

Maryland would not extradite Willie Horton, the man who was furloughed, the murderer, because they didn't want him to be furloughed again. And so we have a fundamental difference on this one.

And I think most people know my position on the sanctity of life. I favor adoption. I do not favor abortion.

MR. LEHRER: Question for the vice president, Ann?

MS. GROER: Yes. Mr. Vice President, I'd like to stay with abortion for just a moment if I might. Over the years you have expressed several positions, while opposing nearly all forms of government payment for it. You now say that you support abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or threat to a mother's life, and you also support a constitutional amendment that if ratified would outlaw most abortions.

But if abortions were to become illegal again, do you think that the women who defy the law and have them anyway, as they did before it was okayed by the Supreme Court, and the doctors who perform them should go to jail?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I haven't sorted out the penalties. But I do know, I do know that I oppose abortion. And I favor adoption. And if we can get this law changed,



everybody should make the extraordinary effort to take these kids that are unwanted and sometimes aborted, take them--let them come to birth, and then put them in a family where they will be loved.

And you see, yes, my position has evolved. And it's continuing to evolve, and it's evolving in favor of life. And I have had a couple of exceptions that I support--rape, incest and the life of the mother. Sometimes people feel a little uncomfortable talking about this, but it's much clearer for me now.

As I've seen abortions sometimes used as a birth control device, for heavens sakes. See the millions of these killings accumulate, and this is one where you can have an honest difference of opinion. We certainly do. But no, I'm for the sanctity of life, and once that illegality is established, then we can come to grips with the penalty side, and of course there's got to be some penalties to enforce the law, whatever they may be.

MR. LEHRER: Governor.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I think what the vice president is saying is that he's prepared to brand a woman a criminal for making this decision. It's as simple as that. I don't think it's enough to come before the American people who are watching us tonight and say, well, I haven't sorted it out. This is a very, very difficult and fundamental decision that all of us have to make.

And what he is saying, if I understand him correctly, is that he's prepared to brand a woman a criminal for making this choice.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I just--

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Let me finish. Let me simply say that I think it has to be the woman in the exercise of her own conscience and religious beliefs that makes that decision, and I think that's the right approach, the right decision, and I would hope by this time that Mr. Bush had sorted out this issue and come to terms with it as I have. I respect his right to disagree with me. But I think it's important that we have a position, that we take it, and we state it to the American people.

MR. LEHRER: Peter Jennings, a question for the vice president.

MR. JENNINGS: Mr. Vice President, I'm struck by your discussion of women and the sanctity of life. And it leads me to recall your own phrase, that you are haunted by the lives which children in our inner cities live. Certainly the evidence is compelling. There's an explosion of single parent families.

And by any measure, these single parent families, many with unwanted children, are the source of poverty, school drop outs, crime, which many people in the inner city simply feel is out of control.

If it haunts you so, why over the eight years of the Reagan-Bush administration have so many programs designed to help the inner cities been eliminated or cut?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: One of the reasons, and I first would like to know which programs you're talking about, and then we could talk on the merits of the programs. But, you see, my fundamental philosophy is give local and state government as much control as possible. That might be the explanation, if you tell me the program.

I do strongly support the WIC program. I think it is good. I think part of the answer to this haunting of these children that are out there and suffering lies in extension of Medicaid, to challenge the states, and maybe we're going to have to enforce more on the states in terms of Medicaid taking care of these.

But, Peter, so much of it is, gets into a whole other phase of things. The neighborhood, the kind of environment people are growing up in, and that leads me to the programs I'm talking about in terms of education. I think that part of it is the crime infested neighborhoods, and that's why I'm a strong believer in trying to control crimes in the neighborhood, why I was so pleased to be endorsed by the policemen on the beat, the Boston Police Department the other day. I think they understand my commitment to helping them in the neighborhoods.

And so it's a combination of these things. But do not erode out of the system the thousand points of light. The people that are out there trying to help these kids, the programs like cities and schools, the work that Barbara Bush is doing so people can learn to read in this country and then go on and break this cycle of poverty.

I'm for Head Start and moving that up. And I've already made a proposal--and yes, it will cost some money. But I favor that. So these are the combination of things I want, and the fact that I don't think the federal government can endorse a \$35 billion program does not mean I have less compassion than the person who endorses such a program.

MR. LEHRER: Governor.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I must have been living through a different eight years then the ones the vice president's been living through, because this administration has cut and slashed and cut and slashed programs for children, for nutrition, for the kinds of things that can help these youngsters to live better lives.

It's cut federal aid to education; it's cut Pell grants and loans to close the door to college opportunity on youngsters all over this country. And that, too, is a major difference between the vice president and me.

Let me just give you one other example. We have a great many people, hundreds of thousands of people living on public assistance in this country. The 50 governors of this



nation have proposed to the Congress that we help those families to get off of welfare, help those youngsters, help their mothers to become independent and self-sufficient. It's taken months and months and months to get Mr. Bush and the administration to support that legislation, and they're still resisting.

That's the way you help people. Being haunted, a thousand points of light--I don't know what that means. I know what strong political leadership is. I know what's happened over the course of the past eight years. These programs have been cut and slashed and butchered, and they've hurt kids all over this country.

MR. LEHRER: A question for the governor, Peter.

MR. JENNINGS: Governor, the crisis is no less a crisis for you if you are elected president. Where would you get the money to devote to the inner cities which is clearly needed. And can you be specific about the programs not only you'd reinstate, but the more imaginative ones that you'd begin.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I said a few minutes ago, Peter, that you could improve the lives of families and youngsters and save money at the same time. Welfare reform is one way to do it. If we invest in job training, in child care for those youngsters, in some extended health benefits so that that mother and her kids don't lose their health benefits when she goes to work, we can help literally hundreds of thousands, if not millions of families, to get off of welfare, to become independent and self-sufficient, to be taxpaying citizens, and to improve their lives, the quality of lives, their futures, and the futures of those children.

That's just one example of how you can save money and improve the quality of life at the same time. In my own state, for example, we now have that universal health care system, which the vice president opposes, I think very unwisely. One of the greatest barriers to opportunity for a family and for those children is the threat that they may lose their health insurance. Think about that father down there in Houston who has to tell his youngster that he can't play little league ball, that he can't go out on that ball field because he's afraid he's going to get hurt.

And yet, Mr. Bush says well, I don't think we ought to expect businesses to provide health insurance for their employees, when responsible employers, a majority of employers in this country do and are paying more for their insurance to reimburse hospitals for free care on account of people that are not insured, that have to go to that hospital.

So these are the ways that you help families, you help youngsters to live better lives, and more decent lives. We're ready to go to work at the state and local level, all of us. I know the private sector is. People are all over the country. But it takes presidential

leadership. It takes a commitment to being involved and the leading. And that's the kind of presidency I want to lead.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: What troubles me is that when I talk of the voluntary sector and a thousand points of light and a thousand different ways to help on these problems, the man has just said he doesn't understand what I'm talking about.

This is the problem I have with the big spending liberals. They think the only way to do it is for the federal government to do it all. The fact happens to be that education spending is up by the federal government; it is up. It is not down.

But here's the point he misses. The federal government spends seven percent of the total money on education, and the rest of the state governments and local governments and the thousand points of light--and I'm talking about private schools and private church schools and things of this nature--are putting up 93 percent.

But the federal spending for education is up, and I want to be the education president, because I want to see us do better. We're putting more money per child into education, and we are not performing as we should. We've gotten away from the values and the fundamentals. And I would like to urge the school superintendents and the others around the country to stand up now and keep us moving forward on a path towards real excellence.

And we can do it. But it's not going to be dictated by some federal bureaucracy in Washington, D.C.

MR. LEHRER: All right, let's move now to some questions on foreign and national security policy. John Mashek will ask the first question of the governor.

MR. MASHEK: Governor, the vice president continually refers to your lack of experience, weakness, naivete on foreign policy and national security matters. He says you are prepared to eliminate weapons systems that will result in the unilateral disarmament of this country. Is that true?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Of course not. Of course that's a charge that's always made against any governor who runs for the presidency. I think it was one of the things that Mr. Bush said about Mr. Reagan back in 1980. Remember that, George? And yet some of our finest presidents, some of our strongest international leaders were governors--Franklin Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt.

It's not the amount of time you spend in Washington. It's not the length of your resume. It's your strength, it's your values, it's the quality of the people you pick. It's your understanding of the forces of change that are sweeping the world, and whether or not



you're in a position to provide leadership to make those forces of change work for us and not against us.

The vice president has a long resume. But it didn't stop him from endorsing the sale of arms to the Ayatollah. And we now know that he was not out of the loop; he was in meeting after meeting after meeting listening to Secretary Shultz and Secretary Weinberger opposing that, and yet he supported it.

His experience didn't prevent him from participating or involving or in some way being involved in the relationship between this government and Mr. Noriega and drug trafficking in Panama.

He went to the Philippines in the early 80's and commended Ferdinand Marcos for his commitment to democracy. And he continues to support a failed policy in Central America which is getting worse and worse, and which has in fact increased Cuban and Soviet influence in that region.

So I don't believe that the fact that you've got that long resume or had that experience is the real question. The question is values; the question is strength, the question is your willingness to provide the kind of leadership that must be provided. I'm ready to provide that leadership. I want to be the commander in chief of this country. I think it takes fresh leadership now, and an understanding of those forces of change to provide the kind of strength that we need, and perhaps the vice president can explain what he was doing when he supported the trading of arms to a terrorist nation, and his involvement in Panama and that endorsement of Mr. Marcos. But I don't think it's just experience that makes the difference. It's strength; it's values.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I thought the question was about defense. The governor was for a nuclear freeze that would have locked in a thousand Soviet intermediate nuclear force weapons and zero for the West. And because we didn't listen to the freeze advocates, and strengthen the defenses of this country, we now have the first arms control agreement in the nuclear age. Now, we're sitting down and talking to the Soviets about strategic arms, and he wants to do away with the Midgetman and the MX, the modernization or our nuclear capability. That is not the way you deal with the Soviets. I've met Mr. Gorbachev. Met Mr. Shevardnadze and talked substance with him the other day. These people are tough. But now we have a chance. If we have the experience and now how to handle it, but please do not go back to the days when the military was as weak as they could be, when the morale was down, and when we were the laughing stock around the world.

And now we are back, because we have strengthened the defenses of this country, and believe me, I don't want to see us return to those days.

As to Ferdinand Marcos, he isn't there any more. It was under our administration that Mrs. Aquino came in. But I'll tell you what I was thinking of. I flew a combat mission, my last one was over Manila. And he was down there fighting against imperialism. And he had just--

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: And he had just lifted martial law. And he had just called for new elections. And all of those things happened because the Philippines do crave democracy. And out he goes.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President, your time is up. John, a question for the vice president.

MR. MASHEK: Mr. Vice President, the governor has suggested that you've never met a weapons system that you didn't like or want. Are you prepared to tell the voters one system in this time of tight budgetary restraints and problems at the Pentagon that you'd be willing to cut or even eliminate that wouldn't endanger national security?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't think it's a question of eliminating. I can tell him some I'm against. A-6F, for example. DIVAD. And I can go on and on. Minuteman III, penetration systems. I mean, there's plenty of them that I oppose, but what I am not going to do, when we are negotiating with the Soviet Union, sitting down talking to Mr. Gorbachev about how we achieve a 50 percent reduction in our strategic weapons, I'm not going to give away a couple of aces in that very tough card game. I'm simply not going to do that.

And under me, when I lead this country, the secretary of defense is going to have to make the choices, between how we keep, how we protect the survivability of our nuclear weapons. We are going to make some changes and some tough choices before we go to deployment on the Midgetman missile, or on the Minuteman, whatever it is. We're going to have to--the MX. We're going to have to do that. It's Christmas.

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Wouldn't it be nice to be perfect?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I hope it isn't Christmas when you make that decision.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Wouldn't it be nice to be the ice man so you never make a mistake? These are the--my answer is do not make these unilateral cuts, and everybody now realizes that peace through strength works, and so this is where I have a big difference.



Of course we're going to have to make some determination on this, and we're going to have to make it on the conventional forces. But now we've got a very good concept called competitive strategies. We will do what we do best. It's a strategy that we've been working on for a couple of years. It is going to take us to much better advantage in conventional forces.

But look, let me sum it up. I want to be the president that gets conventional forces in balance. I want to be the one to banish chemical and biological weapons from the face of the earth. But you have to have a little bit of experience to know where to start. And I think I've had that.

MR. LEHRER: Governor?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, first let me say with respect to the freeze, that back in the spring of 1982 Mr. Bush was a lot more sympathetic to the freeze than he seems to be today. As a matter of fact, he said it was not and should not be subject to partisan demagoguery because it was too important for the United States or for the world. I didn't hear, John, exactly where he was going to cut and what he was going to do.

But I know this, we have serious financial problems in this country. We've piled up over a trillion dollars in debt and the next president of the United States is going to have to make some choices.

Mr. Bush wants to spent billions on Star Wars. He apparently wants to spend billions on the MX on railroad cars, a weapons system we don't need and can't afford. I thought the administration was opposed to the Midgetman. I thought the administration was at the negotiating table in Geneva suggesting that we ban mobile missile systems entirely. But those are the choices the next president of the United States is going to have to make.

I'm for the Stealth, I'm for the D-5, I'm for going ahead with the advance Cruise missile. But I don't think we need these other systems. I don't think we need them to remain strong. We've got to move ahead with the strategic arms negotiation process, with the comprehensive test ban treaty and with negotiations leading to conventional force reduction in Europe with deeper cuts on the Soviet side and Senator Bentsen and I will pursue that policy.

MR. LEHRER: Anne Groer, a question for the Vice President.

MS. GROER: Well, Mr. Vice President, you said you've met with Secretary General Gorbachev, you've met with Mr. Shevardnadze, but for the last forty years Americans have been taught to regard the Soviet Union as the enemy. Yet, President Reagan has signed two arms control treaties and he's promised to share Star Wars technology with the very country he once called the evil empire. So, perhaps you can tell us this evening,

should we be doing a lot to help the economics and the social development of a country that we have so long regarded as an adversary?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: What I think we ought to do is take a look at perestroika and glasnost, welcome them, but keep our eyes open. Be cautious. Because the Soviet change is not fully established yet. Yes, I think it's fine to do business with them. But I don't want to see us exporting our highly sensitive national security oriented technology to the Soviet Union. I don't want to see us making unilateral cuts in our strategic systems while we are negotiating with them. And, so, I'm encouraged with what I see when I talk to Mr.--what I hear when I talk to Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Shevardnadze, but can they pull it off.

And when they have a--they a--deals that are good for us, as China started to do--the changes in China since Barbara and I lived there is absolutely amazing, in terms of incentive, in partnerships and things of this nature. And now the Soviet Union seems to be walking down that same path. We should encourage that. We ought to say this is good.

But where I differ with my opponent is I am not going to make unilateral cuts in our strategic defense systems or support some freeze when they have superiority. I'm not going to do that, because I think the jury is still out on the Soviet experiment.

And the interesting place -- one of the things that fascinates me about this perestroika and glasnost is what's going to happen in Eastern Europe. You see the turmoil in Poland today. And I think we have enormous opportunity for trade. I don't want to go back to the Carter grain embargo on the Soviets. We are once again reliable suppliers and I would never use food as a political tool like our predecessors did. But this is an exciting time. But all I'm suggesting is let's not be naive in dealing with the Soviets and make a lot of unilateral cuts hoping against hope that they will match our bid.

Look at the INF treaty. And if we haven't learned from the negotiating history on that, we'll never learn. The freeze people were wrong. The Reagan-Bush administration was right.

MR. LEHRER: Governor Dukakis.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: It was a very different George Bush who was talking much more sympathetically about the freeze in the spring of 1982 than he is today. And you were right then, George, when you said it was no time for partisan demagoguery. Nobody is suggesting that we unilaterally disarm or somehow reduce our strength, of course not. What we're talking about is a combination of a strong and effective and credible nuclear deterrent. Strong, well-equipped, well-trained, well-maintained conventional forces. And at the same time a willingness to move forward steadily, thoughtfully cautiously.



We have serious differences with the Soviet Union. We have very fundamental differences about human rights, democracy and our basic system, our basic view of human beings and of what life is all about. But there are opportunities there now. Senator Bentsen and I have a plan for the 1990's and beyond. Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle do not.

And we want to pursue that plan in a way which will bring down the level of nuclear armament, will build a more stable and more peaceful world while making choices here at home. Let's not forget that our national security and our economic security go hand in hand. We cannot be strong militarily when we're teeter-tottering on top of a mountain of debt which has been created in the past eight years. That's why we need a Democratic administration in Washington in 1989.

(Applause)

MR. LEHRER: Anne Groer, a question for the Governor.

MS. GROER: Yes. Governor Dukakis, speaking of seeming changes of position, you have gone from calling the Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars, a fantasy and a fraud, to saying recently that you would continue SDI research and might even deploy the system if Congress supported such a move. Why the change of heart?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: No, there's been no change of heart. I said from the beginning that we ought to continue research into the strategic system at about the level that was added in 1983, that's about a billion dollars a year. But I don't know of any reputable scientist who believed that this system, at least as originally conceived could possibly work, this notion of some kind of astrodome over ourselves that could protect us from enemy attack. It makes real sense. And as a matter of fact, the system that the administration is now talking about is very different from the one that was originally proposed in 1983.

So, I'm for continued research, but I also want strong conventional forces. Now, the other day, Mr. Bush said, "Well, if we continue with Star War--Star Wars--we have to cut some place." He hasn't told us where. We know where they're cutting. We know where you're cutting right now. You're cutting into the fiber and muscle of our conventional forces. You're cutting back on maintenance and equipment.

An Air Force General not too long ago in Europe who said that pretty soon we'd have airplanes without engines, tank commanders who can't drive their tanks more than three-quarters of a mile, because they don't have enough fuel. Coast Guard cutters tied up at the dock this summer, not patrolling. They're supposed to be our first line of defense against drugs and the war against drugs, because they don't have enough fuel.

You have to make choices. We're not making those choices. And to spend billions and billions of dollars as Mr. Bush apparently wants to, although, he, himself has been

all over the lot on this issue lately--on Star Wars--in my judgment makes no sense at all. We need a strong, credible, effective nuclear deterrent. We have 13,000 strategic nuclear warheads right now on land, on sea and in the air, enough to blow up the Soviet Union forty times over. They have about 12,000. So, we've got to move forward with those negotiations, get the level of strategic weapons down.

But to continue to commit billions to this system makes no sense at all and I think Mr. Bush has been reconsidering his position over the course of the past few weeks. That's--at least that's what I read. Maybe he'll tell us where he stands on it tonight.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm not reconsidering my position. Two questions: How do you deter nuclear attack without modernizing our nuclear forces when the Soviets are modernizing and how come you spend--willing to spend a dime on something that you consider a fantasy and a fraud. Those are two hypo--rhetorical questions.

He is the man on conventional forces that wants to eliminate two carrier battle groups. The armed forces, the conventional forces of the United States have never been more ready. Every single one of the Joint Chiefs will testify to the fact that readiness is in an historic high. And secondly, in terms of the cutting of the Coast Guard, the Democratic controlled Congress, so please help us with that, who cut \$70 million from the Coast Guard out of the interdiction effort on narcotics.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: He's got to get this thing more clear. Why do you spend a billion dollars on something you think is a fantasy and a fraud? I will fully research it, go forward as fast as we can. We've set up the levels of funding and when it is deployable, I will deploy it. That is my position on SDI and it's never wavered a bit.

MR. LEHRER: Peter Jennings, a question for Governor Dukakis.

MR. JENNINGS: Well, Governor, and, Vice President Bush, you've both talked tonight about hard choices. Let me try to give you one. Somewhere in the Middle East tonight, nine Americans are being held hostage. If you are commander-in-chief and Americans are held hostage, what will be more important to you, their individual fate, their individual fate, or the commitment that the United States Government must never negotiate with terrorists. And if any Americans are held hostage and you become president, to what lengths would you go to rescue them?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Peter, it's one of the most agonizing decisions a president has to make. These are American citizens, we care deeply about them. Their families care deeply about them, want them back and understandably so and we want to do everything we can to bring them back.



But if there's one thing we also understand it is that you cannot make concessions to terrorists, ever, ever. Because if you do, it's an open invitation to other terrorists to take hostages and to blackmail us. And that's the tragedy of the Iran/Contra scandal.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Bush was the Chairman of a task force on international terrorism which issued a report shortly before that decision was made and said, and rightly so, that we never ever can make concessions to terrorists and hostage takers. And, yet, after sitting through meeting after meeting, he endorsed that decision, endorsed the sale of arms to the Ayatollah in exchange for hostages, one of the most tragic, one of the most mistaken foreign policy decisions we've ever made in this country and I dare say encouraged others to take hostages as we now know.

So, there can be no concessions under any circumstances, because if we do it's an open invitation to others to do the same. We've got to be tough on international terrorism. We've got to treat it as international crime. We've got to attack it all points, we've got to use undercover operations. We have to be prepared to use military force against terrorists base camps, we have to work closely with our allies to make sure that they're working with us and we with them and we can give no quarter when it comes to breaking the back of international terrorism.

Yes, we should make every effort to try to help those hostages come home, but it can never be because we make concessions. That was a tragic mistake that we made, a mistake that Mr. Bush made and others made and it should never ever be made again.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I wrote the anti-terrorist report for this government. It is the best anti-terrorist report written. Yes, we shouldn't trade arms for hostages. But we have made vast improvements in our anti-terrorism. Now, it's fine to say that sometimes you have to hit base camps, but when the president saw this state sponsored--fingerprints of Moamar Khadaffi on the loss of American life, he hit Libya. And my opponent was unwilling to support that action.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: That's not true. That's not true.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: And since that action, terrorist action against the United States citizens have gone down.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: That's not true.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: And I have long ago said I supported the president on this other matter. And I've said mistakes were made. Clearly nobody's going to think the president started out thinking he was going to trade arms for hostages. That is a very serious charge against the president. The matter has been thoroughly looked into. But the point is sometimes the action --

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: -- has to be taken by the Federal Government and when we took action, it had a favorable response.

MR. LEHRER: A question for the Vice President. Peter?

MR. JENNINGS: It seems perhaps a good subject, Mr. Vice President, on which to make the point that you've campaigned vigorously as part of a leadership team. But so far you won't tell the American people in considerable measure what advice you gave the president, including the sale of arms to Iran and what should have been done about the hostages. To the best of my knowledge there's no Constitutional requirement which prevents you from doing so. Jimmy Carter urged his Vice President, Walter Mondale, to tell the American people. Would you now ask President Reagan for permission to tell the American people what advice you did give him? And if you don't, how do we judge your judgment in the Oval Office in the last eight years?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: You're judged by the whole record. You're judge by the entire record. Are we closer to peace? Are we doing better in anti-terrorism? Should we have listened to my opponent who wanted to send the UN into the Persian Gulf or in spite of the mistakes of the past, are we doing better there? How is our credibility with the GCC countries on the Western side of the Gulf. Is Iran talking to Iraq about peace? You judge on the record. Are the Soviets coming out of Afghanistan? How does it look in a program he called or some one of these marvelous Boston adjectives up there and--about Angola--now, we have a chance--several Bostonians don't like it, but the rest of the country will understand.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Now we have a chance. Now we have a chance. And, so, I think that I'd leave it right there and say that you judge on the whole record. And let me say this--all he can talk about--he goes around ranting about Noriega. Now, I've told you what the intelligence briefing he received said about that. He can talk about Iran/Contra and also--I'll make a deal with you, I will take the blame for those two incidents if you give me half the credit for all the good things that have happened in world peace since Ronald Reagan and I took over from the Carter administration.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I still have a couple of minutes left. And there is a difference principle --

MR. LEHRER: Sorry, Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: It's only on yellow here. Wait a minute.

(Laughter)



MR. LEHRER: I'm wrong. Go ahead. My apologies.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Jim --

MR. LEHRER: You said nobody's perfect.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I said I wasn't perfect. Where was I?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: 25th of December, Mr. Vice President.

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I finished.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: He can have another ten seconds if he wants, Jim.

MR. LEHRER: Governor, you have a minute to respond.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, the matter of judgment is very important. And I think it's important to understand what happened here.

A report on international terrorism chaired by the Vice President was released and made some very specific recommendations about how to deal with terrorism. They were ignored. The Vice President ignored them. He says mistakes were made. Very serious mistakes in judgment were made. He says, "Well, let's concede that the administration has been doing business with Noriega. Has made him a part of our foreign policy in has been funnelling aid to Contras through convicted drug dealers.

I think those are very very serious questions of judgment, which those of you who are watching us here tonight have a right to judge and review. We're not going to make those kinds of mistakes. You cannot make concessions to terrorists. If you do, you invite the taking of more hostages. That's a basic principle. It was ignored in that case and it was a very very serious mistake in judgment.

MR. LEHRER: A question from John Mashek. It goes to the Vice President.

MR. MASHEK: Mr. Vice President, Democrats and even some Republicans are still expressing reservations about the qualifications and credentials of Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana, your chosen running mate, to be a heartbeat away from the presidency. What do you see in him that others do not?

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I see a young man that was elected to the Senate twice, to the House of Representatives twice. I see a man who is young and I am putting my confidence in a whole generation of people that are in their 30's and in their 40's. I see a man that took the leadership in the Job Training Partnership Act and that retrains people in this highly competitive changing society we're in, so if a person loses his job he is retrained for a benefit--for a--work that will be productive and he won't have to go on one of these many programs that the liberal--talking about.

I see a young man who is a knowledgeable--in defense and there are three people on our ticket that are knowledgeable--in the whole--in the race--knowledgeable in defense and Dan Quayle is one of them and I am one of them. And I believe that he will be outstanding. And he took a tremendous pounding and everybody now knows that he took a very unfair pounding. And I'd like each person to say did I jump to conclusions running down rumors that were so outrageous and so brutal. And he's kept his head up. And he will do very very well. And he has my full confidence and he'll have the confidence of people that are in their 30's and 40's and more. So, judge the man on his record not on the--lot of rumors and innuendo and trying to fool around with his name.

My opponent says J. Danforth Quayle. Do you know who J. Danforth was, he was a man who gave his life in World War II, so ridiculing a person's name is a little beneath this process. And he'll do very well when we get into the debates.

(Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, when it comes to ridicule, George, you win a gold medal. I think we can agree on that in the course of this campaign.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Just the facts.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: But did I--did I sense a desire that maybe Lloyd Bentsen ought to be your running mate when you said there are three people on your ticket?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I think the debate ought to be between you and Lloyd.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I think the American people have a right to judge us on this question, on how we picked a running mate, a person who is a heartbeat away from the presidency. I picked Lloyd Bentsen, distinguished, strong, mature a leader in the Senate, somebody whose qualifications nobody has questioned. Mr. Bush picked Dan Quayle.

I doubt very much that Dan Quayle was the best qualified person for that job. And as a matter of fact, I think for most people the notion of President Quayle is a very very troubling tonight.

MR. LEHRER: John will ask a question of the Governor. It will be the last question and then the Vice President will have a rebuttal.

MR. MASHEK: Well, Governor, you did select Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I did indeed.

MR. MASHEK: And you have a lot of disagreement with him on fundamental issues, including the Reagan tax cuts, aid to the rebels in Nicaragua, the death penalty, gun control. Who's right?

(Laughter)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, John, I'm a man that's been a chief executive for ten years. I've picked a lot of people. I've picked cabinets. I've named judges. I know that the people you pick make an enormous difference in your ability to govern and I set high standards. I try to meet them and I insist that people who work for me meet them, if they don't, they don't stick around very long.

But I didn't pick Lloyd Bentsen because he was a clone of Mike Dukakis. I picked him because he was somebody who would be a strong Vice President, somebody who would be an active Vice President. Somebody who would come to me if somebody came up with a crazy idea that we ought to trade arms to the Ayatollah for hostages and say, "Mr. President, that's wrong. We shouldn't do that." That's the kind of Vice President I want.

He, himself, has said, and rightly so, that he'll be a strong Vice President. When the Vice President makes a decision, that will be his decision. And I'm very very proud of that choice. And I didn't pick him because he agreed with me on everything.

You know, Sam Rayburn once said that if two people agree on everything then only one person is doing the thinking. The fact is I've picked somebody who not only will be a great Vice President, but if, God forbid, something happens to the president, could step into that office and do so with distinction and with strength and with leadership. I doubt very much. I doubt very much that Mr. Bush's selection for the Vice Presidency of the United States meets that test.

(Applause)

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I--we obviously have a difference. I believe it does meet the test. We'll have an opportunity to see the two of them in action in a friendly forum, wonderful friendly fashion like this.

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I had hoped this had been a little friendlier evening. I wanted to hitchhike a ride home in his tank with him. But now we've got the lines too carefully drawn here. But you talk about judgment. I mean, what kind of judgment--I mean, jumping all over the president on his decision on one area of farm policy. What kind of judgment sense has your chief education adviser now in jail in Massachusetts? I mean, there's--I don't think this is a fair argument. But nevertheless, I support my nominee for Vice President and he'll do an outstanding job.

MR. LEHRER: Gentlemen, I was given some bad word a moment ago. There is time for one more question. Getting it in my ear and Ann Groer will ask it. Ann? To the Governor.

MS. GROER: Governor Dukakis, as many U.S. farmers face or undergo foreclosure the United States is considering the possibility of forgiving a certain percentage of debt owed by Latin American and Third World countries, do you favor giving these countries a break in their loans and, if so, how do you explain that to the American farmers who are losing their land and livelihood?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, I think we have to go to work on the problem of Third World debt and we've got to assist those Third World countries in dealing with this massive debt which they currently--which they have incurred and which is burdening them and which if we don't do something about it and assist them along with other nations around the world, we'll destroy their economies, destroy their future. And at the same time will destroy markets that are important to our farmers.

But I also believe we need an agricultural policy which doesn't cost us 15 to 20 to 25 billion dollars a year that it's been costing us over the course of the past three or four years under this administration. I think it's going to require good, solid credit policies. And thanks to the Congress we now have an agricultural credit bill which is helping and improving the situation with at least some of our farmers.

I think it's going to require a combination of supply management and reasonable price supports to make sure that our farmers get a decent price and I think it also is going to require an administration that understands that there are tremendous opportunities out there for the development of new uses for agricultural products, new uses which can help us to clean up our environment at the same time. Bio-degradable plastics--plastic--gasohol, which the Vice President has been involved in, road de-icers made from corn products. I mean, there are enormous opportunities out there to expand markets and to build a strong future for our farmers.

But I don't think there's anything mutually exclusive or contradictory about building a strong farm economy in this country and assisting our family farms and providing a good strong future for rural communities and for rural America and at the same time working on Third World debt.

As a matter of fact, Mexico, itself, is one of our biggest agricultural customers, so in the sense that we can work to help Mexico rebuild and expand and deal with these very serious economic problems we help our farmers at the same time.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. Vice President?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I oppose supply management and production controls. I support the farm bill, the 1985 farm bill and spending is moving in the right direction. I want to expand our markets abroad and that's why I've called for that first economic summit to be on agriculture.



I will not go back to the way the Democrats did it and used food as a political weapon and throw a grain embargo on the farmers in this country. I want to see rural redevelopment and I have been out front in favor of alternate sources of energy and one of them is gasohol and comes from using your corn and I think we can do better in terms of biodegradable for a lot of product, so I'm optimistic about the agricultural economy.

In terms of the Third World, I support the Baker plan. I want to see market economies spring up all around the world and to the degree they do, we are succeeding. And I don't want to see the banks let off the hook. I would oppose that, but I think we're on the right track in agriculture and I am very very encouraged. But let's not go back to that--what they call supply management and production control, that'll simply price us out of the international market. Let's try to expand our markets abroad.

MR. LEHRER: All right. That really is the end. Now, let's go to closing statements. They will be two minutes each in duration by agreement. Vice President Bush goes first. Governor Dukakis second. Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I talked in New Orleans about a gentler and kinder nation and I have made specific proposals on education and the environment and on ethics and energy and how we do better in battling crime in our country. But there are two main focal points of this election. Opportunity and peace.

I want to keep this expansion going. Yes, we want change but we are the change. I am the change. I don't want to go back to malaise and misery index. And, so, opportunity. Keep America at work. The best poverty program is a job with dignity in the private sector. And in terms of peace, we are on the right track. We've achieved an arms control agreement that our critics thought was never possible and I want to build on it. I want to see us finalize that START agreement and I want it to be the one to finally lead the world to banishing chemical and biological weapons.

I want to see asymmetrical reductions in conventional forces. And then it gets down to a question of values. We've had a chance to spell out our differences on the Pledge of Allegiance here tonight and on tough sentencing of drug king pins and this kind of thing. And I do favor the death penalty. And we've got a wide array of differences on those.

But in the final analysis--in the final analysis, the person goes into that voting booth, they're going to say, "Who has the values I believe in? Who has the experience that we trust? Who has the integrity and stability to get the job done?" My fellow Americans, I am that man and I ask for your support. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: This has been an extraordinary 18 months for Kitty and me and for our family. We've had an opportunity to campaign all over this country and to

meet with so many of you in communities and states and regions to get to know you. I'm more optimistic today than I was when I began about this nation providing we have the kind of leadership in Washington that can work with you, that can build partnerships, that can build jobs in every part of this country, not certain parts of this country.

You know, my friends, my parents came to this country as immigrants like millions and millions of Americans before them and since, seeking opportunities, seeking the American dream. They made sure their sons understood that this was the greatest country in the world, that those of us especially who were the sons and daughters of immigrants had a special responsibility to give something to the country that had opened up its arms to our parents and given so much to them.

I believe in the American dream. I'm a product of it and I want to help that dream come true for every single citizen in this land, with a good job and good wages, with good schools in every part of this country and every community in this country. With decent and affordable housing that our people can buy and own and live in, so that we end the shame of hopelessness in America. With decent and affordable health care for all working families.

Yes, it's a tough problem as Mr. Bush says, but it's not an insolvable problem. It's one that we will solve and must solve, with a clean and wholesome environment and with a strong America that's strong militarily and economically as we must be, an America that provides strong international leadership because we're true to our values.

We have an opportunity working together to build that future, to build a better America, to build a best America, because the best America doesn't hide. We compete. The best America. We invest. The best America doesn't leave some of its citizens behind. We live--we bring everybody along. And the best America is not behind us. The best America is yet to come. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

# THE SECOND 1988 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

between

MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS  
Democratic Nominee for President

and

GEORGE BUSH  
Republican Nominee for President

MODERATOR

Bernard Shaw  
CNN

PANELISTS

Ann Compton  
ABC News

Andrea Mitchell  
NBC News

Margaret Warner  
Newsweek

Pauley Pavilion  
UCLA

MR. SHAW: On behalf of the Commission on Presidential Debates, I am pleased to welcome you to the second presidential debate.

I am Bernard Shaw of CNN, Cable News Network. My colleagues on the panel are Ann Compton of ABC NEWS; Margaret Warner of Newsweek magazine; and Andrea Mitchell of NBC NEWS.

The candidates are Vice President George Bush, the Republican nominee; and Governor Michael Dukakis, the Democratic nominee.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: For the next 90 minutes we will be questioning the candidates following a format designed and agreed to by representatives of the two campaigns.

However, there are no restrictions on the questions that my colleagues and I can ask this evening, and the candidates have no prior knowledge of our questions.

By agreement between the candidates, the first question goes to Gov. Dukakis. You have two minutes to respond.

Governor, if Kitty Dukakis were raped and murdered, would you favor an irrevocable death penalty for the killer?

GOV. DUKAKIS: No, I don't, Bernard. And I think you know that I've opposed the death penalty during all of my life. I don't see any evidence that it's a deterrent, and I think there are better and more effective ways to deal with violent crime.

We've done so in my own state. And it's one of the reasons why we have had the biggest drop in crime of any industrial state in America; why we have the lowest murder rate of any industrial state in America.

But we have work to do in this nation. We have work to do to fight a real war, not a phony war, against drugs. And that's something I want to lead, something we haven't had over the course of the past many years, even though the Vice President has been at least allegedly in charge of that war.

We have much to do to step up that war, to double the number of drug enforcement agents, to fight both here and abroad, to work with our neighbors in this hemisphere.

And I want to call a hemispheric summit just as soon after the 20th of January as possible to fight that war.

But we also have to deal with drug education prevention here at home. And that's one of the things that I hope I can lead personally as the President of the United States. We've had great success in my own state. And we've reached out to young people and their families and been able to help them by beginning drug education and prevention in the early elementary grades.



So we can fight this war, and we can win this war. And we can do so in a way that marshalls our forces, that provides real support for state and local law enforcement officers who have not been getting that support, and do it in a way which will bring down violence in this nation, will help our youngsters to stay away from drugs, will stop this avalanche of drugs that's pouring into the country, and will make it possible for our kids and our families to grow up in safe and secure and decent neighborhoods.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President, your one-minute rebuttal.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, a lot of what this campaign is about, it seems to me Bernie, goes to the question of values. And here I do have, on this particular question, a big difference with my opponent.

You see, I do believe that some crimes are so heinous, so brutal, so outrageous, and I'd say particularly those that result in the death of a police officer, for those real brutal crimes, I do believe in the death penalty, and I think it is a deterrent, and I believe we need it.

And I'm glad that the Congress moved on this drug bill and have finally called for that related to these narcotics drug kingpins.

And so we just have an honest difference of opinion: I support it and he doesn't.

MR. SHAW: Now to you, Vice President Bush. I quote to you this from Article III of the 20th amendment to the Constitution. Quote:

"If at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President the President-elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become president,"

meaning, if you are elected and die before inauguration day--

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Bernie.

MR. SHAW: --automatically--automatically, Dan Quayle would become the 41st President of the United States. What have you to say about that possibility?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I'd have confidence in him. And I made a good selection. And I've never seen such a pounding, an unfair pounding, on a young Senator in my entire life.

And I've never seen a presidential campaign where the presidential nominee runs against my vice presidential nominee; never seen one before.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: But you know, Lloyd Bentsen jumped on Dan Quayle, when Dan Quayle said, he's had roughly the same amount of experience. He had two terms in the Congress. He had two terms in the Senate, serving his second term.

He founded--authored, the job training partnership act. It says to American working men and women that are thrown out of work for no fault of their own that they're going to have jobs.

We're moving into a new competitive age, and we need that kind of thing.

He, unlike my opponent, is an expert in national defense; helped amend the INF treaty so we got a good, sound treaty, when these people over here were talking about a freeze. If we'd listened to them, we would never have had a treaty.

And so I have great confidence in him. And it's turning around. You know, the American people are fair. They don't like it when there's an unfair pounding and kind of hooting about people. They want to judge it on the record itself.

And so I'm proud of my choice. And you know, I don't think age is the only criterion. But I'll tell you something, I'm proud that people who are 30 years old and 40 years old now have someone in their generation that is going to be vice president of the United States of America.

I made a good selection. The American people are seeing it, and I'm proud of it; that's what I'd say. And he could do the job.

MR. SHAW: Gov. Dukakis, your one-minute rebuttal.

GOV. DUKAKIS: Bernard, this was the first presidential decision that we as nominees were called upon to make. And that's why people are so concerned.

Because it was an opportunity for us to demonstrate what we were looking for in a running mate. More than that, it was the first national security decision that we had to make.

The Vice President talks about national security. Three times since World War II, the Vice President has had to suddenly become the President and commander in chief.

I picked Lloyd Bentsen, because I thought he was the best qualified person for the job.  
(Applause)

GOV. DUKAKIS: Mr. Bush picked Dan Quayle, and before he did it, he said, watch my choice for vice president, it will tell all. And it sure did. It sure did.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Ann Compton for the Vice President.

MS. COMPTON: Thank you, Bernie. Mr. Vice President, yes, we read your lips: no new taxes. But despite that same pledge from President Reagan, after income tax rates were cut, in each of the last five years, some Federal taxes have gone up, on Social Security, cigarettes, liquor, even long distance telephone calls.

Now that's money straight out of people's wallets. Isn't the phrase, no new taxes, misleading the voters?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No, because I'm pledged to that, and yes, some taxes have gone up. And the main point is, taxes have been cut, and yet income is up to the Federal Government by 25 percent in the last three years.

And so what I want to do is keep this expansion going. I don't want to kill it off by a tax increase.

More Americans at work today than at any time in the history of the country, and a greater percentage of the work force. And the way you kill expansions is to raise taxes. And I don't want to do that, and I won't do that.

And what I have proposed is something much better. And it's going to take discipline of the executive branch; it's going to take discipline of the congressional branch. And that is what I call a flexible freeze that allows growth--about 4 percent or the rate of inflation--but does not permit the Congress just to add on spending.

I hear this talk about a blank check. The American people are pretty smart: they know who writes out the checks. And they know who appropriates the money. It is the United States Congress.

And by two to one, Congress is blamed for these deficits. And the answer is to discipline both the executive branch and the congressional branch by holding the line on taxes.

So I'm pledged to do that. And those pessimists who say it can't be done, I'm sorry, I just have a fundamental disagreement with them.

MR. SHAW: Gov. Dukakis, your one-minute response.

GOV. DUKAKIS: Ann, the Vice President made that pledge. He's broken it three times in the past year already. So it isn't worth the paper it's printed on.

And what I'm concerned about is that if we continue with the policies that Mr. Bush is talking about here this evening, the flexible freeze--somebody described it the other day as a kind of economic slurpee--he wants to spend billions on virtually every weapons system around. He says he's not going to raise taxes, though he has broken that pledge repeatedly. He says he wants to give the wealthiest one percent of the people in this country a five-year \$40 billion tax break, and we're going to pay for it.

And he's been proposing all kinds of programs for new spending costing billions. Now if we continue with these policies, this trillion and a half dollars worth of new debt that's already been added on the backs of the American taxpayer is going to increase even more, and if we continue with this for another four years, then I'm worried about the next generation, whether we can ever turn this situation around.

No, we need a chief executive who is prepared to lead; who won't blame the Congress; who will lead to bring down that deficit, who will make tough choices on spending--

MR. SHAW: Governor--

GOV. DUKAKIS: --will go out and do the job that we expect of him and do it with the Congress of the United States.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: And to Governor Dukakis.

MS. COMPTON: Governor, let me follow up on that by asking you--you've said it many times that you have balanced ten budgets in a row in Massachusetts.

Are you promising the American people here tonight that within a four-year presidential term, you will balance the federal budget?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: No, I'm not sure I can promise that; I don't think either one of us can really. There is no way of anticipating what may happen. I will say this: that we will set as our goal a steady, gradual reduction of the deficit, which will require tough choices on spending; it will require a good strong rate of economic growth; it will require a plan that the president works out with the Congress--doesn't blame them, works it out with them, which brings that deficit down; it will require us to go out and collect billions and billions of dollars in taxes owed that aren't being paid in this country. And that's grossly unfair to the average American who is paying his taxes and paying them on time--and doesn't have any alternative: it's taken out of his paycheck.

Mr. Bush says we are going to put the IRS on every taxpayer. That's not what we are going to do. I'm for the taxpayer bill of rights.

But I think it's unconscionable, Ann, that we should be talking or thinking about imposing new taxes on average Americans when there are billions out there, over \$100 billion, in taxes owed that aren't being paid.

Now, I think if we work together on it, and if you have a president that will work with the Congress and the American people, we can bring that deficit down steadily, \$20, \$25, \$30 billion a year, build economic growth, build a good strong future for America, invest in those things which we must invest in--economic development, good jobs, good schools for our kids, college opportunity for young people, decent health care and affordable housing, and a clean and safe environment.

We can do all of those things, and at the same time build a future in which we are standing on a good strong fiscal foundation.

Senator Bentsen said, as you recall at the debate with Senator Quayle, that if you give any of us \$200 billion worth of hot checks a year, we can create an illusion of prosperity. But sooner or later that credit card mentality isn't going to work.

And I want to bring to the White House a sense of strength and fiscal responsibility which will build a good strong foundation under which this country, or above which this



country can move, grow, invest, and build the best America for its people and for our kids and our grandkids.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President, your response.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: The Governor has to balance the budget in his state--he is required to by law. He has raised taxes several times.

I wish he would join me, as a matter of fact, in appealing to the American people for the balanced budget amendment for the federal government and for the line-item veto.

(Applause)

I'd like to have that line-item veto for the president, because I think that would be extraordinarily helpful.

And I won't do one other thing that he's had to do: took \$29 million out of his state pension fund--that's equivalent at the federal level of taking out of the Social Security trust fund. I'm not going to do that; I won't do that.

(Applause)

And so I'm still a little unclear as to whether he's for or against the tax increase. I have been for the taxpayer bill of rights all along. And this idea of unleashing a whole bunch--an army, a conventional force army, of IRS agents into everybody's kitchen--I mean, he's against most defense matters, and now he wants to get an army of IRS auditors going out there.

(Laughter)

I'm against that; I oppose that.

(Boos and applause)

MR. SHAW: I'm going to say this--and I'm going to say it once to every person in this auditorium: what these candidates are about is of utmost seriousness to the American voters; they should be heard and you should be quiet. If you are not quiet, I am going to implore the candidates to do something about quieting their own partisans. But we cannot get through this program with these outbursts.

Margaret Warner for Governor Dukakis.

MS. WARNER: Good evening, Governor, Mr. Vice President. Governor, you won the first debate on intellect, and yet you lost it on heart.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Just a minute.

MS. WARNER: You'll get your turn.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I don't know if the vice president agrees with that.

MS. WARNER: The American public admired your performance, but didn't seem to like you much.

Now, Ronald Reagan has found his personal warmth to be a tremendous political asset. Do you think that a president has to be likable to be an effective leader?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Margaret, may I go back and just say to the vice president that I didn't raid the pension fund of Massachusetts--you are dead wrong, George, we didn't do that. As a matter of fact, I'm the first governor in the history of my state to fund that pension system, and I'm very proud of that.

(Applause)

I have been in politics for twenty-five years, Margaret; I've won a lot of elections, I've lost a few, as you know, and learned from those losses. I won the Democratic nomination in fifty-one separate contests. I think I'm a reasonably likable guy.

(Laughter, scattered applause)

I'm serious--though I think I'm a little more lovable these days than I used to be back in my youth when I began in my state legislature.

But I'm also a serious guy. I think the presidency of the United States is a very serious office, and I think we have to address these issues in a very serious way.

So I hope and expect that I will be liked by the people of this country as president of the United States; I certainly hope I will be liked by them on the 8th of November.

(Laughter)

But I also think it's important to be somebody who is willing to make those tough choices.

Now, we have just heard two or three times from the vice president: he's not going to raise taxes. I repeat, within days after you made that pledge, you broke it; you said, well, maybe as a last resort we'll do it. And you supported legislation this year that's involved tax increases--not once, but twice.

So that pledge isn't realistic, and I think the vice president knows it; I think the people of this country know it.

The fact of the matter is that the next president of the United States is going to have to go to the White House seriously, he is going to have to work with the Congress seriously--he can't turn to the Congress and blame them for the fact that we don't have a balanced budget and that we have billions and billions of dollars in red ink.

And I am going to be a president who is serious, I hope and expect will be liked by the American people. But more than that, to do the kind of job that I'm elected to do, will do it with as much good humor as I can, but at the same time will do it in a way which will achieve the goals we want for ourselves and our people.

And I think we know what they are: a good strong future, a future in which there is opportunity for all of our citizens.

MR. SHAW: One minute from the Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't think it's a question of whether people like you or not to make you an effective leader. I think it's whether you share the broad dreams of the American people, whether you have confidence in the people's ability to get things done or whether you think it all should be turned over, as many of the liberals do, to Washington, D.C.

You see, I think it's a question of values, not likability or loveability, it's a question in foreign affairs in experience, knowing world leaders, knowing how to build on a superb record of this administration in arms control, because you'd know exactly how to begin.

You have to learn from experience that making unilateral cuts in defense system is not the way that you enhance peace.

You've got to understand that it is only the United States that can stand for freedom and democracy around the world and we can't turn it over to the United Nations or other multi-lateral organizations.

It is, though, trying to understand the heartbeat of the country. And I know these campaigns get knocked a lot, but I think I'd be a better President now for having had to travel to these communities and understand the family values and the importance of neighborhood.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Please.

MR. SHAW: Margaret Warner for the Vice President.

MS. WARNER: I'd like to follow up on that Mr. Vice President. The tenor of the campaign you've been running, in terms of both the issues and your rhetoric has surprised even some of your friends.

Senator Mark Hatfield who's known your family a long time and who knew your father, the late Senator Prescott Bush, said, and I quote, "If his father were alive today, I'm sure his father would see it as a shocking transformation." Is Senator Hatfield right?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: What was he referring to?

MS. WARNER: He was referring to your performance in the campaign.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think my dad would be pretty proud of me, because I think we've come a long long way and I think, you know -- three months ago, I remember some of the great publications in this country had written me off.

And what I've had to do is define, not just my position, but to define his and I hope I've done it fairly. And the reason I've had to do that is that he ran on the left in the Democratic primary, ran firmly and ran with conviction and ran on his record.

And then at that Democratic convention, they made a determination and they said there, ideology doesn't matter, just competence. And in the process the negatives began.

It wasn't me that was there at that convention. Thank God I was up in the -- with Jimmy Baker camping out and I didn't have to hear all the personal attacks on me out of that Democratic convention.

And I'm not the one that compared the President of the United States rotting from--like a dead fish--from the head down. I didn't do that.

But I have defined the issues and I am not going to let Governor Dukakis go through this election without explaining some of these very liberal position--he's the one a liberal, traditional liberal--a progressive liberal Democrat.

He's the one that brought up, to garner primary votes, the whole question of the ACLU. And I have enormous difference with the ACLU on their politic agenda. Not on their defending some minority opinion on the right or the left. I support that.

But what I don't like is this left wing political agenda and therefore I have to help define that and if he's unwilling to do it, if he says ideology doesn't matter, I don't agree with him.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: One minute from Governor Dukakis.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, Margaret, we've heard it again tonight and I'm not surprised, the labels. I guess the Vice President two or three times, said I was coming from the left. In 1980, President Reagan called you a liberal for voting for Federal gun control.

And this is something Republicans have used for a long time. They tried it with Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy.

It's not labels. It's our vision of America. And we have two fundamentally different visions of America. The Vice President is complacent, thinks we ought to stick with the status quo, doesn't think we ought to move ahead, thinking things are okay as they are. I don't.

I think this is a great country, because we've always wanted to do better, to make our country better, to make our lives better. We've always been a nation which was ambitious for America and we move forward.

And that's the kind of America I want. That's the kind of leadership I want to provide. But I don't think these labels mean a thing and I would hope that tonight in the course of the rest of this campaign, we can have good solid disagreements on issues. There's nothing the matter with that.



But let's stop labelling each other and let's get to the heart of the matter which is the future of this country.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Andrea Mitchell, for the Vice President.

MS. MITCHELL: Mr. Vice President, Governor. Mr. Vice President, let me return for a moment to the issue of the budget, because so much has already been put off limits in your campaign that most people do not believe that the flexible freeze alone will solve the problem of the deficit. So, let's turn to defense for a moment.

Pentagon officials tell us that there is not enough money in the budget to handle military readiness, preparedness, as well as new weapons systems that have been proposed, as well as those already in the pipeline.

You were asked in the first debate what new weapons systems you would cut. You mentioned three that had already been cancelled. Can you tonight share with us three new weapons systems that you could?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: If I knew of three new weapons systems that I thought were purely waste and weren't protected by the Congress, they wouldn't be in the budget. They would not be in the budget, but you want one now? I'll give you one, that HMET, that heavy truck, that's cost--what is it--\$850 million and the Pentagon didn't request it and, yet, a member of Congress, a very powerful one, put it in the budget.

I think we can save money through this whole very sophisticated concept, Andrea, that I know you do understand of competitive strategies. It is new and it is very very different than what's happened, but it's not quite ready to be totally implemented. But it's very important.

I think we can say, through the Packard Commission Report--and I'm very proud that David Packard, the originator of that report, is strongly supporting me.

So, it's not a question of saying our budget is full of a lot of waste. I don't believe that. I do think this. We're in the serious stages of negotiation with the Soviet Union on the strategic arms control talks. And we're protecting a couple of options in terms of modernizing our strategic forces.

My Secretary of Defense is going to have to make a very difficult decision in which system to go forward with. But we are protecting both of them. We are moving forward with negotiations and, you see, I just think it would be dumb negotiating policy with the Soviets to cut out one or the other of the two options right now.

The Soviets are modernizing. They continue to modernize and we can't simply we've got enough nuclear weapons, let's freeze. We can't do that. We have to have

modernization, especially if we achieve the 50 percent reduction in strategic weapons that our President is taking the leadership to attain.

And, so, that's the way I'd reply to it and I believe we can have the strongest and best defense possible if we modernize, if we go forward with competitive strategies and if we do follow through on the Packard Commission report.

MR. SHAW: Governor Dukakis, one minute.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, Andrea, we've just had another example of why the Vice President's mathematics just don't add up. I think you know because you've covered these issues, that there's no way that we can build all of the weapons the Vice President says he wants to build within the defense budget. Everybody knows that including the people at the Pentagon.

Now, my defense secretary is going to have a lot to do with those decisions, but it's going to be the President who's going to have to ultimately decide before that budget goes to the Congress what weapons systems are going to go and what are going to stay.

We are not going to spend the billions and trillions that Mr. Bush wants to spend on Star Wars. We're not going to spend billions on MX's on railroad cars, which is a weapons system we don't need, can't afford and won't help our defense posture at all.

We're not going to spend hundreds of millions on a space plane from Washington to Tokyo.

Those are decisions that the chief executive has to make. Yes, we're going to have a strong and credible and effective nuclear deterrent. We're going to go forward with the Stealth and the D-5 and the advance cruise missile and good conventional forces.

But the next President of the United States will have to make some tough and difficult decisions. I'm prepared to make them, the Vice President is not.

MR. SHAW: Governor, Andrea has a question for you.

MS. MITCHELL: Governor, continuing on that subject, then, you say we have to do something about conventional forces. You have supported the submarine launch missile, the D-5 you just referred to.

Yet, from Jerry Ford to Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan, there has been a bipartisan consensus in favor of modernizing the land based missiles. Now, you have ruled out the MX and the Midgetman. More recently, some of your aides have hinted at some flexibility you might show about some other new form of missile.

Can you tell us tonight why you have rejected the wisdom of people as diverse as Sam Nunn, Henry Kissinger, Al Gore, people in both parties and what type of land based missile would you consider?

GOV. DUKAKIS: Well, Andrea, today we have 13,000 strategic nuclear warheads, on land, on air and in the sea. That's an incredibly powerful nuclear deterrent.

I don't rule out modernization, and there are discussions going on now in the Congress, I know with the Pentagon, about a less expensive modernized land-based leg of the triad.

But there are limits to what we can spend. There are limits to this nation's ability to finance these weapons systems. And one of the things that the Vice President either ignores or won't address is the fact that you can't divorce our military security from our economic security.

How can we build a strong America militarily that's teeter-tottering on a mountain of debt? And if we go forward with the kinds of policies that the Vice President is suggesting tonight and has in the past, that debt is going to grow bigger and bigger and bigger.

So military security and economic security go hand in hand. And we will have a strong and effective and credible nuclear deterrent. We're going to have conventional forces that are well maintained, well equipped, well trained, well supported.

And we have serious problems with our conventional forces at the present time, and they'll get worse unless we have a president who is willing to make some of these decisions.

And we also have important domestic priorities, in education and housing and health care, in economic development, in job training, in the environment.

And all of these things are going to have to be addressed. That's why I say again to all of you out there who have to deal with your household budgets and know how difficult it is that the next President has to do the same.

I want the men and women of our Armed Forces to have the support they need to defend us; the support they need when they risk our lives to keep us free and to keep this country free.

But we cannot continue to live on a credit card. We cannot continue to tell the American people that we're going to build all of these systems, and at the same time, invest in important things here at home, and be serious about building a strong and good America.

And that's the kind of America I want to build.

MR. SHAW: One minute for the Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think the foremost--  
(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Can we start the clock over? I held off for the applause.

MR. SHAW: You can proceed, sir.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think the foremost responsibility of a president really gets down to the national security of this country.

The Governor talks about limits, what we can't do, opposes these two modernization systems, talks now about well, we'll develop some new kind of a missile.

It takes eight years, ten years, to do that. He talked about a nuclear freeze back at the time when I was in Europe trying to convince European public opinion that we ought to go forward with the deployment of the INF weapons.

And thank God, the freeze people were not heard. They were wrong. And the result is, we deployed, and the Soviets kept deploying, and then we negotiated from strength. And now we have the first arms control agreement in the nuclear age to ban weapons.

You just don't make unilateral cuts in the naive hope that the Soviets are going to behave themselves.

World peace is important, and we have enhanced the peace. And I'm proud to have been a part of an administration that has done exactly that.

Peace through strength works.

MR. SHAW: Ann Compton for Gov. Dukakis.

MS. COMPTON: Governor, today they may call them role models, but they used to be called heroes, the kind of public figure who could inspire a whole generation, someone who was larger than life.

My question is not, who your heroes were. My question instead is, who are the heroes who are there in American life today? Who are the ones who you would point out to young Americans as figures who should inspire this country?

GOV. DUKAKIS: Well, I think when I think of heroes, I think back, not presently, Ann. But there are many people who I admire in this country today. Some of them are in public life in the Senate, the Congress.

Some of my fellow governors who are real heroes to me. I think of those young athletes who represented us at the Olympics were tremendously impressive. We were proud of them. We felt strongly about them, and they did so well by us.

I can think of doctors and scientists, Jonas Salk who for example discovered a vaccine which cured one of the most dread diseases we ever had. And he's a hero.

I think of classroom teachers, classroom teachers that I have had, classroom teachers that youngsters have today who are real heroes to our young people. Because they inspire them. They teach them. But more than that, they are role models.

Members of the clergy who have done the same. Drug counsellors out there in the street who are providing help to youngsters who come up to me and others who ask for



help and want help, are doing the hard work, the heroic work, which it takes to provide that kind of leadership, that kind of counselling, that kind of support.

I think of people in the law enforcement community who are taking their lives in their hands everyday, when they go up to one of those doors and kick it down and try to stop this flow of drugs into our communities and into our kids.

So there are many, many heroes in this country today. These are people that give of themselves everyday and every week and every month.

In many cases they are people in the community who are examples, and are role models. And I would hope that one of the things I could do as president is to recognize them, to give them the kind of recognition that they need and deserve so that more and more young people can themselves become the heroes of tomorrow, can go into public service, can go into teaching, can go into drug counselling, can go into law enforcement, and be heroes themselves to generations yet to come.

MR. SHAW: One minute for Vice President Bush.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think of a teacher right here, largely Hispanic school, Jaime Escalante, teaching calculus to young kids, 80 percent of them going on to college.

I think of a young man now in this country named Villadaris, who was released from a Cuban jail. Came out and told the truth in this brilliant book, *Against All Hope*, about what is actually happening in Cuba.

I think of those people that took us back into space again, Rick Houk and that crew, as people that are worthy of this.

I agree with the Governor on athletics. And there's nothing corny about having sports heroes, young people that are clean and honorable and out there setting the pace.

I think of Dr. Fauci. Probably never heard of him. You did, Ann heard of him. He's a very fine research, top doctor, at the National Institute of Health, working hard doing something about research on this disease of AIDS.

But look, I also think we ought to give a little credit to the President of the United States. He is the one who has gotten us that first arms control agreement.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President--

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: And the cynics abounded. And he is leaving office with a popularity at an all-time high, because American people--

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President, your time has expired.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: --say, he is our hero.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Ann has a question for you, Mr. Vice President.

MS. COMPTON: Let's change the pace a little bit, Mr. Vice President. In this campaign some hard and very bitter things have been spoken by each side about each side. If you'd consider for a moment Gov. Dukakis and his years of public service, is there anything nice you can say about him, anything you find admirable?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: You're stealing my close. I had something very nice to say in there.

MS. COMPTON: Somebody leak my question to you?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No, let me tell you something about that. And Barbara and I were sitting there before that Democratic convention. And we saw the Governor and his son on television the night before and his family, and his mother who was there.

And I'm saying to Barbara, you know, we've always kept family as a bit of an oasis for us. You all know me, and we've held it back a little. But we used that as a role model, the way he took understandable pride in his heritage, what his family means to him.

And we've got a strong family. And we watched that. And we said, hey, we've got to unleash the Bush kids. And so you saw ten grandchildren there jumping all over their grandfather at the convention.

You see our five kids, all over this country, and their spouses. And so I would say that the concept of the Dukakis family has my great respect. And I would say, I don't know whether that's kind or not, it's just an objective statement.

I think the man--anybody that gets into this political arena and has to face you guys everyday deserves a word of praise. Because it's gotten a little ugly out there. It's gotten a little nasty. It's not much fun sometimes.

And I would cite again Dan Quayle. I've been in politics a long time, and I don't remember that kind of piling on, that kind of ugly rumor that never was true, printed. Now, come on.

So some of it is unfair. But he's in the arena. Teddy Roosevelt used to talk about the arena, you know, daring to fail greatly or succeed, no matter. He's in there.

So I salute these things. I salute those who participate in the political process.

Sam Rayburn had a great expression on this. He said--here were all these intellectuals out there griping and complaining and saying it was negative coverage. Rayburn says, yeah, and that guy never ran for sheriff either.

Michael Dukakis has run for sheriff, and so has George Bush.

MR. SHAW: Governor, a one-minute response.

GOV. DUKAKIS: I didn't hear the word "liberal" or "left" one time. I thank you for that.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: That's not bad. That's true.

GOV. DUKAKIS: And doesn't that prove the point, George, which is that values like family and education and community, decent homes for young people--that family on Long Island I visited on Monday where Lou and Betty Tolamo (phonetic) bought a house for some \$19,000 back in 1962, have had seven children, they're all making good livings. They can't live in the community which they grew up in.

Those are basic American values. I believe in them. I think you believe in them. They're not left or right. They're decent American values.

I guess the one thing that concerns me about this, Ann, is this attempt to label things which all of us believe in. We may have different approaches. We may think that you deal with them in different ways.

But they're basically American. I believe in them. George Bush believes in them. I think the vast majority of Americans believe in them.

And I hope--

MR. SHAW: Governor.

GOV. DUKAKIS: --the tone we've just heard might just be the tone we have for the rest of the campaign. I think the American people would appreciate that.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Margaret Warner for the vice president.

MS. WARNER: Vice President Bush, abortion remains with us as a very troubling issue, and I'd like to explore that for a minute with you.

You have said that you regard abortion as murder, yet you would make exceptions in the case of rape and incest. My question is, why should a woman who discovers through amniocentesis that her baby will be born with Tay-Sachs disease, for instance, that the baby will live at most two years, and those two years in incredible pain, be forced to carry the fetus to term, and yet a woman who becomes pregnant through incest would be allowed to abort her fetus?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Because you left out one other exception, the health of the mother.

Let me answer your question--and I hope it doesn't get too personal or maudlin. Barb and I lost a child, you know that--we lost a daughter, Robin. I was over running records in west Texas, and I got a call from her, come home; went to the doctor; the doctor said, beautiful child, your child has a few weeks to live. And I said, what can we do about it. He said, no, she has leukemia, acute leukemia, a few weeks to live. We took the child to New York. Thanks to the miraculous sacrifice of doctors and nurses, the child stayed alive for six months and then died.

If that child were here today, and I was told the same thing, my granddaughter, Noel for example--that child could stay alive for ten or fifteen years, or maybe for the rest of her life.

And so I don't think that you make an exception based on medical knowledge at the time. I think human life is very, very precious.

And, look, this hasn't been an easy decision for me to meet. I know others disagree with it. But when I was in that little church across the river from Washington and saw our grandchild christened in our faith, I was very pleased indeed that the mother had not aborted that child, and put the child up for adoption.

And so I just feel this is where I'm coming from. And it is personal. And I don't assail him on that issue, or others on that issue. But that's the way I, George Bush, feel about it.

(Scattered applause)

MR. SHAW: One minute for Governor Dukakis.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Margaret, Kitty and I had very much the same kind of experience that the Bushes had: we lost a baby, lived about twenty minutes after it was born.

But isn't the real question that we have to answer not how many exceptions we make, because the vice president himself is prepared to make exceptions. It's who makes the decision, who makes this very difficult, very wrenching decision?

(Applause)

And I think it has to be the woman, in the exercise of her own conscience and religious beliefs, that makes that decision.

Who are we to say, well, under certain circumstances, it's all right, but under other circumstances it isn't? That's a decision that only a woman can make, after consulting her conscience and consulting her religious principles.

And I would hope that we would give to women in this country the right to make that decision, and to make it in the exercise of their conscience and religious beliefs.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Governor, Margaret has a question for you.

MS. WARNER: Governor, I'd like to return to the topic of the defense budget for a minute. You have said in this campaign that you would maintain a stable defense budget, yet you are on the board, on the advisory board ---

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: And, incidentally, may I say that that's the decision of the Congress, and the president has concurred.



MS. WARNER: Yet you are on the board of a group called Jobs with Peace, in Boston, that advocates a 25-percent cut in the defense budget and the transfer of that money to the domestic economy.

My question is, do you share that goal perhaps as a long-range goal, and, if not, are you aware of or why do you permit this group to continue to use your name on its letterhead for fundraising?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I think I was on the advisory committee, Margaret. No, I don't happen to share that goal. It's an example of how oftentimes we may be associated with organizations all of whose particular positions we don't support, even though we support in general the hope that over time, particularly if we can get those reductions in strategic weapons, if we can get a comprehensive test ban treaty, if we can negotiate with the Soviet Union and bring down the level of conventional forces in Europe with deeper cuts in the Soviet side, yes, at some point it may be possible to reduce defense outlays and use those for important things here at home, like jobs and job training and college opportunity and health and housing and the environment and the things that all of us care about.

But I do think this, that the next president, even within a relatively stable budget--and that's what we are going to have for the foreseeable future--will have to make those tough choices that I was talking about and that Mr. Bush doesn't seem to want to make.

And that really is going to be a challenge for the next president of the United States; I don't think there's any question about it.

But I also see a tremendous opportunity now to negotiate with the Soviet Union to build on the progress that we've made with the INF Treaty, which I strongly supported--and most Democrats did--to get those reductions in strategic weapons, to get a test ban treaty, and to really make progress on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. And if we can do that and do it in a way that gets deeper cuts on the Soviet side, which is where they ought to come from, then I think we have an opportunity over the long haul to begin to move some of our resources from the military to important domestic priorities that can provide college opportunity for that young woman whose mother wrote me from Texas just the other day, from Longview, Texas: two teachers, a mother and a father who have a child that's a freshman in college, an electrical engineering major, a very bright student--and they can't afford to keep that child in college.

So I hope that we can begin to move those resources. It's not going to happen overnight; it certainly will have to happen on a step-by-step basis as we make progress in arms negotiation and arms control and arms reduction.

But it certainly ought to be the long-term goal of all Americans--and I think it is.

MR. SHAW: One minute for the vice president.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: The defense budget today takes far less percentage of the gross national product than it did in President Kennedy's time, for example--moved tremendously. And you see, I think we're facing a real opportunity for world peace. This is a big question. And it's a question as to whether the United States will continue to lead for peace. See, I don't believe any other country can pick up the mantel. I served at the UN. I don't think we can turn over these kinds of decisions of the collective defense to the United Nations or anything else.

So, what I'm saying is, we are going to have to make choices. I said I would have the Secretary of Defense sit down.

But while the President is negotiating with the Soviet Union, I simply do not want to make these unilateral cuts. And I think those that advocated the freeze missed the point that there was a better way and that better way has resulted in a principle--asymmetrical cuts. The Soviets take out more than we do and the principle of intrusive verification. And those two principles can now be applied to conventional forces, to strategic forces, provided --

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President --

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: --we don't give away our hand before we sit down at the head table.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Andrea Mitchell for Governor Dukakis.

MS. MITCHELL: Governor, you've said tonight that you set as a goal the steady reduction of the deficit. And you've talked about making tough choices, so perhaps I can get you to make one of those tough choices. No credible economist in either party accepts as realistic your plan to handle the deficit by tightening tax collection, investing in economic growth, bringing down interest rates, and cutting weapons systems--

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: And some domestic programs as well, Andrea.

MS. MITCHELL: And some domestic programs as well. So, let's assume now, for argument purpose, that it is the spring of 1989 and you are President Dukakis, and you discover that all of those economists were right and you were wrong. You are now facing that dreaded last resort--increase taxes. Which tax do you decide is the least onerous?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: May I disagree with the premise of your question?

MS. MITCHELL: For the sake of argument, no.

(Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: As a matter of reality, I'm going to have to because we have had not one but two detailed studies which indicate that there are billions and billions of

dollars to be collected that are not being paid--these are not taxes owed by average Americans.

We don't have an alternative. We'll lose it when it's taken out of our paycheck before we even get it.

But it's the Internal Revenue Service which estimates now that we aren't collecting \$100 billion or more in taxes owed in this country. And that is just absolutely unfair to the vast majority of Americans who pay their taxes and pay them on time.

The Dorgan Task Force, which included two internal revenue commissioners, one a Republican, one a Democrat. It was a bipartisan commission, a study by two respected economists, which indicated that we could collect some 40, 45, 50 billion dollars of those funds.

The point is you've got to have a president who's prepared to do this and to begin right away and, preferably, a president who was a governor of a state that's had very, very successful experience at doing this. In my own state, we did it. In other states, we've done it. Republican governors as well as Democratic governors. And we've had great success at revenue enforcement.

Now, the Vice President will probably tell you that it's going to take an army of IRS collectors again. Well, his campaign manager, who used to be the secretary of the treasury, was taking great credit about a year ago and asking and receiving from the Congress substantial additional funds to hire internal revenue agents to go out and collect these funds, and I'm happy to join Jim Baker in saying that we agree on this.

But, the fact of the matter is that this is something that we must begin--it's going to take at least the first year of the new administration.

But, the Dorgan Task Force, the bipartisan task force estimated that we could collect about \$35 billion in the fifth year, \$105 billion over five years, the other study even more than that--

MR. SHAW: Governor.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: --and that's where you begin.

MR. SHAW: One minute response, Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, Andrea, you didn't predicate that lack of economists' support for what I call a flexible freeze, because some good--very good economists do support that concept.

And I think where I differ with the Governor of Massachusetts, because I am optimistic. They jumped on me yesterday for being a little optimistic about the United States.

I am optimistic and I believe we can keep this longest expansion going. I was not out there when that stock market dropped wringing my hands and saying this was the end of the world as some political leaders were, because it isn't the end of the world.

And what we have to do is restrain the growth of spending. And we are doing a better job of it. The Congress is doing a better job of it.

And the dynamics work. But they don't work if you go raise taxes and then the Congress spends it -- continues to spend that.

The American working man and woman are not taxed too little. The Federal Government continues to spend too much.

(Applause)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Hold it.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President, Andrea has a question for you.

MS. MITCHELL: Mr. Vice President, you have flatly ruled out any change in Social Security benefits, even for the wealthy. Now, can you stand here tonight and look at a whole generation of 18 to 34 year olds in the eye--the very people who are going to have to be financing that retirement--and tell them that they should be financing the retirement of people like yourself, like Governor Dukakis, or for that matter, people such as ourselves here on this panel?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: More so you than me.

MS. MITCHELL: We could argue about that.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No, but you got to go back to what social security was when it was created. It wasn't created as a welfare program. It wasn't created that is--it was created as a whole retirement or supplement to retirement program. It wasn't created as a welfare program.

So, here's what's happened. We came into office and the Social Security Trust Fund was in great jeopardy and the President took the leadership working with the Democrats and the Republicans in Congress -- some tough calls were made and the Social Security Trust Fund was put back into sound, solvent condition.

So, I don't want to fool around with it. And there are several--there's a good political reason--because it's just about this time of year that the Democrats start saying the Republicans are going to take away your Social Security.

It always works that way. I've seen it. In precinct politics in Texas -- and I've seen it at the national level.

We have made the Social Security Trust Fund sound. And it is going to be operating at surpluses and I don't want the liberal Democratic Congress to spend out of that Social Security Trust Fund or go and take the money out for some other purpose.



I don't want that. And I will not go in there and suggest changes in Social Security. I learned that the hard way and the Governor and I both supported slipping the COLAs for one year.

He supported it at the National Governors Conference and I supported it in breaking a tie in a major compromise package and we got assailed by the Democrats in the election over that.

And I am going to keep that Social Security Trust Fund sound and keep our commitment to the elderly and maybe down the line, maybe when you get two decades or one into the next century, you're going to have to take another look at it, but not now.

We do not have to do it. Keep the trust with the older men and women of this country.

MR. SHAW: Governor, you have one minute, sir.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Andrea, I don't know which George Bush I'm listening to. George Bush, a few years ago, said that Social Security was basically a welfare system.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Oh, come on.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: And in 1985, he flew back from the West Coast to cut that COLA. I voted against that at the National Governors Association. We won a majority, we didn't win the two-thirds that was necessary nor to pass that resolution, George. But everybody knew what we were doing and I've opposed that.

The reason that we raise concerns, not just in election years, but every year, because Republicans, once they're elected--and start cutting.

You did it in 1985. The Administration tried to do it repeatedly, repeatedly in 81 - 82. And I'm sure you'll try to do it again.

Because there's no way you can finance what you want to spend. There's no way you can pay for that five year, \$40 billion tax cut for the rich and still buy all those weapons systems you want to buy unless you raid the Social Security Trust Fund.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Ann Compton for the Vice President.

MS. COMPTON: Mr. Vice President, there are three Justices on the Supreme Court who are in their 80's and it's very likely that the next President will get a chance to put a lasting mark on the Supreme Court.

For the record, would your nominees to the Supreme Court have to pass something that has been called a kind of conservative ideological litmus test and would you give us an idea of perhaps who two or three people on your short list are for the Court.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: One I don't have a list yet. I feel pretty confident tonight, but not that confident.

(Laughter)

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Secondly, I don't have any litmus test. But what I would do is appoint people to the Federal Bench that will not legislate from the Bench, who will interpret the Constitution.

I do not want to see us go to again--and I'm using this word advisedly--a liberal majority that is going to legislate from the Bench.

They don't like the use of the word, but may I remind his strong supporters that only last year in the primary, to capture that Democratic nomination, eh said, "I am a progressive liberal Democrat."

I won't support judges like that. There is no litmus test on any issue. But I will go out there and find men and women to interpret.

And I don't have a list, but I think the appointments that the President has made to the Bench have been outstanding, outstanding appointments.

MS. COMPTON: Including Bork?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah. I supported him.

(Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: If the Vice President of the United States thinks that Robert Bork was an outstanding appointment --

(Cheers and Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: -- that is a very good reason for voting for Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen on the 8th of November.

(Cheers and Applause)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: And I think the Vice President supported the Bork nomination. You know, Mr. Bush has never appointed a judge. I've appointed over 130, so I have a record.

(Laughter)

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: And I'm very proud of it. I don't ask people whether they're Republicans or Democrats. I've appointed prosecutors, I've appointed defenders. I don't appoint people I think are liberal or people who think--who I think are conservative.

I appoint people of independence and integrity and intelligence, people who will be a credit to the Bench. And those are the standards that I will use in nominating people to the Supreme Court of the United States.

These appointments are for life. These appointments are for life. And when the Vice President talks about liberals on the Bench, I wonder who he's talking about?

Is he talking about a former Governor of the State of California, who is a former prosecutor, a Republican named Earl Warren, because I think Chief Justice Earl Warren was an outstanding Chief Justice and I think most Americans do too.

MR. SHAW: Ann Compton has a question for you, Gov. Dukakis.

MS. COMPTON: Governor, millions of Americans are entitled to some of the protections and benefits that the Federal Government provides, including Social Security, pensions, Medicare for the elderly, Medicaid for the poor.

But in fact, there are so many millions of Americans who are eligible the government just can't continue to pay for all of those programs as they're currently constituted.

A blue ribbon panel shortly after the election is likely to recommend that you go where the money is when you make budget cuts, and that means entitlements. Before the election would you commit yourself to any of those hard choices, such as which one of those entitlements have to be redrawn?

GOV. DUKAKIS: Andrea, why do people who want balanced budgets or to bring the deficit down always go to those programs which tend to benefit people of very modest means?

Now, two-thirds of the people in this country who receive Social Security checks live entirely on that check; they have no other income. And yet Mr. Bush tried to cut their cost of living increase in 1985.

Medicare is not getting less expensive; medical care for the elderly is getting more expensive, with greater deductibles, with fewer benefits, the kinds of things we've had under this Administration that have cut and chopped and reduced the kind of benefits that one gets under Medicare.

Yes, we now have catastrophic health insurance, but it's going to cost, and that's going to be an additional burden on elderly citizens. It had bipartisan support; it should have had bipartisan support.

But I suggest that we understand that those are going to be additional costs on senior citizens across this country.

So I'm not going to begin, and I'm not going to go to entitlements as a means for cutting that deficit when we're spending billions on something like Star Wars, when we're spending billions on other weapon systems which apparently the Vice President wants to keep in his back pocket or some place, but which, if we continue to spend billions on them, will force us to cut Social Security, to cut Medicare, to cut these basic entitlements to people of very, very modest means.

Now there are some things we can do to help people who currently do get entitlements to get off public assistance. I talked in our first debate about the possibilities of helping millions and millions of welfare families to get off of welfare, and I'm proud to say that we finally have a welfare reform bill.

And the Ruby Samsons and Dan Lawsons, hundreds of thousands of welfare mothers in this country and in my state and across the country who today are working and earning are examples of what can happen when you provide training to those welfare mothers, some daycare for their children so that those mothers can go into a training program and get a decent job.

MR. SHAW: Governor--

GOV. DUKAKIS: That's the way you bring a deficit down and help to improve the quality of life for people at the same time.

MR. SHAW: One minute for the Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I think I've addressed it. But let me simply say for the record, I did not vote to cut COLAs. And I voted the same way that he did three months before in a national governors' conference.

And he said at that time, in a quote, and this is a paraphrase, a freeze, that's easy.

So I don't believe that we need to do what you've suggested here. And I've said that I'm going to keep this Social Security entitlement, to keep that trust fund sound.

But I do think there are flexible ways to solve some of the pressing problems, particularly that affect our children. And I have made some good sound proposals.

But again, we have a big difference on child care, for example. You see, I want the families to have the choice. I don't want to see the Federal Government licensing grandmothers. I don't want to see the Federal Government saying to communities, well, you can't do this any more. We're going to tell you how to do it all.

I want flexibility, and I do--you know, these people laugh about the thousand points of light. You ought to go out and see around this country what's happening in the volunteer section: Americans helping America.

And I want to keep it alive in child care and in other entitlements.

MR. SHAW: Margaret Warner for Gov. Dukakis.

MS. WARNER: Governor, I'm going to pass on the question I originally planned to ask you, to follow up on your rebuttal to a question Andrea asked, and that involves Social Security.

Now it is true, as you said, that originally you sought an exemption for Social Security COLAs in this national governors' association vote.

But when you lost that vote, you then endorsed the overall freeze proposal. And what's more, you had great criticism of your fellow governors who wouldn't go along as political cowards.

GOV. DUKAKIS: That is absolutely not true.

MS. WARNER: You said it takes guts and it takes will.



GOV. DUKAKIS: That is absolutely not true. It had nothing to do with the debate on Social Security. It had to do with the discussion we had had the previous day on the overall question of reducing the budget.

MS. WARNER: My question is: Aren't you demagoguing the Social Security issue?

GOV. DUKAKIS: No, and I have to--

(Applause)

GOV. DUKAKIS: --I just have to correct the record. That simply isn't true.

Now, we're not a parliamentary body, the National Governors Association. We vote on resolutions. If you don't get a two-thirds, then your resolution doesn't pass.

But everybody knew that those of us who voted against the freezing of COLAs did so, we did so emphatically. And I never made that statement; never would.

The point is that as we look at this nation's future, and we have two very different visions of this future. I want to move ahead.

The Vice President talks about a thousand points of light. I'm interested in 240 million points of light. I'm interested in 240 million citizens in this country who share in the American dream, all of them in every part of this country.

But as we look at the decisions that the next president of the United States is going to have to make, I just don't believe the place you go first is those programs, those so-called entitlements, which provide a basic floor of income and a modest amount of medical care for the elderly, the disabled, for people who can't make their way on their own, and in many cases, have given a great deal to this country.

The Vice President did call Social Security a few years ago basically or largely a welfare program. It isn't. It's a contract between generations.

It's something that we pay into now so that we will have a secure retirement, and our parents and grandparents will have a secure retirement.

It's a very sacred contract, and I believe in it. So that's not where we ought to go.

There are plenty of places to cut. There's lots we can do in the Pentagon where dishonest contractors have been lining their pockets at the expense of the American taxpayer.

There are--we certainly ought to be able to--

MR. SHAW: Governor--

GOV. DUKAKIS: --give our farm families a decent income with spending \$20- to \$25 billion a year on farm subsidies, and I'm sure we can do that. That's where we ought to go, and those are the programs we ought to review first.

MR. SHAW: One minute for the Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, let me take him up on this question of farm subsidies. We have a fundamental difference, approach on agriculture. He favors this supply maintenance or production controls. He said that. He's been out in the state saying that, in Midwestern states.

I don't. I think the farm bill that he criticizes was good legislation, outstanding legislation. And I believe the answer to the agricultural economy is not to get the government further involved, but to do what I'm suggesting.

In the first place, never go back to that Democratic grain embargo, that liberal Democrat grain embargo that knocked the markets right out from under us and made Mr. Gorbachev say to me when I was here, how do I know you're reliable suppliers?

We never should go back to that.

And we ought to expand our markets abroad. We ought to have rural enterprise zones. We ought to move forward swiftly on my ideas of ethanol which would use more corn, and therefore, create a bigger market for our agricultural products.

But let's not go back and keep assailing a farm bill that passed with overwhelming Democrat and Republican support.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: The farm payments are going down because the agricultural economy is coming back.

MR. SHAW: Margaret Warner has a question for you, Mr. Vice President.

MS. WARNER: Mr. Vice President, I'd like to cover a subject that wasn't covered in the first debate. You have said in this campaign, I am an environmentalist, and described yourself as having zero tolerance for polluters.

And yet your record does seem to suggest otherwise. When you were head of the President's task force on regulatory relief, you did urge EPA to relax regulations involving the elimination of lead from gasoline.

I believe you urged suspension of rules requiring industries to treat toxic waste before discharging them in sewers.

And your group also urged OSHA to weaken the regulations requiring that workers be informed of dangerous chemicals at the work site.

Finally, I believe you did support the President's veto of the Clean Water Act.

My question is, aren't you--how do you square your campaign rhetoric with this record?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: 90 percent reductions in lead since I chaired that regulatory task force; 90 percent. It's almost--you remember that expression, get the lead out? It's almost out. Almost gone.

Clean water? I'm for clean water. But what I'm not for--what I'm not for is measuring it the way that the Democratic Congress does.

We sent up a good bill on clean water, a sound bill on clean water. But the only way you can express your love for clean water is to double the appropriations for clean water, and then rant against the deficit.

I am for clean water. I've been an outdoorsman and a sportsman all my life. I've been to these national parks. I led for the Earl Wallop bill or formerly Dingell-Johnson. I headed the task force when I was a member of the Congress way back in the late '60s on these kinds of things, on the Republican side. I led for that.

And so I refuse to measure one's commitment as to whether you're going to double the spending. That is the same old argument that's gotten us into trouble on the deficit side.

So I'll just keep saying, I am one. I'm not going to go down there and try to dump the sludge from Massachusetts off the beaches off of New Jersey. I'm not going to do that.

That boo was excessively loud. Can you add five seconds, Bernie, out of fairness? Come on, give me five. I mean, this guy, this is too much.

But I'm not going to do that. I'm an environmentalist. I believe in our parks. I believe in the President's commission on outdoors.

And I'll do a good job, because I am committed.

MR. SHAW: Gov. Dukakis, you have one minute to respond.

GOV. DUKAKIS: Margaret, I'm not sure I can get all of this in in one minute. George, we have supply management today under the 1985 bill. It's called set-asides.

Secondly, if you were so opposed to the grain embargo, why did you ask the godfather of the grain embargo to be one of your top foreign policy advisers? I'm against the grain embargo; it was a mistake.

I'm also against the pipeline embargo, which you folks attempted to impose. That was a mistake as well, and it cost thousands of jobs for American workers in the Midwest and all over the United States of America.

Margaret, once again, I don't know which George Bush I'm talking about here or looking at. The George Bush who was the charter member of the environmental wrecking crew that went to Washington in the early '80s and did a job on the EPA, or the one we've been seeing and listening to the past two or three months.

But let me say this, because he spent millions and millions of dollars of advertising on the subject of Boston Harbor. George, Boston Harbor was polluted for 100 years. I'm the first governor to clean it up. No thanks to you.

No thanks to you. We've been cleaning it up for four years. We passed landmark legislation in '84. No thanks to you. You did everything you could to kill the Clean Water Act--

MR. SHAW: Governor.

GOV. DUKAKIS: --and those grants which make it possible for states and local communities to clean up rivers and harbors and streams.

(Applause)

MS. MITCHELL: Mr. Vice President, Jimmy Carter has called this the worst campaign ever. Richard Nixon has called it trivial, superficial and inane. Whoever started down this road first, of negative campaigning, the American people, from all reports coming to us, are completely fed up. Now, do you have any solutions to suggest? Is there time left to fix it? There are 26 days left. For instance, would you agree to another debate, before it's all over, so that the American people would have another chance before election day to compare you two?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: No. I will not agree to another debate. The American people are up to here with debates. They had thirty of them; we had seven of them. Now we've got three of them. I am going to carry this election debate all across this country in the last whatever remains of the last three and a half weeks, or whatever we have--and the answer is no; I am not going to have any more debates, we don't need any more debates. I've spelled out my position.

In terms of negative campaigning, you know, I don't want to sound like a kid in the schoolyard: he started it. But take a look at the Democratic convention--take a look at it. Do you remember the Senator from Boston chanting out there and the ridicule factor from that lady from Texas that was on there; I mean, come on, this was just outrageous.

But I'll try harder to keep it on a high plane.

If you could accept a little criticism, I went all across central Illinois and spoke about agricultural issues, about seven stops. We had some fun--Crystal Gayle and Loretta Lynn with us, and they got up and sang, went to little towns--and I talked agriculture. And not one thing did I see, with respect, on your network about my views on agriculture, and not one did I read in any newspaper. Why? Because you are so interested in a poll that might have been coming out, or because somebody had said something nasty about somebody else.

And so I don't know what the answer is. Somebody hit me and said Barry Goldwater said you ought to talk on issues more. How can Barry Goldwater sitting in Arizona know whether I'm talking on the issues or not when we put out position paper after position paper; he puts out position paper after position paper; and we see this much about it,



because everyone else is fascinated with polls and who's up or down today and who's going to be up or down tomorrow.

So I think we can all share, with respect, in the fact that maybe the message is not getting out. But it's not getting out because there are too few debates. There will be no more debates.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Governor Dukakis, you have one minute to respond, sir.

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I can understand, after the vice presidential debate, why Mr. Bush would want no more debates.

(Laughter, boos)

That's my five seconds.

Andrea, I think we both have a responsibility to try to address the issues. Yes, we have fundamental differences. I think a great many of them have come out today. And I think if we get rid of the labels--and I'm not keeping count, but I think Mr. Bush has used the label "liberal" at least ten times--if I had a dollar, George, for every time you used that label, I'd qualify for one of those tax breaks for the rich that you want to give away.

(Laughter, applause)

Isn't that the point? Most Americans believe in basic values. We have differences about how to achieve them. I want to move forward, I want this nation to move forward. I am concerned about the fact that 10 percent of our manufacturing and 20 percent of our banking and nearly half of the real estate in the city of Los Angeles are in the hands of foreign investors. I am concerned about what that does to our future. I'm concerned about the fact that so many of our securities are in the hands of foreign banks because of these massive deficits.

But those are the issues on which we ought to be debating--and if we can just put away the flag factories and the balloons and those kinds of thing and get on to a real discussion of these issues, I think we will have a good success.

MR. SHAW: Andrea Mitchell has a question for you, Governor Dukakis.

MS. MITCHELL: We are talking about issues, so let's return to something you said earlier about the modernization of land-based missiles.

You said that you didn't rule it out that there are limits to what we can spend, and then you went on to talk about a much more expensive part of our defense strategy, namely, conventional forces.

Do you somehow see conventional forces as a substitute for our strategic forces, and in not talking about the land-based missiles and not committing to modernizing, do you

somehow believe that we can have a survivable nuclear force based on the air and sea legs of our triad?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: I think we ought to be looking at modernization, I think we ought to be exploring less expensive ways to get it on land, and we ought to make sure that we have an effective and strong and credible nuclear deterrent. But we also need well-equipped and well-trained and well-supported conventional forces.

And every defense expert I know, including people in the Pentagon itself, will tell you that given the level of defense spending and the level of defense appropriations which the Congress has now approved and the president has signed, there's no way that you can do all of these things and do them well.

That's why tough choices will be required, choices I am prepared to make, Mr. Bush is not prepared to make.

But, Andrea, I think we can go far beyond this as well, because we have opportunities now step-by-step to bring down the level of strategic weapons, get a test ban treaty, negotiate those conventional force reductions. I would challenge Mr. Gorbachev to join with us in limiting--in eliminating regional conflict in the Middle East, in Central America. Let's get him working on Syria, their client state, and see if we can't get them to join Israel and other Arab nations, if at all possible, and Arab leaders, in finally bringing peace to that troubled region.

And I think that's one reason why we need fresh leadership in the White House that can make progress now in bringing peace to the Middle East.

Let's go to work and end this fiasco in Central America, a failed policy which has actually increased Cuban and Soviet influence. The democratic leaders of Central and Latin America want to work with us. I've met with them, I know them, I've spent time in South America--speak the language, so does Senator Bentsen. We want to work with them and build a new relationship, and they with us.

But not a one of those key democratic leaders support our policy in Central America. And we've got to work with them if we are going to create an environment for human rights and democracy for the people of this hemisphere, and go to work on our single most important problem, and that is the avalanche of drugs that is poring into our country and virtually destroying those countries.

Those are the kinds of priorities for national security and for foreign policy that I want to pursue--Mr. Bush and I have major differences on these issues--and I hope very much to be president and pursue them.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President, you have one minute.



VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: In terms of regional tensions, we have now gotten the attention of the Soviet Union. And the reason we've gotten it is because they see us now as unwilling to make the very kinds of unilateral cuts that have been called for and to go for the discredited freeze. My opponent had trouble, criticized us, on our policy in Angola. It now looks, because of steady negotiation, that we may have an agreement that will remove the Cubans from Angola. We see the Russians coming out of Afghanistan. That wouldn't have stopped if we hadn't been willing--wouldn't have even started, the Soviets coming out, if we hadn't even been willing to support the freedom fighters there.

And the policy in Central America, regrettably, has failed because the Congress has been unwilling to support those who have been fighting for freedom. Those Sandinistas came in and betrayed the trust of the revolution; they said it was about democracy, and they have done nothing other than solidify their Marxist domination over that country.

MR. SHAW: Ann Compton for Governor Dukakis.

MS. COMPTON: Governor, nuclear weapons need nuclear material replenished on a regular basis, and just this week yet another nuclear manufacturing plant was closed because of safety concerns. Some in the Pentagon fear that too much priority has been put on new weapons programs, not enough on current programs, and worry that the resulting shortage would be amounting to nothing less than unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Is that a priority that you feel has been ignored by this administration, or are the Pentagon officials making too much of it?

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS: Well, it's a great concern of mine and I think of all Americans, and perhaps the vice president can tell us what's been going on. This is another example of misplaced priorities. An administration which wants to billions on weapons systems that we don't need and can't afford, and now confronts us with a very serious problem, and plants that are supposed to be producing tritium and plutonium and providing the necessary materials for existing weapons. Yes, if we don't do something about it, we may find ourselves unilaterally, if I may use that term, dismantling some of these weapons. What's been going on? Who's been in charge? Who's been managing this system? Why have there been these safety violations? Why are these plants being closed down? I don't know what the latest cost estimates are, but it's going to be in the range of 25, 50, 75, \$100 billion.

Now, somebody has to bear the responsibility for this. Maybe the Vice President has an answer.

But I'm somebody who believes very strongly in taking care of the fundamentals first before you start new stuff. And that's something which will be a priority of ours in the

new administration because without it, we cannot have the effective and strong and credible nuclear deterrent we must have.

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President, you have one minute.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: That is the closest I have ever heard the Governor of Massachusetts come to support anything having to do with nuclear; that's about as close as I've ever heard him.

Yes, this Savannah River plant needs to be made more safe. Will he join me in suggesting that we may need another plant? Maybe in Idaho, to take care of the requirements, nuclear material requirements, for our Defense Department?

I hope he will. This sounds like real progress here, because we've had a big difference on the safe use of nuclear power for our energy base.

I believe that we must use clean, safe nuclear power. I believe that the more dependent we become on foreign oil, the less our national security is enhanced. And therefore, I've made some proposals to strengthen the domestic oil industry by more incentive going in to look for, and find, and produce oil; made some incentives in terms of secondary and tertiary production.

But we're going to have to use more gas, more coal and more safe nuclear power for our energy base. So I am one who believes that we can--

MR. SHAW: Mr. Vice President.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: --and must do what he's talking about now.

MR. SHAW: Ann Compton has a question for you.

MS. COMPTON: Mr. Vice President, as many as 100 officials in this Administration have left the government under an ethical cloud. Some have been indicted, some convicted. Many of the cases have involved undue influence once they're outside of government.

If you become president, will you lock that revolving door that has allowed some men and women in the government to come back and lobby the very departments they once managed?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, and I'll apply it to Congress too. I'll do both. I'll do both. Because I think--you see, I am one who--I get kidded by being a little old fashioned on these things, but I do believe in public service.

I believe that public service is honorable. And I don't think anybody has a call on people in their Administrations going astray. His chief education adviser is in jail. He's in jail because he betrayed the public trust. The head of education.

And yet this man, the governor, equated the President to a rotting fish. He said that a fish rots from the head down as he was going after Ed Meese.



Look, we need the highest possible ethical standards. I will have an ethical office in the White House that will be under the President's personal concern. I will see that these standards apply to the United States Congress.

I hope I will do a good job as one who has had a relatively clean record with no conflicts of interest in his own public life, as has the Governor, to exhort young people to get into public service.

But there is no corner on this sleaze factor, believe me. And it's a disgrace, and I will do my level best to clean it up, recognizing that you can't legislate morality.

But I do believe that with my record in Congress, having led the new Congressmen to a code of ethics through major--main emphasis on it in full disclosure, that I've got a good record.

And there are more, if you want to talk about percentage appointments, more Members of Congress who have been under investigation percentage-wise that people in the executive branch.

And so it isn't one--and state governments have had a tough time. His--some of his college presidents aren't exactly holier than thou.

So let's not be throwing stones about it. Let's say, this isn't Democrat or Republican, and it isn't liberal or conservative. Let's vow to work together to do something about it.

MR. SHAW: Governor, you have one minute to respond to it.

GOV. DUKAKIS: And I would agree that integrity is not a Republican or a Democratic issue; it's an American issue.

But here again, I don't know which George Bush I'm listening to. Wasn't this the George Bush that supported Mr. Meese? Called James Watt an excellent Secretary of the Interior? Provided support for some of these people, supported the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court of the United States.

We've had dozens--we've had dozens and dozens of officials in this Administration who have left under a cloud, who have left with the special prosecutor in their arm, have been indicted, convicted.

This isn't the kind of Administration we need. And one of the reasons our selection of a running mate is so important, it is such a test of the kinds of standards we'll set, is because it tells the American people in advance of the election just what kind of people we're looking for.

I picked Lloyd Bentsen. Mr. Bush picked Dan Quayle. I think that says a great deal to the American people about the standards we'll set and the quality of the people that we will pick to serve in our Administration.

MR. SHAW: To each of you candidates, regrettably, I have to inform you that we have come to the end of our questions. That's a pity.

Before I ask the candidates to make their closing remarks, on behalf of the Commission on Presidential Debates, I would like to thank all of you for joining us this evening.

Governor Dukakis, yours is the first closing statement, sir.

GOV. DUKAKIS: 28 years ago, as a young man just graduated from law school, I came to this city, came clear across the country, to watch John Kennedy be nominated for the presidency of the United States, right here in Los Angeles.

I never dreamed that some day I would win that nomination and be my party's nominee for president. That's America. That's why I'm proud and grateful to be a citizen of this country.

26 days from today you and millions of Americans will choose two people to lead us into the future as president and vice president of the United States.

Our opponents say, things are okay. Don't rock the boat. Not to worry. They say we should be satisfied.

But I don't think we can be satisfied when we're spending \$150 billion a year in interest alone on the national debt, much of it going to foreign bankers; or when 25 percent of our high school students are dropping out of school; or when we have 2-1/2 million of our fellow citizens, a third of them veterans, who are homeless and living on streets and in doorways in this country, when Mr. Bush's prescription for our economic future is another tax giveaway to the rich.

We can do better than that. Not working with government alone, but all of us working together. Lloyd Bentsen and I are optimists, and so are the American people. And we ask you for our hand--for your hands and your hearts, and your votes on the 8th of November so we can move forward in the future.

Kitty and I are very grateful to all of you for the warmth and the hospitality that you've given to us in your homes and communities all across this country. We love you, and we're grateful to you for everything that you've given to us.

And we hope that we'll be serving you in the White House in January of 1989.

Thank you, and God bless you.

(Applause)

MR. SHAW: Vice President Bush, your closing statement, sir.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: Sometimes it does seem that a campaign generates more heat than light. So let me repeat, I do have respect for my opponent, for his family, for the justifiable pride he takes in his heritage.

But we have enormous differences. I want to hold the line on taxes, and keep this the longest expansion in modern history going until everybody in America benefits.

I want to invest in our children. Because I mean it when I say I want a kinder and gentler nation. And by that I want to have child care where the families, the parents, have control.

I want to keep our neighborhoods much, much better in terms of anti-crime, and that's why I would appoint judges that have a little more sympathy for the victims of crime and a little less for the criminals.

That's why I do feel if some police officer is gunned down that the death penalty is required. I want to help those with disabilities fit into the mainstream.

There is much to be done. This election is about big things. And perhaps the biggest is world peace. And I ask you to consider the experience I have had in working with a President who has revolutionized the situation around the world.

America stands tall again, and as a result, we are credible. And we have now achieved an historic arms control agreement.

I want to build on that. I'd love to be able to say to my grandchildren, four years after my first term, I'd like to say, your grandfather, working with the leaders of the Soviet Union, working with the leaders of Europe, was able to ban chemical and biological weapons from the face of the earth.

Lincoln called this country the last best hope of man on earth. And he was right then, and we still are the last best hope of man on earth.

And I ask for your support on November 8th. And I will be a good president. Working together, we can do wonderful things for the United States and the Free World.

Thank you very, very much.

## THE 1988 VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

between

LLOYD BENTSEN  
Democratic Nominee for Vice President

and

DAN QUAYLE  
Republican Nominee for Vice President

MODERATOR

Judy Woodruff  
MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour

PANELISTS

Tom Brokaw  
NBC News

Brit Hume  
ABC News

John Margolis  
Chicago Tribune

Civic Auditorium  
Omaha, Nebraska



MS. WOODRUFF: On behalf of the Commission on Presidential Debates, I am pleased to welcome you to this Vice Presidential debate. I'm Judy Woodruff of PBS' MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour and Frontline. My colleagues on the panel are: John Margolis of the Chicago Tribune; Tom Brokaw of NBC NEWS; and Brit Hume of ABC NEWS.

The importance of tonight's debate is underscored by two facts. Both George Bush and Michael Dukakis said their selections of a running mate would reveal a lot about themselves. And based on the history since World War II, there is almost a 50-50 chance that one of the two men here tonight will become President of the United States.

The candidates are Senator Dan Quayle, the Republican nominee, and Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic nominee.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: For the next 90 minutes we will be questioning the candidates following a format designed and agreed to by representatives of the two campaigns. However, there are no restrictions on the questions that my colleagues and I may ask this evening.

By prior agreement between the two candidates, the first question goes to Senator Quayle, and you have two minutes to respond.

Senator, you have been criticized, as we all know, for your decision to stay out of the Vietnam War; for your poor academic record. But more troubling to some are some of the comments that have been made by people in your own party. Just last week former Secretary of State Haig said that your pick was the dumbest call George Bush could have made. Your leader in the Senate--

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Your leader in the Senate Bob Dole said that a better qualified person could have been chosen. Other Republicans have been far more critical in private. Why do you think that you have not made a more substantial impression on some of these people who have been able to observe you up close?

SENATOR QUAYLE: The question goes to whether I am qualified to be Vice President, and in the case of a tragedy, whether I'm qualified to be President. Qualifications for the office of Vice President or President are not age alone. You must look at accomplishments, and you must look at experience. I have more experience than others that have sought the office of Vice President.

Now let's look at qualifications, and let's look at the three biggest issues that are going to be confronting America in the next presidency. Those three issues are national security and arms control; jobs and education; and the Federal budget deficit. On each one of those issues I have more experience than does the Governor of Massachusetts.

In national security and arms control, you have to understand the difference between a ballistic missile, a warhead, what throwweight, what megatonnage is. You better understand about telemetry and encryption. And you better understand that you have to negotiate from a position of strength. These are important issues, because we want to have more arms control and arms reductions.

In the area of jobs and education, I wrote the Job Training Partnership Act, a bipartisan bill, a bill that has trained and employed over three million economically disadvantaged youth and adults in this country.

On the area of the Federal budget deficit, I have worked eight years on the Senate Budget Committee. And I wish that the Congress would give us the line item veto to help deal with that.

And if qualifications alone are going to be the issue in this campaign, George Bush has more qualifications than Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen combined.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen--I'm going to interrupt at this point and ask once again that the audience please keep your responses as quiet as possible. We know that many of you here are for one candidate or another. But you are simply taking time away from your candidate, and more likely than not, you'll be causing the partisans for the other candidate to react again when their candidate speaks. So please.

Senator Bentsen, you have one minute to respond.

SENATOR BENTSEN: This debate tonight is not about the qualifications for the Vice Presidency. The debate is whether or not Dan Quayle and Lloyd Bentsen are qualified to be President of the United States.

Because Judy, just as you have said, that has happened too often in the past. And if that tragedy should occur, we have to step in there without any margin for error, without time for preparation, to take over the responsibility for the biggest job in the world, that of running this great country of ours; to take over the awesome responsibility for commanding the nuclear weaponry that this country has.

No, the debate tonight is a debate about the presidency itself, and a presidential decision that has to be made by you. The stakes could not be higher.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen, a question for you, and you also have two minutes to respond.

What bothers people is not so much your qualifications but your split on policy with Gov. Dukakis. He has said that he does not want a clone of himself, but you disagree with him on some major issues: aid to the Nicaraguan Contras; the death penalty; gun control; among others.

If you had to step into the presidency, whose agenda would you pursue, yours or his?  
SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I am delighted to respond to that question, because we agree on so many things and the vast majority of the issues.

We agree on the fact that we have to cut this deficit. And Gov. Dukakis has been able to cut that deficit ten budgets in a row in the State of Massachusetts, while he lowered the tax burden on their people from one of the highest to one of the lower in the United States.

That is a major sense of achievement. And I admire that. And I'm just delighted to be on the ticket with him.

Gov. Dukakis and I agreed that we ought to have a trade policy for this country; that we've seen this Administration more than double the national debt, that; they've moved this country from the number one lender nation in the world to the number one debtor nation in the world under their Administration; that they have not had a trade policy; that they have let trade be a handmaiden for their foreign policy objectives of the country; that this country has exported too many jobs and not enough products.

And as I worked to pass a trade bill through the United States Senate, they threw roadblocks in the way every step of the way.

But we passed a trade bill that has this premise, that any country that has full access to our markets, we're entitled to full access to their markets.

Now, that means that we're going to stand tough for America, and we're going to protect those jobs, and we're going to push American products, and we're going to open up markets around the world.

We'll show leadership in that respect, and turn this deficit and trade around. That's the sort of thing that Michael Dukakis and I will do to bring about a better America for all our people.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle, a minute to respond.

SENATOR QUAYLE: As you notice, Senator Bentsen didn't tell you very much about what Gov. Dukakis would do--Gov. Dukakis, one of the most liberal governors in the United States of America.

The one thing he tried to point out about Gov. Dukakis is that he's cut taxes. The fact of the matter is, Senator Bentsen, he's raised taxes five times.

He just raised taxes this past year. And that's why a lot of people refer to him as Tax-hike Mike. That's why they refer to the State of Massachusetts as Taxachusetts.

Because every time there's a problem, the liberal governor from Massachusetts raises taxes.



I don't blame Senator Bentsen for not talking about Gov. Michael Dukakis. He's talking more about his record. If I had to defend the liberal policies of Gov. Michael Dukakis, I wouldn't talk about it either.

MS. WOODRUFF: John Margolis, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator Bentsen, you have claimed that Vice President Bush and the Republicans will raid the Social Security Trust Fund, and you have vowed to protect it.

But as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, you must know that there is something to the argument of your fellow Democrat Bob Strauss that some restraint on Social Security growth may be needed, or at least some decision to tax most Social Security benefits as regular income.

In fact, you once voted for and spoke for a six-month delay on cost of living adjustment increases for Social Security.

Senator, aren't you and Gov. Dukakis using this issue politically, rather than dealing with it responsibly?

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I must say I hate to disappoint my good friend Bob Strauss, but we have a contract with the American people on Social Security. And Social Security is an issue where Senator Quayle voted eight times to cut the benefits on Social Security, where this administration came in and tried to cut the benefits, the minimum benefits, \$122 a month for widows, for retirees, tried to cut the benefits for 62-year-old retirees by 40 percent, tried to do an end run on Social Security when they first came in after promising not to cut it--to cut it by some 20 billion, and while we were working together to reform the Social Security system and to be certain that that money was going to be there for people when they retired. At that point they tried a \$40-billion end run to cut Social Security.

Now, the record is clear. And we saw Vice President Bush fly back from the west coast to break a tie in the United States Senate. He doesn't get to vote very often in the Senate, but he made a special trip to come back and vote against a cost-of-living increase.

Now, when you talk about Social Security, the people that are going to protect it are the Democrats that brought forth that program. And I think it's very important that we not see these kinds of end runs by this administration.

When they talk about the fact that they are going to continue to cut this budget, I know too well what their track record is. And we should be concerned with that kind of an effort once again after the election is over.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle, your response?

SENATOR QUAYLE: Senator Bentsen, you know that I did not vote to cut Social Security benefits eight times. What I have voted for and what Senator Bentsen has voted for is to delay the cost-of-living adjustments.

Senator Bentsen two times in the United States Senate voted to delay the cost-of-living adjustments. The governor of Massachusetts at a governors' conference supported a resolution to delay the cost-of-living adjustment.

And, John, you are right: they use this for political advantage. What they try to do time and time again is to scare the old people of this country. That's the politics of the past.

In 1983 Republicans and Democrats dropped their political swords and in a bipartisan effort saved the Social Security system. Republicans and Democrats banded together because we know that this program is not a Republican program, it's not a Democrat program--it's a program for older Americans. And that program is actuarially sound to the turn of this century.

MS. WOODRUFF: John, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator, since coming to the Senate you have voted against environmental protection legislation about two-thirds of the time. This includes votes against pesticide controls, the toxic waste superfund, and health and safety protection from nuclear wastes.

Senator, do you consider yourself an environmentalist, and, if you do, how do you reconcile that with your voting record?

SENATOR QUAYLE: I have a very strong record on the environment in the United States Senate.

(Laughter)

I have a record where I voted for the superfund legislation. I have a record where I voted against my president on the override of the Clean Water Act. I have voted for the major pieces of environmental legislation that have come down and been voted on in the United States Senate.

This administration--and I support this administration and its environmental efforts--has moved in the area for the first time to deal with the ozone problem. We now have an international treaty, the treaty that is commonly referred to as the Montreal Treaty. For the first time we are talking about the impact of CO<sub>2</sub> to the ozone layer. That's progress with the environment.

We are committed to the environment. I take my children hiking and fishing, walking in the woods, in the wilderness. Believe me, we have a commit to preserving the environment.



You bring up the environment, you can't help but think about the environmental policy of the governor of Massachusetts. He talks about being an environmentalist. Let me tell you about his environmental policy. The Boston Harbor--the Boston Harbor, which is the dirtiest waterway in America, tons of raw sewage go in there each and every day. What has the governor of Massachusetts done about that? Virtually nothing.

And then he has the audacity to go down to New Jersey and tell the people of New Jersey that he's against ocean dumping. This is the same governor that applied for a license to dump Massachusetts sewage waste off the coast of New Jersey.

Who has the environmental record? Who has the environmental interest? George Bush and I do.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: This late conversion is interesting to me.

(Laughter and applause)

I must say, when they talk about Boston Harbor and he says he hasn't done anything, the facts are he has a \$6-billion program under way on waste treatment. And it was this administration, their administration, that cut out the money early on to be able to clean up water, and made it impossible to move ahead at that time on Boston Harbor.

We are the authors, the Democratic Party, of Clean Air, of Clean Water, of the superfund. I am one who played a very major role in passing the superfund legislation. And every environmental organization that I know, every major one, has now endorsed the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket. And I am one who has just received the environmental award in Texas for the work I've done to clean up the bays, to clean up the water, off the coast of Texas.

No, I think we know well who's going to help clean up this environment. The record is there, the history is there. And Dukakis and Bentsen will be committed to that.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom Brokaw, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. BROKAW: Thank you, Judy. Senator Quayle, there's been a lot of talk during the course of this campaign about family. It was a principal theme, as I recall, in your acceptance speech in New Orleans. Tonight I'd like to ask you about the sixty-five million American children who live with their families in poverty. I'd like for you to describe to the audience the last time that you may have visited with one of those families personally and how you explain to that family your votes against the school breakfast program, the school lunch program, and the expansion of the child immunization program.

(Applause)

SENATOR QUAYLE: I have met with those people, and I met with them in Fort Wayne, Indiana, at a food bank. You may be surprised, Tom, they didn't ask me those questions on those votes, because they were glad that I took time out of my schedule to go down and to talk about how we are going to get a food bank going and making sure that a food bank goes in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

And I have a very good record and a commitment to the poor, to those that don't have a family, that want to have a family. This administration, and a George Bush administration, will be committed to eradicating poverty. Poverty hasn't gone up in this administration; it hasn't gone down much either, and that means we have a challenge ahead of us.

But let me tell you something, what we have done for the poor. What we have done for the poor is that we in fact--the homeless bill, the McKinney Act, which is the major piece of legislation that deals with homeless--the Congress has cut the funding that the administration has recommended. The poor and the poverty--the biggest thing that we have done for poverty in America is the Tax Simplification Act of 1986: six million working poor families got off the payroll; six million people are off the taxpaying payrolls because of that tax reform, and they are keeping the tax money there.

To help the poor, we'll have a commitment to the programs and those programs will go on. And we are spending more in poverty programs today than we were in 1981--that is a fact. The poverty program we are going to concentrate on is creating jobs and opportunities, so that everyone will have the opportunities that they want.]

(Scattered applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen, your response.

SENATOR BENTSEN: I find that very interesting, because he has been of no help at all when it comes to passing the most major welfare reform bill in the history of our country, one where we are working very hard to see that people can get off welfare, break that cycle, take a step up in life, doing the kinds of things that we did there to let them have Medicaid for a year. That's a positive thing that's done.

What also frustrates me with the kind of report that I have just heard here is the kind of votes that he has cast against child nutrition programs, the fact that he has voted against money that we needed for further immunization, the denial of polio shots to kids where the parents couldn't afford to get that kind of a shot. Now, I don't really believe that that is identifying with the concerns of people in poverty.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. BROKAW: Senator Bentsen, I'd like to take you back to the question that Judy asked you about your differences with Michael Dukakis on contra aid. After all, the contra

aid is one of the cutting issues of foreign policy of this country in the last eight years. You and Michael Dukakis seem to be diametrically opposed on that.

I have been told that in a closed session of the U.S. Senate you made one of the most eloquent and statesmanlike speeches in behalf of contra aid that anyone had made in the eight years of the Reagan term, that in fact you alluded to the threat that the Sandinista regime could pose to your own state of Texas.

Governor Dukakis, on the other hand, has described the contra aid policy as immoral and illegal. Is he wrong?

(Scattered applause)

SENATOR BENTSEN: Gov. Dukakis and I have disagreed on the contra program; no question about that.

But my big difference with this Administration is, they look at the contra aid program as the only way to resolve that problem. They concentrate on that.

And I really think we have to give peace a chance. And that's why I have been a strong supporter of the Arias plan, a plan that won the Nobel Prize for President Arias, the President of Costa Rica.

I believe you have to work with the leaders of those other Central American countries to try to bring about the democratization of Nicaragua--by negotiation, by pressure, by counselling, by diplomatic pressure, that we ought to be trying that first.

But in concentrating so much just on the Contras, this Administration has not paid enough attention to the rest of Central America.

The concern I have is that we have a country with 85 million people sharing a 2,000-mile border with us, with half of those people under the age of 15, a country that's had its standard of living cut 50 percent in the last six years.

Now we ought to be concerned about that, and we ought to be involved. I was born and reared on that Mexican border. I speak their language. I've spent a good part of my life down there.

Gov. Dukakis speaks Spanish, too. He's spent a good deal of time in Central and South America.

And we believe that we ought to be working with a new Alliance for Progress, bringing in other countries to help; bring in Europeans, the Spanish, who have a real affinity for that area; bringing in the Japanese who have a great surplus now and looking for places to invest it.

Those are the positive things I think we could do to bring about peace in that area, to help raise that standard of living and give them the kind of stability where democracy can proceed and can prosper and bloom.

Those are the kinds of things that we'd be committed to in a Dukakis-Bentsen Administration to try to make this world a better place in which to live.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle, your response.

SENATOR QUAYLE: There's no doubt in a Dukakis Administration that the aid would be cut off to the democratic resistance in Nicaragua, and that is unfortunate.

The reason it is unfortunate, because it is beyond me why it's okay for the Soviet Union to put in billions of dollars to prop up the communist Sandinistas, but somehow it's wrong for the United States to give a few dollars to the democratic resistance.

There's a thing called the Monroe Doctrine, something that the Governor of Massachusetts has said has been superseded. I doubt if many Americans agree with that. I think they believe in the Monroe Doctrine.

Senator Bentsen talked about the entire Central America. There's another issue that Michael Dukakis is wrong on in Central America, and that's Grenada. He criticized our rescue mission in Grenada, according to a UPI report. Criticized that, yet 85 percent of the American people supported our rescue mission, and we turned a communist country into a noncommunist country.

The Governor of Massachusetts is simply out of step with mainstream America.

MS. WOODRUFF: Brit Hume, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. HUME: Good evening, Senator Bentsen, Senator Quayle.

I'm sort of the cleanup man in this order, and I've been asked by my colleagues to try to deal with anything that's been left on base.

Senator, I have a follow up question for you, Senator Quayle. But Senator Bentsen, I first want to ask you a question about PAC money, a thing I'm sure you're prepared to talk about.

Gov. Dukakis has tried to make ethics a major issue in the campaign. And he has you as a running mate, a man who leads the league at last count in the receipt of PAC money, that being the money raised by the special interest organizations.

That is a kind of campaign financing which Gov. Dukakis finds so distasteful that he has refused to accept any of it.

Do you find that embarrassing, Senator?

SENATOR BENTSEN: No, I don't find it embarrassing at all. Because you have to remember that PAC money is the result of the last campaign reform bill, one that talks about employees have greater participation.

And what I've done in PAC money is just what my opponent in my campaign has done in his campaign. He has been raising PAC money, too.



So what you have to do is comply with the laws as they are, whether you're paying taxes or you're playing a football game. Whether you like those laws or not, you comply with them.

Now, I have been for campaign reform, and have pushed it very hard. I believe that we have to do some things in that regard.

But I've noticed that the Senator from Indiana has opposed that campaign reform and voted repeatedly against it.

The things we have to do, I believe, that will cut back on soft money, for example, which I look on as frankly one of those things that we've had to do because the Republicans have done it for so long. But I think it's a loophole, frankly.

But campaign reform, changing the rules of the game, is something we tried repeatedly in this session of the Congress, but only to have the Republicans lead the charge against us and defeat us.

And I wish that Senator Quayle would change his mind on that particular piece of legislation and give us the kind of a campaign reform law that I think is needed in America.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle, your response.

SENATOR QUAYLE: Senator Bentsen is the number one PAC raiser. As a matter of fact, he used to have a \$10,000 breakfast club. \$10,000 breakfast club. It only costs high paid lobbyists, special interests in Washington, to come down and have breakfast with the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the one that oversees all the tax loopholes in the tax code, \$10,000.

I'm sure they weren't paying to have cornflakes.

Well, I'll tell you the kind of campaign reform I'm supporting, Senator Bentsen. I think it's time we get rid of PAC money.

Support our legislation where we totally eliminate contributions by special interests and political action committees, and let's have the individual contribute and the political parties contribute.

That's the kind of campaign reform that Republicans are for. They want to get rid of this special interest and rely on the individuals, and also, the political parties.

MS. WOODRUFF: Brit, your question for Senator Quayle.

Once again, let me caution the audience: please, keep your reactions as quiet as possible. Brit?

MR. HUME: Senator, I want to take you back if I can to the question Judy asked you about some of the apprehensions people may feel about your being a heart beat away from the presidency.

And let us assume if we can for the sake of this question that you have become Vice President and the President is incapacitated for one reason or another, and you have to take the reins of power.

When that moment came, what would be the first steps that you'd take, and why?

SENATOR QUAYLE: First--first, I'd say a prayer for myself and for the country that I'm about to lead. And then I would assemble his people and talk.

And I think this question keeps going back to the qualifications and what kind of Vice President in this hypothetical situation, if I had to assume the responsibilities of President, what I would be.

And as I have said, age alone, although I can tell you, after the experiences of these last few weeks in the campaign, I've added ten years to my age, age alone is not the only qualification.

You've got to look at experience, and you've got to look at accomplishments, and can you make a difference.

Have I made a difference in the United States Senate where I've served for eight years? Yes, I have.

Have I made a difference in the Congress that I've served for 12 years? Yes, I have.

As I said before, looking at the issue of qualifications--and I am delighted that it comes up, because on the three most important challenges facing America, arms control and national security, jobs and education and budget deficit, I have more experience and accomplishments than does the Governor of Massachusetts.

I have been in the Congress and I've worked on these issues. And believe me, when you look at arms control and trying to deal with the Soviet Union, you cannot come at it from a naive position.

You have to understand the Soviet Union. You have to understand how they will respond. Sitting on that Senate Armed Services Committee for eight years has given me the experience to deal with the Soviet Union and how we can move forward.

That is just one of the troubling issues that's going to be facing this nation, and I'm prepared.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I can't leave something on the table that he's charged me with, and so let's get to that one.

When you talk about the breakfast club, as you know, that was perfectly legal. And I formed it, and I closed it down almost immediately because I thought the perception was bad.



But it's the same law--it's the same law--that lets you invite high priced lobbyists down to Williamsburg. And bring them down there and entertain them playing golf, playing tennis, and bringing Republican Senators down there, to have exchanged for that contributions to their campaign.

It's the same kind of law that lets you have honorariums--and you've collected over a quarter of a million dollars of honorariums now, speaking to various interest groups. And there's no control over what you do with that money. You can spend it on anything you want to. You can spent it on golf club dues, if you want to do that.

(Applause)

SENATOR BENTSEN: Now, that's what I've seen you do in this Administration. And that's why we need campaign reform laws, and why I support them. And you in turn have voted against them time and time again.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: John Margolis, question for Senator Quayle.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator Quayle, in recent years the Reagan administration has scaled back the activities of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, prompted in part by Vice President Bush's Task Force on Regulatory Relief. The budget for the agency has been cut by 20 percent and the number of inspections and manufacturing plants has been reduced by 33 percent.

This has had a special effect in this area where many people work in the meat packing industry, which has a far higher rate of serious injuries than almost any other injury, a rate which appears to have been rising, although we're not really sure, because some of the largest companies have allegedly falsifying their reports.

Would you acknowledge to the hundreds of injured and maimed people Nebraska, Iowa and elsewhere in the Midwest that in this case deregulation may have gone too far and the government should reassert itself in protecting workers' rights.

SENATOR QUAYLE: The premise of your question, John, is that somehow this administration has been lax in enforcement of the OSHA regulations. And I disagree with that.

And I'll tell you why. If you want to ask some business people that I talk to periodically, they complain about the tough enforcement of this administration and, furthermore, let me tell you this for the record, when we have found violations in this administration, there has not only been tough enforcement, but there have been the most severe penalties--the largest penalties in the history of the Department of Labor--have been levied when these violations have been found.

There is a commitment and there will always be a commitment to the safety of our working men and women. They deserve it and we're committed to them.

Now, the broader question goes to the whole issue of deregulation and has deregulation worked or has deregulations not worked.

In my judgment deregulation has worked. We have a deregulated economy and we have produced through low taxes, not high taxes, through deregulation--the spirit of entrepreneurship, the individual going out and starting a business, the businessman or women willing to go out and risk their investments to start up a business and hire people.

We have produced 17 million jobs in this country since 1982.

Deregulation as a form of political philosophy is a good philosophy. It's one that our opponents disagree with. They want a centralized government.

But we believe in the market, we believe in the people and yes, there's a role of government and the role of government is to make sure that those safety--and health and the welfare of the people is taken care of. And we'll continue to do that.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen?

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I think you see once again a piece of Democratic legislation that's been passed to try protect the working men and women of America.

And then you've seen an administration that came in and really didn't have it's heart in that kind of an enforcement. A good example of that is the environmental protection laws that we were talking about a moment ago.

This administration came in and put in a James Watt, an Ann Gorsuch, now that's the Bonnie and Clyde, really, of environmental protection.

And that's why it's important that you have people that truly believe and trying to represent the working men and women of America.

Most employers do a good job of that, but some of them put their profits before people and that's why you have to have OSHA and that's why you have to have tough and good and fair enforcement of it and that's what a Democratic administration would do to help make this working place a safer and better place to be employed.

MS. WOODRUFF: John Margolis, another question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator Bentsen, since you have been in the Senate, the government has spent increasing amounts of money in an effort to protect the family farmer. Though most of the subsidies seem to go--do go to the largest and richest farmers who presumably need it least, while it's the smaller farmers who are often forced to sell out, sometimes to their large farmer neighbor who's gotten more subsidies to begin with.

Despite the fact that I believe you, sir, are a rather large farmer, yourself, do you believe that it's time to uncouple the subsidy formula from the amount of land the farmer has and target Federal money to the small and medium size farmer?

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I've supported that. I voted for the 50,000 limitation to get away from the million dollar contributions to farmer.

You know, of the four that are on this ticket, I'm the only one that was born and reared on a farm and still involved in farming, so I think I understand their concerns and their problems.

Now, I feel very strongly that we ought to be doing more for the American farmer and what we've seen under this administration is neglect of that farmer.

We've seen them drive 220,000 farmers off the farm. They seem to think the answer is move them to town, but we ought not to be doing that.

What you have seen them do is cut the farm assistance for the rural areas by over 50 percent. We're seeing rural hospitals close all over the country because of this kind of an administration.

We've seen an administration that has lost much of our market abroad, because they have not had a trade policy. We saw our market loss by some 40 percent.

And that's one of the reasons that we've seen the cost of the farm program, which was only about two and a half billion dollars when they took office, now go to about \$25 billion.

Now, we can bring that kind of a cost down and get more to market prices if we'll have a good trade policy.

I was in January visiting with Mr. Takeshita, the new Prime Minister of Japan. I said, "You're paying five times as much for beef as we pay for our in country--pay for it in our country, six times as much for rice. You have a \$60 billion trade surplus with us. You could improve the standard of living of your people. You're spending 27 percent of your disposable income. We spend 14 or 15 percent."

"When you have that kind of barrier up against us, that's not free and fair trade and we don't believe that should continue."

We would be pushing very hard to open up those markets and stand up for the American farmer and see that we recapture those foreign markets and I think we can do it with the Dukakis-Bentsen administration.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle?

SENATOR QUAYLE: Senator Bentsen talks about recapturing the foreign markets. Well, I'll tell you one way that we're not going to recapture the foreign markets and that is if, in fact, we have another Jimmy Carter grain embargo.

(Equal amounts of cheering and booing)

Jimmy Carter--Jimmy Carter grain embargo set the American farmer back. You know what the farmer's interested in? Net farm income. Every one percent increase in interest rates, a billion dollars out of the farmer's pocket. Net farm income, increased inflation, another billion dollars.

Another thing that a farmer is not interested in and that's supply management that the Democratic platform talks about.

But the Governor of Massachusetts, he has a farm program. He went to the farmers in the Midwest and told them not to grow corn, not to grow soybeans, but to grow Belgium [sic] endive.

That's what his--that's what he and his Harvard buddies think of the American farmer, grow Belgium endive. To come in and to tell our farmers not to grow corn, not to grow soybeans, that's the kind of farm policy you'll get under a Dukakis administration and one I think the American farmer rightfully will reject.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom Brokaw, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. BROKAW: Senator Bentsen, you were a businessman before you entered the U.S. Senate. Let me offer you an inventory if I may: Lower interest rates, lower unemployment, lower inflation and an arms control deal with the Soviet Union. Now two guys come through your door at your business and say, "We'd like you to change," without offering a lot of specifics. Why would you accept their deal?

SENATOR BENTSEN: You know, if you let me write \$200 billion worth of hot checks every year, I could give you an illusion of prosperity, too.

(Laughter and applause)

This is an administration that has more than doubled the national debt, and they've done that in less than eight years. They have taken this country from the No. 1 lender nation in the world to the No. 1 debtor nation in the world. And the interest on that debt next year, on this Reagan-Bush debt of our nation, is going to be \$640 for every man, woman, and child in America because of this kind of a credit-card mentality.

So we go out and we try to sell our securities every week, and hope that the foreigners will buy them. And they do buy them. But every time they do, we lose some of our economic independence for the future.

Now they've turned around and they've bought 10 percent of the manufacturing base of this country. They bought 20 percent of the banks. They own 46 percent of the commercial real estate in Los Angeles. They are buying America on the cheap.

Now, when we have other countries that can't manage their economy down in Central and South America, we send down the American ambassador, we send down the



International Monetary Fund, and we tell them what they can buy and what they can sell and how to run their economies.

The ultimate irony would be to have that happen to us, because foreigners finally quit buying our securities.

So what we need in this country is someone like Mike Dukakis, who gave ten balanced budgets in a row there, and was able to do that, meet that kind of a commitment, set those tough priorities.

We need an administration that will turn this trade policy around and open up those markets, stand tough with our trading partners to help keep the jobs at home and send the products abroad.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle.

SENATOR QUAYLE: Senator Bentsen talks about running up the debt. Well, the governor of Massachusetts has run up more debt than all the governors in the history of Massachusetts combined, going back to the days of the Pilgrims. I don't believe that that's the kind of policy that we want.

The question went to the heart of the matter, Tom. You asked the question why would we change. Well, we have changed since 1980. We've got interest rates down, we've got inflation down, people are working again, America is held in respect once again around the world.

But we are going to build on that change. And as we made those positive changes of lower interest rates, lower rate of inflation, the governor of Massachusetts fought us every step of the way.

We are proud of the record of accomplishment and the opportunities and the hope for millions of Americans. Hope and opportunity of these Americans is because of the policies that we have had for the last eight years, and we want to build on that and change it for even the better.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. BROKAW: Senator Quayle, as you mentioned here tonight, you actively supported the invasion of Grenada, which was a military operation to rescue some American medical students and to rescue an island from a Marxist takeover. If military force was necessary in that endeavor, why not use the military to go after the South American drug cartels and after General Noriega, for that matter, in a surgical strike, since drugs in the minds of most Americans pose a far greater danger to many more people?

(Scattered applause)

SENATOR QUAYLE: You are absolutely right that the drug problem is the No. 1 issue.

MR. BROKAW: But would you please address the military aspect of it.

SENATOR QUAYLE: I will address the military aspect, if I may respond.

The military aspect of the drug problem is being addressed. As a matter of fact, we are using the Department of Defense in a coordinated effort, in reconnaissance. But I don't believe that we are going to turn the Department of Defense into a police organization. We are using our military assets in a prudent way to deal with interdiction, and we've made some success in this area. Seventy tons of cocaine have been stopped.

But, you know, when you look at the drug problem--and it is a tremendous problem, and there are no easy solutions to it--it's a complicated problem, and it's heading up the effort to try to create a drug-free America, which is a challenge and a goal of all of us.

Not only will we utilize national defense and the Department of Defense, but we've got to get on the demand side of the ledger; we've got to get to education. And education ought to begin at home, and it ought to be reinforced in our schools.

And there's another thing that will be more important than the premise of this question on a hypothetical of using troops. We will use the military assets, we will use military assets--but we need to focus on another part of this problem, and that problem is law enforcement.

And here is where we have a major disagreement with the governor of Massachusetts. He is opposed to the death penalty for drug kingpins. We believe people convicted of that crime deserve the death penalty, as does the legislation that's in the Congress that is supported by a bipartisan, including many Democrats of his party. He also was opposed to mandatory drug sentencing for drug dealers in the state of Massachusetts.

You cannot have a war on drugs, you cannot be tough on drugs and weak on crime.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: It's interesting to see that the Senator from Indiana, when we had a resolution on the floor of the United States Senate sponsored by Senator Dole, that this government would make no deal with Noriega--that the Senator from Indiana was one of the dozen senators that voted against it. It's also interesting to see that one of his campaign managers that's trying to help him with his image was also hired by Noriega to help him with his image in Panama.

(Shouts and applause)

What we have seen under this administration--we have seen them using eight cabinet officers, twenty-eight different agencies, all fighting over turf--and that is one thing we would correct under a Dukakis-Bentsen administration. We would put one person in charge in the war against drugs, and we would commit the resources to get that job done.



Now, Mike Dukakis has been able to do that type of thing in the state of Massachusetts by cutting the drug use in the high schools while it's going up around the rest of the country, by putting in a drug educational program that the Drug Enforcement Agency said was a model to the country. We would be doing that around the rest of the country. That's a positive attack against drugs.

MS. WOODRUFF: Brit Hume, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. HUME: Senator, I want to take you back to the question that I asked you earlier about what would happen if you were to take over in an emergency, and what you would do first and why. You said you would say a prayer, and you said something about a meeting.

What would you do next?

(Laughter)

SENATOR QUAYLE: I don't believe that it's proper for me to get into the specifics of a hypothetical situation like that. The situation is that if I was called upon to serve as the president of this country, or the responsibilities of the president of this country, would I be capable and qualified to do that? And I've tried to list the qualifications of twelve years in the United States Congress. I have served in the Congress for twelve years; I have served in the Congress and served eight years on the Senate Armed Services Committee. I have travelled a number of times--I've been to Geneva many times to meet with our negotiators as we were hammering out the INF Treaty; I've met with the western political leaders--Margaret Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl--I know them, they know me. I know what it takes to lead this country forward.

And if that situation arises, yes, I will be prepared, and I will be prepared to lead this country, if that happens.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Once again I think what we are looking at here is someone that can step in at the presidency level at the moment, if that tragedy would occur. And if that's the case, again you have to look at maturity of judgment, and you have to look at breadth of experience. You have to see what kind of leadership roles that person has played in his life before that crisis struck him. And if you do that type of thing, then you arrive at a judgment that I think would be a wise one. And I hope that would mean that you would say we are going to vote for Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Brit, question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. HUME: Senator, I want to take you back if I can to the celebrated Breakfast Club, when it was first revealed that you had a plan to have people pay \$10,000 a plate to have breakfast with you. You handled it with disarming, not to say charming, candor; you said it was a mistake, and you disbanded it and called the whole idea off. And you were widely praised for having handled it deftly.

The question I have is: If The Washington Post had not broken that story and other media picked up on it, what can you tell us tonight as to why we should not believe that you would still be having those breakfasts to this day?

(Scattered laughter)

SENATOR BENTSEN: I really must say, Brit, I don't make many mistakes, but that one was a real doozy. And I agree with that.

And, as you know, I immediately disbanded it. It was perfectly legal. And you have all kinds of such clubs on the Hill--and you know that. But I still believe that the better way to go is to have a campaign reform law that takes care of that kind of a situation. Even though it's legal, the perception is bad.

So I would push very strong to see that we reform the entire situation. I'd work for that end, and that's what my friend from Indiana has opposed repeatedly, vote after vote.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle.

SENATOR QUAYLE: He disbanded the club, but he's still got the money. He is the number one--he is the number one receiver of political action committee money.

Now, Senator Bentsen has talked about reform. Well, let me tell you about the reform that we're pushing. Let's eliminate political action committees, the special interest money. There's legislation before the Congress to do that.

That way, we won't have to worry about breakfast clubs, or who's the number one PAC raiser. We can go back and get the contributions from the working men and women and the individuals of America.

We can also strengthen our two party system--and it needs strengthening--and rely more on the political parties than we have in the past.

That's the kind of campaign reform that I'm for, and I hope the Senator will join me.

MS. WOODRUFF: John Margolis, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator, we've all just finished--most America has just finished one of the hottest summers it can remember. And apparently this year will be the fifth out of the last nine that are among the hottest on record.

No one knows, but most scientists think, that something we're doing, human beings are doing, are exacerbating this problem, and that this could, in a couple of generations, threaten our descendants comfort and health and perhaps even their existence.

As Vice President what would you urge our government to do to deal with this problem? And specifically as a Texan, could you support a substantial reduction in the use of fossil fuels which might be necessary down the road?

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I think what you can do in that one, and which would be very helpful, is to use a lot more natural gas, which burns a lot cleaner.

And what Mike Dukakis has said is that he'll try to break down those regulatory roadblocks that you have in the regulatory agency that denies much of the passage of that natural gas to the northeast, a way, in turn, can fight against acid rain which is another threat, because it's sterilizing our lakes, it's killing our fish.

And it's interesting to me to see in the resume of Senator Quayle that he brags on the fact that he's been able to fight the acid rain legislation. I don't think that that's a proper objective in trying to clean up this environment.

But the greenhouse effect is one that has to be a threat to all of us, and we have to look for alternative sources of fuel. And I've supported that very strongly.

The Department of Energy is one that has cut back substantially on the study of those alternative sources of fuels.

We can use other things that'll help the farmer. We can convert corn to ethanol, and I would push for that very strong.

So absolutely. I'll do those things that are necessary to put the environment of our country number one. Because if we don't protect that, we'll destroy the future of our children.

And we must be committed to trying--to clean up the water, clean up the air, and do everything we can, not only from a research standpoint, but also in the applied legislation to see that that's carried out.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle?

SENATOR QUAYLE: Vice President George Bush has said that he will take on the environmental problem. He has said further that he will deal with the acid rain legislation and reduce millions of tons of the SO<sub>2</sub> content.

That legislation won't get through the Congress this year. But it will get through in a George Bush Administration, a George Bush Administration that is committed to the environment.

Now the greenhouse effect is an important environmental issue. It is important for us to get the data in, to see what alternatives we might have to the fossil fuels, and make sure we know what we're doing.

And there are some explorations and things that we can consider in this area. The drought highlighted the problem that we have, and therefore, we need to get on with it, and in a George Bush Administration, you can bet that we will.

MS. WOODRUFF: John, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator, as Vice President your most important contribution would be the advice you gave the President.

One of the most troubling facts that's going to face the new Administration is the fact that the United States has now become the world's largest debtor nation. In 1987 foreigners underwrote our debts to the tune of about \$138 billion.

Last week a top official of the Japanese Economic Planning Agency bragged that Japan now is in a position to influence the value of the dollar, of our interest rates, and even our stock prices. And he warned that one day maybe they'd do just that.

If you were Vice President of the United States and Japan did that, what would you tell the President to do?

SENATOR QUAYLE: When you look at dealing with this total problem--it's not just with the Japanese, but the underlying question on this total world debt problem--you have got to see, why are we a debtor, and what is attracting the foreign investment into our country today, whether it's Japanese or others.

I would rather have people come over here and to make investments in this country, rather than going elsewhere. Because by coming over here, and making investments in this country, we are seeing jobs.

Do you realize that today we are producing Hondas and exporting Hondas to Japan? We are the envy of the world. The United States--

(Laughter)

SENATOR QUAYLE: Some of Senator Bentsen's supporters laugh at that. They laugh at that because they don't believe that the United States of America is the envy of the world.

Well, I can tell you, the American people think the United States of America is the envy of the world.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator--oh, I'm sorry, go ahead.

SENATOR QUAYLE: We are the greatest nation in this world, and the greatest economic power.

Now, there's been some talk in Congress about forgiveness of debt. Forgiveness of debt is wrong. Forgiveness of international debt would be counterproductive.



And I would like to see those that talk about forgiving debt, Senator Bentsen, go out and talk about a farmer that's in debt that doesn't have his forgiven. That's not the kind of policy George Bush will have.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I've told you what I'd do about trade and trying to help turn that situation around.

But what we also should do is get them to give us more burden sharing when it comes to national defense. We have a situation today where, on a per capita basis, people in Western Europe are spending about one-third as much as we are in our country.

And then when you go to Japan, where we're spending 6-1/2 percent on defense of the democracies, they're spending one percent.

I met with some of the Japanese business leaders, talking to them about it. And I said, you know, we have 50,000 troops here in Japan, protecting the democracies of Asia. And it costs \$3.5 billion a year. You're the number two economic power in the world. You ought to measure up to that responsibility and carry some of that cost.

I said, if we were not doing what we're doing, we'd have a big budget surplus. And I said, you'd have chaos, because you get 55 percent of your oil from the Persian Gulf, and you wouldn't have the U.S. Navy down there to take care of that.

Now, the Senator from Indiana, when we passed a resolution in the United States Senate to ask for burden sharing on that cost to keep those sea lanes open from the Japanese, he votes against that.

I don't understand that.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom Brokaw, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. BROKAW: Senator Quayle, I don't mean to beat this drum until it has no more sound in it. But to follow up on Brit Hume's question, when you said that it was a hypothetical situation, it is, sir, after all, the reason that we're here tonight, because you are running not just for Vice President--

(Applause)

MR. BROKAW: And if you cite the experience that you had in Congress, surely you must have some plan in mind about what you would do if it fell to you to become President of the United States, as it has to so many Vice Presidents just in the last 25 years or so.

SENATOR QUAYLE: Let me try to answer the question one more time. I think this is the fourth time that I've had this question.

MR. BROKAW: The third time.

SENATOR QUAYLE: Three times that I've had this question--and I will try to answer it again for you, as clearly as I can, because the question you are asking is what kind of

qualifications does Dan Quayle have to be president, what kind of qualifications do I have and what would I do in this kind of a situation.

And what would I do in this situation? I would make sure that the people in the cabinet and the people that are advisors to the president are called in, and I would talk to them, and I will work with them. And I will know them on a firsthand basis, because as vice president I will sit on the National Security Council. And I will know them on a firsthand basis, because I'm going to be coordinating the drug effort. I will know them on a firsthand basis because Vice President George Bush is going to recreate the Space Council, and I will be in charge of that.

I will have day-to-day activities with all the people in government. And then, if that unfortunate situation happens--if that situation, which would be very tragic, happens, I will be prepared to carry out the responsibilities of the presidency of the United States of America. And I will be prepared to do that. I will be prepared not only because of my service in the Congress, but because of my ability to communicate and to lead.

It is not just age; it's accomplishments, it's experience. I have far more experience than many others that sought the office of vice president of this country. I have as much experience in the Congress as Jack Kennedy did when he sought the presidency.

I will be prepared to deal with the people in the Bush administration, if that unfortunate event would ever occur.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy, I knew Jack Kennedy, Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you are no Jack Kennedy.

(Prolonged shouts and applause)

What has to be done in a situation like that is to call in the--

MS. WOODRUFF: Please, please, once again you are only taking time away from your own candidate.

SENATOR QUAYLE: That was really uncalled for, Senator.

(Shouts and applause)

SENATOR BENTSEN: You are the one that was making the comparison, Senator--and I'm one who knew him well. And frankly I think you are so far apart in the objectives you choose for your country that I did not think the comparison was well-taken.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. BROKAW: Since you seem to be taking no hostages on the stage, let me ask you a question--

(Laughter)



--about the American hostages, nine, still in brutal captivity in the Middle East. Senator Bentsen, you have been critical of the Iran-contra affair, but tell me, does the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket have any realistic plan for getting the American hostages being held in the Middle East released in any due time?

SENATOR BENTSEN: Tom, that's one of the toughest problems that any chief executive will face, because you can't help but have sympathy for that family, and for those hostages in the cells. But the one thing we ought to know by now is that you can't go out and make secret deals with the Ayatollah, you can't trade arms for hostages. When you try to do that there is no question but what you just encourage more taking of hostages.

And that's been the result by this dumb idea that was cooked up in the White House basement.

And I want to tell you that George Bush, attending seventeen of those meetings, and having no record of what he said--if Lloyd Bentsen was in those meetings, you would certainly hear from him and no one would be asking: Where is Lloyd?

(Shouts and applause)

Because I would be saying: That's a dumb idea, and now let's put an end to it. And I would speak up on that type of thing.

So all you can do in that is to continue to push, use every bit of diplomatic pressure you can, what you can do in the way of economic pressure in addition to that. And that's what you would strive to do to have a successful release finally of those hostages. But not to encourage more taking of hostages.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle.

SENATOR QUAYLE: There's no doubt about it that arms for hostages is wrong, and it will never be repeated--we learn by our mistakes. But there have been a number of successes in foreign policy in this administration.

But the question goes to a very difficult one: How do you do it? No one has the answer. If they did, we would certainly do it. But we will keep trying, we'll keep the doors open, and hopefully some day Iran and others who control those hostages will want to return to civilized international community. And they can do that, starting now, by releasing those hostages that are held illegally.

MS. WOODRUFF: Brit Hume, a question for Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Senator, much of the Dukakis and Bentsen campaign of late has been devoted to the notion that Senator Quayle isn't ready for the vice presidency and perhaps the presidency, and certainly nothing that you have said here tonight suggests that you think otherwise.

I wonder if you think it's really fair for you to advance that view in light of the fact that you ran for the presidency, not the vice-presidency, in 1976 having not yet completed one full term in the Senate and having previously served three terms in the House almost a quarter of a century earlier, when in fact your time in Washington was about equal to what he has now.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I think what you have to look at is the record of a man who has served his country--

(Shouts, laughter)

--served his country in war, headed up a squadron in combat, a man who built a business, knew what it was to meet a payroll and create jobs, and then serve in the United States Senate; and one who has been able to bring about some of the kinds of legislation that I've been able to bring about in my service there. I must say I didn't do a very good job of running for the presidency, and I'm well aware of that.

But what we are looking at today is trying to judge once again the breadth of experience and the maturity of someone taking on this kind of a task. That is the judgment that has to be exercised by the people of America. It's a presidential decision that you are facing, and a very important one, because we are talking about who is going to lead this country into its future. And you can't have a more important responsibility than that one.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle.

SENATOR QUAYLE: When you look at qualifications, you look at accomplishments as well as experience. And one of the accomplishments I'm proudest of is the authorship of the Job Training Partnership Act that has trained and educated and employed over three million young people and adults that are economically disadvantaged. And we did it in a way that we got the private sector to involve itself with the public sector on private industry councils throughout America that serve over the service delivery areas. We have 51 percent of that private industry council that are businessmen and women; we have members of unions; we have community-based organizations; we have education leaders. And what we have been able to do is establish a program that is working, that is putting people back to work. That is an accomplishment, and that is an accomplishment that I will take with me into the White House.

MS. WOODRUFF: Brit, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. HUME: Senator, I want to ask you a question that may be a little off the subject of politics, but which is aimed to get more at the question of what sort of person you are. I would hope that, Senator Bentsen, if you choose to, you might choose to answer the same question in your rebuttal time.

Senator, can you identify any work of literature or art or even of film that you have seen or read or experienced in any way in the last two years that has had a particularly strong effect on you, and tell us why.

SENATOR QUAYLE: In the last six months, I think there are three very important books that I read that have had an impact. The three books are, one, Richard Nixon's Victory in 1999, Richard Lugar's--Senator Richard Lugar's--Letters to the Next President, Bob Massey's Nicholas and Alexandra, which deals with the fall of the Russian empire and the coming of Leninism in 1917.

Those three books, which I read over the last spring vacation and early summer, had a very definite impact, because what former President Nixon and Senator Richard Lugar were talking about was a foreign policy as we move toward the 21st century. And the historical book of the downfall of the czar and the coming of Leninism, combining those three books together, gave me a better appreciation of the challenges that we have ahead of us.

In Senator Lugar's book, he talks about the advancement of human rights around the world; he talked about his leadership effort in the Philippines and South Africa, where we now see human rights advancement on the Reagan agenda. Former President Nixon talked about what we are going to do after detente and arms control, and how we are going to pursue new arms control with the Soviet Union; he talked a little bit about how we deal with the Soviet Union--and this is one of the differences between George Bush and Michael Dukakis, because George Bush understands that to deal with the Soviet Union and to get progress you must deal from a position of strength. And the governor of Massachusetts doesn't understand that. I understand it. And a George Bush administration will pursue that policy.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Well, I think reading "Winds of War" and "Guns of August" back to back--I think that really shows you how we make the same mistakes too often, over and over again. And it seems to me that the Senator from Indiana is beginning to do that one.

As I look toward our progress that's been made toward disarmament and cutting back on nuclear weapons and see what Ronald Reagan has been able to do with the INF treaty--and I think he deserves great credit with that one.

I see a situation where the Senator from Indiana has now jumped off the reservation, when we talk about building on what Ronald Reagan has done and opposes what Ronald Reagan wants to do, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense and says let's go slow on further disarmament in trying to get the next treaty. I think that's a mistake.

I think that you have to deal with the Russians from strength and we have to understand that you have to have a strong modernized nuclear deterrent, but I think we can make substantial progress and we ought to take advantage. I think he's arrived at a very dangerous judgment in the question of war and peace and it concerns me very much.

Because I saw him also try to sabotage the INF treaty when it was on the Floor of the United States Senate with what he was doing there. He's listening once again to the winds of the radical right.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator.

SENATOR BENTSEN: My light was still on, Judy.

MS. WOODRUFF: John Margolis, a question for Senator Quayle.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator Quayle, I want to go back to the matter of qualifications, which I think for most people is more than just your--

SENATOR BENTSEN: John, we can't hear you.

MR. MARGOLIS: Can you hear now?

SENATOR QUAYLE: I can hear you.

[Laughter.]

MR. MARGOLIS: I want to go back to the question of qualifications, which I think for most people is more than just how long you've been in the Senate and how long you've been in public life. There's also a question of candor and of consistency.

And several of the things you've said, both here and earlier, I think have raised some reasonable questions. Each of them alone might seem rather trivial, but I think together they create a pattern that needs to be asked.

You've talked a few times today about the Job Training Partnership Act, which you authored. In fact, I believe you co-authored it with another Senator, whom you almost never name.

Earlier in the campaign when you were asked why you got a very--a desk job in the National Guard after being trained as a welder, you said at the time you had a very strong background in journalism, which at that time was summer jobs at your family-owned newspaper, which you have not been very forthcoming about what they were. As you have not been very forthcoming about your college record.

Now, I have to say--at least the males on this panel have earlier agreed that your record was probably comparable to ours, but--

[Laughter.]

MR. MARGOLIS: Nonetheless, these examples of sort of overstatement and exaggeration and not being forthcoming--this what has led a lot of people to question this part of your qualifications, not your experience, but your character. Would you like to set



some of these things straight now as to what you did in your summer jobs in college, what your grades were like and would you like to identify your co-sponsor of the Job Training Partnership Act?

SENATOR QUAYLE: All in two minutes?

MR. MARGOLIS: Sure.

SENATOR QUAYLE: Let me start with the underlying premise, that somehow I haven't been straightforward. And I have. And let's go to the--right to the very first question--the Job Training Partnership Act.

I was the author of that. The co-author in the United States Senate was Senator Kennedy. I was the Chairman of the Employment and Productivity Subcommittee. Chairmen of the committee write that legislation. Chairmen of the committee write the legislation and then they go out and get co-sponsorship.

And when you are the chairman of the committee and you sit down and you write the legislation, you are the author of that. And I'm proud to have been the author of that.

Because you know what we had, we had a CETA program that spent \$50 billion from about 1973 through 1982 and when we concluded that program--when we concluded that program, unemployment was higher than when it began.

It was a program that didn't work and the Job Training Partnership Act does work.

Now, the issue of releasing all the--my grades--I am--and I stand before you tonight--as the most investigated person ever to seek public office.

(Applause)

SENATOR QUAYLE: Thousands of journalists have asked every professor I've had, all my teachers and they know--and I have never professed to be anything but an average student.

I have never said I was anything more than that, but it's not whether you're an average study, it's what are you going to do with your life.

And what have I--going to do with my life. I have committed it to public service since I was 29 years of age--elected to the House of Representatives. Elected to the United States Senate when I was 33. I now have the opportunity at 41 to seek the office of the Vice Presidency.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen?

SENATOR BENTSEN: I have absolutely no quarrel with Senator Quayle's military record. But I do strongly disagree with him on some of the issues.

You make great patriotic speeches and I enjoy them, but I don't understand your vote on veterans issues. Senator Quayle has one of the worst voting records in the United States Senate on veterans issues.

And one of them that particularly bothers me, sponsoring legislation to put a tax on combat pay and disability pay for veterans, for fighting men and women of America. Tax on their disability pay when they're lying there in the hospital, people who have sacrificed for our country.

I think you ought to explain that to the people of America and you ought to explain it tonight.

MS. WOODRUFF: John, a question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. MARGOLIS: Senator, you're Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and you're generally considered rather an orthodox conservative on fiscal matters, meaning someone who would be very concerned about the budget deficit.

With everybody in politics afraid even to mention taxes, more social security cuts or even very much restrain in defense spending, would you now list a few specific programs which would reduce or eliminate--which you would reduce or eliminate, to cut the deficit by about \$50 billion, the deficit which is expected to be about \$135 billion this Fiscal Year.

SENATOR BENTSEN: One of them that I'd work on--and I do this as a farmer--I try to turn the situation around where we have seen the subsidy payments go from two and a half billion to ten times that under this administration.

And the way I would accomplish that--was with a tough trade policy, opening up those markets, getting those prices back up to market prices.

We can do that if we have an aggressive trade policy for our country, if we make trade a number one priority and not trade it off for some foreign policy objective at the moment.

That means we have to stand up for the American farmers and that cuts back on the regulation on American farmers. That's a positive way to accomplish that.

In addition to that, we do some of the things that I think have to be done insofar as doing a better job of procurement, particularly when we're talking about some of our military things that we should buy.

I know that I fought very hard to put in an independent inspector general for the Defense Department, that the Senator from Indiana opposed me on that.

But we were finally able to put that into effect and we saved over a quarter of a billion dollars this year, almost enough to buy a squadron of 716s. Those are the kinds of things that I'd work on.

One of the things I learned in business is that you can expect what you inspect. So, we'd be a--doing a much tougher job of auditing, to try to get rid of some of these kickbacks to consultants on military contracts, to be much more aggressive on that.

In addition, those types of things would bring the interest rate down. I'd try to turn this trade deficit around and that too would help us and help us very substantially.



And I'd get rid of some things like these planes that--are going to have--that the administration wants that'll fly from New York to Tokyo and take those investment bankers over there in four hours.

I don't think we can afford a piece of technological elegance like that. I'd strike that sort of thing from the ticket.

I don't know how many people have ridden the Concorde, not many, but I voted against it, said it would be a financial disaster and it's been just that.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator.

SENATOR BENTSEN: So, those are the types of things that I would work on.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle?

SENATOR QUAYLE: The way we're going to reduce this --budget deficit, and it is a challenge to make sure that it is reduce, is first to stick to the Gramm-Rudman targets.

The Gramm-Rudman targets have worked. We've reduced the Federal budget deficit \$70 billion. Senator Bentsen voted against Gramm-Rudman, the very tool that has been used to bring the Federal budget deficit down.

We're going to need all the tools possible to bring this Federal budget deficit down. We need the tools of a line item veto. A line item veto that 43 governors in this country have, but not the President of the United States.

The President of the United States needs to have a line item veto. When Congress goes ahead and puts into appropriations bills unrequested and unnecessary spending, let the President put a line through that, send it back to the Congress and let the Congress vote on it again. Congress has to help out in reducing this budget deficit as much as the Executive Branch.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom Brokaw, a last question for Senator Bentsen.

MR. BROKAW: Senator Bentsen, I'd like to ask you about your split personality during this election year. You're running on the ticket with Michael Dukakis, a man who is opposed to the death penalty, a man who is in favor of gun control, and at the same time you're running for the United States Senate in the state of Texas, where your position on many of those same issues is well known, and absolutely opposed to him.

How do you explain to the people of Texas how you can be a social conservative on those cutting issues and still run with Michael Dukakis on the national ticket?

SENATOR BENTSEN: Michael Dukakis wasn't looking for a clone. I think it's part of the strength and the character of this land that he reaches out, and that he wants someone that will speak up--and that I'll do. I've seen many chief executives come into my office and say they're going over and tell the president of the United States off, they're going to pound the desk, and go into that office and turn to Jello.

Now, I've dealt with many a president, and I don't hesitate for a minute to speak up. But when you're talking about something like the death penalty, where Michael Dukakis and I do disagree, what you really ought to get to is what's being done against crime, and what kind of progress he's been able to make.

In the state of Massachusetts he has the homicide rate down to the lowest of any industrial state. It's substantially ahead of the national average. He's been able to do that with an educated program for the people of that state by adding some 1,500 new police officers; he's done it in turn by the leadership that I think he will bring to the ticket when he becomes president of the United States and fighting drugs. He's taken it down some four percent in the high schools of that state, while it's gone up about the rest of the nation.

But you would seem him as president of the United States being very aggressive in this fight against crime, and having that kind of a successful result. And that's one of the reasons I'm delighted and proud to be on the ticket with him.

Sure, we have some differences, but overall we have so many things we agree on. This situation of a trade policy, of cutting back on the deficit. Those are positive, plus things, and major issues facing our nation.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Quayle.

SENATOR QUAYLE: One of the things that they don't agree on is in the area of national defense. National defense, and how we're going to preserve the freedom in this country.

Michael Dukakis is the most liberal national Democrat to seek the office of presidency since George McGovern. He is for--he is against the MX missile, the midgetman, cutting two aircraft carriers. He is opposed to many defense programs that are necessary to defend this country.

That's why former Secretary of Defense and former Energy Secretary in the Carter administration, Jim Schlesinger, in an open letter to Time magazine asked Governor Dukakis, "are you viscerally anti-military."

Jim Schlesinger never got an answer. And the reason he did is because the governor of Massachusetts doesn't want to answer former Secretary Jim Schlesinger on that very important question.

MS. WOODRUFF: Tom, a last question for Senator Quayle.

MR. BROKAW: Senator Quayle, all of us in our lifetime encounter an experience that helps shapes our adult philosophy in some form or another. Could you describe for this audience tonight what experience you may have had, and how it shaped our political philosophy?



SENATOR QUAYLE: There are a lot of experiences that I've had that have shaped my adult philosophy, but the one that I keep coming back to time and time again--and I talk about it at commencement addresses, I talk about it in the high schools. I talk about it when I visit the job training centers.

And it's the advice that my maternal grandmother, Martha Pulliam, who's 97 years old. We are a modern day, four generation family. The advice that she gave me when I was growing up is advice that I've given my children, and I've given to a number of children, number of people.

And it's very simple. It's very common sense. And she says, "You can do anything you want to if you just set your mind to it, and go to work."

Now, the Dukakis supporters sneer at that because it's common sense.  
(Laughter)

SENATOR QUAYLE: They sneer at common sense advice. Midwestern advice. Midwestern advice from a grandmother to a grandson. Important advice. Something that we ought to talk about, because if you want to, you can make a difference.

You, America can make a difference. You're going to have that choice come this election. Everyone can make a difference if they want to.

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen?

SENATOR BENTSEN: I think being born and reared on the Rio Grande, to have spent part of my life seeing some of the struggles that have taken place in one of the lowest per capita incomes in the United States. And that's one of the reasons I worked so hard to try to assist on education.

And when I found that the bankers in that area found that they could not handle the loans because of some of the detail and the expense, couldn't make a profit on it, I went down there and helped form a nonprofit organization, to buy out those loans from them, and to manage them, and do it in a way where they'd continue to make those loans. Now they have.

And they've educated more than 20,000 of those students, loaned out over a hundred million dollars. And it hasn't cost the taxpayers of this country one cent. That's one of the reasons I've worked so hard to bring better health care to the people, because what I've seen in the way of poverty down there in that area, and the lack of medical attention, and trying to see that that's turned around; why I've worked so hard on the welfare reform bill--to give them a chance to break these cycles of poverty, a chance for a step up in life.

Judy, something's happened. My light's still on.

MS. WOODRUFF: Your light's not working.

SENATOR BENTSEN: All right.

MS. WOODRUFF: We're sorry about that if that's the case. Thank you. Thank you, Senator Bentsen. Thank you, Senator Quayle.

We have now come to the end of the questions, and before I ask the candidates to make their closing remarks, on behalf of the Commission on Presidential Debates, I'd like to thank all of you for joining us.

Senator Quayle, yours is the first closing statement.

SENATOR QUAYLE: Thank you. Tonight has been a very important evening. You have been able to see Dan Quayle as I really am, and how George Bush and I want to lead this country into the future.

Thank you, America, for listening, and thank you for your fairness.

Now you will have a choice to make on election day. You will have a choice of whether America is going to choose the road of Michael Dukakis or the road of George Bush as we march toward the 21st Century.

The road of Michael Dukakis comes down to this: Bigger government, higher taxes. They've always believed in higher taxes; they always have, and they always will. Cuts in national defense. Back to the old economics of high interest rates, high inflation, and the old politics of high unemployment.

Now the road of George Bush is the road to the future, and it comes down to this: An America second to none, with visions of greatness, economic expansion, tough laws, tough judges, strong values, respect for the flag and our institutions.

George Bush will lead us to the 21st Century, a century that will be of hope and peace.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush saved America from decline. We changed America. Michael Dukakis fought us every step of the way. It's not that they're not sympathetic; it's simply that they will take America backwards. George Bush has the experience, and with me, the future, a future committed to our family, a future committed to the freedom.

Thank you, good night, and God bless you.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Senator Bentsen, your closing statement.

SENATOR BENTSEN: In just 34 days, America will elect new leadership for our country. It's a most important decision, because there's no bigger job than governing this great country of ours, and leading it into its future.

Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen offer you experience, tempered, capable leadership, to meet those challenges of the future. Our opposition says lower your sights, rest on your laurels.

Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen think America can do better, that America can't just coast into the future, clinging to the past. This race is too close. The competition is too tough, the stakes are too high.

Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen think America must move into that future united in a commitment to make this country of ours the most powerful, the most prosperous nation in the world.

As Americans, we honor our past, and we should. But our children are going to live in the future, and Mike Dukakis says the best of America is yet to come. But that won't happen. Taking care of our economy, just putting it on automatic pilot. It won't happen by accident. It's going to take leadership, and it's going to take courage. And the commitment, and a contribution by all of us to do that.

I've worked for the betterment of our country, both in war and peace, as a bomber pilot, as one who has been a businessman, and a United States senator, working to make this nation the fairest and the strongest and the most powerful in the world.

Help us bring America to a new era of greatness.

The debate has been ours, but the decision is yours. God bless you.

(Applause)

MS. WOODRUFF: Thank you both, thank you.

SENATOR BENTSEN: Thank you, thank you.

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One of the most compelling contributions the Commission on Presidential Debates makes is in the area of voter education. The Commission recognizes the strong commitment of political parties to inform and educate voters on the critical choices they face every four years.

This year, the Commission on Presidential Debates prepared and distributed voter education materials to thousands of schools, libraries and news organizations across the country.

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