

Carter/Mondale on Issues

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JIMMY CARTER WALTER MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

September 21, 1976

INTRODUCTION

In this package, you will find materials on issues necessary and relevant to your speeches. The package will provide you with most of Governor Carter's positions on the issues in the context in which they have been stated.

You will be receiving additions, changes, and supplements to this package during the course of the campaign. Some of these will supercede papers presently included in the kit. It is imperative that you note and mark these changes as soon as you receive them.

Pre-Convention Issues Book #1-18 consists of speeches given by Governor Carter prior to the Democratic Convention in July. Pre-Convention Issues Book #50-94 consists of additional statements made prior to the Convention. The Index of Pre-Convention Issues will assist you in locating specific subjects in these speeches and papers.

Post-Convention Briefings consists of briefings in the major issue areas. The National Democratic Platform 1976 is the Platform adopted by the Democratic Party.

The Issues Outline will assist you in locating information on Governor Carter's stands on the issues quickly. It will also give you some framework in which to place the issues.

"A Look at Ford's Record" is a detailed review of President Ford's 25-year record in Congress and his record as President.

"A Look at Dole's Record" is a review of Senator Dole's record in the House and Senate.

Additions may or may not be included in your packet. They will normally consist of post-convention speeches, or position papers, or updates on pre-convention issues.



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Leaders, for a change.



PRE-CONVENTION ISSUES

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECH

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ANNOUNCING HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION TO THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

December 12, 1974

We Americans are a great and diverse people. We take full advantage of our right to develop wide-ranging interests and responsibilities. For instance, I am a farmer, an engineer, a businessman, a planner, a scientist, a governor and a Christian. Each of you is an individual and different from all the others.

Yet we Americans have shared one thing in common: a belief in the greatness of our Country.

We have dared to dream great dreams for our Nation. We have taken quite literally the promises of decency, equality, and freedom—of an honest and responsible government.

What has now become of these great dreams?

- That all Americans stand equal before the law;
- That we enjoy a right to pursue health, happiness and prosperity in privacy and safety;
- That government be controlled by its citizens and not the other way around;
- That this Country set a standard within the community of nations of courage, compassion, integrity, and dedication to basic human rights and freedoms.

Our commitment to these dreams has been sapped by debilitating compromise, acceptance of mediocrity, subservience to special interests, and an absence of executive vision and direction.

Having worked during the last twenty years in local, state and national affairs, I have learned a great deal about our people.

I tell you that their great dreams still live within the collective heart of this Nation.

Recently we have discovered that our trust has been betrayed. The veils of secrecy have seemed to thicken around Washington. The purposes and goals of our country are uncertain and sometimes even suspect.

Our people are understandably concerned about this lack of competence and integrity. The root of the problem is not so much that our people have lost con-

fidence in government, but that government has demonstrated time and again its lack of confidence in the people.

Our political leaders have simply underestimated the innate quality of our people.

With the shame of Watergate still with us and our 200th birthday just ahead, it is time for us to reaffirm and to strengthen our ethical and spiritual and political beliefs.

There must be no lowering of these standards, no acceptance of mediocrity in any aspect of our private or public lives.

In our homes or at worship we are ever reminded of what we ought to do and what we ought to be. Our government can and must represent the best and the highest ideals of those of us who voluntarily submit to its authority.

Politicians who seek to further their political careers through appeals to our doubts, fears and prejudices will be exposed and rejected.

For too long political leaders have been isolated from the people. They have made decisions from an ivory tower. Few have ever seen personally the direct impact of government programs involving welfare, prisons, mental institutions, unemployment, school busing or public housing. Our people feel that they have little access to the core of government and little influence with elected officials.

Now it is time for this chasm between people and government to be bridged, and for American citizens to join in shaping our Nation's future.

Now is the time for new leadership and new ideas to make a reality of these dreams, still held by our people.

To begin with, the confidence of people in our own government must be restored. But too many officials do not deserve that confidence.

There is a simple and effective way for public officials to regain public trust—be trustworthy!

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

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But there are also specific steps that must be taken.

- We need an all-inclusive sunshine law in Washington so that special interests will not retain their exclusive access behind closed doors. Except in a few rare cases, there is no reason for secret meetings of regulatory agencies, other executive departments or congressional committees. Such meetings must be opened to the public, all votes recorded, and complete news media coverage authorized and encouraged.
- Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official.
- Complete revelation of all business and financial involvements of major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest.
- Regulatory agencies must not be managed by representatives of the industry being regulated, and no personnel transfers between agency and the industry should be made within a period of four full years.
- Public financing of campaigns should be extended to members of Congress.
- The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled.
- Minimum secrecy within government should be matched with maximum personal privacy for private citizens.
- All federal judges, diplomats and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit.
- For many years in the State Department we have chosen from among almost 16,000 applicants about 110 of our Nation's finest young leaders to represent us in the international world. But we top this off with the disgraceful and counterproductive policy of appointing unqualified persons to major diplomatic posts as political payoffs. This must be stopped immediately.
- Every effort should be extended to encourage full participation by our people in their own governments' processes, including universal voter registration for elections.
- We must insure better public understanding of executive policy, and better exchange of ideas between the Congress and the White House. To do this, Cabinet members representing the President should meet in scheduled public interrogation sessions with the full bodies of Congress.
- All our citizens must know that they will be treated fairly.
- To quote from my own inauguration speech of four years ago: "The time for racial discrimination is over. Our people have already made this major and difficult decision, but we cannot underestimate the challenge of hundreds of minor decisions yet to be made. No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice."

- We must meet this firm national commitment without equivocation or timidity in every aspect of private and public life.

As important as honesty and openness are—they are not enough. There must also be substance and logical direction in government.

The mechanism of our government should be understandable, efficient and economical . . . and it can be.

We must give top priority to a drastic and thorough revision of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system and to the procedures for analyzing the effectiveness of its many varied services. Tight businesslike management and planning techniques must be instituted and maintained, utilizing the full authority and personal involvement of the President himself.

This is no job for the fainthearted. It will be met with violent opposition from those who now enjoy a special privilege, those who prefer to work in the dark, or those whose private fiefdoms are threatened.

In Georgia we met that opposition head on—and we won!

We abolished 278 of our 300 agencies.

We evolved clearly defined goals and policies in every part of government.

We developed and implemented a remarkably effective system of zero-base budgeting.

We instituted tough performance auditing to insure proper conduct and efficient delivery of services.

Steps like these can insure a full return on our hard-earned tax dollars. These procedures are working in state capitols around the Nation and in our successful businesses, both large and small.

They can and they will work in Washington.

Our Nation now has no understandable national purpose, no clearly defined goals, and no organizational mechanism to develop or achieve such purposes or goals. We move from one crisis to the next as if they were fads, even though the previous one hasn't been solved.

The Bible says: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle." As a planner and a businessman, and a chief executive, I know from experience that uncertainty is also a devastating affliction in private life and in government. Coordination of different programs is impossible. There is no clear vision of what is to be accomplished, everyone struggles for temporary advantage, and there is no way to monitor how effectively services are delivered.

What is our national policy for the production, acquisition, distribution or consumption of energy in times of shortage or doubtful supply?

There is no policy!

What are our long-range goals in health care, transportation, land use, economic development, waste disposal or housing?

There are no goals!

The tremendous resources of our people and of our chosen leaders can be harnessed to devise effective, understandable and practical goals and policies in every realm of public life.

A government that is honest and competent, with clear purpose and strong leadership, can work with the American people to meet the challenges of the present and the future.

We can then face together the tough long-range solutions to our economic woes. Our people are ready to make personal sacrifices when clear national economic policies are devised and understood.

We are grossly wasting our energy resources and other precious raw materials as though their supply was infinite. We must even face the prospect of changing our basic ways of living. This change will either be made on our own initiative in a planned and rational way, or forced on us with chaos and suffering by the inexorable laws of nature.

Energy imports and consumption must be reduced, free competition enhanced by rigid enforcement of antitrust laws, and general monetary growth restrained. Pinpointed federal programs can ease the more acute pains of recession, such as now exist in the construction industry. We should consider extension of unemployment compensation, the stimulation of investments, public subsidizing of employment, and surtaxes on excess profits.

We are still floundering and equivocating about protection of our environment. Neither designers of automobiles, mayors of cities, power companies, farmers, nor those of us who simply have to breathe the air, love beauty, and would like to fish or swim in pure water have the slightest idea in God's world what is coming out of Washington next! What does come next must be a firm commitment to pure air, clean water and unspoiled land.

Almost twenty years after its conception we have not finished the basic interstate highway system. To many lobbyists who haunt the capitol buildings of the Nation, ground transportation still means only more highways and more automobiles—the bigger, the better. We must have a national commitment to transportation capabilities which will encourage the most efficient movement of American people and cargo.

Gross tax inequities are being perpetuated. The most surely taxed income is that which is derived from the sweat of manual labor. Carefully contrived loopholes let the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage earner. The largest corporations pay the lowest tax rates and some with very high profits pay no tax at all.

When a business executive can charge off a \$50 luncheon on a tax return and a truck driver cannot deduct his \$1.50 sandwich—when oil companies pay less than 5% on their earnings while employees of the company pay at least three times this rate—when many pay no taxes on incomes of more than \$100,000—then we need basic tax reform!

Every American has a right to expect that laws will be administered in an evenhanded manner, but it seems that something is wrong even with our system of justice. Defendants who are repeatedly out on bail commit more crimes. Aggravating trial delays and endless litigation are common.

Citizens without influence often bear the brunt of prosecution while violators of antitrust laws and other white collar criminals are ignored and go unpunished.

Following recent presidential elections, our U. S. Attorney General has replaced the Postmaster General as the chief political appointee; and we have recently witnessed the prostitution of this most important law enforcement office. Special prosecutors had to be appointed simply to insure enforcement of the law! The Attorney General should be removed from politics.

The vast bureaucracy of government often fails to deliver needed social services to our people. High ideals and good intentions are not matched with rational, businesslike administration. The predictable result is frustration and discouragement among dedicated employees, recipients of services, and the American taxpayers.

There are about 25 million Americans who are classified as poor, two-thirds of whom happen to be white and half of whom receive welfare benefits. At least 10% of these are able to work. A massive bureaucracy of 2 million employees at all levels of government is attempting to administer more than 100 different programs of bewildering complexity. Case workers shuffle papers in a morass of red tape. Often it is financially profitable not to work and even to have a family disrupted by forcing the father to leave home. Some combined welfare payments exceed the average working family's income, while other needy families have difficulty obtaining a bare subsistence.

The word "welfare" no longer signifies how much we care, but often arouses feelings of contempt and even hatred.

Is a simplified, fair and compassionate welfare program beyond the capacity of our American government? I think not.

The quality of health care in this Nation depends largely on economic status. It is often unavailable or costs too much. There is little commonality of effort between private and public health agencies or between physicians and other trained medical personnel. I expect the next Congress to pass a national health insurance law. But present government interest seems to be in merely shifting the costs of existing services to the federal taxpayer or to the employers. There is little interest in preventing the cripples and killers of our people and providing improved health care for those who still need it most.

Is a practical and comprehensive national health program beyond the capacity of our American government? I think not.

Federal education laws must be simplified to substitute education for paper-shuffling grantsmanship. Local systems need federal funds to supplement their programs for students where wealth and tax base are inadequate.

Is a comprehensive education program beyond the capacity of the American people? I think not.

As a farmer, I have been appalled at the maladministration of our Nation's agricultural economy. We have seen the elimination of our valuable food reserves,

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which has contributed to wild fluctuations in commodity prices and wiped out dependable trade and export capabilities. Grain speculators and monopolistic processors have profited, while farmers are going bankrupt trying to produce food that consumers are going broke trying to buy:

I know this Nation can develop an agricultural policy which will insure a fair profit to our farmers and a fair price to consumers.

It is obvious that domestic and foreign affairs are directly interrelated. A necessary base for effective implementation of any foreign policy is to get our domestic house in order.

Coordination of effort among the leaders of our Nation should be established so that our farm production, industrial development, foreign trade, defense, energy and diplomatic policies are mutually supportive and not in conflict.

The time for American intervention in all the problems of the world is over. But we cannot retreat into isolationism. Ties of friendship and cooperation with our friends and neighbors must be strengthened. Our common interests must be understood and pursued. The integrity of Israel must be preserved. Highly personalized and narrowly focused diplomatic efforts, although sometimes successful, should be balanced with a more wide-ranging implementation of foreign policy by competent foreign service officers.

Our Nation's security is obviously of paramount importance, and everything must be done to insure adequate military preparedness. But there is no reason why our national defense establishment cannot also be efficient.

Waste and inefficiency are both costly to taxpayers and a danger to our own national existence. Strict management and budgetary control over the Pentagon should reduce the ratio of officers to men and of support forces to combat troops. I see no reason why the Chief of Naval Operations needs more Navy captains on his staff than we have serving on ships!

Misdirected efforts such as the construction of unnecessary pork-barrel projects by the Corps of Engineers must be terminated.

The biggest waste and danger of all is the unnecessary proliferation of atomic weapons throughout the world. Our ultimate goal should be the elimination of nuclear weapon capability among all nations. In the meantime, simple, careful and firm proposals to implement this mutual arms reduction should be pursued as a prime national purpose in all our negotiations with nuclear powers—present or potential.

Is the achievement of these and other goals beyond

the capacity of our American government? I think not.

Our people are hungry for integrity and competence in government. In this confused and fast-changing, technological world we still have within us the capability for national greatness.

About three months ago I met with the governors of the other twelve original states in Philadelphia. Exactly 200 years after the convening of the First Continental Congress we walked down the same streets, then turned left and entered a small building named Carpenter's Hall. There we heard exactly the same prayer and sat in the same chairs occupied in September of 1774 by Samuel Adams, John Jay, John Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, and about forty-five other strong and opinionated leaders.

They held widely divergent views and they debated for weeks. They and others who joined them for the Second Continental Congress avoided the production of timid compromise resolutions. They were somehow inspired, and they reached for greatness. Their written premises formed the basis on which our Nation was begun.

I don't know whose chair I occupied, but sitting there I thought soberly about their times and ours. Their people were also discouraged, disillusioned and confused. But these early leaders acted with purpose and conviction.

I wondered to myself: Were they more competent, more intelligent or better educated than we? Were they more courageous? Did they have more compassion or love for their neighbors? Did they have deeper religious convictions? Were they more concerned about the future of their children than we?

I think not.

We are equally capable of correcting our faults, overcoming difficulties, managing our own affairs and facing the future with justifiable confidence.

I am convinced that among us 200 million Americans there is a willingness—even eagerness—to restore in our Country what has been lost—if we have understandable purposes and goals and a modicum of bold and inspired leadership.

Our government can express the highest common ideals of human beings—if we demand of it standards of excellence.

It is now time to stop and to ask ourselves the question which my last commanding officer, Admiral Hyman Rickover, asked me and every other young naval officer who serves or has served in an atomic submarine.

For our Nation—for all of us—that question is,

“Why not the best?”

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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CITIES

URBAN POLICY FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

April 1, 1976

I believe that the future of America is directly dependent upon the good health and welfare of our nation's cities.

Our cities and metropolitan areas are the main staff of life for the majority of Americans. They provide entertainment, employment, and housing to millions of Americans. They are the repository of our nation's cultural institutions, art galleries and symphonies. They are the economic backbone for an increasingly urbanized nation.

But our cities are facing a crisis which can no longer be avoided. Many of our major cities are rapidly losing population to smaller communities and to surrounding suburbs. It is often the affluent who have fled, robbing cities of needed talent and depriving them of a needed tax base — leaving the poor, who are more heavily dependent on local government services. Just as people have left many of our urban areas, so too have businesses and jobs, thereby further eroding the municipal tax base, and making it more difficult for localities to provide for the increased demand in municipal services. New forms of revenue have not been made available to localities to replace their shrinking tax base. Crime and the fear of crime in our major urban areas keep people out of our cities and make our cities places of forboding rather than hope.

This disturbing but very real trend has come at a time of both tremendously escalating municipal costs and a rising demand for municipal services.

If our cities fail, so too will our country.

Yet in the face of these enormous problems, our nation's cities have been faced with eight years of self-styled "benign neglect" by the Nixon-Ford Administrations. In fact, the Republican policy toward our cities has been nothing short of conscious, willful indifference to the plight of urban America. They have promised new programs, such as Special and General Revenue Sharing, to supplement existing programs, and have instead used them to supplant current programs and to lower the level of assistance to cities. Two Republican presidents have purely and simply written off our cities. They have pitted our suburbs and rural areas against our major urban communities. Their policy has been divisive and disastrous. Rather than launch

an attack on our cities' problems, they have declared a war against the cities of America. Our cities have needed help and the Republicans have turned their backs. Our cities needed financial assistance and the Republicans have given them crumbs. Our cities needed attention and the Republicans have given them neglect.

Between 1972 and 1974 alone, the Republican Administration cut \$4.5 billion in urban programs and another \$7 billion in programs to aid the poor, the untrained, the unemployed, and the medically indigent, all at a time when municipalities lost \$3.3 billion in purchasing power.

Our country has no urban policy or defined urban goals, and so we have floundered from one ineffective and uncoordinated program to another. Hopes have been raised only to be dashed on the rocks of despair when promise after promise has been forgotten.

We need a coordinated urban policy from a federal government committed to develop a creative partnership with our cities for the survival of urban America in the balance of the twentieth century. This policy must recognize that our urban problems stem from a variety of factors, each of which must be dealt with directly and forcefully — problems of urban decay, declining tax base, crime, unemployment, lack of urban parks and open spaces.

1. *Human Needs and Unemployment*

We must begin our urban policy by recognizing the human needs of the individuals who live in our cities. The essential building block of our urban policy must be the provision of a job for each person capable of holding gainful employment. I believe every person has a right to a job.

But our urban unemployment rate is intolerable. This high level of unemployment means less tax revenue for cities, increased social tension, and higher crime rates.

Unemployment nationally is at 7.6% — at least twice the acceptable level. And yet this figure, to which the Republican Administration in Washington points with pride, is itself a gross understatement of the unemployment problem afflicting our major urban areas. According to the United

States Department of Labor, central city unemployment for 1975 was 9.6%, as opposed to 8% for non-metropolitan areas and 5.3% for the suburbs. For the poverty areas of cities that figure is 13.8%, and for blacks in these areas it is 17.6%. Overall, center city black unemployment is at the rate of 14.1%. In 1975, every fourth black worker was unemployed and the majority of them were ineligible for unemployment compensation. Teenage black unemployment in some areas of America approaches the staggering figure of 40%.

Indeed, even these figures are deceptive of the real problem, for they do not include the literally hundreds of thousands of people who have gotten completely out of the labor market due to their frustrating inability to find a job.

These are not simply figures. They represent the crushed dreams of millions of Americans ready and willing to work. The 9.6% unemployment rate in our central cities alone means 2.6 million people out of work.

To make dramatic improvement in the unacceptably high unemployment rate, I propose a creative, joint program of incentives to private employers and a public needs employment program funded by the federal government. Such programs will more than repay our investment, not simply in making taxpayers of those now on unemployment insurance or on welfare, and not simply in generating additional revenues to the federal, state and local governments—although each 1% decline in the unemployment rate will produce \$13 to \$16 billion in federal tax revenues; but rather in restoring the pride and self-respect of those too long ignored and cast aside.

These incentives to private industry should be geared directly toward the provision of jobs for the unemployed, and toward encouraging industry to locate new plants and offices in urban areas where unemployment is high.

Almost 85% of America's workers depend on private industry for jobs. Most of the unemployed will depend on recovery in the private sector for renewed job opportunities. We cannot afford to ignore well-designed, job-related incentives to private industry to help reduce unemployment. These should take the form of:

- assistance to local governments for urban economic planning and development and to help local governments encourage private industry to invest in our cities
- an expanded employment credit to give businesses benefits for each person they hire who had been previously unemployed
- as a further stimulant to private industry to hire the unemployed, the federal government should increase its commitment to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business
- encouragement by the federal government to private industry to prevent layoffs.

However, private industry cannot meet the task alone! The federal government has an obligation to provide funds for public employment of those who private business cannot and will not hire.

The Nixon-Ford Administration's priorities have been grossly misplaced. While adequate unemployment compensation is necessary to protect the unemployed, their best protection comes from jobs. It has been estimated by the

Joint Economic Committee of Congress that each 1% of excess unemployment adds at least \$4 to \$5 billion in direct costs for unemployment compensation, food stamps, and welfare.

It is an incredible misallocation of resources for the current Administration to spend between \$17 and \$20 billion dollars for unemployment compensation and an additional \$2 to \$3 billion on food stamps due to unemployment, and yet only \$2½ billion on public job programs.

Certainly, money is better spent in creating useful public service jobs to take people off of welfare, food stamps and unemployment compensation and make them tax contributors; yet we are asked to tolerate a policy adjusted to support an unacceptable status quo. Therefore, I propose the following program of public employment as an investment in human beings, an investment which will more than be repaid in uplifted lives, increased tax revenues, and decreased welfare, food stamp and unemployment compensation payments:

- an expansion of the CETA program (Comprehensive Education and Training Act) through which direct federal funds for municipal and other jobs have been provided, with administrative responsibility resting at the local level. This program was originally designed merely to combat structural unemployment in a period of mild recession. It cannot now deal with the cyclical unemployment caused by the severe recession we are in, without an expanded and strengthened role. It now provides only 300,000 jobs. It should produce at least twice this number of jobs. The 9.6% unemployment rate in our central cities could be markedly reduced by the provision of 600,000 to 700,000 public jobs to the unemployed for useful jobs near their homes, in the cities.
- Passage of an accelerated public works program which would help create new jobs, 80% in the private sector and many for our young people. Federal and state governments should also share responsibility for guaranteeing bonds for public works projects.
- Funds for 800,000 summer youth jobs should be provided.
- Perhaps the biggest single problem created for the poor who live in our cities is the current welfare system and Welfare Reform would be the single most important action we could take.

As currently constituted, it is a crazy quilt of regulations administered by a bloated bureaucracy. It is wasteful to the taxpayers of America, demeaning to the recipients, discourages work, and encourages the breakup of families. The system lumps together dissimilar categories of poor people, and differs greatly in its benefits and regulations from state to state. It is time that we broke the welfare and poverty cycle of our poor people. My recommendations are designed to satisfy the following goals: (a) we must recognize there are three distinct categories of poor people — the unemployable poor, the employable but jobless poor, and the working poor; (b) no person on welfare should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs; (c) strong work incentives, job creation and job training should be provided for those on welfare able to

work; (d) family stability should be encouraged by assuring that no family's financial situation will be harmed by the breadwinner remaining with his dependents; (e) efforts should be made to have fathers who abandon their family be forced to continue support; (f) the welfare system should be streamlined and simplified, with a small bureaucracy, less paperwork, fewer regulations, improved coordination and reduced local disparities; (g) persons who are legitimately on welfare should be treated with respect and dignity.

To achieve these goals, I propose a single, fair, uniform, national program of welfare benefits funded in substantial part by the federal government, with strong work and job incentives for the poor who are employable and with income supplementation for the working poor, and with earnings tied so as to encourage employment, so that it would never be more profitable to stay on welfare than to work. No one able to work, except mothers with preschool children, should be continued on the welfare rolls unless job training and a job were accepted. The welfare burden should be removed from a city such as New York City with all welfare costs being paid by the federal and state governments.

The programs I have proposed will be repaid by increased tax revenues generated by the reduction in unemployment from the jobs programs I have outlined. Their financing can be assisted by the \$5 billion to \$8 billion streamlining of the defense budget I have suggested.

2. *Assisting the Fiscal Needs of the Cities*

While we must concentrate on the human needs of those who live in our cities throughout the country, we cannot ignore the fiscal plight of our cities themselves. A recent authoritative survey showed their plight dramatically. Of the cities and towns surveyed, a total of 122 began the last fiscal year with combined surpluses of \$340 million and ended the fiscal year with a combined \$40 million deficit. This has forced cities to raise local taxes an estimated total of \$1.5 billion, or to cut back on important municipal services. These local governments experiencing fiscal difficulties, which in no way are of their own making, had to eliminate 100,000 municipal positions last year alone. The deflationary adjustments state and local governments together were required to make removed \$8 billion from the economy last year.

To alleviate the suffering our cities are being put through by high inflation and continued recession, I propose the following:

— Counter-cyclical assistance to deal with the fiscal needs of cities particularly hard hit by the recession. The \$2 billion of counter-cyclical assistance recently vetoed by Mr. Ford is essential and affordable. In fact, it is within the budget resolutions adopted by Congress. This aid will go to create new jobs and to maintain current levels of service in hard-pressed cities. Without such aid cities like Detroit may have to cut back essential services.

— Extension of the Revenue Sharing program for five years, with an increase in the annual funding level to

compensate for inflation and with enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill to guarantee against discriminatory use of the funds. I will study whether the Revenue Sharing formula should be amended in the future to place greater emphasis on areas of high need. Moreover, I believe that all Revenue Sharing funds should go to the cities and that localities should be allowed to use these funds for defraying the costs of health, social services, and education, which they are currently forbidden to do.

— Study the creation of a Federal Municipalities Securities Insurance Corporation to assist localities in marketing their Bonds and in reducing interest levels now faced by municipalities, and to provide voluntary self-controls in municipal financial matters.

3. *Solving the Physical Needs of Our Cities*

The problems our cities are facing are compounded by their often deteriorating physical state.

Housing has deteriorated enormously and new housing is often unaffordable. 1975 was the worst this nation has had in 29 years in the number of housing units constructed. Although this nation in 1968 legislated a goal of 2½ million new housing units per year to meet current needs, last year witnessed the construction of barely 1 million units. At the same time, housing costs have risen so rapidly that only three in twenty (15%) of America's families can afford new housing. What is likewise appalling is that the government now has thousands upon thousands of abandoned and unused dwellings under its control and deteriorating due to bureaucratic inaction, while tens of thousands seek better shelter.

Likewise, our municipal transportation systems are faced with difficult times. For the last twenty years, more than \$230 billion has been spent at all levels of government for our highway system. From 1967 to 1975, expenditures from the Highway Trust Fund averaged about \$4 billion per year; the Administration's 1977 fiscal year budget outlay for highways reached \$7.1 billion. From the end of World War II until the middle sixties, no new major transit construction project was undertaken with public support. Cities were faced with deteriorating buses and subways and inadequate maintenance programs and schedules. Public transit ridership declined from almost 19 billion in 1946 to only 5.5 billion in 1973, reflecting the poor state of our municipal transit systems. By the end of 1974, operating deficits for existing public transit systems nationally were expected to have reached \$900 million. We cannot continue to allow our mass transit systems to languish and remain a stepchild. Mass transit, if properly supported, can serve as the means to encourage increased use of our cities as places of business, shopping, and entertainment; and can correspondingly enable urban workers to reach jobs located in the suburbs; all with less pollution and energy use than the present system of transportation.

To help solve the physical problems confronting our cities, I submit the following agenda on housing which will, in addition, put back to work hundreds of thousands of unemployed construction workers and fulfill our national

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commitment to build 2½ million housing units per year:

- direct federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of low and middle class housing.
- expansion of the highly successful Section 202 housing program for the elderly, which utilizes direct federal subsidies.

- greatly increased emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods; certain of our publicly created jobs could be used to assist such rehabilitation. It is time for urban conservation instead of urban destruction.

- greater attention to the role of local communities under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

- greater effort to direct mortgage money into the financing of private housing.

- prohibiting the practice of red-lining by federally sponsored savings and loan institutions and the FHA, which has had the effect of depriving certain areas of the necessary mortgage funds to upgrade themselves, and encouraging more loans for housing and rehabilitation to the poor.

In tandem with this program, I propose to bolster our urban transportation system by:

- substantially increasing the amount of money available from the Highway Trust Fund for public mass transportation;

- studying the feasibility of creating a total transportation fund for all modes of transportation;

- changing the current restrictive limits on the use of mass transit funds by localities so that greater amounts can be used as operating subsidies, and opposing the Administration's efforts to reduce federal operating subsidies.

- achieving better highway utilization through such means as reserved lanes for bus and car pools.

- reorganizing and revitalizing our nation's railroads.

4. Meeting the Total Needs of Our Cities: Crime Control, Parks, the Arts.

Our cities can never be what we desire so long as they remain an undesirable environment in which to live and raise a family. Yet too frequently, the specter of crime destroys this environment and creates an atmosphere in which each person lives in fear of the actions of others. All Americans have the right to live free from the fear of crime.

Surveys indicate that large percentages of the American public fear to come into the cities or walk their neighborhood streets at night. Crime has now become a suburban and rural problem as well as an urban problem. Rising crime rates give reality to these fears. Figures show that one in every four American families will fall victim to crime within the year. A child born in a large American city and remaining in that city throughout his or her entire life stands a greater chance of meeting a violent death than did the average American soldier during World War II.

In order to restore order and tranquility to our cities, I propose:

- a reform of our judicial system to ensure that swift, firm, and predictable punishment follows a criminal conviction. I believe that crime is best deterred by the certainty of swift justice.

- a revision in our system of sentencing eliminating much of the discretion now given to judges and probator

officers, and insuring greater certainty in sentencing and confinement and a higher percentage of serious criminals being imprisoned.

- reasonable restrictions on the purchase of handguns, including the prohibition on ownership of guns by certain persons with criminal records.

- upgrading of the rehabilitation programs available to criminals while in prison.

- a concerted attack on the drug traffic and organized criminal activity with which our cities are afflicted.

- federal assistance to the crime prevention programs of local governments with a minimum of federal regulations.

- an attack on unemployment, the root cause of much of our urban crime, through the programs I have mentioned previously. We should recognize that \$3 billion has been spent since 1967 by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in order to fight crime, with more than half of this amount going to the nation's police forces. This alone is not sufficient to reduce crime. We cannot seek cosmetic remedies while ignoring the base causes of crime.

Moreover, our urban existence is often lived out in a sea of concrete. To make our cities more attractive and culturally viable, we should direct greater emphasis on the establishment of parks in urban areas, and we must also expand programs such as the Urban Walls Program and federal assistance to the arts.

5. Partnership Between the President and the Mayors

For too long, the doors of the White House have been shut to the needs of the cities and to the mayors who represent them.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, one of the prime movers behind the United States Conference of Mayors, recognized the need for a close partnership between the executive branch of the federal government and the mayors of America's cities.

As President, I shall develop close, personal and continuous working relationships with you. I will beef up the role and functions of the Domestic Policy Council to serve as a direct link to you. Moreover, I will have a high-level assistant at the White House to help coordinate programs related to cities between the various government departments, and to serve as the President's direct link to the mayors and other city officials. Mayors need a person at the White House with the President's ear to whom they can relate directly about city problems.

You are on the firing line every minute facing tough problems. I do not intend to let you stay there alone, without the full support of the President, nor disarmed, without the aid and resources to combat those problems.

You also have my assurance that the federal government itself will be pro-city. Too often the federal government has pursued policies which have encouraged urban decay, such as past procedures in the location of federal buildings and the construction of highways through urban neighborhoods. As President I intend to put a halt to such counter-productive policies.

I believe that together we can build an urban America which will be the envy of the rest of the world and, more importantly, a place where our citizens can live and play and work together as brothers in peace and harmony.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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The Economy

AN ECONOMIC POSITION PAPER FOR NOW AND TOMORROW

Released April 22, 1976

A. CURRENT ECONOMIC REALITIES

Under two Republican Administrations we have been faced with the twin evils of intolerably high unemployment and double-digit inflation. We have experienced the worst recession since the 1930's, and the second recession since 1968. Federal deficits reached unheard of peacetime levels.

For eight years we have seen strict wage and price controls suddenly imposed and just as suddenly lifted. We have witnessed two devaluations of our currency. We have had to live with the consequences of the disastrous 1972 grain giveaway to the Soviet Union. We have watched our petroleum prices increase four and five fold. We have seen overly restrictive monetary policies and high interest rates compound our recession and greatly restrict our construction and homebuilding industry.

While inflation has declined from its previous levels, it still remains unacceptably high. It must not be ignored, for it is a critical problem facing the American people.

The major economic problem, however, is unacceptably high unemployment.

The average unemployment rate in 1975 was 8.5 percent. In no other postwar year has it averaged as much as 7 percent. Today, unemployment nationally is 7.5 percent — above the annual unemployment rate of any year since the Great Depression, 60 percent higher than 1972 and over 70 percent higher than in 1973. And yet this figure is itself a gross understatement of the true unemployment problem affecting our country. According to the United States Department of Labor, central city unemployment for 1975 was 9.6 percent. In some major cities unemployment has recently run as high as 17 percent. In 1975, every fourth black worker was unemployed and the majority of them were ineligible for unemployment compensation. Teenage black unemployment in some areas approaches the stagger-

ing figure of 40 percent. Unemployment among construction workers is over 20 percent.

Even these figures are deceptive for they do not include the hundreds of thousands of people who have been left out of the labor market due to their frustrating inability to find a job.

These are not simply figures. They represent an incalculable cost both to the unemployed and the nation. They represent the crushed dreams of millions of Americans ready and willing to work. All Americans should be free to have a decent job.

Unemployment not only affects the unemployed, it affects all Americans.

It has been estimated by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress that each one percent of excess unemployment adds at least \$4 to \$5 billion in direct costs for unemployment compensation, food stamps and welfare.

The federal government is currently spending between \$17 and \$20 billion for unemployment compensation and an additional \$2 to \$3 billion on food stamps due to unemployment. The present rate of unemployment compensation due to the recession is now more than four times the cost of two years ago.

High levels of unemployment mean increased crime and violence, lost output, a lower level of productivity, and less investment in new capital.

B. GOALS FOR THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

1. We must develop a sensible, steady, fair, humane, well-coordinated national economic policy.

My economic policy will be based on the true complexities of the present economic picture and the time required for any government policy to work its will. It will

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avoid the shocks and surprises, the on-again, off-again programs and rapid policy changes which have characterized the last 8 years. It must be geared to alleviating inequities in our economic system and avoiding the harsh and arbitrary actions which paralyze those in our society least able to help themselves.

2. We must give *highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment* — a job for everyone who wishes one — as rapidly as possible, *while reducing inflation.*

3. We must insure a *better coordination between fiscal and monetary policy* and insure a closer working relationship between the Executive Branch and the Federal Reserve Board.

4. Given the present state of the economy, we must pursue an expansionary fiscal and monetary program in the near future, with some budget deficits if necessary, to reduce unemployment more rapidly. But with a progressively managed economy we can attain a *balanced budget within the context of full employment* by 1979, prior to the end of the first term of my Administration. A balanced budget can be achieved without reducing social expenditures, through the increased revenues which will be realized by higher incomes in a fully employed economy. Under my administration, economic growth will generate additional revenues, avoiding the need for recession-related expenditures, and insuring both budget stability and an adequate level of public spending. *I favor balanced budgets over the business cycle.*

5. We need *better economic coordination and planning* through an expanded role for the Council of Economic Advisors, to aid government, business, and industry in making intelligent decisions.

C. A NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

1. *Rapid Reduction in Unemployment*

I am committed to a dramatic reduction in unemployment, without reviving double-digit inflation, through the following means:

(a) We must have an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy for the coming fiscal year to stimulate demand and production. This should not mean spending simply for the sake of spending without specific aims and goals, but policy aimed at curbing both cyclical and structural unemployment, creating useful jobs, and solving national needs.

Such an expansionary policy can reduce unemployment without reigniting inflation, because our economy is presently performing so far under capacity.

(b) *Specific stimulation should be given to private industry to hire the unemployed* through — an increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business.

— encouragement by the federal government to employers to retain workers during cyclical downturns including reforming the unemployment compensation tax paid by employers.

— public programs to train people for work in private sector jobs.

— incentives specifically geared to encourage employment, including incentives to employers who employ young persons and persons with lengthy records of unemployment, and to those employers who provide flexible hours of employment and flexible jobs, to aid access by women to the market place.

(c) To *supplement our effort* to have private industry play a greater role, the *federal government* has an obligation to provide *funds for useful and productive public employment* of those whom private business cannot or will not hire. Therefore we should:

— create meaningful public jobs in the cities and neighborhoods of the unemployed adjusted to solving our national needs in construction, repair, maintenance, and rehabilitation of facilities such as railroad roadbeds, housing, and the environment.

— improve manpower training and vocational education programs to increase the employability of the hard-core unemployed.

— provide 800,000 summer youth jobs.

— pass an accelerated public works program targeted to areas of specific national needs.

— double the CETA (Comprehensive Educational Training Act) program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs, and provide counter-cyclical aid to cities with high unemployment.

— develop more efficient employment services to provide better job counseling and to match openings to individuals, and consider establishment of special Youth Employment Services especially geared to finding jobs for our young people.

2. *Curbing Inflation*

There are far more humane and economically sound solutions to curbing inflation than enforced recession, unemployment, monetary restrictions and high interest rates. Much of the inflation we have experienced was not caused by excessive demand but rather by dollar devaluations, external factors such as the increasing oil prices, and by world-wide increases in food and basic material prices. Furthermore, high interest costs, and the final dismantling of the controls program in 1974 contributed to high inflation rates.

A constant effort to battle inflation must accompany our drive for full employment. This requires measures to:

— increase the productive capabilities of our economy, with increased attention to the supply side of our economy, now virtually ignored.

— insure a steady flow of jobs and output.

- increase productivity so that growth does not become overly inflationary.
- insure a better relationship between the availability of goods and the demand for them. In the agricultural area, the federal government should assume the primary responsibility for establishing reserves of key foodstuffs in the United States.
- reform those governmental regulations, such as the rule prohibiting a truck from carrying goods on its return haul, which unnecessarily add to prices.
- strictly enforce anti-trust and consumer protection legislation and increase free-market competition.
- adopt a monetary policy which encourages lower interest rates and the availability of investment capital at reasonable costs.
- effectively monitor excessive price and wage increases in specific sectors of the economy.

While I oppose across-the-board permanent wage and price controls, I favor standby controls which the President can apply selectively. I do *not* presently see the need for the use of such standby authority.

3. *Better Coordination Between Fiscal and Monetary Policy*

Fiscal policy covers generally the taxing and spending decisions of the federal government. Fiscal policy formulation is centered in the federal government in the Congress, the Congressional Budget Office, the Office of Management and Budget, the Department of the Treasury, and the Presidency. Monetary policy on the other hand, concerns decisions having to do with money supply, interest rates, and credit market conditions, with policy formulation centered in the Federal Reserve System, and to a lesser extent, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Congress.

We cannot expect to achieve balanced growth through stable, sensible, and fair economic policies if fiscal and monetary policy are not better coordinated.

I propose the following steps:

- While the Federal Reserve Board should maintain its independence from the Executive Branch, it is important that throughout a President's term he have a Chairman of the Federal Reserve whose economic views are compatible with his own. Currently the Chairman is appointed for a four year term but not necessarily coterminous with the President's term. To insure greater compatibility between the President and the Federal Reserve Chairman, I propose that, subject to Senate confirmation, the President be given the power to appoint his own Chairman of the Federal Reserve who would serve a term coterminous with the President's.

- To insure better planning both by government and private industry, the Federal Reserve Board through its Open Market Committee should be held responsible for stating its objectives more clearly and publicly.
- The Federal Reserve Board should be required to submit to Congress and the public a credit market report on past monetary conditions, together with a short term and a year's outlook. This report, included as part of the Economic Report of the President to Congress, should be a definitive annual statement about monetary affairs. It should be the joint responsibility of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board to show in their consolidated report that their policies are mutually consistent and, if not, to demonstrate why they are not consistent.

4. *More Effective Budgeting*

The budget of the federal government should serve as an instrument of both economic and general governmental policy. It is a statement of the influences of governmental expenditures on the allocation of resources, an instrument for carrying out economic stabilization policy, and a demonstration of our nation's priorities. It should serve as a guide to and a means of encouraging efficient and economical functioning of government.

For the current fiscal year, an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy is necessary. Social needs and the need for economic stabilization may require from time to time unbalancing of the budget. But, we should strive toward budget balance, *within an environment of full employment*, over the long term. The surplus years should balance the deficits. I therefore call for balanced budgets over the business cycle. This can be achieved by 1979. At the present time, there is a clear need for stimulus in order to return the economy to full employment.

A vigorous employment policy will enlarge the revenue base and will likewise reduce recession-related expenditures and will therefore do much to reduce the present deficit. My commitment is to achieve and maintain a high level of real growth in the economy, which will permit us to have a balanced budget without reductions in important social programs and within the context of full employment.

Budget planning within the federal government is presently on a yearly basis. This *does not allow sufficient long-range planning*. Therefore, we should budget on a three year cycle, rolling forward three years at a time when the budget is prepared each year. The first year ahead in a three year cycle should be the usual budget, the next two would be only first approximations, in an initial attempt to smooth out the budgeting process. The budget for the two latter years will normally be revised in the next year when a new third year is added for an initial approximation. The long range budgeting practice will roll forward from year to year.

The three year rolling budget technique will permit businessmen and public officials to do a much better job in laying out their own plans, relying less on the need for more elaborate proposals of comprehensive planning. Moreover, as we did while I was Governor of Georgia, we should predict the costs of programs over a long period of time so that proper long-term budgeting can be done. Also, we should attempt to implement new approaches to government budgeting, such as zero-base budgeting, which insure that there is quality control over government programs and that these programs accomplish their intended end.

5. Better Government Planning and Management

I am a firm advocate of the private enterprise system. I am a businessman myself. I oppose the type of rigid, bureaucratic centralized planning characteristics of communist countries.

But better general economic planning by government is essential to insure a stable, sensible, fair, humane economic policy, without the roller-coaster dips and curves we have faced in the last eight years. Government must plan ahead just like any business. Planning is widely practiced in the private sector of the American economy.

I favor coordinated government planning to attack problems of structural unemployment, inflation, environmental deterioration, exaggeration of economic inequalities, natural resource limitations, and obstructions to the operation of the free market system.

I believe that this type of planning can be carried out without the creation of a new bureaucracy, but rather through well defined extensions of existing bodies and techniques. I propose that the role of the present Council of Economic Advisors, established under the Full Employment Act of 1946, be expanded to include this type of coordinated planning and to deal with long range problems of individual sectors fitted into an overall economic plan for the economy as a whole, as well as to deal with considerations of supply, distribution, and performance in individual industries.

Many of the economic shocks of the past eight years have come on the supply side of the economy. It is imperative that we study ways to anticipate problems rather than await their arrival and once again react with ill-conceived solutions in a crisis environment. Such detailed studies will be an important new task for the Council of Economic Advisors.

We have no discernible economic goals. Goals must be established and clearly enunciated, so that our programs can be developed within a planned, orderly context.

The techniques I have outlined can and will be carried out within the framework of our present private enterprise system, free market institutions and administrative structures.

D. CONCLUSION

We live in an interdependent world. Problems of inflation, unemployment, scarcity of resources, and economic stabilization cannot be accomplished without a coordinated effort with the rest of the world. We will cooperate with our allies and trading partners, and others to develop long-term solutions to our common problems.

Beware of the person who promises economic wonders of high prosperity, with no problems of inflation, unemployment, or maldistribution of income. This country faces serious economic problems, but they can be dealt with in an honest, sensible way if we set our sights on a steady path towards full employment, wary of inflationary pressures, and geared towards meeting national needs. Exhortation and gimmickry are not going to be very helpful in meeting the economic challenges, but good, sensible policies are. Straightforward, uncomplicated programs aiming at expanding production, getting all segments of the unemployed back to work, insuring the smooth working of our private enterprise system, and introducing reforms in the spirit of more economic equity are the kinds of policies this country needs.

It will be my responsibility as President to insure that this nation has a coherent, coordinated, short and long term economic policy, geared to achieve full employment, low rates of inflation, and cyclically balanced budgets. To these I am committed. These goals will be achieved.

JIMMY CARTER'S ECONOMIC TASK FORCE

LAWRENCE R. KLEIN, President-elect American Economic Association; Benjamin Franklin Professor of Economics and Finance, University of Pennsylvania

CAROLYN SHAW BELL, Katherine Coman Professor of Economics, Wellesley College; Executive Committee, American Economic Association

RICHARD COOPER, Professor of Economics and former Provost, Yale University; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State

JULIUS EDELSTEIN, Dean, City University of New York; Dean of Urban Policy and Programs, Graduate Center, City University of New York

MARTIN FELDSTEIN, Professor of Economics, Harvard University

ALBERT T. SOMERS, Vice President and Chief Economist, The Conference Board

LESTER THUROW, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MICHAEL WACHTER, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON **Energy** TO THE WASHINGTON PRESS CLUB WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 11, 1975

A year and a half after the humiliating Arab oil embargo, with its devastating and continuing consequences for our economy, we still have the same national energy policy, developed and maintained by the oil and electric power companies:

"Use more and more energy and pay higher and higher prices for it."

Misleading presidential statements about "Project Independence" merely lulled our people into a false sense of continued trust in inept and timid leaders—while our dependence on foreign oil lunged upward. Our foreign oil bill is now a staggering \$25 billion per year, compared to 1/10th of this amount in 1970. We may have to import 60% of our petroleum needs by 1985, compared to about 40% now and only 25% in 1973.

We have bowed quietly and subserviently to the Arab nations who tried to blackmail our great country just a few months ago. Apparently we are now prepared to continue this obeisance as a permanent and increasingly mandatory national posture.

The political leadership of this country has failed to fulfill its responsibilities to the American people. The U.S. Congress has been unable to arouse itself from lethargy and devise a meaningful alternative to President Ford's disastrous energy proposal. The administration's energy policy is easy to describe—a large and sudden increase in the price of oil.

If the Gerald Ford/oil industry policy is implemented:

—It will add from 3% to 4% to the nation's inflation rate;

—It will cost us consumers more than \$30 billion annually, draining this purchasing power away from

other parts of the floundering economy and increasing already disgraceful levels of unemployment;

—It will encourage additional O.P.E.C. oil price hikes;

—It will aggravate fuel distribution inequities and further damage New England and other areas which are especially dependent on declining oil sources;

—It will not result in decreased consumption equivalent to price increases because of inelastic demand for certain petroleum products;

—It will punish those with low and middle incomes, while the rich continue to waste all the fuel they want;

—It will continue a callous disregard for environmental quality.

In short, the Ford/oil industry energy policy is merely another example of letting the average American pay for the politicians' mistakes.

Our nation must act! Neither the world economy nor the American economy can withstand a continuation of present circumstances and trends. In effect, the O.P.E.C. cartel has levied a \$60 billion annual excise tax on the rest of the world, an amount more than equal to the stock value of all international oil companies in the world. By 1980, the liquid capital of oil exporting nations will comprise more than half the world's monetary reserves, creating the potential for devastating world economic damage or threats of damage.

The economies of weak developing countries with no major exportable products are being destroyed, and all major oil importing nations are in effect operating on credit to the oil producing countries. The lives of developed nations depend on adequate energy

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oil allocation

supplies, and any drastic reduction in fuel consumption could not be tolerated.

The private oil industry, primarily U.S. companies, has lost control of its former supplies and transmission systems in the Persian Gulf area. The O.P.E.C. nations now unilaterally set prices and export quotas and determine the identity of customers.

So long as the oil cartel remains intact, there is little likelihood of any voluntary price reduction for petroleum. These countries recognize their present strategic advantages and have no intention of relinquishing them.

The oil exporting countries do have a major investment in the soundness of the worldwide economic system. They also see more clearly the importance of close ties to the free nations of the world.

Recognizing these facts, it is imperative that we move boldly toward a goal of reasonable national energy self-sufficiency.

"Project Independence" is a farce.

No substantive steps have been taken to assure that we will be independent of doubtful foreign oil supplies any time in the foreseeable future.

We have no long-range national energy policy.

We are forming no binding alliances with other consuming nations to coordinate research and development efforts or to share future oil shortages.

Our foreign policy toward the O.P.E.C. countries is not designed to force reasonable price reductions.

We have begun no new concerted effort to develop additional types of energy supplies.

There is no major energy conservation program in this country.

No substantial increase in stockpiling facilities is under way.

One of the greatest failures of national leadership in recent history is the failure to convince the American people of the urgency of our energy problems. Americans are willing to make sacrifices if they understand the reason for them and if they believe the sacrifices are fairly distributed. Right now, they think the working people are making the sacrifices while the big shots get richer. They are right.

Imports of oil from foreign countries should be kept at manageable levels. Increasing amounts of oil from remaining domestic and foreign sources should then be channeled into permanent storage facilities until we have accumulated at least an additional thirty-day reserve supply.

If it becomes necessary, petroleum supplies available for consumption should be allocated by the Federal Energy Agency to the individual states, using the basic formula developed through experience during the winter of the oil embargo. The fifty state energy offices have been preparing for the past year and a half to distribute oil locally to meet greatest needs.

If patriotic appeals and strict conservation measures prove to be inadequate to control consumption, stand-by excise taxes should be available to the President for selective imposition on petroleum products.

The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of O.P.E.C. oil.

We should place the importation of oil under government authority to allow strict control of purchases and the auctioning of purchase orders.

To insure maximum protection for our consumers during the coming years of increasing energy shortages, antitrust laws must be rigidly enforced. Maximum disclosure of data on reserve supplies and production must be required.

Utility rates are up more than 40% in two years, while electric power plants operate at about 35% efficiency. Electric power companies demand that their present customers finance huge construction projects while less than half of their present capacity is utilized. Some of their projections for annual power consumption increases are double even those of the Federal Energy Agency administrator!

Unnecessary electrical power plant construction should be stopped.

Advertising at consumers' expense to encourage increased consumption of electricity should be prohibited.

Rate structures which discourage total consumption and peak power demand should be established.

Additional major reductions in oil and natural gas consumption must be planned. Recently, government geologists slashed estimates of our off-shore oil reserves by 80% and cut total national reserve estimates by 50%! We have at most a 35-year supply of oil in the world at present rates of consumption.

In a few years, oil and gas will be too valuable to be used for heating buildings or for generating electricity. Almost all of our dwindling supplies will be required for the production of fertilizer and petrochemicals and for transportation.

We must act now to reduce the enormous waste of these valuable products by legal mandate, patriotic appeals, and improved technology. If we do not, the inevitable pressures of rising prices and dwindling sup-

plies will continue to disrupt our economy and punish those who can least afford it.

The potential for dramatic energy conservation remains untapped. Our energy waste in transportation is 85%, in generating electricity 65%. Overall, 50% of our energy is wasted.

When we had to cut our own wood to burn on the farm, we did not waste it.

We need:

- Mandated motor vehicle efficiency standards;
- Rigid enforcement of speed laws;
- Efficiency standards and labeling for electrical appliances;
- Mandatory improvements in building insulation;
- Regulatory agency decisions that reduce fuel consumption;
- And similar conservation measures.

The federal government with all its agencies should set a national example in the conservation and proper use of energy.

In spite of growing dependence on other sources of power, fossil fuels will still be our main source of energy in the year 2000 A.D., with fusion power still in the developmental stage.

A major immediate need is to derive maximum energy from coal, while preserving environmental quality. We have at least a 200-year supply of clean and accessible coal. Power companies and industries must shift to this source of energy, and we must invest in improved mining efficiency, cleaner combustion technology, and a better transportation system for moving coal to its end users.

Substantial increases in coal production and utilization will only come with a stable regulatory climate. The recent veto of the strip mining bill merely prolonged the present climate of uncertainty.

We must also exploit the potential of solar energy in the construction of new homes and offices.

During the past few years, two-thirds of all federal research and development funds went for atomic power, primarily for the liquid metal fast breeder reactor (LMFBR). Since this potential source of energy will not be economically feasible until the price of natural uranium increases several times over, since England, France and the U.S.S.R. have design experience with the LMFBR, and because of the mounting costs and environmental problems, our excessive emphasis on this project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multinational effort.

Our atomic plants use light water with enriched uranium. Some countries, such as Canada, use heavy water with more plentiful natural uranium. Our government's fuel enrichment plants can produce adequate enriched uranium for the next decade. A shift away from sustained production of atomic weapons or toward heavy water reactors can extend this time of adequate supply.

The private commercial production of enriched nuclear fuel should be approached with extreme caution.

In addition to the physical damage and human suffering which would result from a nuclear disaster, the economic, psychological and political consequences to our energy supply system would be more devastating than a total Middle East oil embargo. It is imperative that such an accident be prevented. We must maintain the strictest possible safety standards for our atomic power plants, and be completely honest with our people concerning any problems or dangers.

For instance, nuclear reactors should be located below ground level. The power plants should be housed in sealed buildings within which permanent heavy vacuums are maintained. Plants should be located in sparsely populated areas and only after consultation with state and local officials. Designs should be standardized. And a full-time federal employee, with full authority to shut down the plant in case of any operational abnormality, should always be present in control rooms.

An international conference on energy research and development would benefit all nations. It is ridiculous for each of us to go our own separate way and replicate research projects which are being completed in other nations. There is certainly enough challenge and responsibility to go around in energy fields involving: Thermonuclear reaction containment; liquefaction and gassification of coal; use of solid wastes; breeder reactors; electric propulsion and rail development; building insulation and design; heating, cooling and electrical power generation from solar energy; electric power transmission; industrial plant efficiency; automobile engine design; coal mining techniques; efficiency of petroleum extraction from the ground; materials recycling; long-range benefit:cost ratio for energy sources; and nuclear waste disposal. Of course, private industry will be expected to continue research in many of these and other fields of interest, often in cooperation with government.

It is unlikely that we will be totally "independent" of oil imports during this century. Our present trend is still toward increasing dependence on oil supplies from overseas.

Although our country is still the world's largest pro-

ducer of oil, domestic production is decreasing inexorably by about 6% annually—despite a substantial increase in exploration efforts.

It is certainly not possible or necessary for us to be energy independent by 1985, but we should be free from possible blackmail or economic disaster which might be caused by another boycott. Our reserves should be developed, imports reduced to manageable levels, standby rationing procedures evolved and authorized, and aggressive economic reprisals should await any boycotting oil supplier.

With proper national planning and determined execution of those plans, energy conservation can be completely compatible with environmental quality and

with economic well-being. Lower energy consumption inherently reduces world pollution levels. The elimination of waste and technological advances into new energy fields can result in enhanced employment opportunities without any reduction in the quality of our economic lives.

Unless we conserve energy drastically, make a major shift to coal, and substantially increase our use of solar energy, we will have no alternative to greatly increased dependence on nuclear power. As one who is intimately familiar with the problems and potential of nuclear energy, I believe we must make every effort to keep that dependence to a minimum.

We need strong leadership, and we need it now!

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON

LAW DAY

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, ATHENS, GA

May 4, 1974

5-1

Senator Kennedy, distinguished fellow Georgians, friends of the Law School of Georgia and personal friends of mine:

Sometimes even a distinguished jurist on the Supreme Court doesn't know all of the background on acceptances of invitations. As a matter of fact, my wife was influential in this particular acceptance, but my son was even more influential. This was really an acceptance to repair my ego. There was established in 1969 the L.Q.C. Lamar Society. I was involved in the establishment of it, and I think a lot of it. As Governor of Georgia I was invited this year, along with two distinguished Americans, to make a speech at the annual meeting which is going on now.

I found out when the program was prepared that Senator Kennedy was to speak last night. They charged \$10 to attend the occasion. Senator William Brock from Tennessee is speaking to the Lamar Society at noon today. I found out that they charged \$7.50 for this occasion. I spoke yesterday at noon, and I asked the Lamar Society officials, at the last moment, how much they were charging to come to the luncheon yesterday. They said they weren't charging anything. I said, "You mean they don't even have to pay for the lunch?" They said, "No, we're providing the lunch free."

So, when my son Jack came and said, "Daddy, I think more of you than you thought I did; I'm paying \$7.00 for two tickets to the luncheon," I figured that a \$3.50 lunch ticket would salvage part of my ego and that's really why I'm here today.

I'm not qualified to talk to you about law, because in addition to being a peanut farmer, I'm an engineer and a nuclear physicist, not a lawyer. I was planning, really, to talk to you more today about politics and the interrelationship of political affairs and law, than about what I'm actually going to speak on. But after Senator Kennedy's delightful and very fine response to political questions during his speech, and after his analysis of the Watergate problems, I stopped at a room on the way, while he had his press conference, and I changed my speech notes.

My own interest in the criminal justice system is very deep and heartfelt. Not having studied law, I've had to learn the hard way. I read a lot and listen a lot. One of the sources for my understanding about the proper application of criminal justice and the system of equity is from reading Reinhold Niebuhr, one of his books that Bill Gunter gave me quite a number of years

ago. The other source of my understanding about what's right and wrong in this society is from a friend of mine, a poet named Bob Dylan. After listening to his records about "The Ballad of Hattie Carol" and "Like a Rolling Stone" and "The Times They Are a Changing," I've learned to appreciate the dynamism of change in a modern society.

I grew up as a landowner's son. But, I don't think I ever realized the proper interrelationship between the landowner and those who worked on a farm until I heard Dylan's record, "I Ain't Gonna Work on Maggie's Farm No More." So I come here speaking to you today about your subject with a base for my information founded on Reinhold Niebuhr and Bob Dylan.

One of the things that Niebuhr says is that the sad duty of the political system is to establish justice in a sinful world. He goes on to say that there's no way to establish or maintain justice without law; that the laws are constantly changing to stabilize the social equilibrium of the forces and counterforces of a dynamic society, and that the law in its totality is an expression of the structure of government.

Well, as a farmer who has now been in office for three years, I've seen firsthand the inadequacy of my own comprehension of what government ought to do for its people. I've had a constant learning process, sometimes from lawyers, sometimes from practical experience, sometimes from failures and mistakes that have been pointed out to me after they were made.

I had lunch this week with the members of the Judicial Selection Committee, and they were talking about a consent search warrant. I said I didn't know what a consent search warrant was. They said, "Well, that's when two policemen go to a house. One of them goes to the front door and knocks on it, and the other one runs around to the back door and yells 'come in'." I have to admit that as Governor, quite often I search for ways to bring about my own hopes; not quite so stringently testing the law as that, but with a similar motivation.

I would like to talk to you for a few moments about some of the practical aspects of being a governor who is still deeply concerned about the inadequacies of a system of which it is obvious that you're so patently proud.

I have refrained completely from making any judicial appointments on the basis of political support or other factors, and have chosen, in every instance, Superior Court judges, quite often State judges, Appellate Court

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judges, on the basis of merit analysis by a highly competent, open, qualified group of distinguished Georgians. I'm proud of this.

We've now established in the Georgia Constitution a qualifications commission, which for the first time can hear complaints from average citizens about the performance in office of judges and can investigate those complaints and with the status and the force of the Georgia Constitution behind them can remove a judge from office or take other corrective steps.

We've now passed a Constitutional amendment, which is waiting for the citizenry to approve, that establishes a uniform Criminal Justice Court System in this state so that the affairs of the judiciary can be more orderly structured, so that work loads can be balanced and so that over a period of time there might be an additional factor of equity, which quite often does not exist now because of the wide disparity among the different courts of Georgia.

We passed this year a judge sentencing bill for non-capital cases with a review procedure. I've had presented to me, by members of the Pardons and Paroles Board, an analysis of some of the sentences given to people by the Superior Court judges of this state, which grieved me deeply and shocked me as a layman. I believe that over a period of time, the fact that a group of other judges can review and comment on the sentences meted out in the different portions of Georgia will bring some more equity to the system.

We have finally eliminated the unsworn statement law in Georgia—the last state to do it.

This year, we analyzed in depth the structure of the drug penalties in this state. I believe in the future there will be a clear understanding of the seriousness of different crimes relating to drugs. We've finally been able to get through the legislature a law that removes alcoholism or drunkenness as a criminal offense. When this law goes into effect next year, I think it will create a new sense of compassion and concern and justice for the roughly 150,000 alcoholics in Georgia, many of whom escape the consequences of what has been a crime because of some social or economic prominence, and will remove a very heavy load from the criminal justice system.

In our prisons, which in the past have been a disgrace to Georgia, we've tried to make substantive changes in the quality of those who administer them and to put a new realm of understanding and hope and compassion into the administration of that portion of the system of justice. Ninety-five percent of those who are presently incarcerated in prisons will be returned to be our neighbors. And now the thrust of the entire program, as initiated under Ellis MacDougall and now continued under Dr. Ault, is to try to discern in the soul of each convicted and sentenced person redeeming features that can be enhanced. We plan a career for that person to be pursued while he is in prison. I believe that the early data that we have on recidivism rates indicates the efficacy of what we've done.

The GBI, which was formerly a matter of great concern to all those who were interested in law enforcement, has now been substantially changed—for the better. I would put it up now in quality against the FBI, the Secret Service or any other crime control organization in this Nation.

Well, does that mean that everything is all right?

It doesn't to me.

I don't know exactly how to say this, but I was thinking just a few moments ago about some of the things that are of deep concern to me as Governor. As a scientist, I was working constantly, along with almost everyone who professes that dedication of life, to probe, probe every day of my life for constant change for the better. It's completely anachronistic in the makeup of a nuclear physicist or an engineer or scientist to be satisfied with what we've got, or to rest on the laurels of past accomplishments. It's the nature of the profession.

As a farmer, the same motivation persists. Every farmer that I know of, who is worth his salt or who's just average, is ahead of the experiment stations and the research agronomist in finding better ways, changing ways to plant, cultivate, utilize herbicides, gather, cure, sell farm products. The competition for innovation is tremendous, equivalent to the realm of nuclear physics even.

In my opinion, it's different in the case of lawyers. And maybe this is a circumstance that is so inherently true that it can't be changed.

I'm a Sunday School teacher, and I've always known that the structure of law is founded on the Christian ethic that you shall love the Lord your God and your neighbor as yourself—a very high and perfect standard. We all know the fallibility of man, and the contentions in society, as described by Reinhold Niebuhr and many others, don't permit us to achieve perfection. We do strive for equality, but not with a fervent and daily commitment. In general, the powerful and the influential in our society shape the laws and have a great influence on the legislature or the Congress. This creates a reluctance to change because the powerful and the influential have carved out for themselves or have inherited a privileged position in society, of wealth or social prominence or higher education or opportunity for the future. Quite often, those circumstances are circumvented at a very early age because college students, particularly undergraduates, don't have any commitment to the preservation of the way things are. But later, as their interrelationship with the present circumstances grows, they also become committed to approaching change very, very slowly and very, very cautiously, and there's a commitment to the status quo.

I remember when I was a child, I lived on a farm about three miles from Plains, and we didn't have electricity or running water. We lived on the railroad—Seaboard-Coastline railroad. Like all farm boys I had a flip, a sling shot. They had stabilized the railroad bed with little white round rocks, which I used for ammunition. I would go out frequently to the railroad and gather the most perfectly shaped rocks of proper size. I always had a few in my pockets, and I had others cached away around the farm, so that they would be convenient if I ran out of my pocket supply.

One day I was leaving the railroad track with my pockets full of rocks and hands full of rocks, and my mother came out on the front porch—this is not a very interesting story but it illustrates a point—and she had in her hands a plate full of cookies that she had just baked for me. She called me, I am sure with love in her heart, and said, "Jimmy, I've baked some cookies for

you.” I remember very distinctly walking up to her and standing there for 15 or 20 seconds, in honest doubt about whether I should drop those rocks which were worthless and take the cookies that my mother had prepared for me, which between her and me were very valuable.

Quite often, we have the same inclination in our everyday lives. We don't recognize that change can sometimes be very beneficial, although we fear it. Anyone who lives in the South looks back on the last 15 to 20 years with some degree of embarrassment, including myself. To think about going back to a county unit system, which deliberately cheated for generations certain white voters of this state, is almost inconceivable. To revert back or to forego the one man, one vote principle, we would now consider to be a horrible violation of the basic principles of justice and equality and fairness and equity.

The first speech I ever made in the Georgia Senate, representing the most conservative district in Georgia, was concerning the abolition of 30 questions that we had so proudly evolved as a subterfuge to keep black citizens from voting and which we used with a great deal of smirking and pride for decades or generations ever since the War between the States—questions that nobody could answer in this room, but which were applied to every black citizen that came to the Sumter County Courthouse or Webster County Courthouse and said, “I want to vote.” I spoke in that chamber, fearful of the news media reporting it back home, but overwhelmed with a commitment to the abolition of that artificial barrier to the rights of an American citizen. I remember the thing that I used in my speech, that a black pencil salesman on the outer door of the Sumter County Courthouse could make a better judgment about who ought to be sheriff than two highly educated professors at Georgia Southwestern College.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was perhaps despised by many in this room because he shook up our social structure that benefited us, and demanded simply that black citizens be treated the same as white citizens, wasn't greeted with approbation and accolades by the Georgia Bar Association or the Alabama Bar Association. He was greeted with horror. Still, once that change was made, a very simple but difficult change, no one in his right mind would want to go back to circumstances prior to that juncture in the development of our Nation's society.

I don't want to go on and on, I'm part of it. But, the point I want to make to you is that we still have a long way to go. In every age or every year, we have a tendency to believe that we've come so far now, that there's no way to improve the present system. I'm sure when the Wright Brothers flew at Kitty Hawk, they felt that was the ultimate in transportation. When the first atomic bomb was exploded, that was the ultimate development in nuclear physics, and so forth.

Well, we haven't reached the ultimate. But who's going to search the heart and the soul of an organization like yours or a law school or state or nation and say, “What can we still do to restore equity and justice or to preserve it or to enhance it in this society?”

You know, I'm not afraid to make the change. I don't have anything to lose. But, as a farmer I'm not qualified to assess the characteristics of the 91 hundred inmates

in the Georgia prisons, 50% of whom ought not to be there. They ought to be on probation or under some other supervision and assess what the results of previous court rulings might bring to bear on their lives.

I was in the Governor's Mansion for two years, enjoying the services of a very fine cook, who was a prisoner—a woman. One day she came to me, after she got over her two years of timidity, and said, “Governor, I would like to borrow \$250.00 from you.”

I said, “I'm not sure that a lawyer would be worth that much.”

She said, “I don't want to hire a lawyer, I want to pay the judge.”

I thought it was a ridiculous statement for her; I felt that she was ignorant. But I found out she wasn't. She had been sentenced by a Superior Court judge in the state, who still serves, to seven years or \$750. She had raised, early in her prison career, \$500. I didn't lend her the money, but I had Bill Harper, my legal aide, look into it. He found the circumstances were true. She was quickly released under a recent court ruling that had come down in the last few years.

I was down on the coast this weekend. I was approached by a woman who asked me to come by her home. I went by, and she showed me documents that indicated that her illiterate mother, who had a son in jail, had gone to the County Surveyor in that region and had borrowed \$225 to get her son out of jail. She had a letter from the Justice of the Peace that showed that her mother had made a mark on a blank sheet of paper. They paid off the \$225, and she has the receipts to show it. Then they started a 5-year program trying to get back the paper she signed, without success. They went to court. The lawyer that had originally advised her to sign the paper showed up as the attorney for the surveyor. She had put up 50 acres of land near the county seat as security. When she got to court she found that instead of signing a security deed, that she had signed a warranty deed. That case has already been appealed to the Supreme Court, and she lost.

Well, I know that the technicalities of the law that would permit that are probably justifiable. She didn't have a good lawyer. My heart feels and cries out that something ought to be analyzed, not just about the structure of government, judicial qualification councils and judicial appointment committees and eliminating the unsworn statement—those things are important. But they don't reach the crux of the point—that now we assign punishment to fit the criminal and not the crime.

You can go in the prisons of Georgia, and I don't know, it may be that poor people are the only ones who commit crimes, but I do know they are the only ones who serve prison sentences. When Ellis MacDougall first went to Reidsville, he found people that had been in solitary confinement for ten years. We now have 500 misdemeanants in the Georgia prison system.

Well, I don't know the theory of law, but there is one other point I want to make, just for your own consideration. I think we've made great progress in the Pardons and Paroles Board since I've been in office and since we've reorganized the government. We have five very enlightened people there now. And on occasion they go out to the prison system to interview the inmates, to decide whether or not they are worthy to be released after they serve one-third of their sentence. I think

most jurors and most judges feel that, when they give the sentence, they know that after a third of the sentence has gone by, they will be eligible for careful consideration. Just think for a moment about your own son or your own father or your own daughter being in prison, having served seven years of a lifetime term and being considered for a release. Don't you think that they ought to be examined and that the Pardons and Paroles Board ought to look them in the eye and ask them a question and, if they are turned down, ought to give them some substantive reason why they are not released and what they can do to correct their defect?

I do.

I think it's just as important at their time for consideration of early release as it is even when they are sentenced. But, I don't know how to bring about that change.

We had an ethics bill in the State Legislature this year. Half of it passed—to require an accounting for contributions during a campaign—but the part that applied to people after the campaign failed. We couldn't get through a requirement for revelation of payments or gifts to officeholders after they are in office.

The largest force against that ethics bill was the lawyers.

Some of you here tried to help get a consumer protection package passed without success.

The regulatory agencies in Washington are made up, not of people to regulate industries, but of representatives of the industries that are regulated. Is that fair and right and equitable? I don't think so.

I'm only going to serve four years as governor, as you know. I think that's enough. I enjoy it, but I think I've done all I can in the Governor's office. I see the lobbyists in the State Capitol filling the halls on occasions. Good people, competent people, the most pleasant, personable, extroverted citizens of Georgia. Those are the characteristics that are required for a lobbyist. They represent good folks. But I tell you that when a lobbyist goes to represent the Peanut Warehousemen's Association of the Southeast, which I belong to, which I helped to organize, they go there to represent the peanut warehouseman. They don't go there to represent the customers of the peanut warehouseman.

When the State Chamber of Commerce lobbyists go there, they go there to represent the businessman of Georgia. They don't go there to represent the customers of the businessman of Georgia.

When your own organization is interested in some legislation there in the Capitol, they're interested in the welfare or prerogatives or authority of the lawyers. They are not there to represent in any sort of exclusive way the client of the lawyers.

The American Medical Association and its Georgia equivalent—they represent the doctors, who are fine people. But they certainly don't represent the patients of a doctor.

As an elected governor, I feel that responsibility; but I also know that my qualifications are slight compared to the doctors or the lawyers or the teachers, to determine what's best for the client or the patient or the school child.

This bothers me; and I know that if there was a commitment on the part of the cumulative group of attorneys in this State, to search with a degree of commit-

ment and fervency, to eliminate many of the inequities that I've just described that I thought of this morning, our state could be transformed in the attitude of its people toward the government.

Senator Kennedy described the malaise that exists in this Nation, and it does.

In closing, I'd like to just illustrate the point by something that came to mind this morning when I was talking to Senator Kennedy about his trip to Russia.

When I was about 12 years old, I liked to read, and I had a school principal, named Miss Julia Coleman. Judge Marshall knows her. She forced me pretty much to read, read, read, classical books. She would give me a gold star when I read ten and a silver star when I read five.

One day, she called me in and she said, "Jimmy, I think it's time for you to read War and Peace." I was completely relieved because I thought it was a book about cowboys and Indians.

Well, I went to the library and checked it out, and it was 1,415 pages thick, I think, written by Tolstoy, as you know, about Napoleon's entry into Russia in the 1812-1815 era. He had never been defeated and he was sure he could win, but he underestimated the severity of the Russian winter and the peasants' love for their land.

To make a long story short, the next spring he retreated in defeat. The course of history was changed; it probably affected our own lives.

The point of the book is, and what Tolstoy points out in the epilogue is, that he didn't write the book about Napoleon or the Czar of Russia or even the generals, except in a rare occasion. He wrote it about the students and the housewives and the barbers and the farmers and the privates in the Army. And the point of the book is that the course of human events, even the greatest historical events, are not determined by the leaders of a nation or a state, like presidents or governors or senators. They are controlled by the combined wisdom and courage and commitment and discernment and unselfishness and compassion and love and idealism of the common ordinary people. If that was true in the case of Russia where they had a czar or France where they had an emperor, how much more true is it in our own case where the Constitution charges us with a direct responsibility for determining what our government is and ought to be?

Well, I've read parts of the embarrassing transcripts, and I've seen the proud statement of a former attorney general, who protected his boss, and now brags on the fact that he tiptoed through a mine field and came out "clean." I can't imagine somebody like Thomas Jefferson tiptoeing through a mine field on the technicalities of the law, and then bragging about being clean afterwards.

I think our people demand more than that. I believe that everyone in this room who is in a position of responsibility as a preserver of the law in its purest form ought to remember the oath that Thomas Jefferson and others took when they practically signed their own death warrant, writing the Declaration of Independence—to preserve justice and equity and freedom and fairness, they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Thank you very much.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

6-1

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER AT THE

Martin Luther King Hospital

LOS ANGELES

June 1, 1976

We are here today to honor a man with a dream.
We are here to honor a man who lived and died for the cause of human brotherhood.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was the conscience of his generation.

He was a doctor to a sick society.

He was a prophet of a new and better America.

He was a Southerner, a black man, who in his too-short life stood with Presidents and Kings, and was honored around the world, but who never forgot the poor people, the oppressed people, who were his brothers and sisters and from whom he drew his strength.

He was the man, more than any other of this generation, who gazed upon the great wall of segregation and saw that it could be destroyed by the power of love.

I sometimes think that a Southerner of my generation can most fully understand the meaning and the impact of Martin Luther King's life.

He and I grew up in the same South, he the son of a clergyman, I the son of a farmer. We both knew, from opposite sides, the invisible wall of racial segregation.

The official rule then was "separate but equal," but in truth we were neither—not separate, not equal.

When I was a boy, almost all my playmates were black. We worked in the fields together, and hunted and fished and swam together, but when it was time for church or for school, we went our separate ways, without really understanding why.

Our lives were dominated by unspoken, unwritten, but powerful rules, rules that were almost never challenged.

A few people challenged them, not in politics, but in the way they lived their lives. My mother was one of those people. She was a nurse. She would work twelve hours a day and then come home and care for her family and minister to the people of our little community, both black and white.

My mother knew no color line. Her black friends were just as welcome in her home as her white friends, a fact that shocked some people, sometimes even my father, who was very conventional in his views on race.

I left Georgia in 1943 and went off to the Navy and by the time I returned home ten years later, the South and the nation had begun to change.

The change was slow and painful. After the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, the wrong kind of politicians stirred up angry resistance, and little towns like mine were torn apart by fear and resentment.

Yet the change was coming. Across the South, courageous young black students demanded service at segregated lunch counters. And in the end they prevailed.

In Montgomery, a woman named Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus, a young clergyman named Martin Luther King joined the protest, and a movement had found its leader.

In 1961, we had a new president, John Kennedy, who responded to the demands of the civil rights movement, and who used the power of his office to enforce court orders at the University of Alabama and the University of Mississippi, and who by the last year of his life was giving moral leadership in the struggle for equal rights.

In August of 1963 Martin Luther King stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington and told a quarter of a million people of his dream for America.

"I have a dream," he said. "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood."

"I have a dream," he said, "that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream."

And so the dream was born. The challenge was made. The rest was up to America.

Three months after Dr. King's speech, President Kennedy was dead, and we had a new president, a Texan, a man whom many black people distrusted. But soon Lyndon Johnson stood before the Congress of the United States and promised, "We shall overcome!"

Lyndon Johnson carried forward the dream of equality. He used his political genius to pass the Voting Rights Bill, a bill that was the best thing that happened to the

South in my lifetime. The Voting Rights Act did not just guarantee the vote for black people. It liberated the South, both black and white. It made it possible for the South to come out of the past and into the mainstream of American politics.

It made it possible for a Southerner to stand before you this evening as a serious candidate for President of the United States.

But war came, and destroyed Lyndon Johnson's great society. Martin Luther King spoke out against that war. There were those who told him to keep silent, who told him he would undercut his prestige if he opposed the war, but he followed his conscience and spoke his mind.

Then, in the spring of 1968, he went to Memphis to help the garbage workers get a decent wage, to help the men who did the dirtiest job for the lowest pay, and while he was there he was shot and killed.

But his dream lives on.

Perhaps some of you remember the night of Dr. King's death. Robert Kennedy was in Indianapolis, running for president, speaking before a black audience. At that point, on that awful night, Robert Kennedy was perhaps the only white politician in America who could have spoken to black people and been listened to.

Let me tell you what he said.

He said, "What we need in the United States is not division, what we need in the United States is not hatred, what we need in the United States is not violence and lawlessness, but love and wisdom and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or whether they be black."

Those words are still true today.

We lost Martin Luther King.

We lost Robert Kennedy.

We lost the election that year to men who governed without love or laughter, to men who promised law and order and gave us crime and oppression.

But the dream lived on.

It could be slowed, but never stopped.

In Atlanta, a young man named Andrew Young, who had been Martin Luther King's strong right hand, was elected to the Congress of the United States.

All over America, black men and women were carrying the dream forward into politics.

In Georgia, when I was governor, we appointed black people to jobs and judgeships they had never held before, and one day we hung a portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr., in our State Capitol.

There were protests, but they didn't matter. Inside our State Capitol, Coretta King and Daddy King and Andy Young and I and hundreds of others joined hands and sang "We Shall Overcome."

And we shall.

I stand before you, a candidate for President, a man whose life has been lifted, as yours have been, by the dream of Martin Luther King.

When I started to run for President, there were those who said I would fail, because I am from the South.

But I thought they were wrong. I thought the South was changing and America was changing, I thought the dream was taking hold.

And I ran for President throughout our nation.

We have won in the South, and we have won in the North, and now we come to the West and we ask your help.

For all our progress, we still live in a land held back by oppression and injustice.

The few who are rich and powerful still make the decisions, and the many who are poor and weak must suffer the consequences. If those in power make mistakes, it is not they or their families who lose their jobs or go on welfare or lack medical care or go to jail.

We still have poverty in the midst of plenty.

We still have far to go. We must give our government back to our people. The road will not be easy.

But we still have the dream, Martin Luther King's dream and your dream and my dream. The America we long for is still out there, somewhere ahead of us, waiting for us to find her.

I see an America poised not only at the brink of a new century, but at the dawn of a new era of honest, compassionate, responsive government.

I see an American government that has turned away from scandals and corruption and official cynicism and finally become as decent as our people.

I see an America with a tax system that does not steal from the poor and give to the rich.

I see an America with a job for every man and woman who can work, and a decent standard of living for those who cannot.

I see an America in which my child and your child and every child receives an education second to none in the world.

I see an American government that does not spy on its citizens or harass its citizens, but respects your dignity and your privacy and your right to be let alone.

I see an American foreign policy that is firm and consistent and generous, and that once again is a beacon for the hopes of the world.

I see an American President who does not govern by vetoes and negativism, but with vigor and vision and affirmative leadership, a President who is not isolated from our people, but feels their pain and shares their dreams and takes his strength from them.

I see an America in which Martin Luther King's dream is our national dream.

I see an America on the move again, united, its wounds healed, its head high, a diverse and vital nation, moving into its third century with confidence and competence and compassion, an America that lives up to the majesty of its constitution and the simple decency of its people.

This is the America that I see, and that I am committed to as I run for President.

I ask your help.

You will always have mine.

Thank you.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE QUESTIONNAIRE ON Education

7-1



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 6, 1976

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Jimmy Carter for President
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Governor Carter:

Increasingly the 1.8 million teacher-members of the National Education Association are involved in political activities supporting candidates for local, state, and federal office. The NEA has a procedure whereby the delegates to our annual Representative Assembly, the Association's supreme policy-making body, may vote to endorse a candidate for President of the United States, thus throwing the Association's financial and personnel resources behind the candidate judged by teachers to be most supportive of education and other national issues in which teachers are vitally interested.

Our procedure calls for careful evaluation of candidates' views and positions on these issues. We want to provide to our members as much information as possible on each candidate's position on matters of concern to NEA.

Enclosed is a questionnaire raising several of those issues. We are most interested in your responses. I would appreciate it if you would give us your reactions by March 1. The answers you provide will be used to inform our members about your stands and help us to assess your commitment to education.

Another aspect of our evaluation of candidates is a personal interview. We will be contacting you to set up an interview sometime in late spring. A small screening committee and I will want to talk with you about the issues and your positions and give you an opportunity to clarify any matter you wish. These interviews will be videotaped for use by the National Education Association Political Action Committee (NEA-PAC), the group which has the responsibility for recommending an endorsement. Bob Harman of our NEA Government Relations office will be in touch with your staff to arrange this interview.

I look forward to receiving your response to the questionnaire and to interviewing you later this year.

Sincerely,

John Ryor, President
National Education Association

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100

- 7-2
1. If elected President, what steps would you take and/or what measures would you initiate to improve the quality of American public education?

A major overhaul of the revenue sharing concept is needed. Funds for local governments should be greatly increased, and the prohibition against using these funds for education should be eliminated.

The regressive and haphazard method of financing education across the nation produces severe disparities among states and within a single state. As Governor, I successfully sponsored major reform for education financing in Georgia, based on the relative wealth of the area in which a child lives, to help eliminate such disparities.

The federal share of public education costs was 10% in 1974. If existing inequalities are to be eliminated and American teachers provided with a decent standard of living, the portion must be increased.

The return from federal expenditures can be greatly enhanced by simplification of laws and regulations to substitute education for paper-shuffling grantsmanship.

As President, I will initiate as a major and early priority a comprehensive attack upon the basic problems of education in America with particular emphasis on the obviously inadequate system of financing. This program will include specific and substantive proposals for implementation by the President, the Congress, and the states. I will not be hesitant to propose and support basic changes.

In addition to the items already mentioned, such a program would assure the following:

- The proper relationship between private and public education.
- Expanded vocational and career opportunities. (By 1980, 80% of all jobs are expected to require education beyond high school but less than a four-year degree.)
- The educational rights of the handicapped.
- The proper consideration of private philanthropy in education as decisions on basic tax reform proposals are made.

A piecemeal approach will not solve the problem. A comprehensive program and the political courage to see it implemented are required.

2. In developing your Administration's education policies with whom would you consult? What role do you see NEA teacher-leaders playing in your Administration?

I will consult with NEA on matters of policy and before making educational appointments. I will seek out experts in every field of education, including NEA teacher-leaders.

3. What specific qualifications would you look for in your appointments of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; the Commissioner of Edu-

cation; the HEW Assistant Secretary for Education; and Director of the National Institute of Education? What is your position on establishing a separate Cabinet level Department of Education?

I will make all appointments on a strict basis of merit. I am in favor of creating a separate Cabinet level Department of Education. Generally, I am opposed to the proliferation of federal agencies, now numbering some 1900, which I believe should be reduced to 200. But the Department of Education would consolidate the grant programs, job training, early childhood education, literacy training, and many other functions currently scattered throughout the government. The result would be a stronger voice for education at the federal level.

4. What budgetary priority do you place on public education in relation to the many other concerns of the federal government?

I believe public education is a top budgetary priority.

5. What measures would your Administration take to insure that state and local governments can provide educational equity and a comprehensive education for all Americans? Would your Administration take steps to see that the federal government's share of public education expenses increases, say up to one-third of all funds needed? What do you see as an appropriate level of funding at the end of your four-year term as President?

I have discussed these questions in number one; I also stated that the level of federal funding should be raised.

6. What is your position on the use of public funds to support church-related or other nonpublic schools? Would you support legislation to provide tax credits for tuition to nonpublic schools? What is the responsibility of the federal government in providing financial support for post-secondary education institutions? What form(s) should such assistance take?

I will uphold the rulings of the Supreme Court on the use of public funds to support church-related schools.

I believe the federal government has a creative role to play in higher education. For example, parents whose children go to private colleges understandably complain of unfair treatment. They must support public colleges and universities through taxation as well as pay high tuition fees. During my years as Governor of Georgia, voters authorized grants of \$400 per year for each student attending private college, still a smaller cost to taxpayers than if these students en-

rolled in public institutions. Such legislation should be encouraged elsewhere. Also basic tax reform proposals should give proper consideration of private philanthropy in education.

7. Do you support a federal statute to grant teachers and other public employees collective bargaining rights? Do you support the right of public employees to strike? If you don't favor the right to strike or place a limitation on that right, what alternative do you propose?

I support the right of public employees to organize and bargain collectively. I would prefer binding arbitration for public safety employees. Under normal circumstances, I would not consider teachers in this category and would not interfere with their right to strike.

8. Would you support a federal-state program to guarantee the right of teachers during their working years to substantially carry their retirement benefits with them from state to state?

Yes, I would recommend and sign into law a measure which would allow teachers to transfer earned retirement benefits from one retirement system to another.

9. Do you believe that teachers and university researchers should have a limited exemption under the copyright laws?

I understand the intricacies of this question. I am studying this situation and will formulate legislation that is fair to both teachers and publishers.

10. What is your position regarding the enactment of a universal, comprehensive national health security program that is supported through the tax system and is not based on the ability to pay?

I support the concept of national health insurance. I favor a system of comprehensive national health insurance which guarantees every person as a right as much care as he or she needs, with minimum or no deductibles or coinsurance, and with cost and quality controls.

11. What initiatives would your Administration take to maintain the guarantees of the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and amendments to them, despite attempts to water down these statutes? Would you insist upon strict enforcement of all civil rights laws and court mandates?

The best thing that ever happened to the South in my lifetime was the Civil Rights Act and other related court decisions.

Guarantees of equal participation in the political process similar to those provided in the Voting Rights Act should be extended to all parts of the nation where minority representation and participation are clearly inadequate. We as a nation must act affirmatively and aggressively to compensate for decades of racial discrimination. This includes a commitment to increase minority representation in public jobs and policy-making positions, a principle upon which I acted as Governor. I have been an enthusiastic supporter of the ERA and affirmative action efforts to end discrimination against women.

I support postcard registration for voting. To make registration more available to young people, I, while Governor, filed and succeeded in having passed a bill to designate all high school principals as deputy voting registrars. This program significantly increased registration among the young, particularly in minority groups.

12. What initiatives would you and your Administration take to eliminate sex discrimination, specifically to eradicate inequality in the world of work, leadership in our institutions and participation in politics and our educational system?

As President, I would ensure that 1) laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, advancement, education, training, credit, and housing be strictly enforced; 2) strong efforts be made to create federal legislation and guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in health and disability insurance plans; 3) Social Security laws be revised so that women would no longer be penalized; 4) women have equal access to health care systems and voluntary family planning programs; 5) adequate child care be made available to all parents who need such care for their children.

EEOC has been justly criticized at times for not properly emphasizing the enforcement of sex discrimination laws. I would support legislation to increase the number of employees at EEOC, specifically assigned to enforce our laws to eliminate sex discrimination.

13. What are your major aims and objectives as President?

I have many goals and objectives for our government. The two questions I hear again and again across this country are, "Can our government be competent? Can our government be decent and honest and open?" I have to tell you that a majority of our people would say no. But we don't have to be pessimists. I want to restore faith in the efficiency, effectiveness, competence and honesty of our federal government.

I have run the Georgia government in a tough, businesslike way. As a scientist, as a businessman, as a planner, as a farmer, I've managed it tightly and

brought about some dramatic changes in its costs, in its long-range planning and budgeting techniques, and in its organizational structure. We cut administrative costs by more than fifty percent in Georgia. We abolished 278 of 300 agencies and departments. So I know it is possible to run an efficient government.

We ought not lower our standards in government. Our government in Washington ought to be an inspiration to us all and not a source of shame.

These are the two major goals I have as a candidate for President. I will work to make our government efficient and competent; and I will make our government one that all our people can be proud of.

14. *If you are chosen your party's nominee, why should teachers support you for President?*

My personal commitment to education is reflected in my career as a public official. My first position was the chairmanship of a local school board. I ran for the State Senate because of my concern for public education in Georgia and successfully sponsored there our first overhaul of education financing. Ten years later, during my term as Governor, a second even broader reform was successfully completed after two years of hard work. As President, my priorities will not change; I will remain committed to quality education for all our citizens.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER

To the National Governors' Conference

July 6, 1976

I.

Since 1945, when President Roosevelt died, no former Governor served in the White House.

In the thirty years following President Roosevelt's death, we have seen a steady expansion of the role of the federal government. It has been an era of some good beginnings, and of some great national triumphs—in education, health care and social services for the indigent and elderly, and civil rights. It was an era in which the federal government broadened the opportunities for millions of Americans. We can be proud of those achievements, although a great deal remains to be done.

But it was not a great era for federal-state relations, nor was it a great period for the states themselves. As the federal government assumed important new responsibilities, too often programs were enacted which denied the diversity of American life, which created a growing bureaucracy, and which robbed state and local governments of flexibility in responding to local problems.

Too often, the states were caught in a financial squeeze as the federal government cut back on funds for vital programs which the federal government itself had created.

We will never know whether a gubernatorial viewpoint would have alerted a President to the erosion in the role of the states. But there is a new humility today about the federal government's ability to legislate problems away. There is a new understanding that often the machinery of government impedes our common objectives.

The states need a compassionate partner in Washington—a partner that will provide predictable, adequate assistance to enable states to meet their legitimate needs. But they also need an efficient partner in Washington—a partner that understands the virtues of forbearance, a partner that knows what the states can do as well as what they cannot.

No assembly of men and women in America understands more clearly than you do the defects of the present relationship, and nobody wants more than you to forge a new balanced partnership.

I know, because I have shared your experiences and your frustrations—but, most importantly, I have also shared your dreams.

I promise you that, if I am fortunate enough to be nominated and elected as President, I will not preside over an administration which ignores the lessons of my own personal experience. Last week I made a similar pledge to the mayors and today, as part of that same programmatic approach to government reform, I pledge to you, if elected, a sensitive ally in the White House, and I pledge to work with you to bring about a restoration of true federalism.

Historically, the states have been the laboratories of public policy. They have pioneered management, economic, labor and social programs which have been models for later federal programs. The states should serve as fifty independent experiments, each with its distinctive qualities and conditions, each providing a unique experience upon which federal and other state officials can draw. Instead, they are trapped between the federal bureaucracy and the state and local bureaucracies which you have been forced to create to cope with all the federal programs.

For too long, Woodrow Wilson's prescription that the states be "laboratories for experimentation" has failed to be a consistent objective of federal policy. For too long, federal programs have put the states in a straitjacket which has hampered local initiative. Yet, states in recent years have been the most creative segment of government.

The national government might have seen earlier the virtues of regional compacts, sunshine and sunset laws, zero-base budgeting and other reforms recently initiated by many of you at the state level, and only now being considered in Washington.

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For too long, the maze of restrictive federal programs has denied the diversity of life in this nation. Instead of rejoicing in pluralism, the federal bureaucracy in effect negated it with programs which were written as if the entire United States were less diverse than the State of Pennsylvania.

I see state governments not as impediments, but as effective instruments in achieving the objectives we share.

After eighteen months of campaigning, the instincts with which I began this campaign have been reinforced, and I have no intention of rejecting my own experience now. The most important commitment I can make to you is a simple one. If I am elected President, I will review every appointment, examine every program, to build an attitude of respect for the role of state government into the highest levels of the federal bureaucracy.

We will have a government structure that encourages rather than stifles local flexibility. I believe it is time that the federal government recognized that states and localities retain a special knowledge of local problems, and that responsive and flexible state and local leadership is essential to representative government in this nation.

II.

The first requirement is to improve the coordination of federal activities as they relate to each state.

The structure and missions of the various federal agencies and programs are often overlapping and uncoordinated, making it difficult for private citizens and public officials alike to resolve an individual or a community's problems.

If elected President, I intend first to upgrade the role of regional councils representing the federal government to assist state and local officials, as well as private citizens, in dealing with federal agencies on any matter involving a federal question that might arise. Those offices will be empowered to review conflicts among the various federal agencies and will have speedy access to the highest levels of the federal government.

Second, I will establish a system in the Executive Office of the President which enables the President to keep abreast of local initiatives, and which permits state and local officials to consult with the highest levels of the federal government on the full range of their concerns. I seek your assistance and advice in designing a machinery to meet that need, and to insure that consultations occur regularly.

Third, to the extent possible, we have to begin centralizing federal activities within each city in one location. The outposts of the federal government should be accessible to ordinary citizens when they need

assistance, so that "one stop" federal service is available.

III.

Not only will we try to improve the relationship of the separate states to the federal government, but the federal government needs to make it easier for states to develop cooperative mechanisms to deal with regional problems.

The states have already begun to look beyond their borders to solve common regional problems. They have done this around the country in the Midwest, in the Great Lakes Commission which has recently emphasized the cleanup of that great natural resource; in the western states the Interstate Nuclear Board has been working on the problems of the development of nuclear power for the region; in the South there is the Southern Growth Policies Board working for regional economic growth. These are only a few examples. Most recently there is the coalition of northeastern governors trying to meet the problems of revitalizing the economy of that region.

But there is still more that might be done. The use of the natural resources of one region for the benefit of the nation can leave that region with the permanent negative impacts of that exploitation. The federal government and the affected region must find ways to see that those consequences are avoided, and that the hidden costs of seeing to it are equitably shared. If the coal beds of the country are used, the results of that process should return the land for other uses—for future generations. And the costs should not be only a local problem.

The place to start with these solutions is the administrative reform which we must accomplish in Washington.

A balanced national partnership must, to the greatest degree possible, grant to the local governments the administrative freedom needed for innovative, creative programming.

Between the mid-1950's and this year, the number of categorical grant programs grew from 150 to more than 1600, each with its own administrative bureaucracy, its own restrictive conditions, individual application procedures, review conditions and funding priorities.

These categorical grants can often serve important functions. On a program of national dimensions, such grants can maximize local involvement in confronting national problems.

In practice, however, the proliferation of grants has built an irrational structure, which has often limited local initiative and fragmented local efforts toward sound fiscal planning.

It is important to attach conditions to programs which ensure that funds are directed toward the beneficiaries intended by Congress and the President. But too often programs designed for the ghetto families have been shifted to further benefit affluent families whose political influence can prevail.

To achieve a balanced national partnership, I intend to undertake a review, beginning this year and involving full consultation with you as governors and with local officials and congressional leaders, to determine in which instances consolidation of categorical grants would be desirable.

That process of consolidation will insure that the federal structure is organized to allow localities maximum flexibility in delivering services within the framework of national standards. Consolidation must not and will not be an excuse to reduce needed federal assistance, or to change the distribution of benefits so as to discriminate against those individuals with the greatest need.

If a balanced partnership is to prevail, it is necessary that governors and mayors be involved, not only in the review of categorical grants, but in the formulation of legislation and the promulgation of regulations as well. Usually, state officials receive their first notice of proposed rules when they are printed in the Federal Register. It is time that we recognized that we have become a government of regulations rather than laws; reform will be empty unless it is accompanied by a comprehensive review of existing regulations and the implementation of procedures to assure future state and local involvement in the early drafting of rules and regulations.

I do not underestimate the difficulties we will face in achieving regulatory reform, but we must persevere. The cost of excessive regulation goes beyond higher consumer price. Federal regulatory requirements have bureaucratized the private sector itself. Only large businesses can afford the cost of the internal bureaucracies that they must maintain to meet complex federal standards. The federal regulatory environment must be comprehensively reviewed to assure that it does not stimulate increased concentration of private economic power in a few hands.

Finally, federal budget policy must become more predictable. Predicting state revenues with accuracy is difficult under any circumstances, but the federal government can at least carry its burden by assuring that it meets commitments that it has previously made. Three-year federal budgeting will permit more effective planning by the states. A lawsuit has just successfully challenged the arbitrary food stamp cutbacks proposed by the Ford Administration. With an administration committed to predictable and compassionate policy-making, three-year budgeting and long-term planning, such litigation should not be necessary.

There is no simple rule to follow in determining the proper role of the federal government in addressing a problem. In some areas, such as welfare reform, the federal government must assume increased responsibility. In establishing regional alliances, federal, state and local government should serve as equal partners. In other areas, such as transportation, where some of the categorical grant programs are too restrictive, state and local discretion must be increased. What we are seeking is not a wholesale cutback of federal programs but a judicious consolidation and reorganization which allows states to meet their needs without undermining legitimate national objectives.

IV.

A major item on your agenda is welfare reform. Throughout my campaign, I have stressed the urgent need for a complete overhaul of our nation's welfare system.

Our present system is a failure deplored alike by those who pay for it, those who administer it, and those who supposedly benefit from it.

We all know of the need to remove from our welfare rolls those individuals who are ineligible for, or are not in need of, assistance. We have all read about the deplorable inefficiency which permeates our welfare systems. We know of the inequities which characterize many of our welfare programs; we know, for example, that where one lives is often more important than what one needs in getting assistance. We also know that working for a living and staying with one's family can sometimes deprive that person's family of benefits otherwise available.

You here also understand, perhaps better than most, how the present system is bankrupting both our cities and our states. As your welfare reform task force report points out, in fiscal year 1977, combined federal, state and local costs of public assistance are projected to be about \$25 billion. Medical assistance costs and food stamps raise this figure to almost double—\$47 billion. Because of existing federal laws and standards, this burden is not equally distributed among states. In some counties, more than 50% of county revenue goes toward welfare purposes.

Continuing increases in costs are denying states and local areas the flexibility they need to meet the needs of our people.

This must be changed.

I am particularly pleased by the work of the National Governors' Conference in this area and of your interest in joining with other governmental units, the Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Counties, the Conference of State Legislators, to develop a common position on welfare reform. I hope to work closely

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with you in this effort and to begin discussions with you and other groups as part of a development of a specific welfare reform proposal. What I want to share with you today are the basic principles which I believe should form the framework for welfare reform.

About 10% of those on welfare are able to work full time and they should be offered job training and jobs. Any such person who refuses training or employment should not receive further welfare benefits.

The other 90% of the people on welfare are children, persons with dependent children, old people, handicapped people, or persons otherwise unable to work full time. They should be treated with compassion and respect.

We should have a simpler national welfare program, with one fairly uniform standard of payment, adjusted to the extent feasible for cost of living differences by areas and with strong work incentives built in. In no

case should the level of benefits make not working more attractive than working. And we should have welfare rules that strengthen families rather than divide families. Local governments should not be burdened with the cost of welfare and my goal would also include the phased reduction of the states' share as soon as that is financially feasible.

Simultaneously with welfare reform, there needs to be a major restructuring of state employment offices, existing job training and job creation programs in order to insure that all those who want to work can work. The federal welfare reform proposal should be developed in the context of reform of other related programs.

I believe we are competent enough to create a welfare program that is both efficient and compassionate.

These goals, programs and reforms are not impossible. Indeed, with your help, we can realize them all. I ask your cooperation. You shall have mine.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON
National Health Policy
BEFORE THE
STUDENT NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 16, 1976

I have chosen this occasion to discuss national health policy with you who have crossed a sometimes impassable border of discrimination and financial barriers to achieve your dream.

Over two-thirds of black medical students come from families with incomes of less than \$10,000 a year. In 1975 there was a drop in the number of minority students who entered medical schools for the first time in five years.

This has made it more difficult for you to become doctors but it has also given you a clearer sight of critical illnesses which no x-ray can show. They are the illnesses not of one patient, but of an entire system. The causes and cures will not be found in medicine alone; the diseases have begun and spread from politics and society itself.

Advances

Some of our medical advances have been remarkable: we have researched and developed new wonders of science and technology. We have made history by our near-conquering of communicable diseases. New technology extends the lives of thousands of patients, as for example with cardiac surgery. Some advances have been matters of basic social justice: we have passed Medicare and Medicaid to provide care for the poor, the disabled, and the aged. We have more hospitals, more equipment, and more clinics, community health and mental health centers.

Present Problems

But the point of any health care system is its end result—not for bureaus, or hospitals, or universities, or budgets—but for human beings.

There is a difference between the capacity of our health care system and the state of our health. This nation, first in the genius of its technology and the wealth of its resources, ranks 15th in infant mortality. Our life expectancy is lower than the average lifespan in several western countries. We lead the developed world in areas where we would prefer to be last, in

the diseases of highly industrialized nations—the rate of heart disease and cancer.

Such statistics measure social injustice as much as medical inadequacy. Every shortfall in the health of Americans shortchanges poor and minority Americans the most. Life expectancy for all of us is too short, but it is six years shorter for black people.

In 1965, Americans spent \$39 billion, or less than 6 percent of GNP, for health services. By 1975, that expenditure had multiplied three times—to about \$550 per year for every man, woman and child in our nation—more than 8.2 percent of GNP. Experts now estimate that, if these trends continue, the costs of continuing the present system will double over the next five years and could triple over the next ten.

Cost and access barriers are the normally accepted reasons for our problems and the expected focus of political concern. But the deeper causes of ill health, at least equal in their effects, are living conditions which breed half lives of sickness and early death. The problem with lead paint is not so much the price of a doctor to detoxify, but life within the poison-painted tenements. The health problem among urban slums and rural shacks is not just a lack of nearby doctors to treat the preventable diseases which fester there, but the environment in which people live.

What are some of the tragic inadequacies of health care?

We have failed so completely to control medical costs that only 38 percent of Medicare expenses are now being met, and the elderly have increasingly limited access to needed services.

Medicaid has become a national scandal. It is being bilked of millions of dollars by charlatans.

For the first time in our history, we are in the midst of a medical malpractice crisis. Some of the blame for this surely rests on a record of poor quality controls in monitoring health care.

Overhospitalization, another cause of major national concern, results all too frequently from insurance policy payments limited to inpatient care.

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The Nixon-Ford Administrations have slashed one essential health program after another in the fields of maternal and child health, community mental treatment centers, health manpower, health maintenance organizations, and biomedical research, among many others.

We have built a haphazard, unsound, undirected, inefficient nonsystem which has left us unhealthy and unwealthy at the same time.

The complex reality is that health care is one strand of a seamless social web. Our nation's health problems must be attacked from many approaches, one of which is national health insurance. We must begin by considering how best we can spend the health dollar. But first we must ask:

Where Has All the Money Gone?

Sophisticated and costly medical technology has improved our health. But its duplication and misutilization waste our wealth—and the scarcity of resources then restrains the budget for other social needs.

Hospital beds often seem to be occupied longer than patients need them because we do not have alternatives or agreed-upon standards.

The structure of our health insurance encourages in-hospital care. A patient with the same illness would be kept in the hospital an average of four days in Santa Rosa, California, and thirteen days in Brooklyn, New York. We have no adequate explanation for the difference.

Similarly, the likelihood of surgery is related to the state where a person resides as much as the state of his or her health. A patient in a New York City hospital is twice as likely to be wheeled to the operating room as a patient on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Whether it is the practice pattern or the availability of surgeons is unclear.

Insurance has helped many Americans meet health care bills. Unfortunately, it may also be an incentive for inefficiency in delivery. Typical public and private insurance plans reimburse hospitals on the basis of costs incurred, frequently with limits on patient benefits, with no real control on the level of hospital costs and physician charges.

We have not until now controlled costs with incentives for efficiency. For the first time, legislation which is pending in the U.S. Senate makes a serious effort to place controls on hospital costs and physician charges under Medicare and Medicaid.

Federal policy is equally a problem. Federal programs are fragmented among at least fifteen departments—and the health responsibilities of H.E.W. are subdivided further among ten parts of that one cabinet-level agency. This bureaucratic sprawl of agencies cannot provide effective direction and coordination. Instead, it is a "disorganization" of overlapping jurisdictions and redundant programs, each of them with separate grant and reporting requirements. The result

is more loss of money and time, and the wasted talents of administrators.

The administration of Medicare and Medicaid presents a perfect example of the need for government reorganization. The two programs often serve the same people. Each program is in a different agency of H.E.W. Neither agency is a health agency. Neither relates to programs to provide more professional and allied health manpower, or to research programs. Both Medicare and Medicaid have experienced massive cost increases that were not planned or anticipated. Our government now tries to shift part of the inflation back to the poorest of our citizens in the form of increased deductibles, co-insurance, and consequently reduced benefits.

What Are the Solutions?

First, our emphasis must be on prevention of the killers and cripplers of our people. Our purpose must be to promote health, not just to provide health care as such, and this includes initiative in insuring adequate family incomes and a clean environment as well as reforming the financing of health care. Reform of the welfare morass may prevent more sickness and disease during the next generation than could be achieved by placing \$600,000 body-scanning x-rays in every hospital.

The control of occupational hazards can save many workers each year who die prematurely because they are exposed to toxic chemicals, dust and pesticides. These are usually low-income workers. Occupational health and safety can reduce cancer, accidents, and respiratory disease.

The abatement of air and water pollution would protect millions from breathing and drinking poisons which will lead to long, costly illness and disability ten or twenty years from now.

Continuing education and information about proper nutrition and self-care could reduce the \$30 billion annual cost of the sicknesses that afflict Americans who eat or drink or smoke too much. Yet, the Federal Government spends less for this purpose than is planned for a single B-1 bomber, and medical schools don't teach enough about nutrition or preventive health care.

Reorganization of our government is one of the most important steps we can take. A random system tends to perpetuate every effort of the past, no matter what its record may be, because each agency defends its own fragment of the policy. A consolidated system and coherent planning can weigh competing alternatives, judge comparative results, and budget resources for the best returns in terms of health.

It would be both cost-efficient and health-effective to use less expensive treatment methods where possible and to improve outpatient services instead of overbuilding and overusing hospitals. And it should be normal rather than exceptional to balance benefits and costs before deciding how and where to dis-

tribute the new developments of medical technology.

Medical care costs must be controlled. We must find incentives for productivity and efficiency.

Improved Health Care and Delivery

Any comprehensive health policy must bring care within the reach as well as the means of all our people.

The most generous insurance program cannot pay doctors or hospitals that are not there.

In the county where I farm, there is not a doctor, dentist, pharmacist or a hospital bed. The National Health Services Corps has designated almost three hundred areas of similar shortage across the country. (Even nearby hospital services are remote for indigent people without transportation.) The ratio of physicians to population is three times higher in New York City than in South Dakota. Yet in the New York City ghettos, physicians are scarce. Metropolitan centers generally have twice as many doctors for each thousand citizens as rural America.

The changing nature of medical practice compounds the numerical shortage of health personnel. There has been a substantial increase in specialists and a decline in family practitioners and primary care physicians.

The maldistribution of medical resources is neither inadvertent nor inevitable. It is partly the consequence of government action and the advance of technology. And therefore government can help redirect the trends of the past.

Medical education is an essential part of the reorientation of our national health care. The way medical schools teach, and the type of physicians they graduate, should reflect national projections of health needs and the rational planning of health services. The medical establishment has not responded to the shortage of primary care services and practitioners. But because of the strong federal and state support of undergraduate medical schools and graduate training, there is an obligation to the taxpayers to direct those funds in the public interest. Our national needs require redirecting medical education toward primary care as one means to correct the geographical and professional maldistribution of services and personnel.

We must insure more medical education for students from minority and low-income families, and for women, so they may take their rightful place in medicine. A major barrier to medical schools for minorities is financial. Most of your families had more hope than money to contribute to your dream. The government should assure scholarships and low-interest loans to make it financially possible to reach this goal.

To improve the availability of services, especially preventive services, the work of nurse practitioners and physicians' assistants is crucial. In addition to these new clinicians, we need more paraprofessionals and affiliated health personnel who can free doctors and nurses for the work that only they can do. A

project in Portsmouth, Virginia, and others that we started in Georgia have demonstrated that many of the poor can fill paraprofessional roles, instead of being forced onto welfare rolls. The preventive work they do in their own neighborhoods reduces sickness and the expense of treatment.

Health care is so complex that it requires specialists, generalists and professionals of all levels to analyze problems and offer health services. A cooperative approach maximizes the use of professional time. That is why I support organized approaches to delivery of services.

Availability is linked to quality in other vital respects. Availability of different kinds of care is one example. Many of the aged live out their lives in nursing homes or hospitals that violate minimal safety, sanitation, and even fire standards. Many of the elderly end their years in impersonal, high-cost institutions when lower-cost residential and supporting services would permit them to continue living with dignity in their homes and communities.

Adequate enforcement of hospital and nursing home standards or the expansion of services like meals-on-wheels for the homebound elderly can certainly help. Other needs may be met by development of community-based counsellors, themselves older citizens, to act as facilitators for services.

Quality of care must be a matter of concern for the nation. The public should be protected by explicit standards of competence. The Professional Standards Review system is potentially an important initiative to monitor the quality of medical care. This system needs to correct its internal deficiencies and improve implementation nationally.

An efficient, cost-effective health care system will deliver and not just promise national health care. We must follow the basic principle that the amount of personal wealth should not limit the state of a person's health.

National Health Insurance

National health insurance alone cannot redistribute doctors or raise the quality of care. So we must plan, and decisively phase in, simultaneous reform of services and refinancing of costs. Reform will enable us to set and secure the following principles of a national health insurance program:

- Coverage must be universal and mandatory. Every citizen must be entitled to the same level of comprehensive benefits.
- We must reduce barriers to early and preventive care in order to lower the need for hospitalization.
- Benefits should be insured by a combination of resources: employer and employee shared payroll taxes, and general tax revenues. As President, I would want to give our people the most rapid improvement in individual health care the nation can

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afford, accommodating first those who need it most, with the understanding that it will be a comprehensive program in the end.

- Uniform standards and levels of quality and payment must be approved for the nation as part of rational health planning. Incentives for reforms in the health care delivery system and for increased productivity must be developed.
- We must have strong and clear built-in cost and quality controls. Necessary machinery for monitoring the quality of care must be established.
- Rates for institutional care and physician services should be set in advance, prospectively.
- Maximum personal interrelationships between patients and their physicians should be preserved; freedom of choice in the selection of a physician and treatment center will always be maintained.
- Consumer representation in the development and administration of the health program should be assured.
- National priorities of need and feasibility should determine the stages of the system's implementation. While public officials have continued to dispute whether coverage should be catastrophic at first or comprehensive immediately, the system has become a comprehensive catastrophe. We must achieve all that is practical while we strive for what is ideal, taking intelligent steps to make adequate health services a right for all our people.

- A basic concern shall be for the dignity of the person, not for the individual's wealth or income.
- Incentives for the reorganization of the delivery of health care must be built into the payment mechanism.
- We must have resources set aside to encourage development of alternative approaches and to spur new distribution of health personnel.

Conclusion

The accomplishment of comprehensive national health insurance will not be quick or easy. It requires a willingness to seek new solutions, to keep an open mind. The problems are obvious, the solutions less so. Reinhold Niebuhr said, "The sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world."

Our nation is still a place of many injustices. There are bars of hunger as well as iron. There are manacles of disease as well as metal. There is the solitary confinement of neglected old age; there are high walls of prejudice and repression. There is the capital punishment of war.

These prisons will not be unlocked by mere good intentions or political promises in dubious faith. If they could be, humanity would have wished them away long ago.

There are many doors to be opened—to sounder health, a cleaner environment, racial equality and economic fairness—to all those things to which we pledge our allegiance in a single phrase—"with liberty and justice for all."

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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"A New Beginning"

PRESENTATION BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

June 16, 1976

GOALS: OPENNESS, COMPASSION, EFFICIENCY

Let me again express my regret that I was not able to meet with you personally. As I indicated in my telegram to the Democratic National Committee, the need to campaign in a large number of states over a short period of time left me with no reasonable alternative.

You have an historically important opportunity. It is time for a New Beginning in our Bicentennial Year — a new beginning so that as a nation we can rededicate ourselves to the ideals upon which our country was founded and reinvigorate the basic principles that made our country great, principles which have been honored in the breach in the last few years. What is at stake in 1976 is whether we are going to begin the process of restoring the precious things we have lost in this country. You can begin that process of restoring the precious things we have lost in this country. You can begin that process with a platform which reaffirms the Democratic Party's traditional values, presents clear policy initiatives and commits this Party to three basic propositions.

Our Party and the platform should emphasize three themes — (1) The need for an open, responsive, honest government, at home and abroad. (2) The need to restore a compassionate government in Washington, which cares about people and deals with their problems, after eight long years of conscious indifference by two Republican Administrations. (3) The need for a streamlined, efficient government, without the incredible red tape, duplication, and overlapping of functions which has hamstrung the effectiveness of government and deprived the American people of the benefits of many of its programs. This government must become efficient again. Our first duty is to create a decent living environment and opportunities for those unable to help themselves. Government must become open. If we intend to rebuild confidence in the government process itself, policy must be shaped through the participation of Congress and the American people.

Yours is a serious responsibility that extends beyond fashioning a document we can win with in November. I believe you have an obligation to write a platform that will

be a binding contract with the American people. The American people are tired of inflated promises which cannot be kept, of programs which do not work, of old answers to new problems. Our platform should not mislead the American people. Our platform should not signal a retreat. Rather it should set forth realistic goals and achievable, affordable policies which can and should be attained.

If our Party intends to have the trust of the American people in 1977, then we ought to trust them.

If our platform is drafted with integrity and care, it will give a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress a mandate that will shape our national agenda for the next four years.

The Republican Party cannot seek that mandate because it lacks a coherent set of ideals. The Republicans are trapped, not only by their own recent past, but by the American people's understanding that the Republican Party has no vision of this country's future.

The Democratic Party has an identity and a sense of itself. Individual policies may have failed, but our basic beliefs never changed.

We Democrats still agree with Woodrow Wilson that, "Democracy is not so much a form of government as a set of principles."

We Democrats still agree with Franklin Roosevelt that, "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

We Democrats still agree with Harry Truman that full employment is, and ought to be, a national policy and a national goal — and we ought to be pursuing that goal with all the determination and imagination we can muster.

We Democrats still agree with Adlai Stevenson that, "A hungry man is not a free man."

We Democrats still agree with John Kennedy that our nation must inspire the unique contributions of all its people, and that we must have leadership that can again say, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

We Democrats still agree with Lyndon Johnson that if our Constitution "doesn't apply to every race, to every religion, it applies to no one."

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100



The Democratic Party has never shied away from adopting new approaches to achieve traditional objectives. Over the past eighteen months, I have suggested new directions in a number of substantive areas. As a candidate, I have taken positions, which are publicly available, on virtually every conceivable issue. In the sections that follow, I have summarized for your consideration some of the major policy recommendations I have made during the campaign. I would be happy to forward more detailed supporting material if you desire.

1. An Open and Honest Government: Code of Ethics for the Federal Government

The Democratic Party must commit itself to steps to prevent many of the abuses of recent years.

— The Attorney General of this nation must be removed from politics and given the full prerogatives, independence and authority of his or her own office, plus those allotted temporarily to the Special Prosecutor during the Watergate scandals. The Attorney General should be appointed without respect to political considerations and should be removed from office only for cause. The Attorney General and all his or her assistants should be barred from all political activity.

— All federal judges and prosecutors should be appointed strictly on the basis of merit without any consideration of political aspects or influence. Independent blue ribbon judicial selection committees should be utilized to provide recommendations to the President when vacancies occur from which the President must make a selection.

— An (all-inclusive "Sunshine Law," similar to those passed in several states, should be implemented in Washington. With narrowly defined exceptions, meetings of federal boards, commissions and regulatory agencies must be opened to the public, along with those of congressional committees.

— Broad public access, consonant with the right of personal privacy, should be provided to government files. Maximum security declassification must be implemented.

— The activities of lobbyists must be much more thoroughly revealed and controlled, both with respect to Congress and the Executive Departments and agencies. Quarterly reports of expenditures by all lobbyists who spend more than \$250 in lobbying in any three-month period should be required.

— The sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and the regulated industries must be broken up and the revolving door between them should be closed. Federal legislation should restrict the employment of any member of a regulatory agency by the industry being regulated for a set period of time.

— Annual disclosure of all financial involvements of all major federal officials should be required by statute. Involvements creating conflicts should be discontinued.

— Public financing of campaigns should be extended to members of Congress.

— Fines for illegal campaign contributions have often been minimal. They should be at least equal to the amount of the illegal donation.

— Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official. A report of all minor personal gifts should be made public.

— Requests to the IRS for income tax returns by anyone, from the President down, should be recorded. Access to this essentially private information should be strictly circumscribed.

— Maximum personal privacy for private citizens should be guaranteed.

— Errors or malfeasance in the Executive Branch should be immediately revealed by the President and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action, where appropriate, to prevent any recurrence of such actions.

2. A Compassionate and Effective Government Must Return to Washington

A. THE ECONOMY

The next Administration must deal with both high unemployment and high inflation — the unprecedented twin legacy of the Nixon-Ford years.

For eight years, we have lived with on-again, off-again wage and price controls, two devaluations of our currency, a disastrous grain giveaway to the Soviet Union, a five-fold increase in fuel prices, restrictive monetary policies, and high interest rates.

The Democratic Party should be committed to a sensible, predictable, steady, fair, humane and coordinated national economic policy.

The first priority must be a rapid reduction of unemployment and the achievement of full employment with price stability. For the near future, economic policy should be expansionary. By 1979, we can achieve a balanced budget within the context of full employment.

(1) To reach full employment we must assure:

(a) Support for the Full Employment Act of 1976;

(b) Countercyclical assistance to cities with high unemployment;

(c) An expansionary fiscal and monetary policy for the coming fiscal year to stimulate demand, production and jobs;

(d) Stimulation and incentives for the private sector to hire the unemployed even during periods of economic downturn. To provide an additional incentive, the unemployment compensation tax paid by employers should be provided for businesses which hire persons previously unemployed.

(e) An increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business;

(f) More efficient employment services to match people to jobs;

(g) Improved manpower training programs;

(h) Creation of meaningful and productive public needs jobs as a supplement to the private sector, including jobs for unmet needs in areas such as housing, rehabilitation and repairing our railroad roadbeds;

(i) We should provide 800,000 summer youth jobs and double the CETA program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs.

(2) There are more humane and economically sound solutions to inflation than the Republican program of forced recessions and high unemployment. We must battle inflation through:

- (a) Steady flow of jobs and output;
- (b) A better matching of supply and demand;
- (c) Reform of government regulations, such as the backhaul rule, which unnecessarily add to consumer costs.
- (d) Strict anti-trust and consumer protection enforcement;
- (e) Increased emphasis on productivity;
- (f) Lower interest rates;
- (g) Effective monitoring of inflationary trends and forces;
- (h) Standby wage and price controls, which the President could apply selectively. There is no present need for the use of such standby authority.

(3) Better coordination between fiscal and monetary policy should be assured by:

- (a) Giving the President the power to appoint the Chairman of the Federal Reserve for a term coterminous with the President's;
- (b) Requiring the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve Board to state its objectives more clearly and publicly;
- (c) Requiring the Federal Reserve Board to submit a credit market report on past and expected monetary conditions to be included with the Economic Report of the President.
- (d) Requiring the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board to show in a consolidated report that their policies are mutually consistent or explain the reasons they are not consistent.

I believe the measures I have proposed can move us forward toward full employment, reasonable price stability, and budgets that are balanced over the economic cycle.

B. THE CITIES

Many of our major cities are caught in a crisis which cannot be fully resolved at a local level. On the one hand, businesses and the middle class tax base are flowing to the surrounding suburbs, and in many instances, out of the industrialized sector of the country entirely. On the other hand, the costs of urban government are inherently higher than in non-urban areas, and expenditures are accelerating rapidly.

There is no meaningful Republican policy that addresses the growing urban revenue-expenditure imbalance. There is no Republican policy to arrest the steady deterioration of the inner cities. In fact, the Republican policy has been nothing short of conscious, willful indifference to the plight of urban America. They promised general revenue sharing to supplement existing programs, and instead used the funds to supplant current programs and to lower the level of assistance to cities.

Our cities have needed help and the Republicans have turned their backs. Between 1972 and 1974 alone, the Republican Administration cut \$4.5 billion in urban programs

and another \$7 billion in programs to aid the poor, the untrained, the unemployed, and the medically indigent, all at a time when municipalities lost \$3.3 billion in purchasing power.

Our country has no urban policy or defined policy or defined urban goals, and so we have floundered from one ineffective and uncoordinated program to another. Hopes have been raised only to be dashed on the rocks of despair when promise after promise has been forgotten.

We need a coordinated federal urban policy that recognizes that our urban problems stem from a variety of factors, each of which must be dealt with directly and forcefully — problems of urban decay, declining tax base, crime, unemployment, lack of urban parks and open spaces.

We must begin our urban policy by recognizing the human needs of the individuals who live in our cities. According to the United States Department of Labor, central city unemployment for 1975 was 9.6%, as opposed to 8% for non-metropolitan areas and 5.3% for the suburbs. For the poverty areas of cities that figure is 13.8%, and for blacks in these areas it is 17.6%. Teenage black unemployment in some areas of America approaches the staggering figure of 40%.

Indeed, even these figures are deceptive, for they do not include the literally hundreds of thousands of people who have left the labor market entirely due to their frustrating inability to find work.

To make dramatic improvement in the unacceptably high unemployment rate, I propose a creative, joint program of incentives to private employers and a public needs employment program funded by the federal government. Such programs will more than repay our investment, not simply in making taxpayers of those now on unemployment insurance or on welfare, and not simply in generating additional revenues to the federal, state and local governments — although each 1% decline in the unemployment rate will produce \$13 to \$16 billion in federal tax — but rather in restoring the pride and self-respect of those too long ignored and cast aside. In the section on "The Economy," I have set forth policies which would dramatically reduce unemployment in urban areas where it is most severe.

While we must concentrate on the human needs of those who live in our cities throughout the country, we cannot ignore the fiscal plight of the cities themselves.

To alleviate the suffering our cities are being put through by high inflation and continued recession, I propose the following:

— Countercyclical assistance to deal with the fiscal needs of cities particularly hard hit by recession. The \$2 billion of countercyclical assistance recently vetoed by Mr. Ford is essential and affordable, and is within the budget resolutions adopted by Congress.

— Extension of the Revenue Sharing program for five years, with an increase in the annual funding level to compensate for inflation, and with stricter enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill to guarantee against discriminatory use of the funds. We should explore whether the Revenue Sharing formula might be amended in the future to place greater emphasis on areas of high need. All

Revenue Sharing funds should go to the cities, and the priority areas for which funds can be expended should be broadened to include education.

The key to an effective urban policy is the understanding that an integrated approach addressing each of the separate facets of the urban malaise is necessary if deteriorating conditions are to be arrested. In other sections of this paper, specific programs relating to welfare reform, housing, and crime control are suggested. In the context of those programs, we can establish a creative partnership between the federal government and our urban areas.

C. TAX REFORM

Our national tax system is a disgrace. The income most certain to be taxed is that which is derived from manual labor. Carefully contrived loopholes have created a regressive system which lets the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage earner. Some of our largest corporations with extremely high profits pay virtually no tax at all. When a business executive can charge off a \$50 luncheon on a tax return and a truck driver cannot deduct his \$1.50 sandwich — when oil companies pay less than 5% on their earnings while employees of the company pay at least three times this rate — when many pay no taxes on incomes of more than \$100,000 — then we need basic tax reform.

A piecemeal approach to change will not work. Basically, I favor a *simplified tax system which treats all income the same, taxes all income only once, and makes our system of taxation more progressive.*

D. WELFARE REFORM

Our welfare system is a crazy quilt of regulations administered by a bloated bureaucracy. It is wasteful to the taxpayers of America, demeaning to the recipients, discourages work, and encourages the breakup of families. The system lumps together dissimilar categories of poor people, and differs greatly in its benefits and regulations from state to state. It is time that we broke the welfare and poverty cycle of our poor people.

My recommendations are designed to satisfy the following goals: (a) we must recognize there are *three distinct categories of poor people* — the employable poor, the 1.3 million employable but jobless poor, and the working poor; (b) *no person on welfare should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs*; (c) *strong work incentives, job creation and job training should be provided for those on welfare able to work*; (d) *family stability should be encouraged* by assuring that no family's financial situation will be harmed by the bread-winner remaining with his dependents; (e) efforts should be made to have *fathers who abandon their family be forced to continue support*; (f) the welfare system should be streamlined and simplified, with less paperwork, fewer regulations, improved coordination and reduced local disparities; (g) *persons who are legitimately on welfare should be treated with respect and dignity.*

To achieve these goals, I propose one fairly uniform, nationwide payment, varying according to cost of living differences between communities. It should be funded in substantial part by the federal government with strong work and job incentives for the poor who are employable and with earnings tied so as to encourage employment, so that it would never be more profitable to stay on welfare than to work.

We should repeal laws that encourage a father to leave the home.

No one able to work, except mothers with preschool children, should be continued on the welfare rolls unless job training and a meaningful job were accepted. The 1.3 million people drawing welfare who are able to work full-time should be taken out of the welfare system; they should be trained for a job and offered a job. If they decline the job, they should be ineligible for further benefits.

The welfare burden should be removed from cities, with all welfare costs being paid by the federal and state governments.

E. EDUCATION

The average cost per student in public schools has approximately doubled within the last 10 years, but unfortunately, most of the increased expenditure pays for inflation rather than qualitative improvements. Two-thirds of our institutions of higher education, according to the Carnegie Commission, are likely to be facing financial difficulties either now or in the near future. Private colleges which in the 1950's served 50% of all students have now shrunk to 25% of the market.

Meanwhile we are graduating teachers each year who will be unable to find jobs — in 1974, 290,000 teachers for less than 120,000 jobs; in 1976, 164,000 new teachers for 115,000 new positions.

The fiscal crisis is naturally affecting students too. Many face tuition increases at the very time that grants and loans are difficult to acquire. When they graduate, they confront a ceiling in job demand.

The federal share of public education costs was 10% in 1974. If existing inequalities are to be eliminated and American teachers provided with a decent standard of living, this federal portion must be increased.

The following steps are necessary:

— The creation of a separate Department of Education. A Department of Education would consolidate the grant programs, job training, early childhood education, literacy training, and many other functions currently scattered throughout the government. The result would be a stronger voice for education at the federal level.

— Expanded vocational and career education opportunities. Although the number of students enrolled in career education has more than doubled within the last six years, two-and-one-half million leave the educational system without adequate vocational training; it is estimated that 750,000 untrained youth enter the unemployment pool annually.

Community colleges and other existing programs must be strengthened and extended.

— Expansion of educational rights of the handicapped must be assured. Of our six million school-age children, only three million are now receiving the attention they need. Recent federal court decisions have guaranteed the handicapped their right to an education. Since such education costs five to six times that of nonhandicapped children, increased federal expenditure is necessary in this sphere.

— Imaginative reforms to strengthen colleges and universities in times of financial difficulties. Basic tax reform proposals should give proper consideration to the role of private philanthropy in education.

F. HEALTH AND HEALTH CARE

Our present health care system is in need of drastic reorganization. Despite per capita and absolute expenditures on health care that are largest in the world, our nation still lacks a workable, efficient and fair system of health care.

First, we need a national health insurance program, financed by general tax revenues and employer-employee shared payroll taxes, which is universal and mandatory. Such a program must reduce barriers to preventive care, provide for uniform standards and reforms in the health care delivery system, and assure freedom of choice in the selection of physicians and treatment centers.

We must shift our emphasis in both private and public health care away from hospitalization and acute-care services to preventive medicine and the early detection of the major cripplers and killers of the American people.

Our major cripplers and killers are cancer, heart disease, stroke, respiratory diseases, hypertension, and six others of decreasing incidence within the population. Almost every one of these afflictions can be prevented, to a degree, by regular physical examinations and routine medical care.

Another major problem is to better utilize the health personnel available to us. Registered nurses, physicians' assistants, and other highly skilled para-professionals should be utilized under the supervision of physicians to provide diagnostic and preventive service.

A third major thrust should be to improve the delivery of health care and to bring care within the reach — as well as the means — of all our people. In the county where I live, there is not a doctor, dentist, pharmacist or hospital bed. The National Health Service Corporation has designated almost three hundred areas of similar shortages across the country. Even yearly hospital services are unavailable to remote indigent people without transportation. Our national needs require redirecting medical education toward primary care as one means to correct the geographic and professional maldistribution of services and personnel. We must also insure more medical education for students from low-income and minority families so that they may take their rightful place in medicine.

We must also reorganize the physical plant of our health care delivery system. We need to initiate effective coordination between our physical facilities — building, expanding, modernizing, relocating and converting them as need in order to provide the best possible medical care at reasonable cost.

We must restructure our priorities in the kinds of health care we offer. It is ironic that although our advanced medical technology is unsurpassed, our ability to deliver primary and preventive medical care to all of our citizens is very poor. We must shift our emphasis away from limited-application, technology-intensive programs to broad-based delivery or primary care for every citizen.

We must do more to quarantee each and every American the right to a safe and healthy place of work. Over 600 toxic chemicals are introduced into our workplaces annually. There are currently over 13,000 already listed. Nearly 100,000 working people die each year due to occupational illnesses and accidents. Over 17,000 disabling injuries occurred in our nation's mines. This terrible toll cannot be tolerated.

I believe the basic concept behind OSHA is excellent. We should continue to clarify and expand the state role in the implementation of Health and Safety. OSHA must be strengthened to ensure that those who earn their living by personal labor can work in safe and healthy environments. Nationwide efforts in this area must continue until our working citizens are safe in their jobs.

We should seek strong and effective legislation to promote mine safety and to protect mine workers against the black lung disease so frequently associated with mine work.

G. CRIME CONTROL

While the prevention of crime is essentially a state and local responsibility, the federal government has a significant role to play in the reduction of crime. Federal efforts should proceed along several lines:

First, we should reform our judicial system to ensure that swift, firm and predictable punishment follows a criminal conviction. I believe that crime is best deterred by the certainty of swift justice.

Second, the federal government can provide a model for the states by revising our system of sentencing, eliminating much of the discretion given to judges and probation officers, insuring greater certainty in sentencing and confinement, and insuring a higher percentage of serious criminals being imprisoned.

Third, we should place reasonable restrictions on the purchase of handguns, including the prohibition of ownership by persons with certain criminal backgrounds.

Fourth, we should upgrade the rehabilitation programs available to criminals while in prison.

Fifth, there is a need for a coordinated, concerted attack on drug traffic and organized criminal activity.

Sixth, we should provide federal assistance to the crime prevention programs of local governments with a minimum of federal regulations.

Finally, we must step-up the attack on unemployment, the root cause of much of our urban crime, through the programs I have mentioned previously.

H. TRANSPORTATION

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Federal government has invested substantially in the development of that system, so that today there are more than 915,000 miles of Federal-aid highways, 325,000 miles of railroad tracks, 12,750 airports and 25,000 miles of commercially navigable waters. Federally-supported mass transit systems are in place in many of the nation's major cities. As a consequence, America has, with the notable exception of urban mass transit, (where substantial new construction needs remain), an essentially mature total transportation system. Priority now needs to be given not to developing massive new national transportation systems, except in the case of public transportation, but rather to achieving more effective utilization of the existing rail, highway, and airport networks.

The chief impediments to more effective utilization of the existing system are physical deterioration and out-moded regulations. Examples of both problems abound in all modes of transportation: Over the last seven years nine major Northeastern railroads have gone bankrupt.

Most of the Nation's basic highway and street system has been similarly permitted to deteriorate. Although the problem of deferred maintenance is less pervasive, disturbing parallels with railroads can be found and the long-term outlook is far from promising given current trends.

Although the deterioration of urban public transportation services has been slowed since the passage of the Federal Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and the subsequent amendments to it in 1970 and 1974, the gap between transit capital needs and available funding, as identified by the U. S. Department of Transportation, has grown to over \$6 billion.

Moreover, the federal government often has encouraged one mode of transportation to the disadvantage of another. No coordinated transportation policy exists. While the National has an extremely well-developed rail, highway, and aviation system, substantial parts of that system have deteriorated to the point where the efficiency and effectiveness of the total system is being compromised. *Arresting this deterioration and completing needed work on new urban transit systems must become the Nations's first transportation priority.*

While the private sector should be encouraged to undertake this rehabilitation work directly with privately raised capital, it must be recognized that the task of rebuilding the existing transportation system is so massive, so important and so urgent that private investment will have to be supplemented with substantial direct public investment. In certain program areas, such as highways, this will involve substantially reordering current program priorities to stress rehabilitation work. In yet other areas, such as public transportation, this will require reinforcing current program trends with increased investment levels.

We must substantially increase the amount of money available from the Highway Trust Fund for public mass transportation, study the feasibility of creating a total transportation fund for all modes of transportation, and change the current restrictive limits on the use of mass transit funds by localities so that greater amounts can be used as operating subsidies. We should oppose the Administration's efforts to reduce federal operating subsidies.

Priority attention should also be given to restructuring the nation's antiquated system of regulating transportation. The present patch-work scheme of rail, truck, and airline regulation at the federal level needlessly costs consumers billions of dollars every year. However valid the original purpose of promoting a fledgling industry and protecting the public from the tyranny of monopoly or the chaos of predatory competition, the present system has, more often than not, tended to discourage desirable competition.

I. HOUSING

The following agenda on housing is aimed at putting to work hundreds of thousands of unemployed construction workers and fulfilling our national commitment to build 2 million housing units per year:

(1) direct federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of low and middle class housing.

(2) expansion of the highly successful Section 202 housing program for the elderly, which utilizes direct federal subsidies.

(3) greatly increased emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods; certain of our publicly created jobs could be used to assist such rehabilitation. It is time for urban conservation instead of urban destruction.

(4) greater attention to the role of local communities under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

(5) greater effort to ~~direct mortgage money for the~~ financing of private housing.

(6) prohibiting the practice of red-lining by federally sponsored savings and loan institutions and the FHA, which has had the effect of depriving certain areas of the necessary mortgage funds to upgrade themselves.

(7) encouraging more loans for housing and rehabilitation to the poor.

(8) providing for a steady source of credit at low interest rates to stabilize the housing industry.

J. AGRICULTURE AND RURAL AMERICA

The Republican agriculture policy has whip-sawed the consumer with higher prices and the farmers with declining profits, with speculators and middlemen as the only beneficiaries. Presidents Nixon and Ford have brought about the anomalous situation of family farmers going bankrupt to produce food and fiber American consumers cannot afford to buy. As a farmer, I understand the difficulties which the American farmer has confronted with Secretary Butz and Republican agricultural policy.

It is time that we developed a coherent, predictable, stable, coordinated food and fiber policy. This policy should:

— insure stable prices to the consumer and a fair profit for farmers;

— increase opportunities in the world market for our agricultural commodities through an innovative, aggressive foreign sales program;

- guarantee an *abundant supply of agricultural goods* and *avoid periodic shortages*;
- reduce the tremendous increase in the price of farm goods from the farmer to the consumer (which is not passed along to the farmer in the form of profit) by studying ways to *avoid excessive profits made by middlemen and processors*;
- create a *predicable, stable, reasonable small food reserve, with up to a two-month supply*, permitting farmers to retain control of one-half of these reserves, in order to prevent government dumping during times of moderate price increases;
- insure *coordination of the policies* of the many federal agencies and bureaus, in addition to the Department of Agriculture, which affect the farmer;
- *close the revolving door* that now exists *between the boards of the grain inspection companies and the processors* that supply them with their grain, since both the farmer and the consumer pay when regulatory agencies fail to do their job;
- guarantee *adequate price supports and a parity level* that assures farmers a reasonable return on their investments;
- farmers must be given the ability to transport their produce to market. In Illinois alone, 50 million bushels of corn rotted in the ground last year because of an inability to transport the crop to market.

K. ENERGY

It is time for strong leadership and planning in energy. Yet none exists in the Executive Branch. One of the greatest failures of national leadership is the failure to convince the American people of the urgency of our energy problems. In the White House it is business as usual.

Our national policy for energy must include a combination of *energy conservation and energy development, together with price protection for the consumer*.

The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of O.P.E.C. oil. There is *no need to, and I oppose efforts to, deregulate the price of old oil*. For natural gas, we should deregulate the price of only that natural gas not currently under existing contract (less than 5%) for a period of five years. At the end of the period of time, we should evaluate this program to see if it increases production and keeps gas-related products at prices the American people can afford.

Imports of oil from foreign countries should be kept at manageable levels. Increasing amounts of oil from remaining domestic and foreign sources should be channeled into *permanent storage facilities* until we have accumulated at least an *additional 30-day reserve supply*. We should *place the importation of oil under government authority* to allow strict control of purchases and the auctioning of purchase orders.

To insure the maximum protection of the American consumer during the coming years of increasing energy shortages, our *anti-trust laws* must be effectively and rigidly enforced. Moreover, maximum disclosure of data on reserve supplies and production must be required.

I support restrictions on the right of a single company to own all phases of production and distribution of oil. However, it may not always be in the consumer's interest to

limit a company to one single phase of production. Such a restriction, for example, might make it illegal for the same company to explore for oil and then extract that oil from the ground once discovered.

I support legal prohibitions against ownership of competing types of energy, such as oil and coal. There may be some limited instances in which there should be joint responsibility for any phase of production of competing energy sources. For example, fuel oil and some propane are produced from crude oil. Their production clearly cannot be separated until after extraction and refining take place. It may not be beneficial to the consumer to separate control of these two competing energy sources.

It is time that we had a *nationwide program of energy conservation*. The potential for dramatic energy conservation remains untapped. Our energy waste in transportation is 85%; in generating electricity it is 65%. Overall, 50% of our energy is wasted. The federal government itself must set an example for energy conservation and must insure that its own regulations do not encourage energy waste.

We need to *encourage mass transit* as a means of energy conservation; *strict fuel efficiency standards* and ratings must be established for motor vehicles; rigid enforcement of energy-saving speed limits is essential; *efficiency standards and better labeling* for electric appliances are a prerequisite. Moreover, *mandatory improvements in building insulation* must be established.

To help conserve our dwindling energy supplies, unnecessary electrical power plant construction should be stopped and advertising at the consumer's expense to encourage increased electric consumption should be restricted. Rate structures, which discourage total consumption, and peak power demand, *which give greater protection to the average consumer*, should be established.

We must *substantially shift our efforts to increase our production of coal*, of which we have a 200-year supply, *without at the same time destroying the surface of our lands through uncontrolled strip mining*. At the time, we must make a major research and development thrust to greatly increase the use of solar energy.

While it is unrealistic, given present Administration policies, to become energy independent by 1986, we should attempt to be free from possible blackmail or economic disaster which might be caused by another boycott. Our reserves should be developed imports set at manageable levels, standby rationing procedures evolved and authorized, and aggressive economic reprisals available to any boycotting oil supplier.

With proper national planning and determined execution of long-range goals, energy production and conservation can be increased.

(1) Environmental Protection

It is time that this country had a coherent, clear national policy dedicated to the protection of our environment.

I do not believe that there is an incompatibility between economic progress and environmental quality. We should not be diverted from our cause by false claims that the protection of our ecology and wildlife means an end to growth and a decline in jobs. This is not the case.

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As Governor, I was proud to be considered by conservation groups as the best friend of the conservationists to ever sit as Georgia's Governor.

The Democratic Party should:

— insure that the Army Corps of Engineers stops building unnecessary dams and public works projects harmful to the environment and that the Soil Conservation Service ends uncalled for channelization of our country's rivers and streams.

— hold fast against efforts to lower clean air requirements of the Clean Air Act. I support strict enforcement of the nondegradation clause of the Clean Air Act.

— encourage the development of rapid transit systems which will help alleviate somewhat our continued and increased dependence on the automobile.

— insist on strict enforcement of anti-water pollution laws to protect our oceans, lakes, rivers, and streams from unneeded and harmful commercial pollution, and oppose efforts to weaken the federal Water Pollution Control Act.

— protect against the noise pollution with which our advanced technology challenges us. I opposed development of the SST on this basis, and I also opposed granting landing rights to the Concorde.

— assist coastal states which bear the economic and environmental impact associated with the development of the Outer Continental Shelf. Federal officials should accept the states' recommendations regarding lease sales and development plans unless those recommendations seriously conflict with national security.

— support the need for better land-use planning. I favor giving planning assistance to the states if firm assurances are given by the states that these plans will be implemented and will protect critical environmental areas.

— support efforts to place reasonable limits on strip mining. We must require reclamation of land as a condition for strip mining.

— encourage solid waste disposal. We must reduce the volume of waste created, give grants to states to improve collection service, and expand research in the solid waste disposal area.

M. CIVIL RIGHTS AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

I have long advocated eliminating discrimination against blacks, other minorities, and women.

I believe that the various Civil Rights Acts, including the Voting Rights Act, have had a tremendously positive effect on the South and the nation. They have opened up our society for the benefit of all. The guaranties of equal participation in the political process, provided in the Voting Rights Act, should be extended to all parts of the nation where minority representation and participation are inadequate without in any way slackening enforcement in those areas already covered by the Act.

I also support postcard registration for voting to broaden the opportunities for participation in our political process.

I strongly support federal legislation to prohibit the practice of red-lining by federally-sponsored savings and loan institutions and the FHA. I believe that our platform should reflect a strong commitment to enforcement of the Open House Act of 1968 and the Community Development

Act of 1974. Moreover, we should enable the Equal Employment Commission to function more effectively and expeditiously in employment discrimination complaints. Its backlog is a major problem in enforcing laws guaranteeing nondiscrimination in employment.

I am a strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). But more assertive steps are necessary to end discrimination against women. Today, in spite of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the earnings gap between men and women is great. Full-time working women earn sixty cents for every dollar earned by full-time working men. I support actions necessary to close this gap. I also support the need for flexible hours for full-time employees and the additional employment of part-time persons, both of which will greatly aid women in their access to the market place.

Women represent over 40% of our work force — a percentage which is increasing every year. We need to provide high quality, accessible child-care facilities so that mothers who wish to work can do so. In addition, mothers who wish to enter or rejoin the work force after a long period of absence should be given access to counseling and training programs to help them resume their careers. In this way, we can move toward meeting two of our national goals: providing a job for every American who wants to work and ending discrimination against women.

Moreover, it is time that women were appointed to high level positions in American education and to the boards of important agencies and as heads of important government departments.

In addition, we must assure that

(a) laws prohibiting sex discrimination in credit, employment, advancement, education, housing and other endeavors are strengthened and strictly enforced;

(b) strong efforts are made to pass federal legislation and guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in health and disability insurance plans;

(c) social security laws are revised to eliminate sex-related discrimination;

(d) women have equal access to health care systems and voluntary family planning programs;

(e) adequate childcare is provided for all parents who desire to use it;

(f) existing rape laws are reformed and the National Rape Prevention and Control Act is passed.

The dreams, hopes and problems of a complex society demand the talent, imagination and dedication of all its citizens — women and men, black, brown, and white. As partners, we can provide the best leadership available to this country.

N. CONSUMER PROTECTION

The consumer in America is too often mistreated or ignored. It is time to reverse this trend.

Ten to fifteen percent of the consumer's purchasing power is wasted because consumers are unable to obtain adequate information. Twenty percent of deaths and injuries related to household consumer products involve unsafe products. Between one-third and one-half of all consumers have billing disputes with those from whom they buy goods or services. For every dollar spent on auto

insurance premiums, it has been estimated that only 42% ever gets back to an individual who gets hurt. The consumer has no effective voice within the Executive Branch of government.

Major reforms are necessary to protect the consumers of this country.

First, we must institutionalize the consumer's role through the creation of a Consumer Protection Agency. This agency would serve as a strong voice in government hearings and legislation, would insure that the consumer's interest is considered, and would help assure that government speaks for consumers rather than for the vested interests.

Second, we should establish a strong nationwide program of consumer education to give the consumer the knowledge to protect himself in the market place. In Georgia, we set up a program in which state field workers travelled across the state training social workers and teachers in the basics of consumer law and protection. We established a toll free Wats line to help the citizens of our state who had consumer complaints and who needed information. A special program was developed for training prisoners in economic and consumer management.

Third, we should make class actions by consumers more easily available to enable them to enforce consumer laws and to give them standing before agencies and courts.

Fourth, we must vigorously enforce the anti-trust laws.

Fifth, to guarantee further protection to the consumer, we should work toward:

- quality standards, where feasible, for food and manufactured items;
- warranty standards to guarantee that consumers are not cheated by shoddy or defective merchandise;
- full product labeling of relevant information affecting price and quality and price-per-unit labeling;
- strict truth-in-advertising measures to require that manufacturers are able to substantiate product performance claims.

Sixth, consumers must achieve greater protection against dangerous products. The 1970 National Commission on Product Safety stated that accidents in American homes associated with consumer products accounted for 30,000 deaths a year. In order to reduce these horrifying statistics, I recommend:

- strong enforcement of existing laws;
- enforcement of stringent flammability standards for clothing;
- adequate research programs to anticipate potential hazards;
- additional automobile safety research;
- expanded pre-market testing for all new chemicals to elicit their general characteristics and environmental and health effects.

If our government is truly to be a government of the people, it must also be a government which protects the rights of the consumer.

O. SENIOR CITIZENS

The condition of our senior citizens is a national tragedy. They are twice as likely as the rest of the

population to be poor. They spend 50% more of their income on housing than do other Americans. 1.6 million elderly Americans live in houses without basic plumbing. In spite of Medicare, only 65% of the medical bills of old people are covered by government health programs.

Senior citizens need adequate income, housing, health care, and transportation. More important, they need to feel and be wanted and to be assisted by a comprehensive program designed specifically for their benefit.

I have proposed that the Social Security system be strengthened through an increase in the maximum earnings base and an increase in benefits in proportion to earnings before retirement. I likewise favor strengthening and broadening the laws against age discrimination and discouraging the trend by employers toward early forced retirement.

To make the elderly less subject to the financial burden caused by illness, I support a comprehensive, universal national health care program with interim relief until the system is fully implemented through expansion of Medicare coverage.

To provide better housing construction for the elderly, we must rapidly expand housing construction for the elderly under Section 202 of the Housing Act; and we must strengthen the protection the elderly need against displacement by landlords seeking to convert rental housing into condominiums and cooperatives.

Since our elderly often lack mobility, we should encourage public transportation systems receiving federal funds to provide reduced fare programs for the elderly.

We must do much more to make the elderly feel wanted and to take advantage of their experience, which is a true national asset. Therefore, we should consider the establishment of a national senior citizens' service corps and broaden the use by senior citizens of senior citizens multi-purpose centers.

We need to protect American workers against the uncertainties presented by existing pension laws. The Pension Reform Act of 1974 was a good beginning, but there is much that remains to be done. We need strict enforcement of the laws that guarantee the financial integrity of pension funds and strict accountability for those who administer those funds. And we need to minimize the excessive paper work which often slows the distribution of benefits.

I know from the personal experience in my own family, when my mother served as a Peace Corps volunteer at age 68, the tremendous contribution that older Americans can make to themselves and to the world if they are treated with dignity and respect and are given the opportunity to serve. To those ends, this Party and I will always be dedicated.

3. Government Reorganization and Budget Reform

The basic difficulty facing American government today cuts across all the other campaign issues. The proliferation of programs and agencies, particularly in the past ten years, has inevitably created duplications, waste and inefficiency. There are over 83 federal housing programs, 228 federal health programs, and over 1,200 assorted commissions, councils, boards, committees, and the like.

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We must give top priority to a drastic and thorough revision and reorganization of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system and to the procedures for analyzing the effectiveness of its services. We must establish mechanisms to set our priorities more systematically and to weigh our spending decisions more carefully. The luxury of multiple agencies functioning within one policy area, often at cross purposes, is no longer available to us.

The reform I am seeking is *not* a retreat; it is a marshalling of our resources to meet the challenges of the last quarter of this Century. The problem is not that our program goals are unworthy; it is not that our public servants are unfit. What is at fault is the unwieldy structure and frequently inefficient operation of the government: the layers of administration, the plethora of agencies, the proliferation of paperwork. If we are to succeed in other substantive policy areas, government must cease to be an obstacle to our efforts.

We have a finite amount of resources. They must not be squandered by inefficiency. Government cannot truly serve the people if it cannot operate effectively itself. Reorganization is not a dry exercise of moving around boxes in an organization chart. It is a creative venture toward the better direction of the energies and resources of our government.

The first step is to reshape the way we make federal spending decisions.

First, the federal government should be committed to requiring zero-base budgeting by all federal agencies. Each program, other than income support programs, such as Social Security, should be required to justify both its continued existence and its level of funding. We need to continue and expand programs that work and to discontinue those that do not. Without such a comprehensive review, it will be difficult to assess priorities and impossible to redirect expenditures away from areas showing relatively less success. Zero-base budgeting was one of my most important policy innovations in Georgia, and it has been adopted successfully in Illinois, New Jersey and New Mexico. It can work in the federal government.

Second, we must commit ourselves to a greater reliance upon long-term planning budgets. I proposed in my Economic Position Paper that we adopt a three year rolling budget technique to facilitate careful, long-term planning and budgeting. Too many of our spending decisions are focused just beyond our noses on next year's appropriations. "Uncontrollable" spending is only uncontrollable in the short run; spending can be controlled if the planning system builds in more lead time.

Third, reforming the budget process will not be enough unless we are also committed to insuring that programs are carried out with efficiency. Improving government's performance will require action on several levels. The Democratic Party should commit itself to undertaking the basic structural reforms necessary to streamline federal operations and to make the government efficient once again. *The number of federal agencies should be reduced to no more than 200.* Other management tools will be required to achieve an acceptable level of performance. We need increased program evaluation. Many programs fail to define with any specificity what they intend to accomplish.

Without that specification, evaluation by objective is impossible.

In Georgia, we applied rigorous performance standards and performance auditing. Such standards, which are working in state capitols around the nation and in successful businesses, should be imposed upon federal departments and agencies.

Finally, the federal government is ill-equipped to deal with a growing number of problems that transcend departmental jurisdictions. For example, foreign and domestic issues are becoming more interrelated; domestic prosperity and international relations are affected by our foreign agricultural policy, by international raw materials and oil policies, and by our export policies, among others. We must develop a policy making machinery that transcends narrow perspectives, that protects the vital interests of the United States, and that provides our citizens and the world with policies that are rational, consistent, and predictable.

Our first priority must be to build a well-managed structure of government — one that is efficient, economical, and compassionate and with systematically established priorities and predictable policies. Government must again become an effective instrument for achieving justice and meeting our critical national needs.

4. Foreign Affairs

In the past few years the world has changed greatly and the United States has learned several lessons. One is that we cannot and should not try to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of other countries unless our own security is endangered.

We have learned that we must not use the CIA or other covert means to effect violent change in any government or government policy.

We have learned the hard way how important it is during times of international stress to keep close ties with our allies and friends and to strive for multilateral agreements and solutions to critical problems.

Another lesson we have learned is that we cannot impose democracy on another country by force. We cannot buy friends, and it is obvious that other nations resent it if we try. Our interests lie in protecting our national security, in preventing war, in peacefully promoting the principles of human freedom and democracy, and in exemplifying in our foreign policy the true character and attitudes of the American people.

Finally, we have learned that every time we have made a serious mistake in recent years in our dealings with other nations, such as Cambodia, Vietnam, and Chile, the American people have been excluded from the process of evolving and consummating our foreign policy. Unnecessary secrecy surrounds the inner workings of our own government. Because we have let our foreign policy be made for us, we lost something crucial and precious in the way we talk and the way we act toward other peoples of the world.

In the future we must turn our attention increasingly towards the common problems of food, energy, environment, scarce resources, and trade. A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of

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the world suffer mass starvation or when there are no established arrangements to deal with population growth, energy, or environmental quality. Better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that affect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized.

Our policies toward the developing countries need revisions. For years, we have either ignored them or treated them as pawns in the big power chess game. Both approaches were deeply offensive to their people. Our program of international aid to these nations should be redirected so that it meets the human needs of the greatest number of people. This means an emphasis on food, jobs, education, and public health, including access to family planning. In our trade relations with these nations, we should join commodity agreements in such items as tin, coffee and sugar.

We must more closely coordinate our policy with our friends, countries like the democratic states of Europe, North America and Japan - those countries which share with us common goals and aspirations. Our continued prosperity and welfare depend upon increased coordination of our policies.

The policy of East-West detente is under attack today because of the way it has been exploited by the Soviet Union. The American people were told detente would mean a "generation of peace," at no risk to the nation's vital interests. Yet, in places like Syria or Angola, in activities like offensive missile development, the Soviets seem to be taking advantage of the new relationship to expand their power and influence and to increase the risk of conflict.

I support the objectives of detente, but I cannot go along with the way it has been handled by Presidents Nixon and Ford. The Secretary of State has tied its success too closely to his personal reputation. As a result, he is giving up too much and asking for too little. He is trumpeting achievements on paper while failing to insist on them in practice.

The relationship of detente is one of both cooperation and competition, of new kinds of contacts in some areas along with continued hostility in others. In the troubled history of our relationships with the Soviet Union, this is where we have arrived. The benefits of detente must accrue to both sides, or they are worthless. Their mutual advantage must be apparent, or the American people will not support the policy.

To the Soviets, detente is an opportunity to continue the process of world revolution without running the threat of nuclear war. They have said so quite openly as recently as a month ago at their 25th Party Congress. To the Soviet Union, with our acquiescence, detente is surface tranquility in Europe within boundaries redefined to its benefit, together with support for wars of national liberation elsewhere. It is having the benefits of the Helsinki Accords without the requirement of living up to the human rights provisions which form an integral part of the Accords. This is not the road to peace but the bitter deception of the American people.

But while detente must become more reciprocal, I reject the strident and bellicose voices of those who would have this country return to the days of the cold war with the

Soviet Union. I believe the American people want to look to the future. They have seen the tragedy of American involvement in Vietnam and have drawn appropriate lessons for tomorrow. They seek new vistas, not a repetition of old rhetoric and old mistakes.

It is in our interest to try to make detente broader and more reciprocal. Detente can be an instrument for long-term peaceful change within the Communist system, as well as in the rest of the world. We should make it clear that detente requires that the Soviets, as well as the United States, refrain from irresponsible intervention in other countries. The Russians have no more business in Angola than we have.

The core of detente is the reduction of arms. We should negotiate to reduce the present SALT ceilings on offensive weapons before both sides start a new arms race to reach the current maximums and before new missile systems are tested or committed for production.

Our vision must be of a more pluralistic world and not of a communist monolith. We must pay more attention to China and to Eastern Europe. It is in our interest and in the interest of world peace to promote a more pluralistic communist world.

We should remember that Eastern Europe is not an area of stability, and it will not become such until the Eastern European countries regain their independence and become part of a larger cooperative European framework. I am concerned over the long-range prospects for Rumanian and Yugoslavian independence, and I deplore the recent inflection upon Poland of a constitution that ratifies its status as a Soviet satellite. We must reiterate to the Soviets that an enduring American-Soviet detente cannot ignore the legitimate aspirations of other nations. We must likewise insist that the Soviet Union and other countries recognize the human rights of all citizens who live within their boundaries, whether they be blacks in Rhodesia, Asians in Uganda, or Jews in the Soviet Union.

Our relations with China are important to world peace, and they directly affect the world balance. The United States has a great stake in a nationally independent, secure, and friendly China. I believe that we should explore more actively the possibility of widening American-Chinese trade relations and of further consolidating our political relationships.

The Middle East is a key testing area for our capacity to construct a more cooperative international system. I believe deeply that the foundation of our Middle East policy must be insuring the safety and security of Israel. This country should never attempt to impose a settlement in Israel, nor should we force Israel to make territorial concessions which are detrimental to her security. We should attempt to promote direct negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors. Israel must be allowed to live within defensible borders. As President, I would never force Israel to give up control of the Golan Heights to the Syrians, nor would I recognize the Palestinian Liberation Organization or any other group purporting to represent the Palestinians when those organizations refuse to recognize Israel's right to exist in peace. The negotiations that will lead to permanent peace can only proceed on the basis of a clear and absolute

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American commitment to insure Israel's security and survival as a Jewish State.

In the future we should make multilateral diplomacy a major part of our efforts so that other countries know the importance the United States attaches to international organizations. We should make a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U. N. systems. The intensity of interrelated problems is rapidly increasing, and it is likely that in the future the issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems that have dominated international relations since 1945.

The prime responsibility of any President is to guarantee the security of our nation with a well-organized and effective fighting force. We must have the ability to avoid the threat of successful attack or blackmail, and we must always be strong enough to carry out our legitimate foreign policy. This is a prerequisite to peace.

Without endangering the defense of our nation or our commitments to our allies, we can reduce present defense expenditures by about \$5 to \$7 billion annually. We must be hard-headed in the development of new weapons systems to insure that they will comport with our foreign policy objectives. Exotic weapons which serve no real function do not contribute to the defense of this country. The B-1 bomber is an example of a proposed system which should not be funded and would be wasteful of taxpayers' dollars. We have an Admiral for every seventeen ships. The Chief of Naval Operations has more captains and commanders on his own personal staff than serve in all the ships at sea.

The Pentagon bureaucracy is wasteful and bloated. We have more generals and admirals today than we did during World War II commanding a much smaller fighting force. We can thin our troops in Asia and close some unnecessary bases abroad.

We must get about the business of arms control. The Vladivostok Agreement set too high a ceiling on strategic nuclear weapon systems. The SALT talks must get off of dead center. The core of our dealings with the Soviet Union must be the mutual reduction in arms. We should negotiate to reduce the present SALT ceilings in offensive weapons before both sides start a new arms race to reach the current maximums and before new missile systems are tested or committed for production. I am not afraid of hard bargaining with the Soviet Union. Hard bargaining will strengthen support for the agreements that can be reached

and will show that we, as well as they, can gain from detente. We can increase the possibility that the fear of war and the burden of arms may be lifted from the shoulders of humanity by the nations that have done the most to place it there.

As I mentioned in detail at the United Nations, we need *firm and imaginative international action to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons* and to place greater safeguards on the use of nuclear energy. The Democratic Party should put itself squarely on record as favoring a comprehensive test ban treaty prohibiting all nuclear explosives for a period of five years.

Our nuclear deterrent remains an essential element of world order in this era. But by asking other nations to forego nuclear weapons, through the Non-Proliferation Treaty, we are asking for a form of self-denial that we have not been able to accept ourselves. I believe we have little right to ask others to deny themselves such weapons for the indefinite future unless we demonstrate meaningful progress toward the goal of control, then reduction, and ultimately the elimination of nuclear arsenals.

Finally, I think there are certain basic principles which should guide whatever is done in foreign lands in the name of this country. Our policies should be open and honest, shaped with the participation of Congress from the outset. Our policies should treat the people of other nations as individuals with the same dignity and respect we demand for ourselves. It must be the responsibility of the President to restore the moral authority of this country in its conduct of foreign policy. We should work for peace and the control of arms in everything we do. We should support the humanitarian aspirations of the world's peoples.

And our policies should be aimed at building a just and peaceful world order in which every nation can have a constructive role.

5. Conclusion

The proposals I have suggested are likely to remain simply proposals unless we have a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. It is time to put petty differences aside and to unite as a Party to achieve these goals. Together we can lead this nation to a New Beginning as the United States starts its second two hundred years. Together we can have an open, compassionate, and effective government which will reflect the best qualities of the American people.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

Planning a Budget from Zero

BY JIMMY CARTER

AT THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS CONFERENCE

June, 1974

On the campaign trail, a lot of promises are made by candidates for public office to improve economy and efficiency in government if they are elected. This pledge has a natural appeal to the financially overburdened taxpayer. But when the winning candidates take office, they too often find that it's easier to talk about economy and efficiency in government than to accomplish it. Entrenched bureaucracy is hard to move from its existing patterns.

Taxpayers, on the other hand, hear the promises but see few results. It seems to them that for every new program in government there must be a tax increase. Each government—whether federal, state or local—seems to have an insatiable financial need. No matter how much money is collected, it never seems to be enough.

When I campaigned for Governor, I promised that if elected there would be no general statewide tax increase during my four-year term in office. At the same time, I outlined a platform of eight general goals and 97 specific objectives that I wanted to accomplish. The twin promises, in my estimation, were not incompatible. I felt that this administration could reverse the past pattern of ignoring campaign promises.

Immediately upon election, I began planning a program to keep my commitments. I knew that simple appeals for greater productivity in government were not the answer. Economy and efficiency must come from basic, subtle changes that slice across the complete spectrum of a government's activity. The two areas that seemed to offer greatest possibilities of success were budgeting and planning. Through tight budgeting, more services can be squeezed out of every tax dollar spent. Through planning, the groundwork can be laid for imple-

menting new programs and expanding existing ones in ways that will avoid possible pitfalls and launch the programs directly towards their goal from the beginning.

As a citizen interested in government and as a former legislator, I had long believed that too many governmental programs are botched because they are started in haste without adequate planning or establishment of goals. Too often they never really attack the targeted problems.

The services provided by Georgia's state government are now greatly improved, and every tax dollar is being stretched further than ever before. There has not been a general statewide tax increase during my term. In fact, there has been a substantial reduction in ad valorem tax. Neither will a tax increase be necessary when my successor takes office next year.

Reorganization Merges Planning and Budgeting

In budgeting, we initiated a new concept called zero-base budgeting to help us monitor state problems better and attain increased efficiency. In the area of planning, we merged the roles of planning and budgeting—which had previously operated completely independent of each other—so that they could work together in promoting more economy in government. At the same time, we clearly defined the various roles of planning and assigned the proper roles to the appropriate organizational unit.

The functions of planning and budgeting were merged in a broad reorganization program that completely streamlined the executive branch of Georgia's state government. Much of our success during the past three years in improving state programs is a direct result of reorganization.

We reduced the number of state agencies from about 300 to 22 major operating agencies and combined functions to eliminate duplication and overlapping of services. For instance, 33 agencies were combined to form the Department of Natural Resources. Reorganization is a separate story of government in action. My interest now is to stress how we changed our budgeting and planning procedures to help accomplish the previously stated goals.

Georgia was the first government to implement a program of zero-base budgeting. Under this novel concept, every dollar requested for expenditure during the next budget period must be justified, including current expenditures that are to continue. It also provides for examining the effectiveness of each activity at various funding levels. This is a dramatically different concept from that followed by most governments, which concentrate almost totally on proposed new expenditures when considering a new budget. Except for non-recurring programs or expenditures, the continuing expenditures in a current budget get little attention.

Take as an example a government with a budget of \$1 billion. Projections are that the new budget will grow by \$50 million during the next budget cycle because of growth in the economy, a tax increase or other factors. Department heads submit their budget requests with proposed increases to get a slice of the \$50 million in new funds, either to expand existing programs, launch new programs, or to cover increases in costs through inflation. The governing officials rarely look at the existing expenditures to judge whether they are meeting their objective. The officials are concerned only with carving up the \$50 million in new funds. If graded, a new program actually might become a greater priority than an existing program, but it doesn't get funded unless it can get a slice of the \$50 million in new money.

Zero-base budgeting changed this practice in Georgia. Every program, existing and proposed, must now vie for funding in the new budget on an equal level. Every single dollar spent by a department in the current year must be justified if it is to be recommended by the governor for funding in the following year's budget.

Until the concept was implemented in Georgia, only one Texas corporation had ever used zero-base budgeting. The new technique was developed by that corporation as a means of reducing the costs of its overall operation. This was done by ranking every single function within the company's operations and abolishing the lowest-priority functions. Thus, the company was able to reduce expenses as required in a manner that retained the most-needed functions.

Decision Packages Establish Priorities

On a larger scale, zero-base budgeting in Georgia has peeled the veil of secrecy from around bureaucracy by

opening up for inspection and scrutiny the activities of every single state employee. For the first time, a Governor, legislator, department head, or anyone else can study in detail what is being accomplished at the lowest level of state activity.

The heart of zero-base budgeting is decision packages, which are prepared by managers at each level of government, from the top to the bottom. These packages—10,000 in Georgia—cover every existing or proposed function or activity of each agency. The packages include analysis of the cost, purpose, alternative courses of action, measures of performance, consequences of not performing the activity, and benefits.

Merely compiling these packages would not accomplish any purpose other than to provide information. Therefore, they are ranked in order of importance against other current and new activities. This ranking forms the basis of determining what functions are recommended for funding in the new budget, depending, of course, upon the amount of money available. If less funds are appropriated than requested, the lowest-ranking functions and activities are cut out.

Planning Requirements

Besides placing priority on spending programs and revealing more information about actual governmental operations, zero-base budgeting achieves one more important action: it forces planning into levels of government where planning may never have existed. It forces all levels of government to find better ways of accomplishing their missions. It also gives a voice in governmental direction to the rank and file state employee who is responsible for delivering services. Besides making him a more integral part of the planning process, it elevates his own sense of importance of his position and prompts him to work harder and deliver more efficient services.

There are three ingredients necessary for successful implementation of zero-base budgeting: (1) unqualified support from top executives, (2) effective design of the system, and (3) effective management of the system.

Zero-base budgeting has been well received in Georgia. It has become an important planning tool to insure that we are placing our priorities on the proper programs and are constantly seeking the maximum services for every state dollar.

I don't want to mislead you and leave the impression that implementation of zero-based budgeting has created miracles in Georgia's state government. Obviously it has not. But it has been subtly at work for three years making basic changes in the operations of our government and will continue to pioneer further improvements in the years ahead.

The merging of budgeting and planning services into one cohesive organization has worked so well that one

wonders why they were ever located in separate, non-cooperating agencies.

State planning was a function of the Bureau of State Planning and Community Affairs when I took office, while the Budget Bureau handled all budget matters. Although both agencies were under control of the Governor since he appointed both agency heads, they operated separately with no cooperation between them—a fact that minimized the probability of the planning output being implemented.

One of the most critical problems was that the Bureau of State Planning and Community Affairs, which had been created in 1967, had never really established its mission in Georgia's state government after four years of operation. Legislators didn't understand its functions and were skeptical of its entire operation. They felt that the planning bureau and the individual state departments were overlapping in their responsibilities. In some instances this was true. More importantly, the planning bureau was doing most of the program planning in state government without adequately synchronizing its efforts with the state agencies. When it came time to implement the planning efforts, department heads were skeptical and too often were reluctant to push for implementation of the proposed improvements. This created an impasse that made the work of state planners generally ineffective.

As soon as reorganization brought the budgeting and planning functions together into the same agency, the Office of Planning and Budget, changes began to occur. For the first time, planners and budget analysts worked side by side and began to coordinate their efforts.

Over a period of another year, further changes took place that changed completely the role of state planning. Through reorganization, most state agencies began to do their own functional program planning. This was made possible by creation of planning divisions within these departments for the first time, and also by the fact that the reduction in number of departments made them large enough to justify their own program planning divisions.

A New Role for the Planning Division

Concurrently, planners in the Planning Division of the Office of Planning and Budget assumed a new role of policy planning rather than program planning. By restricting program planning to the agency level, there is now a greater chance that it will be implemented.

Georgia state law changes the OPB Planning Division with the responsibility for assessing accurately Georgia's physical, social and economic needs. On a periodic and timely basis throughout the year, these needs are identified, documented and analyzed.

One method that I have used to secure citizen participation in the state planning process was the Goals

for Georgia program. This was a year-long program in 1971 in which Georgia citizens were given a chance to outline the types of programs they wanted their state government to emphasize in the years ahead. Since that time, state planning has been updating the results of this program continuously in the formulation of the state's goals and policies.

The role of OPB planners in preparation of the 1975 budget tells the story of how state planning is now done in Georgia.

Long before the state's budget analysts got deeply involved in preparation of the proposed fiscal year 1975 budget that would be submitted to the General Assembly, OPB planners started meeting with department heads to determine their program priorities for the following year. Detailed analyses were prepared and submitted to me for review. At the same time, I was meeting with the planners to outline my priorities. Later, I met with the planners and each department head to discuss both of our priorities. We reached a mutual agreement on many programs to be pursued and disagreed on others. Even though we didn't reach unanimity, we established a common ground of understanding about our conflicting goals. Later, when the budget analysts started putting together the actual budget proposals in dollars and cents, the spadework done by the planners proved to be an immense help.

OPB's Planning Division didn't stop at this point. Its staff continued to attend every budget meeting and provide assistance in ironing out details of the actual budget proposal to be made. Although planners had been involved in preparation of the proposed fiscal year 1974 budget, this was the first time they had actually been involved with a clear-cut role established for them. I can only say that I wish we had had this type of budgeting-planning relationship available when I became Governor. I am more than pleased with the working rapport that has been established. The relationship between me and all department heads concerning budgeting preparation has been improved considerably.

The work of the planners is reflected in our printed budget documents as well. One of the three budget documents we prepare in Georgia is an outline of proposed spendings on a program basis with a four-year projection of future needs for each program. This document is keyed by page number to the main financial display document for easy cross-reference.

One role of planners has been retained—program evaluation. This involves determining whether each program has attained its objective and making a thorough analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each program.

OPB planners were left with this function because an objective, outside-the-agency evaluation is needed, and because many programs cross agency lines. It would

not be fair for one line agency to evaluate the effectiveness of a related program in another line agency.

Along with the new objectives of OPB's Planning Division, one major change has taken place in our recruiting efforts. Instead of recruiting trained planners, we hire experts in the various areas of governmental activity such as education, law enforcement, mental health, etc. We provide them the in-house training necessary to work within the framework of our planning organization. This policy has been successful. By virtue of being experts in their activity of assignment, OPB planners can discuss programs on a level with department heads. They have an expertise that is creating more trust in state planning and is helping to establish

better rapport between the Governor's office and the various state departments.

Georgia's state government still has a long way to go to achieve the quality of service that I would like to see. But we've come a long way since I took office in 1971.

The innovations involving zero-base budgeting and merging of the budgeting and planning staffs will be felt in Georgia for a long time. We are leaving a legacy to our next Governor that will allow him the flexibility and mechanism to move quickly into the decision-making process of a new administration that hasn't been available to Georgia's past governors.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON

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Urban Policy

TO THE UNITED STATES CONFERENCE ON MAYORS IN MILWAUKEE

June 29, 1976

I.

More than forty years ago, President Franklin Roosevelt declared that America's number one economic problem was poverty in the South.

President Roosevelt was right, and he had the vision and political ability to enact programs such as TVA and REA that changed my life and the lives of millions of Southerners.

Today, America's number one economic problem is our cities, and I want to work with you to meet the problems of urban America just as Franklin Roosevelt worked to meet the problems of the rural South in the 1930's.

I want to make one point at the outset, as plainly as I can.

There is no room in my concept of the Presidency for the politics of alienation and division.

For eight years, our cities and their people and their elected officials have too often been viewed by the White House as adversaries and used as political whipping boys.

Too often our highest federal officials have tried to score political points by pitting the suburbs and the rural areas against the cities.

Too often, these administrations have ignored the common interests which unite our local, state and federal governments.

I pledge to you an urban policy based on a new coalition—recognizing that the president, governors and mayors represent the same urban constituency.

I pledge to you that if I become President, you, the mayors of America, will have a friend, an ally, and a partner in the White House.

The mayors of America will have direct access to the White House to get prompt assistance on any problems that may arise.

It is time for our government leaders to recognize that the people who inhabit even the poorest and most deteriorating of our central cities are our fellow Americans, and that they want the same things we all want: personal security, a decent job, a good education for their children, opportunities for recreation—in short, the basic American promise of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Our goal must be to develop a coherent national urban policy that is consistent, compassionate, realistic, and that reflects the decency and good sense of the American people.

We have never really had a comprehensive urban policy in this country, although we have been moving toward one, in fits and starts, for several decades.

The initial steps came in the late 1930's when we began the first public housing projects. In 1949 we started the Urban Renewal Program. In the 1960's the Anti-Poverty Program and the Model Cities Program broke new ground in urban policy, and gave us some successes, some failures, and much experience to draw upon.

But for the past eight years we have drifted, we have seen indifference replace experimentation, and divisiveness replace the search for unity that this country so urgently needs.

Between 1972 and 1974 alone, the Nixon-Ford Administration cut \$4.5 billion in urban programs and another \$7 billion from programs to aid the poor, the unemployed and the medically indigent.

The cities, with their revenues already reduced by the worst recession in forty years, and with rapidly rising costs, could only respond to the financial crunch with higher taxes or reduced services. Thus, in 1975, our cities enacted \$1.5 billion in new taxes while reducing expenditures by \$1.4 billion. The result of these increased taxes and reduced services can only be to speed the flight to the suburbs and leave behind urban dwellers bereft of the hope for a better quality of life.

In short, in the absence of understanding and coordinated assistance among government leaders, many of our cities are caught in a vicious cycle, a downward spiral that can only be broken by new attitudes, new initiatives, and new leadership.

II.

The time has come for us to work together toward a restoration of federalism, through the creation of a balanced national partnership that is based on mutual trust, mutual respect, and mutual commitment to the future of the American city.

The balanced national partnership I envision must incorporate three basic elements.

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and funds for a total of some 800,000 summer jobs. Like some of you, I remember the impact of the CCC and WPA in the 1930's, and I think similar initiatives are called for today, but with stress on urban, rather than rural work projects, and with maximum possible local control over those projects. Public employment must be meaningful and productive in meeting the most urgent needs of the community.

Our efforts toward full employment must be supplemented by fiscal assistance, and in particular by an improved program of revenue sharing.

I predicted at the outset of the Nixon Administration's Revenue Sharing Program that it would eventually be used to reduce, rather than increase, net federal assistance to our states and cities. Unfortunately, I was correct.

I stand with you in urging Congress to extend the General Revenue Sharing Program with an inflation factor and with full enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill.

As perhaps you know, I have for some time stated my belief, even when I was a governor, that revenue sharing funds should go directly to localities, and that they should be free to use those funds to defray costs of education and social programs.

We also need countercyclical assistance, with revenue sharing and other financial aid designed to meet the special needs of the most hard-pressed urban areas. We need an automatic countercyclical assistance program, with a long-term authorization, triggered by carefully defined economic conditions in particular localities and designed to maintain service levels in our cities and thereby avoid disruptive tax increases and public employee layoffs.

I regret President Ford's veto last year of the Public Works Economic Development Act, with its needed provision for public works, for countercyclical aid to cities, and for waste water treatment plants, and I join you in urging that he sign the new version passed with overwhelming Democratic majorities, which now awaits his action.

The present bill is within the budget resolutions adopted by Congress, and it would not be rejected by a President who genuinely understood and cared about our cities and their people.

In the past year, the dramatic financial difficulties of New York City have been the focus of national attention on urban fiscal problems. But the truth is that cities throughout America share the same problems of declining revenues and increasing costs. Your own 1976 economic report makes that point abundantly clear. For the first time, cities of every size, and in every part of the nation, including the sunbelt, are face to face with financial crisis.

I think the public at large does not yet realize that what we confront is not just New York City's fiscal crisis, but a national problem. It will be your duty and my duty to make the nation aware of the broad nature of the urban problem, and to provide the leadership and the ideas that can cope with it.

Another need in easing urban problems, as I have

stressed throughout my campaign, is a complete overhaul of our welfare system.

Our present system is a failure deplored alike by those who pay for it, those who administer it, and those who supposedly benefit from it.

About 10% of those on welfare are able to work full time, and they should be offered job training and jobs. Any such person who refuses training or employment should not receive further welfare benefits.

The other 90% of the people on welfare are children, persons with dependent children, old people, handicapped people, or persons otherwise unable to work full time. They should be treated with compassion and respect.

We should have a simpler National Welfare Program, with one fairly uniform standard of payment, adjusted for cost of living differences by areas and with strong work incentives built in. In no case should the level of benefits make loafing more attractive than working. And we should have welfare rules that strengthen families rather than divide families. Local governments should not be burdened with the cost of welfare and my goal would also include the phased reduction of the states' share as soon as that is financially feasible.

I believe we are competent enough to create a welfare program that is both efficient and compassionate.

We also need presidential leadership in helping cities meet their housing and transportation needs.

1975 was our worst year in nearly three decades in terms of the number of housing units constructed. We set a goal in 1968 of 2½ million new housing units per year; last year we constructed barely one million.

At the same time, costs have been rising so that only one American family in six can now afford new housing.

We need a program that will provide jobs for hundreds of thousands of unemployed construction workers and also fulfill our national commitment to adequate housing construction.

Our long-range, comprehensive and predictable national housing policy must include:

Federal subsidies and low-interest loans for the construction of low and middle-income housing;

Greater effort to direct mortgage money into the financing of private housing;

Expansion of the successful Section 202 Housing Program for the Elderly;

Greater emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods and publicly created jobs to spearhead this rehabilitation;

Continued construction of rental homes for low-income families; and

Prohibition of red-lining practices by lending institutions.

We should give serious consideration to the proposals now before Congress for a domestic development bank that would make low-interest loans to businesses and state and local governments to encourage private sector investment in chronically depressed areas.

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 can be improved when it comes up for reauthor-

First, the Federal Government must provide predictable and adequate financial support to assist communities in meeting your legitimate fiscal needs, so that localities can avoid excessive service cutbacks and inordinate property tax increases.

Of course, we must be realistic. We cannot just throw money at problems. We must respect the desire of the American taxpayer to get a dollar's worth of results for each dollar spent. But I believe that if we talk sense to the American people, we will find support for a realistic program to meet the urban crisis. That is what I intend to do as President.

Secondly, a balanced national partnership must, to the greatest degree possible, grant to the local governments the administrative freedom needed for innovative, creative programming.

Between the mid-1950's and this year, the number of categorical grant programs grew from 150 to more than 1600, each with its own administrative bureaucracy, its own restrictive conditions, individual application procedures, review conditions and funding priorities.

These categorical grants can often serve important functions. On a program of national dimensions, such grants can maximize local involvement in confronting national problems.

In practice, however, the proliferation of grants has built an irrational structure, which has often limited local initiative and fragmented local efforts toward sound fiscal planning.

It is important to attach conditions to programs which ensure that funds are directed toward the beneficiaries intended by Congress and the President. But too often programs designed for the ghetto families have been shifted to further benefit affluent families whose political influence can prevail.

You, this nation's mayors, are the people on the firing line, fighting a hard battle against heavy odds, and we cannot expect you to fight well if you are trapped in the bureaucratic straightjacket that categorical grants have too often imposed.

To achieve a balanced national partnership, I intend to undertake a review, beginning this year and involving full consultation with state and local officials, and congressional leaders, to determine in which instances consolidation of categorical grants would be desirable.

That process of consolidation will insure that the federal structure is organized to allow localities maximum flexibility in delivering services within the framework of national standards. I can insure that consolidation will not be a cover to reduce needed federal assistance, or to change the distribution of benefits so as to discriminate against those individuals with the greatest need.

Third, a balanced federal partnership must involve the governors and the mayors in the earliest stages of formulating our national urban policy, and in the design of new administrative machinery to implement that policy.

Finally federalism is not going to mean anything until the Federal Government sets its own house in order. I intend as President to direct a complete re-

organization of the executive branch of the Federal Government along rational functional lines, one that will enable Washington to work more effectively with you in responding to the urban crisis.

I look forward with interest to observe similar improvements in municipal government organization and management which you are sharing with one another. We have long recognized that federal tax funds should not finance local waste.

My own views on federalism are not just theories: they directly reflect my experiences in dealing with the delivery end of complicated programs when I was Governor of Georgia.

I learned, along with you mayors, just how confused and irrational the Washington bureaucracy can be. For example, when we started a Drug Treatment Program under one state agency, we discovered there were some fourteen different agencies that were funding various aspects of the drug problem, and with little, if any, coordination among them.

But I am absolutely convinced that if we work together on the task, we can come up with a federal system that is effective and efficient and that can be a source of national pride instead of national embarrassment.

We simply can no longer afford the price of the red tape. We must get the money and services to the people who need them, and not just to the communities that happen to be most skilled in the art of grantsmanship.

III.

These are among my beliefs as I consider the urban problem. Now I want to discuss some of the specific programs I support.

The first thing we need is jobs, a job for every American who wants one. Unemployment and poverty are at the heart of the urban problem.

Last year, the central city unemployment rate was 9.6%, and among black teenagers the jobless rate in many areas was over 40%. Those figures are unacceptable. They reflect a national sickness that we must confront head-on. They reflect not only human tragedies but they are at the heart of the fiscal and social problems of cities. The only way to achieve the growth in the urban tax base required to meet rising expenditures is through a healthy local economy.

To provide employment, we need both a program of incentives to private employers and a program of public needs employment.

We must recognize at the outset that almost 85% of America's workers depend on private industry for jobs. I would like to maintain or improve this ratio.

To encourage new industrial development in the cities, I have proposed assistance to local governments for urban economic planning, employment credits to businesses for hiring the unemployed, and federal funds to support on-the-job training by business.

In terms of public employment, I favor an improved CETA Program, an accelerated Public Works Program,

ization next year. If I become President, it will be necessary for me to submit my proposals on this program to Congress very soon after taking office, and I want your ideas and recommendations on how it can be made more effective.

The plight of our municipal transportation systems is another subject for presidential concern and initiative.

For twenty years we have spent tens of billions of dollars on the interstate highway system while virtually ignoring public transportation. Our bus and subway systems have deteriorated, public use of them has declined, and deficits have mounted.

Although we must expedite final completion of the interstate highway system, we cannot allow mass transit to remain a national stepchild. If people cannot get in and out of our cities in comfort and safety, then the economic strength of our central cities is doomed.

As first steps toward revitalizing our urban transportation system, I propose:

To create a total national policy for all modes of transportation;

To increase the portion of transportation money available for public mass transportation;

To change the current restrictive limits on the use of mass transit funds by localities, so more money can be used as operating subsidies;

To revitalize our nation's railroads.

There is also a tremendous opportunity for relatively inexpensive transportation improvement by strong local action to provide off-street parking, one-way streets, exclusive bus lines, limited unloading hours for downtown stores, more carpools, and staggered working hours for public and private employees.

These are some of the necessary first steps if we are to deal with the urban crisis. There are obviously other areas of need, such as parks and recreation, education, pollution, and crime prevention, that must also be addressed.

Perhaps most importantly, we must recognize that many federal programs in the past have had a counterproductive effect on the health and wealth of our cities. It is time to assure that federal spending policy takes into account the best interests of our urban communities.

IV.

In order to have a comprehensive urban strategy, federal, state and local governments must provide incentives to direct the resources of private enterprise into our cities. Our national urban partnership would be incomplete without the creative involvement of private resources. The public sector cannot rebuild our cities alone. An optimum public-private partnership must be forged.

In this era of scarce resources, the Federal Government can help magnify limited public sector funds by engaging substantial private sector investment in our cities. As urban economist Anthony Downs noted, "Federal funds alone—and even all public sector funds together—have little chance of stimulating effective community development unless they are used as a

catalyst to attract large amounts of additional resources from the private sector."

The government can also help local communities encourage innovative new structures, such as tax increment financing, which allows a city to use growth in its property tax in a given area to stimulate needed urban reinvestments, and joint public-private development mechanisms.

The Community Development Act should not only be extended but its scope should be significantly oriented to encourage financial and political innovation by municipalities and their private sector partners. Community development funds, local tax increment financing, federal loan guarantees and other public and private funds should be used flexibly to create a revolving pool of financial resources for urban redevelopment. Unfortunately, the Ford Administration has not yet even implemented a small scale version of the current act, which affords an outstanding opportunity to combine public and private urban development investments.

Privately operated non-profit organizations committed to urban redevelopment, such as Central Atlanta Progress in my home state's capital, are being formed throughout the country to help serve as a catalyst for private investment in our cities. They must be encouraged in their efforts.

V.

I do not underestimate the magnitude of the problem. But neither do I underestimate the strength and compassion and good sense of the American people, when they are given the right kind of leadership and make up their minds to solve a problem.

A nation that can send men to the moon can meet its urban needs. It is a matter of priorities, of leadership, and of determination.

I think we stand at a turning point in history. If, a hundred years from now, this nation's experiment in democracy has failed, I suspect that historians will trace that failure to our own era, when a process of decay began in our inner cities and was allowed to spread unchecked throughout our society.

But I do not believe that must happen. I believe that, working together, we can turn the tide, stop the decay, and set in motion a process of growth that by the end of this century can give us cities worthy of the greatest nation on earth.

I recall the oath taken by the citizens of Athens:

"We will ever strive for the ideals and sacred things of the city;

"We will unceasingly seek to quicken the sense of public duty;

"We will revere and obey the city's laws;

"We will transmit this city not less, but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

Those words are more than two thousand years old, but they are still valid today. They are your goals, and they are my goals, and working together, we can achieve them. Thank you.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER

On Foreign Policy

TO MEMBERS OF THE

AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, TOKYO, JAPAN

May 28, 1975

*Undertaken for
indexing
N. Mandel*

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The world in 1975 is a very different world from that which we knew in the 1950s and the 1960s. Recent events have proven that a stable world order for the future cannot be built on a preoccupation with the old strategic issues which have dominated East-West and North-South relations since the end of World War II.

Recently, with the end of the Vietnam conflict, a tremendous burden has been lifted from our shoulders—both an economic burden and one of divisiveness and doubt. Our over-involvement in the internal affairs of Southeast Asian countries is resulting in a mandatory reassessment by the American people of our basic foreign policies. The lessons we have learned can be a basis for dramatic improvements in the prospects for world peace and the solutions for international problems. The people of the United States are inclined to look toward the future and not to dwell on the mistakes of the past.

What are the lessons we have learned? What are our likely decisions about the future?

There is no doubt that our people are wary of any new foreign involvements, but we realize that many such involvements will be necessary.

We have learned that never again should our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another nation unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people. We must not use the CIA or other covert means to effect violent change in any government or government policy. Such involvements are not in the best interests of world peace, and they are almost inherently doomed to failure.

When we embrace one of the contending leadership factions in a country, too often it is the power

of the United States, not the support of the people, which keeps that leader in power. Our chosen leader may then resort to repressive force against his own people to keep himself in power.

We have learned the hard way how important it is during times of international stress and turmoil to keep close ties with our allies and friends and to strive for multilateral agreements and solutions to critical problems. I hope that our days of unilateral intervention such as occurred in Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Dominican Republic are over.

Another lesson to be learned is that we cannot impose democracy on another country by force. Also, we cannot buy friends; and it is obvious that other nations resent it if we try. Our interests lie in protecting our national security, in preventing war, in peacefully promoting the principles of human freedom and democracy, and in exemplifying in our foreign policy the true character and attitudes of the American people.

We understand the vital importance of our relationship with our allies. Our friends in Japan, Western Europe and Israel must know that we will keep our promises; yet, they will be reassured not by promises but by tangible actions and regular consultations. It is particularly important that we recement strained relationships with our allies; that will be far easier to accomplish now that our involvement in Vietnam is over. The United States will always honor those commitments which have been made openly by our leaders and with the full knowledge and involvement of the people of our country.

We must never again keep secret the evolution of our foreign policy from the Congress and the Ameri-

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can people. They should never again be misled about our options, our commitments, our progress, or our failures. If the President sets the policy openly, reaching agreement among the officers of the government, if the President involves the Congress and the leaders of both parties rather than letting a handful of people plot the policy behind closed doors, then we will avoid costly mistakes and have the support of our citizens in our dealings with other nations. Our commitments will be stronger; abrupt changes will be fewer.

Secretaries of State and Defense and other Cabinet officers should regularly appear before Congress, hopefully in televised sessions, to answer hard questions and to give straight answers. No equivocation nor unwarranted secrecy should be permitted.

What are the other elements of our future foreign policy? This is no time for thoughts of isolationism. We can now turn our attention more effectively toward matters like the world economy, freedom of the seas, environmental quality, food, population, peace, conservation of irreplaceable commodities, and the reduction of world armaments. The intensity of our interrelated problems is rapidly increasing, and better mechanisms for consultation must be established and utilized before these problems become more dangerous.

Interdependence among nations is an unavoidable and increasing factor in our individual lives. We know that even a nation with an economy as strong as ours is affected by errors such as the excessive sale of wheat to Russia in 1973, by commodity boycotts, and by the ebb and tide of economic events in the rest of the world. Our own temporary embargo of soybeans and other oil seeds was a damaging mistake to ourselves and to our friends like Japan. Such mistakes can be avoided in the future only by a commitment to consultation, as exemplified by the Trilateral Commission relationship among North America, Western Europe, and Japan.

The machinery of consultation must be reexamined and some new mechanisms developed. Others need to be abandoned or revitalized. We must strengthen international organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations. Our new commitment to multinational consultation should be reflected in the quality of the representatives we appoint to international agencies.

It is likely in the near future that issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems which have dominated international relations in the world since World War II.

The relationship between Japan and the United States is based on both firm pillars of interest—our mutual security and our great economic relationship.

The security of Japan is vital to the United States, and we will maintain our commitment to Japan's defense. The sensitive question of the level and deployment of military forces here will, of course, be shaped in a continuing dialogue with Japan.

The enormous trade flow of \$24 billion a year is the largest overseas commerce the world has ever known. We rely on one another. There is no place for abrupt unilateral decisions which shock the other trading partner. Major foreign policy actions affecting the other must be thoroughly discussed in advance with our friend.

Interdependence means mutual sacrifice. For example, we must cooperate with our allies in reducing our demands for fossil fuel, assist them in the alternative development of energy resources, build up common stockpiles, plan jointly for future crises, and share the oil investments of the OPEC countries.

Among our people there is broad support for continuing the policy of detente with the Soviet Union and China—but not at the expense of close cooperation and consultation with our friends and allies. We must again reorient our foreign policy attention toward our friends. Our recent emphases have all too often involved our adversaries and ignored the interests and needs of our allies. Detente should be pursued on a mutually beneficial basis through a series of sustained, low key and open discussions among the participants—and not just dramatic or secret agreements among two or three national leaders.

Our concern with foreign policy, however, must go beyond avoiding the mistakes of the past, reaffirming our close relationship with our allies, and continuing the process of detente. We must end the continuing proliferation of atomic weapons throughout the world, which is as senseless as a waste of precious resources as it is a mortal danger to humanity. We should refuse to sell nuclear power plants and fuels to nations who do not sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty or who will not agree to adhere to strict provisions regarding international control of atomic wastes. The establishment of additional nuclear free zones in the world must also be encouraged.

In addition, however, the United States and the Soviet Union have an obligation to deal with the excessive nuclear armaments which we possess. Our ultimate goal should be the reduction of nuclear weapons in all nations to zero. In the meantime, simple, careful and firm public proposals to implement these reductions should be pursued as a prime

nuclear

national purpose in all our negotiations with nuclear powers—both present and potential. The Vladivostok agreement obviously permits the continued atomic arms race.

We must play a constructive role in the resolution of local conflicts which may lead to major power confrontations. Peace in the Middle East is of vital interest to us all. While peace is the basic responsibility of the nations in the area, the United States must help secure this peace by maintaining the trust of all sides. We must strive to maintain good relations with the Arab countries as well as Israel, and to recognize Arab needs and aspirations as long as they recognize that the major element of a settlement is the guaranteed right of Israel to exist as a viable and peaceful nation. The rights of the Palestinians must also be recognized as part of any final solution.

It is essential that the flow of oil to Japan and Western Europe never be shut off. The United States should not consider unilateral action in the Middle East to assure our own nation's access to Mideast oil. Open or veiled threats of armed intervention do not contribute toward a peaceful settlement of the problems of this tortured region.

The peoples of the developing nations need the aid, technology and knowledge of the developed nations. We need the developed nations as sources for raw materials and as markets for our exports. The world will not be a safe or decent place in which to live, however, if it continues to divide between countries which are increasingly rich and those which are increasingly impoverished.

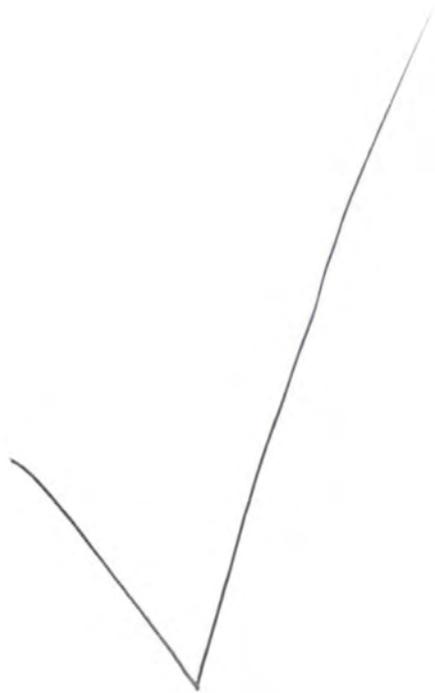
The knowledge that food, oil, fertilizer and financial credit are vital must not be the cause of international extortion; rather, our interdependence should provide

a basis on which continuing international trade agreements can be reached. There is a danger that the recent economic successes of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries cartel will encourage other confrontations by countries possessing scarce raw materials. This could be a serious and self-damaging mistake, resulting in a series of pyramiding and perhaps uncontrollable confrontations, leading to serious damage to the poorer and weaker nations.

A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation; when the countries with capital and technology belligerently confront other nations for the control of raw materials and energy sources; when open and discriminatory trade has become the exception rather than the rule; when there are no established arrangements for supplying the world's food and energy nor for governing, control and development of the seas; and when there are no effective efforts to deal with population explosions or environmental quality.

We must remember that because of our tremendous and continuing economic, military and political strength, the United States has an inevitable role of leadership to play within the community of nations. But our influence and respect should go beyond our military might, our political power, and our economic wealth—and be based on the fact that we are right, and fair, and decent, and honest, and truthful.

Our United States foreign policy must once again reflect the basic ideals of our people and our nation. We must reassert our vital interest in human rights and humanitarian concerns, and we must provide enlightened leadership in the world community. The people of the United States want to be trusted and respected, and we are determined, therefore, to be trustworthy and respectful of others.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

15-1

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON

Foreign Relations

March 15, 1976

Underlined for indexing N. Mauduit

I am pleased to speak to you today. This council is the oldest, the largest, and the most active organization of its kind in the country. For over fifty years you have helped make this city and this region better informed about a world which the St. Lawrence Seaway now brings to your doorstep. Men like Adlai Stevenson, Paul Douglas, and Frank Knox studied the world through this council and went on to make history.

I want to take this opportunity to explain how I shall approach the problems of foreign policy if I am elected President:

How I see our international situation today;

What our role in the world should be;

How we should approach our relationships with different kinds of international neighbors;

What kinds of policies, and what kind of policy-makers we shall need so that our international relations can be true expressions of the goals and the character of the people of our country.

Our recent foreign policy, I am afraid, has been predicated on a belief that our national and international strength is inevitably deteriorating. I do not accept this premise.

The prime responsibility of any president is to guarantee the security of our nation, with a tough, muscular, well-organized and effective fighting force. We must have the ability to avoid the threat of successful attack or blackmail and we must always be strong enough to carry out our legitimate foreign policy. This is a prerequisite to peace.

Our foreign policy today is in greater disarray than at any time in recent history.

Our Secretary of State simply does not trust the judgment of ~~the American people~~, but constantly conducts foreign policy exclusively, personally and in secret. This creates in our country the very divisions which he has lately deplored. Longstanding traditions of a bi-partisan policy and close consultation between the President and Congress have been seriously damaged.

We are losing a tremendous opportunity to reassert our leadership in working with other nations in the cause of peace and progress. The good will our country once

enjoyed, based on what we stood for and the willingness of others to follow our example, has been dissipated.

Negotiations with the Soviets on strategic arms are at dead center, while the costly and dangerous buildup of nuclear weapons continues.

The policy of detente, which holds real possibilities for peace, has been conducted in a way that has eroded the public confidence it must have.

The moral heart of our international appeal — as a country which stands for self-determination and free choice — has been weakened. It is obviously un-American to interfere in the free political processes of another nation. It is also un-American to engage in assassinations in time of peace in any country.

The people of other nations have learned, in recent years, that they can sometimes neither trust what our government says nor predict what it will do. They have been hurt and disappointed so many times that they no longer know what to believe about the United States. They want to respect us. They like our people. But our people do not seem to be running our government.

Every time we have made a serious mistake in recent years in our dealings with other nations, the American people have been excluded from the process of evolving and consummating our foreign policy. Unnecessary secrecy surrounds the inner workings of our own government, and we have sometimes been deliberately misled by our leaders.

For many nations, we have two policies: one announced in public, another pursued in secret. In the case of China, we even seem to have two Presidents.

No longer do our leaders talk to the people of the world with the vision, compassion and practical idealism of men like Woodrow Wilson and John Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson.

Our foreign policy is being evolved in secret, and in its full details and nuances, it is probably known to one man only. That man is skilled at negotiation with leaders of other countries but far less concerned with consulting the American people or their representatives in Congress, and far less skilled in marshalling the support of a nation behind an effective foreign policy. Because we have let our foreign

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policy be made for us, we have lost something crucial in the way we talk and the way we act toward other peoples of the world.

When our President and Secretary of State speak to the world without the understanding or support of the American people, they speak with an obviously hollow voice.

All of this is a cause of sorrow and pain to Americans, as well as to those who wish us well and look to us for leadership. We ought to be leading the way toward economic progress and social justice and a stronger, more stable international order. They are the principles on which this nation was founded two hundred years ago, by men who believed with Thomas Paine that the "cause of America is the cause of all mankind."

Every successful foreign policy we have had — whether it was the Good Neighbor Policy of President Franklin Roosevelt, The Point Four of President Truman or the Peace Corps and Trade Reform of President Kennedy — was successful because it reflected the best that was in us.

And in every foreign venture that has failed — whether it was Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Angola or in the excesses of the CIA — our Government forged ahead without consulting the American people, and did *things* that were contrary to our basic character.

The lesson we draw from recent history is that public understanding and support are now as vital to a successful foreign policy as they are to any domestic program. *No one can make our foreign policy for us as well as we can make it ourselves.*

The role of the United States in the world is changing. For years, we were the only free nation with the military capacity to keep the peace and the resources to insure world economic stability. Japan and Western Europe would never have been able to achieve their economic miracles without our help. Nor could world exports have risen to their present level of three-quarters of a trillion dollars, had not international trade and investment been backed for so long by the American dollar.

These were historic and generous accomplishments, of which we can be justly proud. But we also had the power to make or break regimes with adroit injections of money or arms, and we sometimes used this power in ways that are less commendable.

The world is different now. The old postwar monopolies of economic resource and industrial power have been swept aside and replaced by new structures. The Common Market countries and others like Japan, Mexico, Brazil, and Iran are strong and self-sufficient.

We have learned that we cannot and should not try to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of other countries unless our own nation is endangered.

Over 100 new nations have come into being in the past 30 years. A few have wealth, but most exist in bitter poverty. In many, independence has set loose long-suppressed emotions and antagonisms. In Uganda and Angola, Bangladesh and Lebanon — and recently in the United Nations — we have seen what can happen when nationalist and racial passions, or tribal or religious hatreds, are left to run their course.

We cannot isolate ourselves from the forces loose in the world. The question is not whether we take an interest in foreign affairs, but how we do it and why we do it.

In the last few years, I have travelled in foreign lands, and met with many of their leaders. I have served on international bodies, such as the Trilateral Commission, which makes recommendations on some of these problems. I have given thought to the structure of what our foreign policy should be.

There are certain basic principles I believe should guide whatever is done in foreign lands in the name of the United States of America.

First, our policies should be as open and honest and decent and compassionate as the American people themselves are. Our policies should be shaped with the participation of Congress, from the outset, on a bi-partisan basis. And they should emerge from broad and well-informed public debate and participation.

Second, our policies should treat the people of other nations as individuals, with the same dignity and respect as we demand for ourselves. No matter where they live, no matter who they are, the people of other lands are just as concerned with the struggles of daily life as you and I. They work hard, they have families whom they love, they have hopes and dreams and a great deal of pride. And they want to live in peace. Their basic personal motives are the same as ours.

Third, it must be the responsibility of the President to restore the moral authority of this country in its conduct of foreign policy. We should work for peace and the control of arms in everything we do. We should support the humanitarian aspirations of the world's people. Policies that strengthen dictators or create refugees, policies that prolong suffering or postpone racial justice weaken that authority. Policies that encourage economic progress and social justice promote it. In an age when almost all of the world's people are tied together by instant communication, the image of a country, as seen through its policies, has a great deal to do with what it can accomplish through the traditional channels of diplomacy.

Fourth, our policies should be aimed at building a just and peaceful world order, in which every nation can have a constructive role. For too long, our foreign policy has consisted almost entirely of maneuver and manipulation, based on the assumption that the world is a jungle of competing national antagonisms, where military supremacy and economic muscle are the only things that work and where rival powers are balanced against each other to keep the peace.

Exclusive reliance on this strategy is not in keeping with the character of the American people, or with the world as it is today. Balance of power politics may have worked in 1815, or even 1945, but it has a much less significant role in today's world. Of course, there are rivalries — racial, religious, national, some of them bitter. But the need for cooperation, even between rivals, goes deeper than all of them.

Every nation has a stake in stopping the pollution of the seas and the air. Every nation wants to be free from the

threat of blackmail by international terrorists and hijackers. Every nation, including those of OPEC, sits on limited resources of energy that are running out. The vast majority of countries, including the Soviet Union, do not grow enough food to feed their own people. Every nation's economy benefits from expanding two-way trade. And everyone — except perhaps the speculator — has a stake in a fair and reliable international monetary system.

Our diplomatic agenda must also include preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and controlling the flow of narcotics.

In the future, we must turn our attention increasingly towards these common problems of food, energy, environment, and trade. A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation or when there are no established arrangements to deal with population growth or environmental quality. The intensity of these interrelated problems is rapidly increasing and better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that affect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized.

While the American people have had their fill of military adventurism and covert manipulation, we have not retreated into isolationism. We realize that increased anarchy will not only reverse the progress toward peace and stability that we have made, but also strengthen the hand of our adversaries.

That is why we must replace balance of power politics with world order politics. The new challenge to American foreign policy is to take the lead in joining the other nations of the world to build a just and stable international order.

We need to reorder our diplomatic priorities. In recent years, we have paid far more attention to our adversaries than to our friends, and we have been especially neglectful of our neighbors in Latin America.

It is important to continue to seek agreements with the Russians and the Chinese, especially in the control of weapons. Success there could mean life instead of death for millions of people. But the divisions between us are deep. The differences of history and ideology will not go away. It is too much to expect that we can do much more in these relationships than reduce the areas of irritation and conflict and lessen the danger of war.

Our nation should coordinate its policy with our friends — countries like the democratic states of Europe, North America and Japan — those countries who share with us common goals and aspirations. We should work in concert with them. Ours are the fortunate countries of the world. But our continued prosperity and welfare depend upon increased coordination of our policies. If we can work together on goals which reflect the common needs and shared values of our people, we can make our societies the strong and stable inner core around which world cooperation, prosperity and peace can develop.

If we believe in the importance of this effort, we should make some changes. We must both lead and collaborate at the same time. We must consult with others more about our plans. The days of "Nixon Shocks" and "Kissinger

Surprises" must end. Our goal should be to act in concert with these countries whenever we can.

And we must have faith in their commitment to democracy. We do not need to preach to the western Europeans about the dangers of communism as the Secretary of State did last week. Their traditions and political good sense are not inferior to ours.

Our policies toward the developing countries also need revision. For years, we have either ignored them or treated them as pawns in the big power chess game. Both approaches were deeply offensive to their people. The oil embargo taught us that even the least developed nation will eventually have control over its own natural resources and that those countries which, alone or together, can control necessary commodities are a force that can neither be ignored or manipulated.

An attitude of neglect and disrespect toward the developing nations of the world is predicated in part on a sense of superiority toward others — a form of racism. This is incompatible with the character of American people.

We need to enlist the cooperation of the developing nations, for when we speak of the tasks of a stable world order, we include preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, policing the world's environment, controlling the flow of narcotics and establishing international protection against acts of terror. If three-quarters of the people of the world do not join in these arrangements, they will not succeed.

Our policies toward the developing world must be tough-minded in the pursuit of our legitimate interests. At the same time, these policies must be patient in the recognition of their legitimate interests which have too often been cast aside.

The developing world has, of course, a few leaders who are implacably hostile to anything the United States does. But the majority of its leaders are moderate men and women who are prepared to work with us. When we ignore the Third World, as we have for so long, the extremists will usually have their way. But if we offer programs based on common interests, we can make common cause with most of their leadership.

Our program of international aid to developing nations should be redirected so that it meets the minimum human needs of the greatest number of people. This means an emphasis on food, jobs, education, and public health — including access to family planning. The emphasis in aid should be on those countries with a proven ability to help themselves, instead of those that continue to allow enormous discrepancies in living standards among their people. The time has come to stop taxing poor people in rich countries for the benefit of rich people in poor countries.

In our trade relations with these nations we should join commodity agreements in such items as tin, coffee and sugar which will assure adequate supplies to consumers, protect our people from inflation, and at the same time stop the fluctuation in prices that can cause such hardship and uncertainty in single-commodity countries.

The burden of economic development is going to be a heavy one. There are many countries which ought to share

it, not only in Europe and Asia but in the Mideast. Today, a greater proportion of royalties from oil can be channelled to the Third World by international institutions. Tomorrow, they can receive a part of the profits from the mining of the seas. The purpose of such development is not to level the economic lot of every person on earth. It is to inject the wealth-creating process into countries that are now stagnant; it is to help developing countries to act in what is their own best interest as well as ours - produce more food, limit population growth, and expand markets, supplies and materials. It is simply to give every country a sufficient stake in the international order so that it feels no need to act as an outlaw. It is to advance the cause of human dignity.

We must also work with the countries of the Communist World. The policy of East-West detente is under attack today because of the way it has been exploited by the Soviet Union. The American people were told it would mean a "generation of peace," at no risk to the nation's vital interests. And yet, in places like Syria or Angola, in activities like offensive missile development, the Soviets seem to be taking advantage of the new relationship to expand their power and influence, and increase the risk of conflict.

I support the objectives of detente but I cannot go along with the way it has been handled by Presidents Nixon and Ford. The Secretary of State has tied its success too closely to his personal reputation. As a result, he is giving up too much and asking for too little. He is trumpeting achievements on paper while failing to insist on them in practice.

The relationship of detente is one of both cooperation and competition, of new kinds of contacts in some areas along with continued hostility in others. In the troubled history of our relationships with the Soviet Union, this is where we have arrived. The benefits of detente must accrue to both sides, or they are worthless. Their mutual advantage must be apparent, or the American people will not support the policy.

To the Soviets, detente is an opportunity to continue the process of world revolution without running the threat of nuclear war. They have said so quite openly, as recently as a month ago at their 25th party congress. To the Soviet Union, with our acquiescence, detente is surface tranquility in Europe within boundaries redefined to their benefit, together with support for wars of national liberation elsewhere. It is having the benefits of the Helsinki Accords without the requirement of living up to the human rights provisions which form an integral part of it. This is not the road to peace but the bitter deception of the American people.

But while detente must become more reciprocal, I reject the strident and bellicose voices of those who would have this country return to the days of the cold war with the Soviet Union. I believe the American people want to look to the future. They have seen the tragedy of American involvement in Vietnam and drawn appropriate lessons for tomorrow. They seek new vistas, not a repetition of old rhetoric and old mistakes.

It is in our interest to try to make detente broader and more reciprocal. Detente can be an instrument for long-term peaceful change within the Communist system, as well

as in the rest of the world. We should make it clear that detente requires that the Soviets, as well as the United States, refrain from irresponsible intervention in other countries. The Russians have no more business in Angola than we have.

The core of detente is the reduction in arms. We should negotiate to reduce the present SALT ceilings on offensive weapons before both sides start a new arms race to reach the current maximums, and before new missile systems are tested or committed for production.

I am not afraid of hard bargaining with the Soviet Union. Hard bargaining will strengthen support for the agreements that can be reached, and will show that we, as well as they, can gain from detente. We can increase the possibility that the fear of war and the burden of arms may be lifted from the shoulders of humanity by the nations that have done the most to place it there.

Our vision must be of a more pluralistic world and not of a communist monolith. We must pay more attention to China and to Eastern Europe. It is in our interest and in the interests of world peace to promote a more pluralistic communist world.

We should remember that Eastern Europe is not an area of stability and it will not become such until the Eastern European countries regain their independence and become part of a larger cooperative European framework. I am concerned over the long-range prospects for Rumanian and Yugoslavian independence, and I deplore the recent inflection upon Poland of a constitution that ratifies its status as a Soviet Satellite. We must reiterate to the Soviets that an enduring American-Soviet detente cannot ignore the legitimate aspirations of other nations. We must likewise insist that the Soviet Union and other countries recognize the human rights of all citizens who live within their boundaries, whether they be blacks in Rhodesia, Asians in Uganda, or Jews in the Soviet Union.

Our relations with China are important to world peace and they directly affect the world balance. The United States has a great stake in a nationally independent, secure, and friendly China. The present turmoil in Chinese domestic politics could be exploited by the Soviets to promote a Sino-Soviet reconciliation which might be inimical to international stability and to American interests. I believe that we should explore more actively the possibility of widening American-Chinese trade relations and of further consolidating our political relationships.

The Middle East is a key testing area for our capacity to construct a more cooperative international system. I believe deeply that a Middle East peace settlement is essential to American interests, to Israel's long-range survival and to international cooperation. Without a settlement, the region will become increasingly open to Soviet influence and more susceptible to radical violence. I believe that the United States should insure Israel's security while at the same time encourage both sides to address themselves to the substance of a genuine settlement.

There is no question that both Africa and Latin America have been ignored since the presidencies of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. These areas should become, and indeed will become, increasingly important in the next decade. Our relationships with these must abandon

15-5

traditional paternalism. The United States-Brazilian agreement, signed recently by Secretary of State Kissinger on his trip to Latin America, is a good example of our present policy at its worst. Kissinger's remarks during his visit that "there are no two people whose concern for human dignities and for the basic values of man is more profound in day-to-day life than Brazil and the United States" can only be taken as a gratuitous slap in the face of all those Americans who want a foreign policy that embodies our ideals, not subverts them.

If our aim is to construct an international order, we must also work through the international bodies that now exist. On many of these issues, they are the only places where nations regularly come together. We have all been deeply disturbed by the drift of the United Nations and the other international organizations, and by the acrimony and cliquishness that seems to have taken hold. But it would be a mistake to give up on the United Nations.

In the future, we should make multilateral diplomacy a major part of our efforts so that other countries know in advance the importance the United States attaches to their behavior in the United Nations and other international organizations. We should make a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U. N. systems.

We should undertake a systematic political and economic cost-benefit analysis of existing international institutions in the United Nations systems and outside, with a view to determining the appropriate level of United States support. We should end the current diplomatic isolation of the United States in international forums by working more closely with our allies and with moderate elements in the developing world on a basis of mutual understanding consistent with our respective national interests.

A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation, when the countries with capital and technology belligerently confront other nations for the control of raw materials and energy sources, when open and non-discriminatory trade has become the exception rather than the rule;

oceans

when there are no established arrangements for supplying the world's food and energy, nor for governing control and development of the seas, and when there are no effective efforts to deal with population explosions or environmental quality. The intensity to these interrelated problems is rapidly increasing and better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that affect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized.

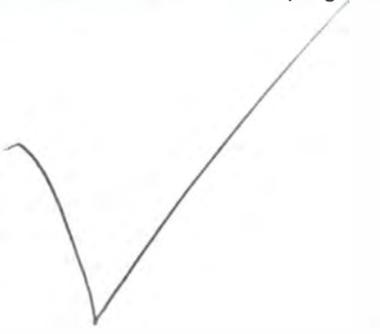
For it is likely that in the future, the issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems which have dominated international relations since 1945.

Finally, I said I would touch on the kind of people we need to administer our foreign policy. I believe that the foreign policy spokesman of our country should be the President, and not the Secretary of State. The conduct of foreign policy should be a sustained process of decision and action, and not a series of television spectacles. Under the current administration, the agencies which are supposed to conduct our foreign affairs have been largely wasted and demoralized. They must be revitalized and if necessary reorganized — to upgrade their performance, their quality, and the morale of their personnel.

In our search for peace we must call upon the best talent we can find in the universities, the business world, labor, the professions, and the scientific community. Appointments to our U. N. delegation, to other diplomatic posts, and to international conferences should be made exclusively on a merit basis, in contrast to the political patronage that has characterized appointments under this administration. ambassadorial appointments

The world needs a strong America and a confident America. We cannot and should not avoid a role of world leadership. But our leadership should not be based just on military might or economic power or political pressure, but also on truth, justice, equality, and a true representation of the moral character of our people.

For this leadership the world can derive mutual peace and progress.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON THE Middle East ELIZABETH, NJ

Underlined for indexing H. Mauldin

16-1

June 6, 1976

I am very grateful to all of you for giving me the chance to meet this morning with your Mayor, Thomas Dunn, and those clergymen who could come here from throughout the State of New Jersey, and community leaders who have assembled here and others who have a deep interest in the attitude of our nation toward both domestic and foreign affairs.

For the last sixteen and one-half months, I have been campaigning around our country spelling out with increasing amount of attention among people my positions on issues that are important to you and also of importance to other nations in the world. This morning I wanted to take an opportunity, which is a fairly rare occasion for a candidate, to make a major policy statement in written form because if I do become President of this country I want it to be known very clearly what my policy will be throughout my administration representing you as a spokesman for this country, as commander-in-chief of our armed forces, as a shaper and consummator of our foreign policy on the various important subjects of the Middle East.

The land of Israel has always meant a great deal to me. As a boy I read of the prophets and martyrs in the Bible—the same Bible that we all study together. As an American I have admired the State of Israel and how she, like the United States, opened her doors to the homeless and the oppressed.

I've traveled in Israel, visiting Jerusalem and Jericho, Aviv, the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, visiting personally with Mrs. Meir, Prime Minister Rabin, Mr. Abba Eban, Finance Minister Sapir, and other Israeli leaders, as well. I have also had a chance to meet and talk and learn about Israel's people. Like all of you, I have been inspired by the optimism and courage and the hard work that I have seen in Israel.

When I announced my candidacy for the presidency in December of 1974, I said that the time for American intervention in all the problems of the world is past. I also said that we cannot retreat into isolationism. I pointed out that America must fulfill commitments and maintain its strength if world peace is to be preserved. I stressed also that the integrity of Israel as a Jewish State must be preserved.

Three months ago, in a foreign policy speech in Chicago, I said that balance of power politics should be replaced by a new effort to join with other nations to build a just and a stable world order, and that it is unfortunate that our own nation's foreign policy is being made and executed by just one man—the Secretary of State. I stressed my views that in a democracy a nation's foreign policy should be openly arrived at, and should reflect the essential decency and generosity and honesty of the American people.

I want to speak today about how these principles should apply to the situation in the Middle East.

This region has experienced a resurgence of the tension and conflict which has been its lot for decades and, indeed, for centuries. Since 1948, four wars have been fought there. Countless diplomatic initiatives have been launched. Yet peace seems no closer today than it was in 1948, and the possibility of the Middle East touching off a global war is still very much with us.

But even without war, terrorism runs rampant and the burden of arms bleeds the budget of every nation in the area.

Obviously, all people of goodwill can agree it is time—it is far past time—for permanent peace in the Middle East. A peace based on genuine reconciliation and respect between all the concerned nations there.

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And in this quest for peace, the American people as well as the people of Israel and the Arab states look to the United States Government to help lead the way.

We have a unique opportunity to contribute to the solution of this conflict if we can maintain the trust of all sides. Our constant and unswerving goal must be the survival of Israel as a Jewish State, and the achievement for all people of a just and lasting settlement. As long as there is no such settlement, there can be no peace. There will only be periods of uneasy truce punctuated by border raids and terrorism while each side builds up forces preparing for another conflict.

A real peace must be based on absolute assurance of Israel's survival and security. As President, I would never yield on that point. The survival of Israel is not just a political issue, it is a moral imperative. That is my deeply held belief and it is the belief that is shared by the vast majority of American people.

Rarely in history have two nations been so closely bound together as the United States and Israel. We are both democratic nations, we both cherish freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion. We are both nations of immigrants. We both share cultural and artistic values. We are friends and we are constant allies. Ours was the first nation to recognize the State of Israel when it was formed and we must remain the first nation to which Israel can turn in time of need.

Just as we must be clear about our commitment for the preservation and well-being of Israel, we must also be clear about our commitment to meaningful and productive Arab-Israeli negotiations.

Only face-to-face communication can build a trust and insure the accommodations that will be needed. By insisting on these kinds of talks, by demonstrating the seriousness of our commitment to a real peace, we can use our influence to prepare all sides for the best way out of this tragic conflict.

I favor early movement toward discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement. I discussed this particular subject with Mrs. Golda Meir within the last few weeks—an early movement towards discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement. A limited settlement, as we have seen in the past, still leaves unresolved the underlying threat to Israel. A general settlement is needed—one which will end the conflict between Israel and its neighbors once and for all.

Now the guide to a general settlement is to be found in United Nations Resolution 242 which has been accepted by Israel and all her neighboring governments. It sets forth two main principles.

One of these is, and I quote, "termination of all claims on states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secured and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

That is a very important commitment, which I repeat has been accepted by Israel and all the surrounding nations.

This is the heart of the matter. Peace in the Middle East depends more than anything else on a basic change of attitude. To be specific, on Arab recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish State.

Now this change of attitude on the part of the Arab states must be reflected in tangible and concrete actions including first of all the recognition of Israel, which they have not yet done; secondly, diplomatic relations with Israel; third, a peace treaty with Israel; fourth, open frontiers by Israel's neighbors; last, an end to embargo and official hostile propaganda against the State of Israel.

In justifying these steps to their own people, Arab leaders will have to acknowledge that the Arab-Israeli war is over once and for all, that this is not just another armed truce. Without this basic change, no permanent peace is possible.

The other principle of the United Nations Resolution 242 calls for, and again I quote, "withdrawal of Israel's armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict." This language leaves open the door for changes in the pre-1967 lines by mutual agreement.

Final borders between Israel and her neighbors should be determined in direct negotiations between the parties and they should not be imposed from outside.

Now this general settlement we all want to see will take time to negotiate and even more time to implement. Its execution would probably come in stages. This would permit both sides to test the durability of the settlement, and it would give either side the opportunity to halt the process if it found that its own interests were being violated.

We are dealing with a deep and bitter legacy of hatred and distrust which can only be dissipated over time. This makes it all the more important now to lift the sights of all concerned by focusing on the long-term goal.

While we work toward peace, we must acknowledge the lessons of the past wars. Progress towards peace requires that Israel remain strong enough, that it can neither be overrun militarily nor isolated in the international community.

Israel has never sought American soldiers and in all of the many discussions I have had with top Israeli leaders in the present and past governments, in the Knesset, in the military, I have never heard an Israeli leader say they might some day need American troops. They seek only the tools to assure their own defense.

We should continue to supply, in the full amount necessary, economic and military aid so that Israel can pursue peace from a position of strength and power.

We should continue to aid Israel's economy which has been strained to the utmost by the burdens of

defense. Mrs. Meir told me that over 40% of Israel's total budget went for defense.

We must also continue to maintain our strong military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean under every circumstance, with a capacity to reinforce that presence powerfully, if need be, in order to deter outside interference in any local conflict.

Now none of this need prevent our maintaining good relations with the Arab states. Avoiding conflict and achieving a settlement is in their interest as well as in Israel's.

In assisting both sides' efforts to achieve such a settlement we not only fulfill our commitments to Israel, we strengthen the strong lines of friendship that have developed between us and the Arab countries over many years. The process of peace will be best served if these relations deepen—not at the expense of Israel—but in the interest of all countries involved. I do not believe it serves the cause of peace if we arm any country beyond its legitimate needs for defense. Local arms races, besides being very costly, increase the chances of war.

I said two months ago that I do not favor supplying offensive weapons to Egypt and I still hold to that view. We should help Egypt obtain housing and jobs and health care for its people, not such offensive weapons as tanks and attack planes and missiles. Investing in Egypt's economic development is an investment in peace.

We have already developed close ties of investment and economic aid with many Arab countries. This shows that economic interdependence can also be a foundation of peace, that Arab people are no less tired of war than Israel, no less weary of its burden and waste, and no less mournful of their dead. Some Arab states have set goals for economic development and education which are worthy of great respect as well as our aid and participation. But their dreams, like the dreams of Israel, will come true only if there is a lasting peace in the Middle East.

Unless there is peace the Arab countries will inevitably become radicalized, more militant, and more susceptible to Soviet re-entry, both politically and militarily. If that happens, Israel will be confronted with an even greater threat than she faces today.

Peace in the Middle East involves difficult, highly emotional issues. In face-to-face negotiations, if all parties will act with fairness and goodwill, the questions of boundary lines and the status of the Palestinians can be resolved.

There is a humanitarian core within the complexities of the Palestinian problem. Too many human beings, denied a sense of hope for the future, are living in makeshift and crowded camps where demagogues and terrorists can feed on their despair. They have rights which must be recognized in any settlement and the Government of Israel has made it clear that it is sensitive to that fact.

But those terrorists who wage war and deny the very concept of Israeli nationhood only undermine their own people's best interests. We must make it clear to the world that there can be no reward for terrorism.

I am going to speak to you of the Soviet Union. We want no clash with the Soviets, but we cannot accept the intervention of its combat forces into any Arab-Israeli conflict. Our naval and air presence in the eastern Mediterranean should make this clear. Mutual non-intervention by the super-powers serves these powers' interests and also the interest of all states in the area.

By the same token, I do not believe that the road to peace can be found by U.S.-Soviet imposition of a settlement. It would, however, be desirable to attain Soviet agreement and support for any settlement, since we do not want to give the Soviet Union any reason or excuse to subvert or undermine that settlement. We seek the support of the Soviet Government in the search for peace, but we will continue that search with or without her support.

We all want to see a Middle East dedicated to human progress rather than sterile hate. We want to see the desert bloom on both sides of the River Jordan, and along the Nile River, and everywhere that human beings hope for better life for themselves and for their children.

We must work towards these goals through international organizations, as well as bilateral negotiations.

This is a difficult time for Israel in the international arena, primarily because of the importance of oil to the world's developing nations. I deplore the actions taken recently in the United States. I reject utterly the charge that Zionism is a form of racism. Indeed, as you know, Zionism has been, in part, a response to racism against the Jewish people. The concept of the State of Israel was born out of centuries of persecution of human beings because they practiced a different religion.

For these 2000 years, the Jewish people in century after century, in country after country, have faced propaganda, attempts at forced conversion, discrimination, pogroms, and death, until the ultimate horror of the holocaust. Surely, the Jewish people are entitled to one place on this earth where they can have their own State on soil given them by God from time immemorial.

For years the vision of Israel has embodied the dream that there could be at least one place on earth where racism could never exist. Now that dream has come true. As a country founded upon religious freedom and dedicated to brotherhood, America has a special responsibility, not only to oppose this baseless charge wherever it appears, but to keep that dream alive.

Finally, I want to say that there have been far too many secret undertakings, covert assurances, contradictory promises, and diplomatic sleights of hand. Maneuvers of this kind are bound to produce, as they have produced, both failure in negotiations and suspicion among the participants.

American policy toward the Middle East and toward every other part of the world should be shaped with the knowledge of the Congress from the outset on a bi-partisan basis. It would emerge from broad and well-informed public debate. Indeed, this is a necessity. In every foreign venture that has failed, whether it was Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Angola or in the excesses of the CIA, our government operated secretly, and forged ahead without consulting the American people. It did things that were contrary to our basic character.

Public understanding and support today are as vital to successful foreign policies as they are to any domestic policies. No one can make our foreign policy for us as well as we can make it for ourselves. It should be based not just on military might or economic power or political pressure, but also on truth, justice, equality

and a true representation of our moral character and the compassion of our people. A policy of that kind will reflect the best in all of us. And that kind of policy can succeed.

Peace in the Middle East is not an impossible dream. It can be a concrete objective, and it is one to which the next President should direct his efforts from the date he takes office as a matter of the highest priority and the greatest urgency.

If I become your President, I will do everything in my power to make our nation an agent of peace in the Middle East; a just and lasting peace that will be in keeping with the teaching of Scripture, in keeping with our nation's best traditions and in fulfillment of the highest hopes of all mankind.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON

Nuclear Energy and World Order

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

May 13, 1976

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Director-General, Captain Cousteau, Ambassador Akhund, Mr. Lehman:

I have a deep personal concern with the subject of this conference today — "Nuclear Energy and World Order."

I have had training as a nuclear engineer, working in the United States Navy on our country's early nuclear submarine program. I learned how nuclear power can be used for peaceful purposes — for propelling ships, for generating electric power and for scientific and medical research. I am acutely aware of its potential — and its dangers. Once I helped in disassembling a damaged nuclear reactor core in an experimental reactor at Chalk River, Canada.

From my experience in the Navy and more recently as Governor of Georgia, I have come to certain basic conclusions about the energy problem. The world has only enough oil to last about 30 to 40 years at the present rate of consumption. It has large coal reserves — with perhaps 200 years of reserves in the United States alone. The United States must shift from oil to coal, taking care about the environmental problems involved in coal production and use. Our country must also maintain strict energy conservation measures, and derive increasing amounts of energy from renewable sources such as the sun.

U.S. dependence on nuclear power should be kept to the minimum necessary to meet our needs. We should apply much stronger safety standards as we regulate its use. And we must be honest with our people concerning its problems and dangers.

I recognize that many other countries of the world do not have the fossil fuel reserves of the United States. With the four-fold increase in the price of oil, many countries have concluded that they have no immediate alternative except to concentrate on nuclear power.

But all of us must recognize that the widespread use of nuclear power brings many risks. Power reactors may malfunction and cause widespread radiological damage, unless stringent safety requirements are met. Radioactive wastes may be a menace to future generations and civilizations, unless they are effectively isolated within the biosphere forever. And terrorists or other criminals may

steal plutonium and make weapons to threaten society or its political leaders with nuclear violence, unless strict security measures are developed and implemented to prevent nuclear theft.

Beyond these dangers, there is the fearsome prospect that the spread of nuclear reactors will mean the spread of nuclear weapons to many nations. By 1990, the developing nations alone will produce enough plutonium in their reactors to build 3,000 Hiroshima-size bombs a year, and by the year 2000, worldwide plutonium production may be over 1 million pounds a year — the equivalent of 100,000 bombs a year — about half of it outside of the United States.

The prospect of a nuclear future will be particularly alarming if a large number of nations develop their own national plutonium reprocessing facilities with the capacity to extract plutonium from the spent fuel. Even if such facilities are subject to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency, and even if the countries controlling them are parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, plutonium stockpiles can be converted to atomic weapons at a time of crisis, without fear of effective sanction by the international community.

The reality of this danger was highlighted by the Indian nuclear explosion of May, 1974, which provided a dramatic demonstration that the development of nuclear power gives any country possessing a reprocessing plant a nuclear weapons option. Furthermore, with the maturing of nuclear power in advanced countries, intense competition has developed in the sale of power reactors, which has also included the sale of the most highly sensitive technologies, including reprocessing plants. With the spread of such capabilities, normal events of history — revolutions, terrorist attacks, regional disputes, and dictators — all could take on a nuclear dimension.

Dr. Alvin Weinberg, former Director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and one of the most thoughtful nuclear scientists in the United States was properly moved to observe: "We nuclear people have made a Faustian bargain with society. On the one hand we offer an inexhaustible supply of energy, but the price that we



demand of society for this magical energy source is both a vigilance and a longevity of our social institutions that we are quite unaccustomed to."

Nuclear energy must be at the very top of the list of global challenges that call for new forms of international action. The precise form which that action should take is the question to be addressed by this distinguished group of scientists, businessmen, diplomats and government officials during the next four days.

I would not presume to anticipate the outcome of your expert deliberations. But I suggest that new lines of international action should be considered in three main areas:

- (1) action to meet the energy needs of all countries while limiting reliance on nuclear energy;
- (2) action to limit the spread of nuclear weapons; and
- (3) action to make the spread of peaceful nuclear power less dangerous.

1. *We need new international action to help meet the energy needs of all countries while limiting reliance on nuclear energy.*

In recent years, we have had major United Nations conferences on environment, population, food, the oceans and the role of women — with habitat, water, deserts, and science and technology on the schedule for the months and years immediately ahead. These are tentative first steps to deal with global problems on a global basis.

Critics have been disappointed with the lack of immediate results. But they miss an important point: a new world agenda is emerging from this process — an agenda of priority problems on which nations must cooperate or abdicate the right to plan a future for the human condition.

The time has come to put the world energy problem on that new agenda. *Let us hold a World Energy Conference* under the auspices of the United Nations to help all nations cope with common energy problems — eliminating energy waste and increasing energy efficiency; reconciling energy needs with environmental quality goals; and shifting away from almost total reliance upon dwindling sources of non-renewable energy to the greatest feasible reliance on renewable sources. In other words, we must move from living off our limited energy capital to living within our energy income.

Such a conference would have to be carefully prepared. Just as the World Food Conference provided us with a world food balance sheet, this conference could give us a world energy balance sheet. Just as the World Food Conference stimulated international cooperation in agricultural research and development, so a world energy conference could stimulate research and development in the field of energy.

Existing international ventures of energy cooperation are not global in scope. The International Energy Agency in Paris includes only some developed non-Communist countries. The Energy Commission of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation does not include countries such as the Soviet Union and China, two great producers and consumers of energy. And the International

Energy Institute now under study does not call for a substantial research and development effort.

A World Energy Conference should not simply be a dramatic meeting to highlight a problem which is then forgotten. Rather, it should lead to the creation of new or strengthened institutions to perform the following tasks:

- improving the collection and analysis of worldwide energy information;
- stimulating and coordinating a network of worldwide energy research centers;
- advising countries, particularly in the developing world, on the development of sound national energy policies;
- providing technical assistance to train energy planners and badly needed energy technicians;
- increasing the flow of investment capital from private and public sources into new energy development;
- accelerating research and information exchange on energy conservation.

An international energy effort would also be the occasion to examine seriously and in depth this fundamental question:

Is it really necessary to the welfare of our countries to become dependent upon a nuclear energy economy and if so, how dependent and for what purposes? Surely, there is a moral imperative that demands a worldwide effort to assure that if we travel down the nuclear road we do so with our eyes wide open.

Such a worldwide effort must also provide practical alternatives to the nuclear option. Many countries, particularly in the developing world, are being forced into a premature nuclear commitment because they do not have the knowledge and the means to explore other possibilities. The world's research and development efforts are now focused either on nuclear energy or on the development of a diminishing supply of fossil fuels.

More should be done to help the developing countries develop their oil, gas, and coal resources. But a special effort should be made in the development of small-scale technology that can use renewable sources of energy that are abundant in the developing world — solar heating and cooling, wind energy, and "bioconversion" — an indirect form of solar energy that harnesses the sunlight captured by living plants. Using local labor and materials, developing countries can be helped to produce usable fuel from human and animal wastes, otherwise wasted wood, fast growing plants, and even ocean kelp and algae.

Such measures would be a practical way to help the poorest segment of humanity whose emancipation from grinding poverty must be our continuing concern.

And all countries could reap benefits from worldwide energy cooperation. The costs to any one country would be small if they were shared among nations; the benefits to each of us from a breakthrough to new energy sources anywhere in the world would be great. We have tried international cooperation in food research and it has paid handsome dividends in high-yielding varieties of corn, wheat, rice and sorghum. We could expect similar benefits from worldwide energy cooperation.

The exact institutional formula for coping with energy effectively on a world level will require the most careful

consideration. The IAEA is neither equipped nor staffed to be an adviser on energy across the board; nor would it be desirable to add additional functions that might interfere with its vitally important work on nuclear safeguards and safety.

One possibility to be considered at a World Energy Conference would be the creation of a new World Energy Agency to work side by side with the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. A strengthened International Atomic Energy Agency could focus on assistance and safeguards for nuclear energy; the new agency on research and development of non-nuclear, particularly renewable, sources.

2. We need new international action to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

In the past, public attention has been focused on the problem of controlling the escalation of the strategic nuclear arms race among the superpowers. Far less attention has been given to that of controlling the proliferation of nuclear weapons capabilities among an increasing number of nations.

And yet the danger to world peace may be as great, if not greater, if this second effort of control should fail. The more countries that possess nuclear weapons, the greater the risk that nuclear warfare might erupt in local conflicts, and the greater the danger that these could trigger a major nuclear war.

To date, the principal instrument of control has been the Non-Proliferation Treaty which entered into force in 1970. By 1976 ninety-five non-weapons states had ratified the Treaty, including the advanced industrial states of Western Europe, and prospectively of Japan. In so doing, these nations agreed not to develop nuclear weapons or explosives. In addition they agreed to accept international safeguards on all their peaceful nuclear activities, developed by themselves or with outside assistance, under agreements negotiated with the International Atomic Energy Agency — a little appreciated, but an unprecedented step forward, in the development of international law.

Important as this achievement is, it cannot be a source of complacency, particularly under present circumstances. There are still a dozen or more important countries with active nuclear power programs which have not joined the Treaty. Hopefully, some of these may decide to become members; but in the case of several of them, this is unlikely until the underlying tensions behind their decision to maintain a nuclear weapons option are resolved.

The NPT was not conceived of as a one-way street. Under the Treaty, in return for the commitments of the non-weapons states, a major undertaking of the nuclear weapons states (and other nuclear suppliers in a position to do so) was to provide special nuclear power benefits to treaty members, particularly to developing countries.

The advanced countries have not done nearly enough in providing such peaceful benefits to convince the member states that they are better off inside the Treaty than outside.

In fact, recent commercial transactions by some of the supplier countries have conferred special benefits on non-treaty members, thereby largely removing any incentive for

such recipients to join the Treaty. They consider themselves better off outside. Furthermore, while individual facilities in these non-treaty countries may be subject to international safeguards, others may not be, and India has demonstrated that such facilities may provide the capability to produce nuclear weapons.

As a further part of the two-way street, there is an obligation by the nuclear weapons states, under the Treaty, to pursue negotiations in good faith to reach agreement to control and reduce the nuclear arms race.

We Americans must be honest about the problems of proliferation of nuclear weapons. Our nuclear deterrent remains an essential element of world order in this era. Nevertheless, by enjoining sovereign nations to forego nuclear weapons, we are asking for a form of self-denial that we have not been able to accept ourselves.

I believe we have little right to ask others to deny themselves such weapons for the indefinite future unless we demonstrate meaningful progress toward the goal of control, then reduction, and ultimately, elimination of nuclear arsenals.

Unfortunately, the agreements reached to date have succeeded largely in changing the buildup in strategic arms from a "quantitative" to a "qualitative" arms race. It is time, in the SALT talks, that we complete the stage of agreeing on ceilings and get down to the centerpiece of SALT — the actual negotiation of reductions in strategic forces and measures effectively halting the race in strategic weapons technology. The world is waiting, but not necessarily for long. The longer effective arms reduction is postponed, the more likely it is that other nations will be encouraged to develop their own nuclear capability.

There is one step that can be taken at once. The United States and the Soviet Union should conclude an agreement prohibiting all nuclear explosions for a period of five years, whether they be weapons tests or so-called "peaceful" nuclear explosions, and encourage all other countries to join. At the end of the five year period the agreement can be continued if it serves the interests of the parties.

I am aware of the Soviet objections to a comprehensive treaty that does not allow peaceful nuclear explosions. I also remember, during the Kennedy Administration, when the roles were reversed. Then the U.S. had a similar proposal that permitted large-scale peaceful explosions. However, in order to reach an accord, we withdrew our proposal. Similarly, today, if the U.S. really pushed a comprehensive test ban treaty, I believe the United States and the world community could persuade the USSR to dispose of this issue and accept a comprehensive test ban.

The non-proliferation significance of the superpowers' decision to ban peaceful nuclear explosions would be very great because of its effect on countries who have resisted the Non-Proliferation Treaty's prohibition of "peaceful" nuclear explosives, even though they are indistinguishable from bombs.

A comprehensive test ban would also signal to the world the determination of the signatory states to call a halt to the further development of nuclear weaponry. It has been more than a decade since the Limited Test Ban Treaty entered into force, and well over 100 nations are now parties to that agreement.

It now appears that the United States and the Soviet Union are close to an agreement that would prohibit underground nuclear tests above 150 kilotons. This so-called threshold test ban treaty represents a wholly inadequate step beyond the limited test ban. We can and should do more. Our national verification capabilities in the last twenty years have advanced to the point where we no longer have to rely on on-site inspection to distinguish between earthquakes and even very small weapons tests.

Finally, such a treaty would not only be a demonstration on the part of the superpowers to agree to limit their own weapons development. As President Kennedy foresaw in 1963, the most important objective of a comprehensive treaty of universal application would be its inhibiting effect on the spread of nuclear weapons by prohibiting tests by every signatory state.

3. *We need new international action to make the spread of peaceful nuclear power less dangerous.*

The danger is not so much in the spread of nuclear reactors themselves, for nuclear reactor fuel is not suitable for use directly in the production of nuclear weapons. The far greater danger lies in the spread of facilities for the enrichment of uranium and the reprocessing of spent reactor fuel - because highly enriched uranium can be used to produce weapons; and because plutonium, when separated from the remainder of the spent fuel, can also be used to produce nuclear weapons. Even at the present early stage in the development of the nuclear power industry, enough materials are produced for at least a thousand bombs each year.

Under present international arrangements, peaceful nuclear facilities are sought to be safeguarded against diversion and theft of nuclear materials by the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. As far as reactors are concerned, the international safeguards - which include materials accountancy, surveillance and inspection - provide some assurance that the diversion of a significant amount of fissionable material would be detected, and therefore help to deter diversion.

Of course, as the civilian nuclear power industry expands around the globe, there will be corresponding need to expand and improve the personnel and facilities of the international safeguards system. The United States should fulfill its decade-old promise to put its peaceful nuclear facilities under international safeguards to demonstrate that we too are prepared to accept the same arrangements as the non-weapon states.

That would place substantial additional demands on the safeguards system of the IAEA, and the United States should bear its fair share of the costs of this expansion. It is a price we cannot afford *not* to pay.

But in the field of enrichment and reprocessing, where the primary danger lies, the present international safeguards system cannot provide adequate assurance against the possibility that national enrichment and reprocessing facilities will be misused for military purposes.

The fact is that a reprocessing plant separating the plutonium from spent fuel literally provides a country with direct access to nuclear explosive material.

It has therefore been the consistent policy of the United States over the course of several administrations, not to authorize the sale of either enrichment or reprocessing plants, even with safeguards. Recently, however, some of the other principal suppliers of nuclear equipment have begun to make such sales.

In my judgment, it is absolutely essential to halt the sale of such plants.

Considerations of commercial profit cannot be allowed to prevail over the paramount objective of limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. The heads of government of all the principal supplier nations hopefully will recognize this danger and share this view.

I am not seeking to place any restrictions on the sale of nuclear power reactors which sell for as much as \$1 billion per reactor. I believe that all supplier countries are entitled to a fair share of the reactor market. What we must prevent, however, is the sale of small pilot reprocessing plants which sell for only a few million dollars, have no commercial use at present, and can only spread nuclear explosives around the world.

The International Atomic Energy Agency itself, pursuant to the recommendations of the Non-Proliferation Treaty review conference of 1975, is currently engaged in an intensive feasibility study of multinational fuel centers as one way of promoting the safe development of nuclear power by the nations of the world, with enhanced control resulting from multinational participation.

The Agency is also considering other ways to strengthen the protection of explosive material involved in the nuclear fuel cycle. This includes use of the Agency's hitherto unused authority under its charter to establish highly secure repositories for the separated plutonium from non-military facilities, following reprocessing and pending its fabrication into mixed oxide fuel elements as supplementary fuel.

Until such studies are completed, I call on all nations of the world to adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national purchase or sale of enrichment or reprocessing plants. I would hope this moratorium would apply to recently completed agreements.

I do not underestimate the political obstacles in negotiating such a moratorium, but they might be overcome if we do what should have been done many months ago - bring this matter to the attention of the highest political authorities of the supplying countries.

Acceptance of a moratorium would deprive no nation of the ability to meet its nuclear power needs through the purchase of current reactors with guarantees of a long-range supply of enriched uranium. Such assurances must be provided now by those supplier countries possessing the highly expensive facilities currently required for this purpose.

To assure the developing countries of an assured supply of enriched uranium to meet their nuclear power needs without the need for reprocessing, the United States should, in cooperation with other countries, assure an adequate supply of enriched uranium.

We should also give the most serious consideration to the establishment of centralized multinational enrichment facilities involving developing countries' investment participation, in order to provide the assured supply of enriched

uranium. And, if one day as their nuclear programs economically justify use of plutonium as a supplementary fuel, similar centralized multinational reprocessing services could equally provide for an assured supply of mixed oxide fuel elements.

It makes no economic sense to locate national reprocessing facilities in a number of different countries. In view of economies of scale, a single commercial reprocessing facility and a fuel fabrication plant will provide services for about fifty large power reactors. From an economic point of view, multinational facilities serving many countries are obviously desirable. And the co-location of reprocessing, fuel fabrication and fuel storage facilities would reduce the risk of weapons proliferation, theft of plutonium during transport, and environmental contamination.

There is considerable doubt within the United States about the necessity of reprocessing now for plutonium recycle. Furthermore, the licensing of plutonium for such use is currently withheld pending a full scale review by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission of the economic, environmental, and safeguards issues. And there is a further question to be asked: If the United States does not want the developing countries to have commercial plutonium, why should we be permitted to have it under our sovereign control?

Surely this whole matter of plutonium recycle should be examined on an international basis. Since our nation has more experience than others in fuel reprocessing, we should initiate a new multinational program designed to develop experimentally the technology, economics, regulations and safeguards to be associated with plutonium recovery and recycle. The program could be developed by the U.S. in cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

If the need for plutonium reprocessing is eventually demonstrated – and if mutually satisfactory ground rules for management and operation can be worked out, the first U.S. reprocessing plant which is now nearing completion in Barnwell, South Carolina, could become the first multinational reprocessing facility under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Separated plutonium might ultimately be made available to all nations on a reliable, cheap, and non-discriminatory basis after blending with natural uranium to form a low-enriched fuel that is unsuitable for weapons making.

Since the immediate need for plutonium recycle has not yet been demonstrated, the start-up of the plant should certainly be delayed to allow time for the installation of the next generation of materials accounting and physical security equipment which is now under development.

One final observation in this area: We need to cut through the indecision and debate about the long-term storage of radioactive wastes and start doing something about it. The United States could begin by preparing all high-level radioactive wastes currently produced from our military programs for permanent disposal. Waste disposal is a matter on which sound international arrangements will clearly be necessary.

The nuclear situation is serious, but it is not yet desperate. Most nations of the world do *not* want nuclear weapons. They particularly do not want their neighbours to

have nuclear weapons, but they understand that they cannot keep the option open for themselves without automatically encouraging their neighbours to “keep options open” or worse.

It is this widespread understanding that it is *not* in the interest of individual nations to “go nuclear” which we must use as the basis of our worldwide efforts to control the atom. We must have negative measures – mutual restraint on the part of the producers and suppliers of nuclear fuel and technology. But these negative measures must be joined to the larger, positive efforts of the non-nuclear weapon states to hold the line against further proliferation.

The recent initiative of the Finnish Government along these lines deserves commendation. The Finns have urged a compact among the purchasers of nuclear fuel and technology to buy only from suppliers who require proper safeguards on their exports.

This proposal would convert the alleged advantages to a supplier of breaking ranks and offering “bargains” in safeguards into a commercial disadvantage. Instead of broadening his market by lowering his dangerous merchandise than if he maintained a common front on safeguards with other suppliers. There would be competition to offer to buyers the safest product at the best price.

Most important, the Finnish proposal would plainly put the full weight of the non-nuclear world into the effort against proliferation. It would make it evident that this struggle is not a struggle by the nuclear “haves” to keep down the nuclear “have-nots”; it would be a common effort by all mankind to control this dangerous technology, to gain time so that our political structures can catch up with sudden, enormous leaps in our technical knowledge, to turn us around and head us in the right direction – toward a world from which nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war have been effectively eliminated. That may be a distant goal – but it is the direction in which we must move.

I have talked to you today about the need for new international action in three areas – action to meet the energy needs of all countries while limiting reliance on nuclear energy, action to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, and action to make the spread of peaceful nuclear power less dangerous.

Of one thing I am certain – the hour is too late for business as usual, for politics as usual, or for diplomacy as usual. An alliance for survival is needed – transcending regions and ideologies – if we are to assure mankind a safe passage to the twenty-first century.

Every country – and the United States is no exception – is concerned with maintaining its own national security. But a mutual balance of terror is an inadequate foundation upon which to build a peaceful and stable world order. One of the greatest long-term threats to the national security of every country now lies in the disintegration of the international order. Balance of power politics must be supplemented by world order politics if the foreign policies of nations are to be relevant to modern needs.

The political leaders of all nations, whether they work within four year election cycles or five year plans, are under

enormous temptations to promise short-term benefits to their people while passing on the costs to other countries, to future generations, or to our environment. The earth, the atmosphere, the oceans and unborn generations have no political franchise. But short-sighted policies today will lead to insuperable problems tomorrow.

The time has come for political leaders around the world to take a larger view of their obligations, showing a decent respect for posterity, for the needs of other peoples and for the global biosphere.

I believe the American people want this larger kind of leadership.

In the last two years, I have visited virtually every one of our fifty states. I have found our people deeply troubled by recent developments at the United Nations. But they do *not* want to abandon the U. N. — they want us to work harder to make it what it was created to be — not a cockpit

for controversy but an instrument for reconciling differences and resolving common problems.

And they want U. N. agencies to demonstrate the same commitment to excellence, impartiality and efficiency they are demanding of their own government.

We want to cooperate — not simply debate. A joint program — whether on nuclear energy or other global problems — is infinitely preferable to sustained and destructive polemics. Our desire for global cooperation is prompted by America's confidence in itself, in our capacity to engage in effective cooperation, and upon the moral imperative that as human beings we must help one another if any of us is to survive on this planet.

The nuclear age, which brings both sword and plowshare from the same source, demands unusual self-discipline of all nations. If we approach these problems with both humility and self-discipline, we may yet reconcile our twin goals of energy sufficiency and world order.



Undertaken for indexing J. Marshall

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON Relations Between the World's Democracies

TO THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

NEW YORK CITY

18-1

June 23, 1976

For the past seventeen months, as a candidate for President, I have talked and listened to the American people.

It has been an unforgettable experience and an invaluable education. Insofar as my political campaign has been successful, it is because I have learned from our people, and have accurately reflected their concerns, their frustrations, and their desires.

In the area of foreign policy, our people are troubled, confused and sometimes angry. There has been too much emphasis on transient spectaculars and too little on substance. We are deeply concerned, not only by such obvious tragedies as the war in Vietnam, but by the more subtle erosion in the focus and the morality of our foreign policy.

Under the Nixon-Ford Administration, there has evolved a kind of secretive "Lone Ranger" foreign policy—a one-man policy of international adventure. This is not an appropriate policy for America.

We have sometimes tried to play other nations, one against another, instead of organizing free nations to share world responsibility in collective action. We have made highly publicized efforts to woo the major communist powers while neglecting our natural friends and allies. A foreign policy based on secrecy inherently has had to be closely guarded and amoral, and we have had to forego openness, consultation and a constant adherence to fundamental principles and high moral standards.

We have often sought dramatic and surprising immediate results instead of long-term solutions to major problems which required careful planning in consultation with other nations.

We must be strong in our internal resolve in order to be strong leaders abroad. This is not possible when Congress and the American people are kept in the dark. We simply must have an international policy of democratic leadership, and we must stop trying to play a lonely game of power politics. We must evolve and consummate our foreign policy openly and frankly. There must be bipartisan harmony and collaboration between the President and the Congress, and we must reestablish a spirit of common purpose among democratic nations.

What we seek is for our nation to have a foreign policy that reflects the decency and generosity and common sense of our own people.

We had such a policy more than a hundred years

ago and, in our own lifetimes, in the years following the Second World War.

The United Nations, The Marshall Plan, The Bretton Woods Agreement, NATO, Point Four, The OECD, The Japanese Peace Treaty—these were among the historic achievements of a foreign policy directed by courageous presidents, endorsed by bipartisan majorities in Congress, and supported by the American people.

The world since that time has become profoundly different, and the pace of change is accelerating.

There are one hundred new nations and two billion more people.

East-West tensions may be less acute, but the East-West rivalry has become global in scope.

Problems between the developed and developing nations have grown more serious, and in some regions have come to intersect dangerously with the East-West rivalry.

Economic nationalism complicates international relations, and unchecked inflation may again threaten our mutual well-being.

Finally, such global dilemmas as food shortages, overpopulation and poverty call for a common response, in spite of national and philosophical differences.

It is imperative therefore that the United States summon the leadership that can enable the democratic societies of the world once again to lead the way in creating a more just and more stable world order.

In recent weeks, I have made speeches on the subject of nuclear proliferation and also on the Middle East. In the months ahead I will speak out on other subjects of international concern.

Today I would like to speak about our alliances, and ways they can be improved to serve our national interests and the interests of others who seek peace and stability in the world.

We need to consider how—in addition to alliances that were formed in years past for essentially military purposes—we might develop broader arrangements for dealing with such problems as the arms race and world poverty and the allocation of resources.

The time has come for us to seek a partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan. Our three regions share economic, political and security concerns that make it logical that we should seek ever-increasing unity and understanding.

I have traveled in Japan and Western Europe in

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recent years and talked to leaders there. These countries already have a significant world impact; and they are prepared to play even larger global roles in shaping a new international order.

There are those who say that democracy is dying, that we live in the twilight of an era, and that the destiny of modern man is to witness the waning of freedom.

In Japan, Western Europe, Canada, some countries in Latin America, Israel and among many other peoples, I have found not a decline of democracy but a dynamic commitment to its principles.

I might add that I can testify personally to the vigor of the democratic process in our own country.

In addition to cooperation between North America, Japan and Western Europe, there is an equal need for increased unity and consultation between ourselves and such democratic societies as Israel, Australia, New Zealand, and other nations, such as those in this hemisphere, that share our democratic values, as well as many of our political and economic concerns.

There must be more frequent consultations on many levels. We should have periodic summit conferences and occasional meetings of the leaders of all the industrial democracies, as well as frequent cabinet level meetings. In addition, as we do away with one-man diplomacy, we must once again use our entire foreign policy apparatus to reestablish continuing contacts at all levels. Summits are no substitute for the habit of cooperating closely at the working level.

In consultations, both form and substance are important. There is a fundamental difference between informing governments after the fact and actually including them in the process of joint policy making. Our policy makers have in recent years far too often ignored this basic difference. I need only cite the "Nixon Shocks" and the abrupt actions taken by former Treasury Secretary Connally.

We need to recognize also that in recent years our Western European allies have been deeply concerned, and justly so, by our unilateral dealings with the Soviet Union. To the maximum extent possible, our dealings with the communist powers should reflect the combined views of the democracies, and thereby avoid suspicions by our allies that we may be disregarding their interests.

We seek not a condominium of the powerful but a community of the free.

There are at least three areas in which the democratic nations can benefit from closer and more creative relations.

First, there are our economic and political affairs.

In the realm of economics, our basic purpose must be to keep open the international system in which the exchange of goods, capital, and ideas among nations can continue to expand.

Increased coordination among the industrialized democracies can help avoid the repetition of such episodes as the inflation of 1972-73 and the more recent recessions. Both were made more severe by an excess of expansionist zeal and then of deflationary reaction in North America, Japan and Europe.

Though each country must make its own economic

decisions, we need to know more about one another's interests and intentions. We must avoid unilateral acts and we must try not to work at cross-purposes in the pursuit of the same ends. We need not agree on all matters, but we should agree to discuss all matters.

We should continue our efforts to reduce trade barriers among the industrial countries, as one way to combat inflation. The current Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations should be pursued to a successful conclusion.

But we must do more. The International Monetary System should be renovated so that it can serve us well for the next quarter of a century. Last January, at a meeting of the leading financial officials, agreement was reached on a new system, based on greater flexibility of exchange rates. There is no prospect of any early return to fixed exchange rates—divergencies in economic experience among nations are too great for that. But we still have much to learn regarding the effective operation of a system of fluctuating exchange rates. We must take steps to avoid large and erratic fluctuations, without impeding the basic monetary adjustments that will be necessary among nations for some years to come. It will be useful to strengthen the role of the International Monetary Fund as a center for observation and guidance of the world economy, keeping track of the interactions among national economies and making recommendations to governments on how best to keep the world economy functioning smoothly.

Beyond economic and political cooperation, we have much to learn from one another. I have been repeatedly impressed by the achievements of the Japanese and the Europeans in their domestic affairs. The Japanese, for example, have one of the lowest unemployment rates and the lowest crime rate of any industrialized nation, and they also seem to suffer less than other urbanized peoples from the modern problem of rootlessness and alienation.

Similarly, we can learn from the European nations about health care, urban planning and mass transportation.

There are many ways that creative alliances can work for a better world. Let me mention just one more, the area of human rights. Many of us have protested the violation of human rights in Russia, and justly so. But such violations are not limited to any one country or one ideology. There are other countries that violate human rights in one way or another—by torture, by political persecution and by racial or religious discrimination.

We and our allies, in a creative partnership, can take the lead in establishing and promoting basic global standards of human rights. We respect the independence of all nations, but by our example, by our utterances, and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world.

We must certainly try.

Let me make one other point in the political realm. Democratic processes may in some countries bring to power parties or leaders whose ideologies are not shared by most Americans.

We may not welcome these changes: we will certainly not encourage them. But we must respect the

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nonintervention 18-3

results of democratic elections and the right of countries to make their own free choice if we are to remain faithful to our own basic ideals. We must learn to live with diversity, and we can continue to cooperate, so long as such political parties respect the democratic process, uphold existing international commitments, and are not subservient to external political direction. The democratic concert of nations should exclude only those who exclude themselves by the rejection of democracy itself.

Our people have now learned the folly of our trying to inject our power into the internal affairs of other nations. It is time that our government learned that lesson too.

II

The second area of increased cooperation among the democracies is that of mutual security. Here, however, we must recognize that the Atlantic and Pacific regions have quite different needs and different political sensitivities.

Since the United States is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power, our commitments to the security of Western Europe and of Japan are inseparable from our own security. Without these commitments, and our firm dedication to them, the political fabric of Atlantic and Pacific cooperation would be seriously weakened, and world peace endangered.

As we look to the Pacific region, we see a number of changes and opportunities. Because of potential Sino-Soviet conflict, Russian and Chinese forces are not jointly deployed as our potential adversaries, but confront one another along their common border. Moreover, our withdrawal from the mainland of Southeast Asia has made possible improving relationships between us and the People's Republic of China.

With regard to our primary Pacific ally, Japan, we will maintain our existing security arrangements, so long as that continues to be the wish of the Japanese people and government.

I believe it will be possible to withdraw our ground forces from South Korea on a phased basis over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan. At the same time, it should be made clear to the South Korean Government that its internal oppression is repugnant to our people, and undermines the support for our commitment there.

We face a more immediate problem in the Atlantic sector of our defense.

The Soviet Union has in recent years strengthened its forces in Central Europe. The Warsaw Pact forces facing NATO today are substantially composed of Soviet combat troops, and these troops have been modernized and reinforced. In the event of war, they are postured for an all-out conflict of short duration and great intensity.

NATO's ground combat forces are largely European. The U.S. provides about one-fifth of the combat element, as well as the strategic umbrella, and without this American commitment Western Europe could not defend itself successfully.

In recent years, new military technology has been developed by both sides, including precision-guided munitions, that are changing the nature of land war-

fare.

Unfortunately, NATO's arsenal suffers from a lack of standardization, which needlessly increases the cost of NATO, and its strategy too often seems wedded to past plans and concepts. We must not allow our alliance to become an anachronism.

There is, in short, a pressing need for us and our allies to undertake a review of NATO's forces and its strategies in light of the changing military environment.

A comprehensive program to develop, procure, and equip NATO with the more accurate air defense and anti-tank weapons made possible by new technology is needed to increase NATO's defensive power. Agreement on stockpiles and on the prospective length of any potential conflict is necessary. We should also review the structure of NATO reserve forces so they can be committed to combat sooner.

In all of this a major European and joint effort will be required. Our people will not support unilateral American contributions in what must be a truly mutual defense effort.

Even as we review our military posture, we must spare no effort to bring about a reduction of the forces that confront one another in Central Europe.

It is to be hoped that the stalemated mutual force reduction talks in Vienna will soon produce results so that the forces of both sides can be reduced in a manner that impairs the security of neither. The requirement of balanced reductions complicates negotiations, but it is an important requirement for the maintenance of security in Europe.

Similarly, in the SALT talks, we must seek significant nuclear disarmament that safeguards the basic interests of both sides.

Let me say something I have often said in recent months. East-West relations will be both cooperative and competitive for a long time to come. We want the competition to be peaceful, and we want the cooperation to increase. *But we will never seek accommodation at the expense of our own national interests or the interests of our allies.*

Our potential adversaries are intelligent people. They respect strength, they respect constancy, they respect candor. They will understand our commitment to our allies. They will listen even more carefully if we and our allies speak with a common resolve.

We must remember, too, that a genuine spirit of cooperation between the democracies and the Soviet Union should extend beyond a negative cessation of hostilities and reach toward joint efforts in dealing with such world problems as agricultural development and the population crisis.

The great challenge we Americans confront is to demonstrate to the Soviet Union that our good will is as great as our strength until, despite all the obstacles, our two nations can achieve new attitudes and new trust, and until in time the terrible burden of the arms race can be lifted from our peoples.

One realistic step would be to recognize that thus far, while we have had certain progress on a bilateral basis, we have continued to confront each other by proxy in various trouble spots. These indirect challenges may be potentially more dangerous than face to face disagreements, and at best they make mock-

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ery of the very concept of detente. If we want genuine progress, it must be at every level.

III

Our democracies must also work together more closely in a joint effort to help the hundreds of millions of people on this planet who are living in poverty and despair.

We have all seen the growth of North-South tensions in world affairs, tensions that are often based on legitimate economic grievances. We have seen in the Middle East the juncture of East-West and North-South conflicts and the resultant threat to world peace.

The democratic nations must respond to the challenge of human need on three levels.

First, by widening the opportunities for genuine North-South consultations. The developing nations must not only be the objects of policy, but must participate in shaping it. Without wider consultations we will have sharper confrontations. A good start has been made with the conference in international economic cooperation which should be strengthened and widened.

Secondly, by assisting those nations that are in direst need.

There are many ways the democracies can unite to help shape a more stable and just world order. We can work to lower trade barriers and make a major effort to provide increased support to the international agencies that now make capital available to the Third World.

This will require help from Europe, Japan, North America, and the wealthier members of OPEC for the World Bank's soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association. The wealthier countries should also support such specialized funds as the new International Fund for Agricultural Development, which will put resources from the oil exporting and developed countries to work in increasing food production in poor countries. We might also seek to institutionalize, under the World Bank, a "World Development Budget," in order to rationalize and coordinate these and other similar efforts.

It is also time for the Soviet Union, which donates only about one-tenth of one percent of its GNP to foreign aid—and mostly for political ends—to act more generously toward global economic development.

I might add, on the subject of foreign aid, that while we are a generous nation we are not a foolish nation, and our people will expect recipient nations to undertake needed reforms to promote their own development. Moreover, all nations must recognize that the North-South relationship is not made easier by one-sided self-righteousness, by the exercise of automatic majorities in world bodies, nor by intolerance for the views or the very existence of other nations.

Third, we and our allies must work together to limit the *flow of arms into the developing world*.

The North-South conflict is in part a security problem. As long as the more powerful nations exploit the less powerful, they will be repaid by terrorism, hatred, and potential violence. Insofar as our policies are self-

ish, or cynical, or shortsighted, there will inevitably be a day of reckoning.

I am particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman. We sold or gave away billions of dollars of arms last year, mostly to developing nations. For example, we are now beginning to export advanced arms to Kenya and Zaire, thereby both fueling the East-West arms race in Africa even while supplanting our own allies—Britain and France—in their relations with these African states. Sometimes we try to justify this unsavory business on the cynical ground that by rationing out the means of violence we can somehow control the world's violence.

The fact is that we cannot have it both ways. Can we be both the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war? If I become President I will work with our allies, some of whom are also selling arms, and also seek to work with the Soviets, to increase the emphasis on peace and to reduce the commerce in weapons of war.

The challenge we and our allies face with regard to the developing nations is a great one, a constant one, and an exciting one. It is exciting because it calls for so much creativity at so many levels by so many nations and individuals.

I have suggested steps which we and our allies might take toward a more stable and more just world order. I do not pretend to have all the answers. I hope you will help me find them.

What I do have is a strong sense that this country is drifting and must have new leadership and new direction. The time has come for a new thrust of creativity in foreign policy equal to that of the years following the Second World War. The old international institutions no longer suffice. *The time has come for a new architectural effort, with creative initiative by our own nation, with growing cooperation among the industrial democracies its cornerstone, and with peace and justice its constant goal.*

We are in a time of challenge and opportunity. If the values we cherish are to be preserved—the ideals of liberty and dignity and opportunity for all—we shall have to work in the closest collaboration with like-minded nations, seeking, through the strength that follows from collective action, to build an international system that reflects the principles and standards of our national heritage.

The primary purpose of our foreign policy is to create and maintain a world environment within which our great experiment in freedom can survive and flourish.

Ours would be a chilled and lonely world without the other democracies of Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel and this hemisphere with whom we share great common purposes. There is a special relationship among us based not necessarily on a common heritage but on our partnership in great enterprises. Our present limits are not those of natural resources but of ideas and inspirations.

Our first great need is to restore the morale and spirit of the American people.

It is time once again for the world to feel the forward movement and the effervescence of a dynamic and confident United States of America.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER—

B'nai B'rith

CONVENTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 8, 1976

It is a special pleasure to be here today, because I believe we share a common heritage, and a common commitment, that brings us together.

In 1843, B'nai B'rith was founded by a small group of immigrants who sought to preserve for themselves and others the religious and personal liberty they had been denied abroad.

So it was with those who founded my church in this country, to insure liberty of conscience.

I am proud to meet with a group of men and women with whom I share a total commitment to the preservation of human rights, individual liberty, and freedom of conscience.

I would like to talk to you about my view of how our nation should encourage and support those priceless qualities throughout the world.

This is, as you know, a difficult question. It requires a careful balancing of realism and idealism—of our understanding of the world as it is, and our vision of the world as it should be.

The question, I think, is whether in recent years our highest officials have not been too pragmatic, even cynical, and as a consequence have ignored those moral values that had often distinguished our country from the other great nations of the world.

We must move away from making policies in secret; without the knowledge and approval of the American people.

I have called for closer ties with our traditional allies, and stronger ties with the State of Israel. I have stressed the necessity for a strong defense—tough and muscular, and adequate to maintain our freedom under any conceivable circumstances.

But military strength alone is not enough. Over the years, our greatest source of strength has come from

those basic, priceless values which are embodied in our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights: our belief in freedom of religion—our belief in freedom of expression—our belief in human dignity.

These principles have made us great and, unless our foreign policy reflects them, we make a mockery of all those values that we have celebrated in this bicentennial year.

We have not always lived up to our ideals, but I know of no great nation in history that has more often conducted itself in a moral, unselfish, generous manner abroad, and provided more freedom and opportunity to its own citizens at home.

Still, in recent years, we have had reason to be troubled. Often there has been a gap between the values we have proclaimed and the policies we have pursued. We have often been overextended, and deeply entangled in the internal affairs of distant nations. Our government has pursued dubious tactics, and "national security" has sometimes been a cover-up for unnecessary secrecy and national scandal.

We stumbled into the quagmires of Cambodia and Vietnam, and carried out heavy-handed efforts to destroy an elected government in Chile. In Cyprus, we let expediency triumph over fairness, and lost both ways.

We responded inadequately to human suffering in Bangladesh, Burundi, the Sahel, and other underdeveloped nations.

We lessened the prestige of our Foreign Service by sending abroad ambassadors who were distinguished only by the size of their political contributions.

We have allowed virtually unlimited sales of U.S. arms to countries around the world—a policy as cynical as it is dangerous.

I find it unacceptable that we have in effect condoned the effort of some Arab countries to tell American businesses that, in order to trade with one country or company, they must observe certain restrictions based on race or religion. These so-called "Arab boycotts" violate our standards of freedom and morality.

I regret that a senior official of the Ford Administration, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, last week told Congress that efforts should not be made to address this basic issue of human rights.

Moreover, according to a recent House subcommittee report, the Department of Commerce has shut its eyes to the boycott by failing to collect information on alleged offenses, and failing to carry out a firm policy against the boycott.

If I become President, all laws concerning these boycotts will be vigorously enforced.

We also regret our government's continuing failure to oppose the denial of human freedom in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Republican Administration, with the Sonnenfeldt statement, has shown a lack of sensitivity to the craving of the Eastern European people for greater independence. That is unacceptable.

Only 13 months ago, President Ford and Henry Kissinger traveled to Helsinki to sign the treaty of comprehensive security and cooperation in Europe. It was supposed to lead to greater personal freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, including greater freedom to travel, to marry, and to emigrate. But since that elaborate signing ceremony in Finland, the Russians have all but ignored their pledge—and the Ford Administration has looked the other way.

Similarly, the American government has failed to make serious efforts to get the Russians to permit greater numbers of people to emigrate freely to the countries of their choice, and I commend those members of Congress and others who have demonstrated a strong personal concern and commitment to that goal.

Despite our deep desire for successful negotiation on strategic arms and nuclear proliferation, we cannot pass over in silence the deprivation of human rights in the Soviet Union. The list of Soviet prisoners is long, and includes both Christians and Jews. I will speak only of two: Vladimir Bukovsky and Vladimir Slepak. Bukovsky, a young scientist, has been imprisoned most of the last 13 years for criticisms of the Soviet regime. Slepak, a radio engineer in Moscow, applied for an exit visa for Israel in April of 1970. The visa was denied and, since 1972, he has been denied the right to hold a job.

I ask why such people must be deprived of their basic rights, a year after Helsinki. And if I become President,

the fate of men like Bukovsky and Slepak will be very much on my mind as I negotiate with the Soviet Union.

Liberty is curtailed in non-Communist countries, too, of course. There are many cases of political persecution in Chile and reports of brutal torture that are too well documented to be disbelieved.

There are those regimes, such as South Korea, which openly violate human rights, although they themselves are under threat from Communist regimes which represent an even greater level of repression.

Even in such cases, however, we should not condone repression or the denial of freedom. On the contrary, we should use our influence to increase freedom in those countries that depend on us for their very survival.

Denials of human rights occur in many places and many ways. In Ireland, for example, violence has bred more violence, and caused untold human suffering which brings sorrow to the entire civilized world.

I do not say to you that these are simple issues.

I do not say that we can remake the world in our own image. I recognize the limits on our power, and I do not wish to see us swing from one extreme of cynical manipulation to the other extreme of moralistic zeal, which can be just as dangerous.

But the present administration has been so obsessed with balance of power politics that it has often ignored basic American values and a proper concern for human rights. The leaders of this administration have rationalized that there is little room for morality in foreign affairs, and that we must put self-interest above principle.

I disagree strongly.

Ours is a great and powerful nation, committed to certain enduring ideals, and those ideals must be reflected in our foreign policy.

There are practical, effective ways in which our power can be used to alleviate human suffering around the world.

We should begin by having it understood that if any nation, whatever its political system, deprives its people of basic human rights, that fact will help shape our people's attitude toward that nation's government.

If other nations want our friendship and support, they must understand that we want to see basic human rights respected.

Our power is not unlimited, but neither is it insignificant, and I believe that if we are sensitive and if we are concerned, there can be many instances when our power can make a crucial difference to thousands of men and women who are the victims of oppression around the world.

We must be realistic. Although we believe deeply in our own system of government and our own ideals, we do not and should not insist on identical standards or an identical system in all other nations. We can live with diversity in governmental systems, but we cannot look away when a government tortures people, or jails them for their beliefs, or denies minorities fair treatment or the right to emigrate.

Let me suggest some actions our government should take in the area of human rights.

First, we can support the principle of self-determination by refraining from intervention in the domestic politics of other countries but, obviously, we are going to protect our interests and advance our beliefs in other nations.

We should not behave abroad in ways that violate our own laws or moral standards. You and I would not plot murder, but in recent years officials of our government have plotted murder, and that is wrong and unacceptable.

In giving trade advantages or economic assistance to other governments, we should make sure that such aid is used to benefit the people of that country. There will be times when we will want to help those who must live under a repressive government. We may refrain from giving general economic aid or military assistance to a government, yet wish to provide food, health care, or other humanitarian assistance directly to the people.

The United States should lend more vigorous support to the United Nations and other public and private international bodies in order to attract world attention to

the denial of freedom. These bodies are limited in power, but they can serve as the conscience of the world community, and they deserve far more support than our government has given them in recent years.

Insofar as they comply with our own Constitution and laws, we should move toward Senate ratification of several important treaties drafted in the United Nations for the protection of human rights. These include the Genocide Convention that was prepared more than 25 years ago, the Convention against racial discrimination that was signed during the Johnson Administration, and the covenants on political and civil rights, and on economic and social rights. Until we ratify these covenants we cannot participate with other nations in international discussions of specific cases involving freedom and human rights.

We should quit being timid and join Israel and other nations in moving to stamp out international terrorism!

These are some of the things our nation can do for a change to promote human rights in our imperfect world. The basic question is one of leadership. We have not had that kind of leadership in recent years. In foreign affairs, as in domestic affairs, we need leaders who are not only concerned with the interests of the powerful, but who are especially concerned with the powerless, with the weak, with the disenfranchised, and with other victims of oppression. We have not had that kind of leadership in recent years.

If I am elected President, I intend to provide it.

Thank you.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER ON

Agriculture

AT IOWA STATE FAIRGROUNDS

August 25, 1976

I'm glad to be here today, especially to be with you at your Iowa State Fair—in a state which is #1 in corn, #1 in hogs, and which produces 1/6 of the nation's soybeans and about 10% of all U.S. food.

I understand the Republicans have just decided they don't like the idea of peanut farmers leaving their crops to look for new jobs in Washington. They've even agreed to stop the embargoes for a while to make farming more attractive so I'll stay in Plains. But I prefer to go on from my farm to the White House and stop embargoes once and for all!

I come here as one who has spent the last 20 months traveling throughout our nation. I think I have seen more of our country, and more people, than anyone else in the United States. I've been raising votes, and I've been successful in that. I planted my first crop in Iowa last winter, and have already gathered the first harvest in Madison Square Garden. Now I'm looking forward to the next harvest on November 2nd.

When I began my campaign, as you perhaps know, I didn't have a built-in organization. I didn't hold public office. I was not well known. But my wife and I, and many others, went from one living room to another, one union hall to another, one farmer's market and livestock sale barn to another. Sometimes only three or four people would come to a meeting. But I would make a 10-minute speech and answer questions for 45 minutes or so. And I began to form a personal relationship with individual voters that paid rich dividends as the campaign progressed.

And I've learned in the process. I've learned many things that have reinforced my faith in the basic character and strength of our nation and of the American people. I'm sure now that if we can bring our political institutions up to the level of our people we will have a government we can be proud of once again.

But I've also learned about the way we've been wounded, as a people and a nation.

I've seen the walls that have gone up in this country over the last eight years. There's a wall that's gone up around Washington between our people and our government. There's a wall that's gone up between the White House and the Congress. There's a wall that's gone up between the regions of this country. There's a wall that's gone up between us and the standards that made us a great nation.

I want to tear those walls down. And one I want to talk about today is the wall that separates the producers of food and fiber from the other consumers in this country—a wall that has been built by Earl Butz and his Department of Agriculture.

Our people are proud of the American farmers and ranchers. In all the history of our nation, there has been no more dramatic success story than the story of the American farm family. Every person working full time on a farm now provides the food for about 100 other people, both in this country and abroad.

Our people respect the American farmer. The family farm has preserved the values—honesty, dependability, hard work and faith—which we need to rediscover as a nation.

Our city people are natural partners with those of us in rural America. What is best for the family farmer in the long run is exactly what is best for the consumer.

But in the last eight years, this partnership has been almost destroyed. We have seen conflict where there should be cooperation. The independent producers of America do not want that. The people of America do not want it. Our customers overseas do not want it.

I say it's time to take down the wall. It's time to put

our partnership back together—one that will enable the farmer and the rancher to make a decent living—especially the family farmer who is the most efficient producer—and ensure the consumer an adequate supply of food and fiber at a reasonable price. We can do both, if we have national leadership dedicated to the best interests of all the people.

Nobody who's spent as much time on a farm as I have wants the government to manage our farms.

Rural families are just looking for an even break.

That's not much to ask. But it is a lot more than we have been getting these last eight years.

It's not my idea of a fair shake when the government encourages all-out production, and then offers the farmer no protection at all against the surpluses his efficiency creates.

It's not my idea of a fair shake when the government promotes foreign sales, and then cuts them off for political convenience. Four major embargoes in three years is a record of unparalleled incompetence—and we have really paid the price.

It's not my idea of a fair shake when inside speculators, with special connections in the Agriculture Department, make windfall profits on grain deals, while the producer himself sells at a loss.

It's not my idea of a fair shake for the farmers to sell clean grain, and then to see chaff and dirt and rubble added to a shipment, and have a crooked inspector approve it for shipment overseas.

It's not my idea of a fair shake to have a one-sided market. You know what that means. When prices go down, the "free market" means hands off for the family farm. But when prices go up, the Republicans are the first to slap on controls and export embargoes. Their kind of free market means the lowest parity level in decades.

That kind of market means farm families are going bankrupt trying to produce food that consumers are going broke trying to buy.

It's not a free market. It's not a partnership. And it's not what we're going to have any more, if we all work together this fall.

On the farm, we're all brought up to speak kind words, even of those who have harmed us. And the kindest words you can say about the present Agriculture Department is that it's been true to its own views.

Congress tried to give our rural families a chance, when it passed the Emergency Farm Bill in 1975. But

one of the first things President Ford did was to veto that bill.

Congress tried to give them a chance by setting milk support levels at 85% of parity. But President Ford vetoed that bill.

Congress tried to give them a chance by sharing conservation costs. But President Ford vetoed that bill.

The Democratic Congresses of years gone by have tried to give them a chance, with rural electrification which made such a difference in my own youth in Georgia, and with other programs, such as the Farm Storage and Direct Loan program. But the Secretary of Agriculture has tried to kill those programs. He has only been held back by the federal courts.

What our farmers and ranchers want is simple. We want a stable and dependable farm program. Final decisions on the farm must often be made 15 to 30 months in advance. Those decisions become little more than desperate gambles, which fewer and fewer young people are willing to take, when we cannot understand or predict basic agriculture policy in Washington.

We want a system of handling carryover stocks which will give our own consumers adequate supplies of food and yet keep control of a good portion of those stocks in the hands of farmers—to prevent dumping to artificially lower farm prices.

We need to take agricultural leadership in Washington out of the hands of the corporate interests and the grain speculators. We need a President and a Secretary of Agriculture who understand the problems of the family farmer and the American consumer—and if I am elected we are going to have both.

We need to close the revolving door between the Agriculture Department and the large special interests. Under its present leadership, six of the very top assistants have swung in and out of the department, from large trading companies and speculative firms.

We need to guarantee a decent price for the farmer and a reasonable price for the consumer. Net farm income went down by $\frac{1}{4}$ between 1973 and 1975. The costs of production have risen much faster than the prices you can get. Support levels are unreasonably low.

If I am elected, we will make sure that our support prices are at least equal to the cost of production. That will not guarantee a profit—no real farmer wants that—but it will give the determined farmer a chance to stay in business.

Our new farm policy will also help us develop a

stable and healthy export market. Our vast acres of agricultural land are not only a great natural resource for us, but also for the entire world. Last year, our sales to Japan, to Europe, and to our other customers overseas brought nearly \$22 billion in foreign exchange.

Agricultural international trade is the gas and oil for the United States. We export the produce of about one out of every three of our acres—60% of our wheat—50% of rice and soybeans—and 25% of our corn.

Our foreign customers know that we produce the best food in the world. They know we can meet competitive world prices. They know we are the world's last dependable granary. But they've started to think we're undependable—not because of our farmers, but because of our Republican Administration. Every time Nixon, Ford and Butz have imposed a new export embargo it has caused permanent damage to foreign markets for farm products. Every time they delay tough and honest grain inspection, the damage is multiplied.

It shouldn't be that way. With new leadership in the Agriculture Department, with a new and stable farm policy, we can win back our reputation as a dependable supplier.

Farmers are the first and foremost environmentalists. We have to use the same resources, and the same land, over and over again. One of the greatest tragedies of the last eight years is the way the administration has cut back on farm conservation efforts. As a companion to building production and stable prices, we must also have conservation programs, to build back the land.

We are going to take the family farmer off the public enemy list. I haven't met a small farmer who wants to be on welfare or guaranteed a profit without work, but we should take away his chains. The general public must understand the farmer's problems. The average family farm represents an investment of \$300,000 in land and equipment—much of it on credit, of course. If the farmer could invest all that money in the bank, it would earn at least \$15,000 in interest every year. In farming, after the entire family works all year, they earn about \$10,000 or \$12,000—3% or 4% a year on this investment.

We need a true and continuing partnership between consumers, producers of food and fiber, and our own government.

Estate taxes on the average lifetime investment of our farm families will come to \$65,000—far more than they can afford. If I am elected, we will reduce the

estate tax burden, and base the estate tax value of the land on its use for agriculture, rather than its potential value for commercial subdivision.

Those of us who have spent many years on the farm know the price that an indifferent or incompetent government can make us pay. During the Hoover depression, which happened to be the time I was growing up on the farm, the amount of labor expended for any sort of cash return was almost unbelievable. In 1933 peanuts sold for as little as one cent per pound. A farmer with all manual labor and using a mule and mule-drawn equipment would break an acre of land, harrow at least twice, plow up the peanuts, shake each vine manually, and then place them on a stack pole, let them cure for eight to ten weeks, haul the stack poles to the threshing machine, separate the peanuts from the vine, and carry his entire crop to market.

In those days, the average yield was 700 pounds, which gave a gross return for all the year's work of only \$7 an acre.

The farm is the place where we still believe in a day's work for a day's pay. We farmers don't like to be paid not to produce. But when we do produce, we want to be paid a fair price. And we will be, if you join me in this new partnership.

The farm has left its mark on me. I believe in my country, and I know you do too. I have deep feelings of patriotism. I know they are mirrored here in Iowa, and everywhere else where independent farmers work the land.

I believe in hard work. I believe that the best government is the one closest to the people.

And I believe in a close-knit family.

These things have got to be preserved. They are the values that have continued on the farm and which our government needs to rediscover. They are the values I will carry with me into the White House, if I am elected.

I want to improve the quality of life of our rural people. I live on the outskirts of a little town of only 683 people. I don't care if 100 years from now it still has less than 1000 population. But it's important to me that my children and your children have as good an education and as high an income, and the same right to shape their own destiny as children who live in the largest or wealthiest community in our nation.

We have a long way to go. We can restore the precious things we've lost, the things which remain strong in rural America. Then all of us can be sure again that we still live in the greatest country on earth.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE

AFL-CIO

GENERAL BOARD MEETING

August 31, 1976

As I come to discuss with you the economic life of our nation, I remember the great contribution of Nat Goldfinger. His public statements and written analyses meant a lot to all of us in public life. He had a wonderful ability to express complicated economic facts and theories in a human and understandable way. He was a tough fighter for working families, and he had common sense. As Lane Kirkland said, Nat Goldfinger was the chief economist of the people.

I am proud to meet here with President George Meany and the other great leaders of the labor movement who have fought so many years for a decent life for working Americans and for a government which is fair and sensitive to the legitimate needs of our people. You were always in the forefront in battles for minimum wage, health care, Social Security, public education, fairer tax laws, strong national defense, job opportunities, housing and the quiet dignity of free human beings.

Ours is a vision of an America which is strong, united and confident, but this vision has been dimmed in recent years.

Our factories have been idle, our workers unemployed.

We have a government limited in ability, timid in leadership, afraid of the future.

We have an administration which uses the evil of unemployment to fight the evil of inflation—and succeeds only in having the highest combination of unemployment and inflation in the 20th century.

We have an administration which talks about fiscal responsibility—and succeeds only in having the slowest economic growth in 30 years, and the most unbalanced budgets in our 200-year history.

In Kansas City, we heard that the Republicans are proud of their economic record.

I have to agree that they have set some records that will live in our economic history books.

The unemployment rate today at 7.8 percent is higher than any time between the Great Depression and the inauguration of Gerald Ford. Neither Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson or even Nixon ever gave us a 7.8 percent unemployment rate. That's a record.

And unemployment has not been going down in the past few months, it's been going up. There are over half a million more workers unemployed today than there were two months ago.

Our 6 percent inflation rate today is higher than any rate under Eisenhower, Kennedy or Johnson. So the last two Presidents can share this entry in the record book.

Our economy is producing \$150 billion less than in normal prosperity. That loss of production and income amounts to \$2,500 a year for every American family. That's another record.

Under Mr. Ford's budget, the public debt will rise \$210 billion. That exceeds the increases under his five predecessors and amounts to more than one-third of the public debt amassed during the entire history of our country. That's also a record.

Starting with a 5.5 percent rate of unemployment in August 1974, the unemployment rate jumped to 8.9 percent in just nine months. That's a record.

In the last eight years, our rate of economic growth has been half as high as our historical average.

Economic stagnation has brought layoffs affecting one-third of the families in our country.

It has brought a tripling in the rate of inflation for food, housing and fuel.

It has thrown the federal budget out of balance because stagnation is expensive. For each one percent rise in the unemployment rate, the government loses \$14 billion in taxes that would otherwise have been

collected, and at least \$2 billion in unemployment and welfare checks to support the unemployed.

Economic stagnation has made the average paycheck worth less today than in 1968.

This administration has indeed set many devastating new economic records.

But it has done something even worse. Our eight years of economic stagnation have changed the spirit and direction of America.

For eight years, this administration has told us what we cannot do. It is time for our leaders to affirm what we, as a united nation, can and must do.

I believe we can grow and prosper again as a country. I believe it is time for national unity, rather than national division. I believe the President and Congress can work together, for a change. Different regions of the country can work together, for a change. Business and labor can work together, for a change.

We reject the Republican dogma that events are entirely beyond our control, that the government can play no creative role, and that the best policy is to do nothing. We also reject the dogma that the federal government can solve all of our problems, or that the government always knows best.

We will look toward a philosophy that guides us toward new ideas—and to govern not by confusion and crisis, but with imagination and common sense, for a change.

We will replace stagnation with steady progress.

There are four ingredients necessary for a decent healthy economy. They are balanced, sustainable growth; full employment; stable prices; and a competent federal government working toward a balanced budget.

Ours is a troubled land today because the economic stagnation of the last eight years has diminished economic opportunities and reduced the American worker's standard of living.

We cannot bring health to our economy and society until we move from stagnation to growth and productivity. To achieve this goal will require the forceful leadership of a President and a Congress, working together, who share the belief that stagnation and high unemployment will never cure inflation.

The President should have the authority to appoint the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the chairman's term to run for the same four years as the President's. While maintaining the Board's independence, the chairman would consult more closely with the President, other executive leaders, and the members of Congress in developing a consistent economic policy.

It is essential that we have fully coordinated credit and budget policy, prudent and wary of inflation, but firmly directed toward restoring job opportunities, a fair tax system, and steady economic growth.

Today, the economic policies of the federal government are too often without purpose, coordination and efficiency. Carefully coordinated, sensible budget and credit policies that will permit lower interest rates will enable us to build the homes, schools, and plants that are part of a good life that we seek.

Our economic policies will also be more consistent and purposeful if we begin to look and plan ahead, instead of staggering from crisis to crisis. A more coherent set of long-term economic goals can help us eliminate the wild roller-coaster dips of the last eight years.

Our goals of balanced growth and full employment cannot be separated.

Our goals are our most precious asset. We cannot afford to waste the talents and abilities of any person. We cannot afford the waste, especially, of our women and young people, and minority group members, who have been made to feel unwelcome in this stagnant economy. Half of the people who are now unemployed are less than 25 years old. The unemployment rate among teenagers is 18 percent. Among some minority groups, it is 34 percent.

We have seen the demoralizing impact on a family whose breadwinner cannot find a job. We understand the frustration of young people whose first encounter with the economic system consists of closed doors and dead ends. We are aware of the special impact on minority families who find that, although the law is on their side, the economy is not.

It comes down to this: Will we as a nation force one group of our people to pay the price for the incompetence of their leaders? The Republicans say yes. I say no. I say that any economic philosophy which relies on keeping people out of work is morally, economically, and politically bankrupt.

To end this waste, we must rededicate ourselves to providing jobs at decent wages for all those who are able to work. My commitment during the next administration, and I know you share it, is to concentrate on putting our people back to work.

To do this, I will propose a comprehensive set of policies carefully targeted to meet this broad national need, and also carefully targeted to reduce unemployment among those groups and in those geographical areas where it is highest. By targeting our efforts to pockets of high unemployment, we will be able to reduce unemployment much lower without accelerating inflation.

I believe in the work ethic. This administration once talked about the work ethic instead of welfare. The work ethic is very simple. It means people at their jobs. In its economic mismanagement, this administration has done more harm to the work ethic than any other in the last 40 years.

If I am elected, I intend to run an efficient government, and efficiency requires investment as well as savings. When the Republicans say that it costs too much to put people back to work, I say it costs too much not to. This year, the government is paying \$17 billion in additional welfare payments and unemployment benefits because of the recession. I believe we can make a better investment.

It is wiser to invest in our youth than to let them run aimlessly over the streets of every community in this nation.

It is wiser to invest most of our new incentives to encourage the private sector to hire the unemployed. Private enterprise is the major supplier of jobs and skills in our economy, and we will need the full participation of American business management if we are to achieve full employment.

It is also wise to provide productive public jobs for those who are unable to find work in the private sector.

Our people want work, not welfare.

For eight years, the Republicans have given us the worst economic mismanagement since the days of Herbert Hoover.

We've heard a lot of tough talk from the administration on inflation, and we're going to hear a lot more during the campaign. But tough talk cannot cover up their disastrous record. Campaign talk cannot cover up the 70 percent jump since 1968 in every family's food bill.

Campaign talk cannot disguise the 60 percent jump in health costs.

Tough campaign talk cannot disguise the 70 percent rise in the cost of owning a home, or the 30 percent increase in mortgage interest rates. High inflation and high interest rates have put the housing industry, which provides the jobs and the housing we need, into a depression. The unemployment rate among construction workers is now 17 percent.

Since 1968, when Nixon was elected, the average cost of the same new house has leaped by \$16,000, which puts the dream of a new home out of the reach of many American families. This helps to explain the recent 9 percent drop in new housing starts last month.

Campaign talk cannot hide the fact that prices rose three times as fast during the past eight years as they did under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

That's what all this tough talk about inflation really comes down to—the worst inflation in over half a century. And a 1968 dollar that's worth about 60 cents. No wonder the Treasury now issues \$2 bills and no wonder the public doesn't seem to like them.

I pledge to you and to the American people that, if I am elected, we will never use unemployment and recession as a tool to fight inflation. We will never sacrifice someone's job, his livelihood, for the sake of an ill-advised economic game plan.

After the record of the past eight years, we almost forget that inflation is not inevitable and we don't have to sit back and give up on it. We should remember that from 1961 through 1968, in a period of rising prosperity, inflation averaged about 2 percent. It was not a coincidence that those were the eight years out of the last 24 when Democratic Presidents were in the White House.

If I am elected, we will establish a comprehensive program to fight the many causes of inflation. Our goal is to reduce inflation to 4 percent or less within four years. I will make sure that every person who serves in our administration will join with Congress and other leaders to reduce the impact of debilitating inflation.

We will fight inflation through increased productivity which will result from our policy of strong steady growth, at least twice the 2 percent rate maintained under this administration.

We will fight inflation by anticipating bottlenecks and capacity shortages and moving in advance to prevent them.

Whenever inflation reflects an imbalance between supply and demand, we will choose strategy that first expands supply rather than restricting demand.

We will fight inflation by creating agricultural production policies which will both maintain the income of our farmers and ensure stable food prices for our consumers.

We will fight inflation through a vigorous antitrust policy which will help push efficiency up and non-competitive prices down.

We will fight inflation by eliminating governmental regulations which drive up prices and serve to protect only the industry being regulated. It takes more than talk and study in this area—it takes Presidential leadership and a partnership between a President and a Congress that trusts each other and can work together.

But above all, we will fight inflation by putting our people back to work.

Nowhere is unity and cooperation more important than in this fight against inflation. During the recent

crisis years American labor has shown remarkable moderation in the face of inflationary pressures which were not of your making. I will not ask labor to do anything that would jeopardize the purchasing power of the average worker. But I will honestly ask you and business to cooperate with me, in a voluntary effort to get our people back to work, and inflation under control.

For my part, I will do everything I can to give the American people the kind of well managed, efficient, cost-conscious government they want and deserve.

Every year the average American taxpayer works at least three months for the government, but each year many rich Americans don't pay any taxes at all. Comprehensive tax reform is a necessity; and if I'm elected, we'll have it!

Steady growth, full employment, and stable prices will enable us to achieve our fourth goal—competent government with a balanced federal budget by 1980.

The Republicans are always calling themselves the party of fiscal responsibility. But we have to look at what they do, not what they say.

The deficit for the year just ended was \$65 billion. That is the largest deficit in our entire history.

In fact, during the last eight years, this administration has piled up a total deficit and national debt—on which we all pay interest—almost as great as the total for all other administrations, in war as well as peace, in our 200-year history.

The interest charges alone on the \$270 billion public debt created in the last eight years will amount to \$19 billion per year. That is a perpetual charge of \$350 a year, every year, for every family in the country.

The Republicans have never realized that the government cannot balance its budget by unbalancing the budgets of American families. A family out of work cannot pay taxes. A family out of work requires public support.

The American people know there is a better answer. We know that in a well-managed and steadily growing economy we can create jobs, maintain stable prices, meet our people's needs, and achieve a balanced budget. And we can accomplish these goals while restricting the government to the same share of our national output that it now has.

Living within our means will require discipline and efficiency. Working people follow those guidelines within their own budgets. Through a continuous, zero-based budgeting review of our expenditures, we can make the federal government follow those guidelines, too. New services will be phased in gradually and prudently and predictably, as we can afford them.

Unlike this administration, we see no conflict between a government which is responsive and compassionate and one which is efficient and careful in its use of the people's money.

Today, I have outlined some of the things we can do to end economic stagnation and meet our national economic problems. There is a lot more we can do, too.

But first we need a President to pull us together and give us a new sense of purpose. A sense of purpose that rests on the belief that, if we work hard together, with some imagination and common sense, we can do a better job. That is the promise of America—to grow, and improve, and to do better than what we have done in the past.

There is no greater obstacle to improving our economic performance than the thinking of this Republican Administration that things can't change, that we can't solve our problems, and that we can't do better.

That's wrong. That's a denial of the promise on which this nation was founded.

It is a denial of our capacity—our spirit—to evolve and to grow, to develop new solutions to old problems.

And it is a denial of the spirit which flourished in another Republican Administration—112 years ago.

"The dogmas of the quiet past," said President Lincoln, "are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our cause is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

Act anew.

To act anew we must solve the problems of inflation and unemployment, too. To restore economic prosperity that is justly shared among all of our people.

And solve these problems we will, with your guidance, your support, your spirit, and your faith.

Thank you.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER

Warm Springs

GEORGIA

September 6, 1976

Warm Springs is a place of history, of healing and of leadership. With me today are many friends like David Webb, Eunice Fiorito and Jim Gashel who are physically handicapped but who have still been able to forge enjoyable and full lives of public service. Other patients here are now preparing themselves for similar courageous achievements.

Today I would like for us to remember the most famous of all patients who came here looking for a new life.

Fifty years ago, in 1926, Franklin Roosevelt purchased Warm Springs, including the historic ground on which we stand. He lived here, worked here, and here he spent his final days. Roosevelt first came to Warm Springs because he was physically handicapped, and the warm waters gave him strength and hope, just as later he gave strength and hope to an afflicted nation when he was President.

Although born into a family of wealth and prominence, Franklin Roosevelt yet understood and served well those millions of American families who were left jobless, hungry and filled with hopelessness and despair by the Great Depression.

His opponent in 1932 was an incumbent President, a decent and well-intentioned man who sincerely believed that there was nothing our government could or should do to attack the terrible economic and social ills of our nation; he was leading a Republican Party which lacked the strength and vision to bring us out of those dark days.

But Roosevelt knew our country could be better, and with bold and forceful action he restored confidence in our economic system, he put our nation back to work, and he unified our people.

On Labor Day it is also important to remember that this strong leader in the White House restored the quiet dignity and self-respect of the working men and women of America. With such programs as rural electrification, minimum wage laws, Social Security and the Civilian Conservation Corps our wounded national spirit was healed.

In 1960 another Democratic leader came to Warm Springs. As a candidate, John Kennedy was considered an outsider because of his youth and relative inexperience and because of his religious beliefs. No Catholic had ever been elected President. But Kennedy came here to ask us Georgians for support, and we gave him more than 62% of our vote, an ever greater victory than he received in his home state of Massachusetts.

This year, as in 1932, our country is divided, our people are out of work, and our national leaders do not lead. This year, as in 1960, our nation is drifting, without inspiration and purpose.

As in those critical years, it is time to restore the faith of American people in our own government, and to get our country moving again! This is a year for new ideas, and a new generation of leadership.

How can we restore confidence in our government?

We must carefully decide what government can and cannot do.

People should control government, and not the other way around.

We need a minimum of government secrecy and a maximum of personal privacy.

We should decentralize power, eliminate the trappings of authority, and remember that public officials are not bosses, but the servants of those who put them in office.

When there is a choice between government and private responsibility, the private role should have priority.

When there is a choice, among governments, the responsibility should be assigned as near as possible to the individual citizen.

When there is a choice between welfare and work, let's go to work!

We must always be careful not to over-promise, but we also should never underestimate our potential in our nation to correct our mistakes, to root out hatred and discrimination, to enhance equality of opportunity, to insure personal freedom and to carve out for ourselves and our children a better life.

We can and must provide a nationwide comprehensive system of health care, a completely reformed welfare system and educational opportunities for our people. The weak, the elderly and the disabled must have special care.

Families and neighborhoods must be strengthened and protected.

But all of this requires strong leadership. Political leaders must be willing to tackle economic problems head on, without timidity or fear. We must not lower our standards to accept high inflation, high unemployment, and huge deficits as a normal circumstance.

Under Johnson and Kennedy, the inflation rate was 2%—and when Truman went out of office the inflation rate was only 1%. Unfortunately, under this Republican

Administration the inflation rate has averaged more than 6%.

When President Johnson went out of office, unemployment was less than 4%, and at the end of Truman's term less than 3% of our people were out of work. But the unemployment rate today is 7.9%. Under this Republican Administration the unemployment rate has been the highest since the Hoover depression.

Under this Republican Administration annual deficits have averaged more than \$24 billion, 600% more than under Kennedy and Johnson. The present White House incumbent has recommended annual budget deficits averaging more than \$50 billion. Under Harry Truman, by the way, there was not a deficit but an average surplus of more than \$2 billion a year!

It is obvious that good leadership makes a difference and it is also obvious that if our government is concerned about all our people instead of selfish special interests, then the whole nation prospers. The Democratic Party has traditionally given that kind of leadership.

Harry Truman summed up the difference between our two political parties with these words:

"The Republicans believe that the power of government should be used, first of all, to help the rich and privileged people in this country. With them, property comes first.

"The Democrats believe that the powers of government should be used to give the common man more protection and a chance to make a decent living. With us, people come first."

Mr. Truman's words are still true today.

We must also eliminate waste in government. Scandals and mismanagement have hit us like hammer blows. The latest one is in the Medicaid program. Designed to give our people better health care, 25% to 50% of the billions of hard-earned tax dollars are being stolen or wasted. Who is responsible? No one knows!

When Harry Truman was in the White House a sign on his desk said, "The buck stops here." There was never any doubt about who was captain of the ship.

Now no one seems to be in charge. No one is responsible.

Every time another ship runs aground—CIA, FBI, Panama, unemployment, deficits, welfare, inflation, Medicaid—the captain hides in his stateroom while the crew argues about who is to blame.

We must have an effective and efficient government—with tough management and careful planning leading to a balanced budget. Each year the confusion has been getting worse.

We must have fair taxes for a change, and shift the excessive burdens off the shoulders of our working families. Each year the tax system has been getting worse.

Crime must be controlled. There is a constant threat to our property and our lives. Each year the crime rate has been getting worse.

We are a powerful nation, but we can be more powerful. We must have a strong defense—tough, muscular, simple, well organized, supported and appreciated by all

Americans—with waste and confusion eliminated, and with a sharply focused purpose—the ability to fight. With this ability will come the best guarantee of peace.

We have learned some hard lessons in international affairs because of mistakes made by powerful officials acting in secret.

We have learned that our people and the Congress should be involved in shaping and carrying out our country's foreign policy.

We have also learned: that we must coordinate domestic and foreign policy; that we cannot control the internal affairs of a foreign nation; that we cannot buy the good will of other countries; and that quiet strength is the best avenue to lasting peace.

We must face the Soviet Union with the hope and expectation of a struggle without the use of arms—of continuing peaceful competition. The best way to meet this inevitable competition is to make our system work at home!

We need not be afraid. Our economic strength, our system of government, and the freedom and character of our people are all tremendous resources waiting to be tapped.

But now our country is stagnant, divided, and drifting.

It is time for a change. It is time for leadership. We must be united and strong, and we must get our nation moving again.

I will try to be a good candidate and if elected a worthy leader of our great country. During my lifetime, from farm boy to nominee for President, I have always been close to the working families of this nation.

As a political candidate, I owe special interests nothing. I owe the people everything.

We are beginning our campaign here not many miles from my own home. My family and friends and I have already covered much of the nation during the spring primary elections. We listened and we learned. Our political success has come directly from the voters. We have not depended on powerful intermediaries for victory.

To whatever degree I can stay close to you, and learn from you, and derive my opinions, advice and criticism from you and millions of other Americans like you—to that degree my campaign for President of the United States will be successful.

We have come a long way and we have a long way to go. I thank you for your past support. I will need your continued help and advice and tough criticism throughout the campaign and, if I am successful, as President, I will always try to be worthy of you.

As in 1932 and 1960, the choice before our people is clear. Are we Americans satisfied with a divided nation—one of timidity, confusion and mediocrity?

Most of us believe we can do better.

We will be proud to work hard—together—and to sacrifice if necessary—to achieve once again a united nation—a nation of faith and vision, of courage and greatness.

Thank you.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ANNOUNCING HIS

Acceptance

OF THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION TO THE
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, NEW YORK CITY

July 15, 1976

My name is Jimmy Carter, and I'm running for President.

It's been a long time since I said those words the first time, and now I've come here after seeing our great country to accept your nomination.

I accept it, in the words of John F. Kennedy, "with a full and grateful heart and with only one obligation: to devote every effort of body, mind and spirit to lead our party back to victory and our nation back to greatness."

It's a pleasure to be here with all you Democrats and to see that our Bicentennial celebration and our Bicentennial Convention has been one of decorum and order without any fights or free-for-alls. Among Democrats that can only happen once every 200 years. With this kind of a united Democratic Party, we are ready, and eager, to take on the Republicans—whichever Republican Party they decide to send against us in November.

Nineteen seventy-six will not be a year of politics as usual. It can be a year of inspiration and hope, and it will be a year of concern, of quiet and sober reassessment of our nation's character and purpose—a year when voters have already confounded the experts. And I guarantee you that it will be the year when we give the government of this country back to the people of this country.

There is a new mood in America. We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad and by scandals and broken promises at home. Our people are searching for new voices and new ideas and new leaders.

Although government has its limits and cannot solve

all our problems, we Americans reject the view that we must be reconciled to failures and mediocrity, or to an inferior quality of life. For I believe that we can come through this time of trouble stronger than ever. Like troops who have been in combat, we have been tempered in the fire; we have been disciplined, and we have been educated. Guided by lasting and simple moral values, we have emerged idealists without illusions, realists who still know the old dreams of justice and liberty—of country and of community.

This year we have had 30 state primaries—more than ever before—making it possible to take our campaign directly to the people of America: to homes and shopping centers, to factory shift lines and colleges, to beauty parlors and barber shops, to farmers' markets and union halls.

This has been a long and a personal campaign—a kind of humbling experience, reminding us that ultimate political influence rests not with the power brokers but with the people. This has been a time for learning and for the exchange of ideas, a time of tough debate on the important issues facing our country. This kind of debate is part of our tradition, and as Democrats we are heirs to a great tradition.

I have never met a Democratic President, but I have always been a Democrat.

Years ago, as a farm boy sitting outdoors with my family on the ground in the middle of the night, gathered close around a battery radio connected to the automobile battery and listening to the Democratic Conventions in far-off cities, I was a long way from the selection process then. I feel much closer to it tonight.

Ours is the party of the man who was nominated by those distant Conventions and who inspired and restored this nation in its darkest hours—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Ours is the party of a fighting Democrat who showed us that a common man could be an uncommon leader—Harry S Truman.

Ours is the party of a brave young President who called the young at heart, regardless of age, to seek a “New Frontier” of national greatness—John F. Kennedy.

And ours is also the party of a great-hearted Texan who took office in a tragic hour and who went on to do more than any other President in this century to advance the cause of human rights—Lyndon Johnson.

Our party was built out of the sweatshops of the old Lower East Side [of Manhattan], the dark mills of New Hampshire, the blazing hearths of Illinois, the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the hardscrabble farms of the southern coastal plains, and the unlimited frontiers of America.

Ours is the party that welcomed generations of immigrants—the Jews, the Irish, the Italians, the Poles and all the others—enlisted them in its ranks and fought the political battles that helped bring them into the American mainstream. And they have shaped the character of our party.

That is our heritage. Our party has not been perfect. We have made mistakes, and we have paid for them. But ours is a tradition of leadership and compassion and progress.

Our leaders have fought for every piece of progressive legislation, from RFD [rural free delivery of mail] and REA [Rural Electrification Administration] to Social Security and civil rights. In times of need, the Democrats were there.

But in recent years, our nation has seen a failure of leadership. We have been hurt, and we have been disillusioned. We have seen a wall go up that separates us from our own government.

We have lost some precious things that historically have bound our people and our government together. We feel that moral decay has weakened our country, that it is crippled by a lack of goals and values, and that our public officials have lost faith in us.

We have been a nation adrift too long. We have been without leadership too long. We have had divided and deadlocked government too long. We have been governed by veto too long. We have suffered enough at the hands of a tired and worn-out administration

without new ideas, without youth or vitality, without vision and without the confidence of the American people.

There is a fear that our best years are behind us. But I say to you that our nation's best is still ahead.

Our country has lived through a time of torment. It is now a time for healing. We want to have faith again! We want to be proud again! We just want the *truth* again!

It is time for the people to run the government, and not the other way around.

It is time to honor and strengthen our families and our neighborhoods and our diverse cultures and customs.

We need a Democratic President and a Congress to work in harmony for a change, with mutual respect for a change, in the open for a change. And next year we are going to have that new leadership. You can depend on it!

It is time for America to move and to speak, not with boasting and belligerence but with a quiet strength, to depend in world affairs not merely on the size of an arsenal but on the nobility of ideas, and to govern at home not by confusion and crisis but with grace and imagination and common sense.

Too many have had to suffer at the hands of a political and economic elite who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes nor to suffer from injustice. When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job. When deprivation results from a confused and bewildering welfare system, they never do without food or clothing or a place to sleep. When the public schools are inferior or torn by strife, their children go to exclusive private schools. And when the bureaucracy is bloated and confused, the powerful always manage to discover and occupy niches of special influence and privilege. An unfair tax structure serves their needs. And tight secrecy always seems to prevent reform.

All of us must be careful not to cheat each other. Too often, unholy, self-perpetuating alliances have been formed between money and politics, and the average citizen has been held at arm's length.

Each time our nation has made a serious mistake, the American people have been excluded from the process. The tragedy of Vietnam and Cambodia, the disgrace of Watergate and the embarrassment of the CIA revelations could have been avoided if our government had simply reflected the sound judgment and good common sense and the high moral character of the American people.

It is time for us to take a new look at our own government: to strip away the secrecy, to expose the unwarranted pressure of lobbyists, to eliminate waste, to release our civil servants from bureaucratic chaos, to provide tough management and always to remember that, in any town or city, the Mayor, the Governor and the President represent exactly the same constituents.

As a Governor, I had to deal each day with the complicated and confused and overlapping and wasteful federal government bureaucracy. As President, I want you to help me evolve an efficient, economical, purposeful and manageable government for our nation. Now, I recognize the difficulty, but if I'm elected, it's going to be done. And you can depend on it!

We must strengthen the government closest to the people. Business, labor, agriculture, education, science and government should not struggle in isolation from one another, but should be able to strive toward mutual goals and shared opportunities. We should make major investments in people and not in buildings and weapons. The poor, the aged, the weak, the afflicted must be treated with respect and compassion and with love.

I have spoken a lot of times this year about love. But love must be aggressively translated into simple justice. The test of any government is not how popular it is with the powerful, but how honestly and fairly it deals with those who must depend on it.

It is time for a complete overhaul of our income-tax system. I still tell you: It is a disgrace to the human race. All my life I have heard promises about tax reform, but it never quite happens. With your help, we are finally going to make it happen. And you can depend on it!

Here is something that can really help our country: It is time for universal voter registration.

It is time for a nationwide, comprehensive health program for all our people.

It is time to guarantee an end to discrimination because of race or sex by full involvement in the decision-making processes of government by those who know what it is to suffer from discrimination. And they'll be in the government if I am elected.

It is time for the law to be enforced. We cannot educate children, we cannot create harmony among our people, we cannot preserve basic human freedom unless we have an orderly society.

Now, crime and lack of justice are especially cruel to those who are least able to protect themselves. Swift arrest and trial, fair and uniform punishment should be expected by anyone who would break our laws.

It is time for our government leaders to respect the law no less than the humblest citizen, so that we can end once and for all a double standard of justice. I see no reason why big-shot crooks should go free and the poor ones go to jail.

A simple and a proper function of government is just to make it easy for us to do good and difficult for us to do wrong.

Now, as an engineer, a planner, a businessman, I see clearly the value to our nation of a strong system of free enterprise based on increased productivity and adequate wages. We Democrats believe that competition is better than regulation, and we intend to combine strong safeguards for consumers with minimal intrusion of government in our free economic system.

I believe that anyone who is able to work ought to work—and ought to have a chance to work. We will never have an end to the inflationary spiral, we will never have a balanced budget—which I am determined to see—as long as we have 8 or 9 million Americans out of work who cannot find a job. Now, any system of economics is bankrupt if it sees either value or virtue in unemployment. We simply cannot check inflation by keeping people out of work.

The foremost responsibility of any President, above all else, is to guarantee the security of our nation—a guarantee of freedom from the threat of successful attack or blackmail, and the ability with our allies to maintain peace.

But peace is not the mere absence of war. Peace is action to stamp out international terrorism. Peace is the unceasing effort to preserve human rights. And peace is a combined demonstration of strength and good will. We will pray for peace and we will work for peace, until we have removed from all nations for all time the threat of nuclear destruction.

America's birth opened a new chapter in mankind's history. Ours was the first nation to dedicate itself clearly to basic moral and philosophical principles: that all people are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the power of government is derived from the consent of the governed.

This national commitment was a singular act of wisdom and courage, and it brought the best and the bravest from other nations to our shores. It was a revolutionary development that captured the imagination of mankind. It created a basis for a unique role for America—that of a pioneer in shaping more decent and just relations among people and among societies.

Today, 200 years later, we must address ourselves

to that role, both in what we do at home and how we act abroad—among people everywhere who have become politically more alert, socially more congested, and increasingly impatient with global inequities—and who are now organized, as you know, into some 150 different nations. This calls for nothing less than a sustained architectural effort to shape an international framework of peace within which our own ideals gradually can become a global reality.

Our nation should always derive its character directly from the people and let this be the strength and the image to be presented to the world—the character of the American people.

To our friends and allies, I say that what unites us through our common dedication to democracy is much more important than that which occasionally divides us on economics or politics. To the nations that seek to lift themselves from poverty, I say that America shares your aspirations and extends its hand to you. To those nation-states that wish to compete with us, I say that we neither fear competition nor see it as an obstacle to wider cooperation. To all people, I say that after 200 years America still remains confident and youthful in its commitment to freedom and equality, and we always will be.

During this election year we candidates will ask you for your votes, and from us will be demanded our vision.

My vision of this nation and its future has been deepened and matured during the 19 months that I have campaigned among you for President. I have never had more faith in America than I do today. We have an America that, in Bob Dylan's phrase, is busy being born, not busy dying.

We *can* have an American government that's turned away from scandals and corruption and official cynicism and is once again as decent and competent as our people.

We *can* have an America that has reconciled its economic needs with its desire for an environment that we can pass on with pride to the next generation.

We *can* have an America that provides excellence in education to my child and your child and every child.

We *can* have an America that encourages and takes pride in our ethnic diversity, our religious diversity, our cultural diversity—knowing that out of this pluralistic heritage has come the strength and the vitality and the creativity that has made us great and will keep us great.

We *can* have an American government that does not oppress or spy on its own people, but respects our dignity and our privacy and our right to be let alone.

We *can* have an America where freedom, on the one hand, and equality, on the other hand, are mutually supportive and not in conflict, and where the dreams of our nation's first leaders are fully realized in our own day and age.

And we *can* have an America which harnesses the idealism of the student, the compassion of a nurse or the social worker, the determination of a farmer, the wisdom of a teacher, the practicality of the business leader, the experience of the senior citizen, and the hope of a laborer to build a better life for us all. And we *can* have it, and we're *going* to have it!

As I've said many times before, we can have an American President who does not govern with negativism and fear of the future, but with vigor and vision and aggressive leadership—a President who's not isolated from the people, but who feels your pain and shares your dreams and takes his strength and his wisdom and his courage from you.

I see an America on the move again, united—a diverse and vital and tolerant nation, entering our Third Century with pride and confidence—an America that lives up to the majesty of her Constitution and the simple decency of our people.

This is the America we want. This is the America that we will have.

We will go forward from this Convention with some differences of opinion, perhaps, but nevertheless united in a calm determination to make our country large and driving and generous in spirit once again, ready to embark on great national deeds. And once again, as brothers and sisters, our hearts will swell with pride to call ourselves Americans.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER ON THE

American Family

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

August 3, 1976

The American family is in trouble.

I have campaigned all over America, and everywhere I go I find people deeply concerned about the loss of stability and the loss of values in our lives. The root of this problem is the steady erosion and weakening of our families.

Some shocking statistics are available to document the problem.

Forty percent of all marriages in America now end in divorce.

In 1960, one of every 20 women giving birth was not married; today the figure is about one in eight.

The extended family is all but extinct. According to one study, in 1900 in Boston half the households included parents, children and at least one other relative. Today the comparable figure is four percent.

One out of seven children, 8.6 million, live with a single parent, and we now have a larger percentage of children who live in poverty than we did in 1970.

About 350,000 children live in foster homes, at an average cost throughout their childhoods of \$60,000. At least 100,000 of them could be adopted.

Forty-five percent of the arrests for serious crimes are of young people under 18 years of age, and more than 90 percent of the children sent to correctional institutions last year were found guilty of offenses for which adults would not have been punished at all.

The number of gonorrhea cases has tripled in the last ten years among children less than 14 years old.

Among young people aged 15 to 19 the second most common cause of death is suicide.

And alcohol, drug abuse, and emotional problems are steadily increasing among both young people and adults.

As these statistics, and many others, show, the breakdown of the American family has reached extremely dangerous proportions. There can be no more urgent priority for the next administration than to see that every decision our government makes is designed to honor and support and strengthen the American family.

The problems of the aged would be reduced if we would all obey the biblical command to honor our father and mother. As Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel said: "One father finds it possible to sustain a dozen children, yet a dozen children find it impossible to sustain one father."

The family was the first church.

The family was the first school.

The family was the first government.

And for a child, this is still true.

Our churches, our schools and our state, local and national governments all have major responsibilities to strengthen the American family, and when they fail, they themselves lose strength.

If we want less government, we must have stronger families, for government steps in by necessity when families have failed.

It is clear that the national government should have a strong pro-family policy, but the fact is that our government has no family policy, and that is the same thing as an anti-family policy.

Because of confusion or insensitivity, our government's policies have often actually weakened our families, or even destroyed them.

Our present welfare system is both anti-work and anti-family. We have welfare policies in half our states that deny aid to children unless and until their father deserts them. As President I intend to reform that system so that it encourages work and encourages family life and reflects both the competence and the compassion of the American people.

We have urban renewal programs that shatter homes and families and entire neighborhoods. You rarely see an interstate highway go through a golf course, but you've seen lots of them blast their way through neighborhoods where people have lived for generations. That's the kind of bureaucratic indifference we must end.

We have transfer and assignment policies in our armed services that don't take into account their impact on the families of the servicemen.

We have tax policies that often seem to discriminate against families, particularly lower income families. For example, the so-called "anti-grandmother" provision that disallows a child care deduction if the family employs a relative closer than a cousin. Also, the present personal tax deduction for dependents in effect provides a greater benefit for wealthy families than to middle income or poor families.

Some people argue that income tax exemptions for children encourage large families. But I agree with my running mate, Senator Mondale, who says that at his house the tax laws were never discussed at those moments of decision.

I have pledged to enact tax reform if I become President, and one basic goal of any tax reform must be to help and strengthen our families.

Nixon-Ford economic policies have been dismal failures. We still have an unemployment rate of 7.5 percent, one of the highest in 30 years. We still have an inflation rate of 5 percent, which is higher than any year from 1952 to 1970. We still have an unprecedented budget deficit. The Ford Administration, in its budgets for fiscal 1975, 1976 and 1977, will have a total deficit of \$170 billion—more than the combined total of all budget deficits from the end of the second world war until 1974. And Mr. Ford and his spokesmen like to say that we Democrats are reckless spenders!

Not only have the Nixon-Ford policies failed in their stated purpose, they have failed to consider their human consequences. When the head of a family is out of work, the entire family suffers, and not just in an economic sense. There is a loss of dignity and pride and self-respect.

Leonard Woodcock, the president of the auto workers, recently testified that when the unemployment rate in Flint, Michigan, reached 20 percent, it became the city with the highest alcoholism rate in America, and its drug problem doubled, and cases of child abuse soared.

There are many other areas where our government can do more to support our families.

At a time when teenage pregnancy and illegitimate births are rising sharply, we need a comprehensive program of family planning, which would include adoption and education and moral leadership, and would do everything possible to prevent the need for abortion.

In education, as we struggle with such problems as busing, we need to remember that our basic goal is quality education for every child, and that we need individualized instruction for every student, so that he or she can progress at the fastest possible rate, and that whenever possible we want children to attend

schools close to their homes.

In the area of health, we need a comprehensive health care program, with emphasis on children and on the prevention of disease—and we're going to enact such a program when I become President.

We need to recognize the special problems of the single-parent family.

We need a national day care program.

We need to change the ridiculous Social Security regulation that prevents many elderly men and women from being married.

In short, we need a government that thinks about the American family and cares about the American family and makes its every decision with the intent of strengthening the family.

One of the things that has most impressed me about my running mate, Senator Mondale, has been his deep concern about the family and the leadership he has provided, as chairman of the Senate subcommittee on children and youth, on a variety of family-related subjects including child abuse, crib deaths, child health, adoption and foster care. I intend to rely upon him heavily as I chart a pro-family policy in the next administration.

One idea that Senator Mondale has proposed is that each federal program present a family impact statement, to analyze how it would affect the family, much as federal programs now prepare environmental impact statements. We don't need a new bureaucracy, but the President and Congress should routinely conduct such an analysis when any major decision is made, and when I am President this will be done.

As an immediate step toward developing a pro-family policy, I have asked Joseph A. Califano Jr. to serve as a special advisor to me on how federal programs can aid and support the American family.

With Mr. Califano's help, and Senator Mondale's, and that of many, many other concerned men and women, I intend to construct an administration that will reverse the trends we have seen toward the breakdown of the family in our country.

The job will not be an easy one, but it is worth whatever effort may be required. The entire history of the human race teaches us that the family unit is the best way for men and women to live their lives, the best way to raise children, and the only solid foundation upon which to build a strong nation.

Ours is a time of unprecedented change, and of unprecedented pressures on the family structure. The family is a tough, tenacious, and adaptable institution, and I believe it can survive and prosper if given a decent chance. The trouble is that too many of our families don't get a decent chance. We must do everything in our power to see that they do.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE

Public Citizen Forum

WASHINGTON, D.C.

August 9, 1976

First of all, let me say that I am very pleased and proud to be here. To be sitting at the head table with such a distinguished group of courageous and effective Americans is an honor in itself. The accumulated talent and ability and sensitivity and commitment of those who have just been introduced is indeed inspiration to us all.

The only one about whom I have any concern is our host, Ralph Nader. I was talking to Jack Brooks a few minutes ago, and when Ralph's people went out to the audience to collect the question cards, Jack Brooks said, "I'm sure, knowing Nader, that he is taking up a collection." I said, "He is way ahead of that. He takes up a collection before you get in the house. He doesn't wait until after you get in."

I made the mistake of inviting Mr. Nader down to Plains this past weekend. I really wanted to make an impression on him because I have admired him so long. And in order to do so, I took him out to the Plains softball field. I was very pleased when Ralph and I got out of the car that all the tourists, who now fill our tiny town, rushed forward with their autograph books. I turned to get my pen out of my pocket. I turned around to see all the tourists gathered around Mr. Nader instead of me. He also brought me some bad luck. I had a seven-nothing record as a pitcher on the softball team on which I play. I lost my first game. In the midst of the game, my brother's gas station exploded. I wound up with two charley horses—one in each leg. And his performance as an umpire—I'd rather not comment on it. He said that he was fair because both sides said he was lousy, and I can't disagree with that.

I hope that this forum is not one of a series of catastrophes he has brought on me so far. I think that this is an unprecedented thing, for the nominee of one of our parties to appear in a no-holds-barred talk

and interchange of ideas and questions with the leading consumer advocates of our country.

I come here as one who has spent the last 20 months traveling throughout our nation to seek votes, and I have been successful in that. When I began my campaign, as you perhaps know, I didn't have a built-in organization. I was not well known. I didn't have much money, only a small staff. I didn't have command of the news media as I would have here in Washington or I would perhaps have in New York. But my wife and I and many others went from one living room to another; one union hall to another; one high school auditorium to another. Sometimes only three or four people would come, but I would make about a 10-minute speech and answer questions for 45 minutes or so, and I began to form a relationship with individual voters that paid rich dividends as the campaign progressed.

And I learned in the process. A lot of news media representatives, sociologists, and political scientists and professors have asked: "Are you a liberal or a conservative?" I never have tried to answer that question. In some areas I would be considered quite liberal: consumer protection, environmental quality, human rights, civil rights. In other areas, I would be considered quite conservative: tight management of government, careful planning, strengthening local government, openness of government. One way to categorize my beliefs would be Populism, if you would let me define that word. I would almost equate it with consumerism.

I have been deeply hurt, as have many other Americans in the past few years, by the deterioration of the quality of our governmental processes. This has been demonstrated in a few minor ways but also in a few major ways: the Vietnamese and Cambodian Wars, the attempt to become involved in Angola, the CIA revela-

tions, the Watergate scandals. There has been a deep sense of alienation of people from our government and a sense of disappointment, a sense of embarrassment, sometimes even a sense of shame.

These feelings, perhaps, are justified and legitimate, but there is a reservoir of deep commitment that exists in the minds and hearts of the American people that is waiting to be tapped. I have always felt that—to the extent that government in all its forms can equal the character of the American people, to that extent—our wrongs can be redressed, our mistakes can be corrected, difficult answers can perhaps be given to difficult questions, and there can be a restoration of confidence of people in government.

The government must be well organized, simple, efficient, so that the average person can understand what goes on there, so that there can be some access to the person or persons within government who can meet the needs, receive a complaint, or discuss it as a legitimate public criticism or attack. We now have bureaucratic structures in the federal government and many state governments, but because of their complexity, they are almost impervious to the entrance of a human being into their decision-making processes. That needs to be changed.

In many instances, when agencies or departments become obsolete, their usefulness having been performed, they then try to wrap themselves in secrecy. When a new, vigorous, badly needed function of government is originally instituted, there is a strong natural motivation to let people know what is going on there because there are things being performed which are sources of legitimate pride and a surfacing of ways of letting people know what goes on in a department. But once a department serves its function, there is a strong inclination toward self-perpetuation and for the enshrining of that agency in secrecy. This occurs too often and we need to pursue the legislation, of which Jack Brooks is the father, to open up the deliberations of government—not only in the Executive Branch but hopefully in the Congress as well—to public access, to public scrutiny, to public knowledge, to public involvement, to perhaps even public control for a change.

We must also have the involvement of citizens in the preparation of decisions. The budgeting process should be open, revision of major legislation should be open, and there should always be a sense that what government does is for the best interests of those who have no powerful lobbying group, who have no direct access to those who have power in the White House or otherwise, and who quite often have no intense interest because they lack understanding.

When the regulatory agencies were being established about 40 years ago, when Franklin Roosevelt was President, he said—an almost humorous remark now—“Regulatory agencies will indeed be tribunes for the people.” They have not turned out that way.

No matter what the hopes have been, the regulatory agencies were first formed to protect the consumer alone, against the encroachment of a selfish interest. Quite often the average consumer, the average citizen, has no awareness of procedures, never sees the issues clearly defined, and because of that has a notable absence of interest. And, almost by default, there evolves a “sweetheart” arrangement between the regulatory agencies themselves and those in the industry who are being regulated. Many Presidents have perpetuated that deterioration in making appointments to regulatory agencies. There has been a kind of “revolving door” between the industry being regulated and the regulatory agency. I would like to stop that if I am elected President.

First of all, I would like to see Congress pass a law that would make it illegal for the members of regulatory agencies to move back into the industry from which they have come. In the last eight years, over half the appointments to the nine most important regulatory agencies have come from the industries being regulated. And, of course, quite often they don't serve the whole term, because of the free movement back into the industry from the regulatory agency itself. If it is impossible to pass a law, then through Executive Order and through a firm commitment from those whom I am considering for appointment I'll prevent that continuous ingress and egress between those two entities in our society.

We also need to have within the government structure itself a competent group who can speak for consumers. Senator Magnuson and Congressman Brooks have thus far been successful in getting this legislation passed—Consumer Protection Agency or Agency for Consumer Advocacy. I am strongly opposed to the proliferation of new agencies, departments, bureaus, boards and commissions because they add more to an already confused federal bureaucratic structure. This agency, in my opinion, is different. If I am elected President, I would look on this group—a very small group by the way—to help me probe constantly, to discover agencies or functions which ought to be eliminated, to publicly reveal inadequacies and inaccuracies that exist within the people's own government. I believe that every year, because of the process of screening out obsolescent aspects of our government, the agency would more than pay for itself. There would also be a very low operating cost—I think \$10, \$11, \$12 million each year. This is about

the amount of money that HEW spends every hour. So I strongly favor this legislation. I hope the conference committee will pass it quickly and that it will be adopted. I hope that President Ford will sign it into law; if he should veto it, I hope that Congress can override his veto. If the veto should be sustained, I will continue to make it a major issue in the campaign this fall. If I am elected President, I hope it will be one of the first bills passed during the next administration.

There has to be another means for citizen involvement in our government. The President is the major spokesman of our country. Access to the President from groups represented here today is crucial. Too often in the past the White House was surrounded by an impervious obstacle which was open to those who were powerful and influential, but was not open to those who spoke for the average citizen. That ought to be changed and it will be changed if I should be elected President.

At the same time we ought to pursue an idea that Georgia initiated while I was Governor called "Tie Line." We set up an incoming WATS line. When anyone in the state has a problem or a need, they can call without cost on a nearby telephone, perhaps their own, if they have one, to one number which is highly publicized through welfare checks, public advertisements on radio and television, and ask their question. While they hold onto the phone, without delay, the answer will be provided. If a welfare check or Social Security check doesn't arrive, while the person holds the phone, perhaps an illiterate person, they are connected automatically to their own Congressman's office in Washington to give their expression of concern and perhaps to receive attention. If they go into a local grocery store to buy a chicken and they pay for 3 pounds of chicken and when they get home they find it weighs 2½ pounds, they can call the same number and say they got cheated at their local grocery store, and while they hold onto the phone they can be connected to the person in the Agriculture Department who is responsible for the accuracy of grocery stores' scales, etc. I think we now have over 26,000 categories of complaints on microfiche and we keep a record of complaints in addition to answering questions of that kind. A similar arrangement could very well be insti-

tuted after the executive bureaucracy is simplified enough so that the experts can find the source of an answer to a question.

In closing let me say this: I don't claim to know all the answers. Many of you in the audience are experts in a field of special interest to you. One of the reasons I came here was not to teach, or even to promise, but to learn. A lot of legislation has already been passed to help those who look to specific leadership and perhaps because of your own instigation. As that legislation has been passed, quite often it has not received support and adequate financing from our executive leaders in the White House.

Another point I would like to make in closing is this: next year perhaps there is going to be a different climate in this country. Can you imagine the change that is going to take place in matters that are of great concern to you when the President and Congress work in harmony, with mutual respect, in close consultation, supporting one another in the open? And when we have a natural inclination to be supportive of suggestions which help the consumers of this country? That in itself can be a tremendous step forward, even if we never pass another consumer protection or advocacy bill. Of course, we'll pass them. But, think for a moment how it would be—in the field of poisonous materials, safety, transportation, energy, taxation, access to government, environmental quality and many others—if you felt that there was a receptive ear in the White House to your problems, to your suggestions, and your criticisms.

This is not a partisan speech but I would like to point out that in the last 24 years we have only had Democrats in the White House for eight years. I think in general, and there are obviously some exceptions, our Party has stood for a close relationship to the voters themselves, with an emphasis on individual citizens and a minimal emphasis on powerful intermediaries who have quite often been an obstacle to close and regular access between citizens and the government. But that's going to change and I think it will be a good change. As Ralph Nader pointed out when I spoke to the Citizen Forum a few months ago, I hope to challenge him in the future for the title of top consumer advocate in the country.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE American Bar Association ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 11, 1976

"We will not lie, cheat or steal, nor tolerate among us those who do."

These words comprise the ancient code of honor which was adopted and still is used by the Air Force and Military Academies, and which has recently been questioned as being too strict and rigid for the future leaders of our nation's armed forces.

Is this too strict a code for cadets? I think not. Is this too strict a code for senior military officers who defend our country? I think not. Is this too strict a code for any public official who serves our nation? I think not.

All too often in recent years, laxity and the abandonment of rigid high standards among our leaders have caused our nation to suffer and to grieve. It has been the law, and our national commitment to the law, that has kept the fabric of our society from being ripped apart. Even with a total commitment to the law we are not perfect, but we have a framework within which we can work toward a more just and perfect society.

During this post-Watergate era our nation has been struggling anew with the question of how to establish and maintain standards of morality and justice. So far we have failed.

Unfortunately, there has been little progress toward enacting reforms that are needed to get our government's house in order. There has been strong political opposition to legislation designed to secure more openness, accountability and increased integrity in government.

Nearly forty years ago President Franklin Roosevelt had a proud vision of regulatory agencies. He said they would be "tribunes of the people" and would provide "active and positive protection of the people against private greed."

But in fact, regulatory agencies and other important government positions are still used as dumping grounds

for unsuccessful candidates, faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aides, and representatives of special interests.

For instance, if a recent nomination is approved by Congress, the Consumer Product Safety Commission will have a majority of its members who have come directly from the Ford or Nixon White House staffs.

Of the forty-five appointments to the nine most important regulatory bodies in the past five years, more than half have come from the regulated industries themselves. This unprecedented abuse is a sign of contempt for the regulatory agencies and for the public they are supposed to defend and protect.

Bribery is a crime in every nation in the world, but the administration solution to the embarrassing problem of international bribery is, in effect, a proposal to allow corporations to engage in bribery so long as they report such illegal transactions to the Department of Commerce. Of course, the proposal is that the reports can be kept secret from the public, perhaps forever. "Confidential disclosure" and "authorized criminality" seem to be contradictions in terms.

This is not the kind of reform the American people want nor the kind of moral leadership the American people deserve.

Our nation has seen crimes discovered, publicized, and then condoned. This almost inevitably produces a subtle lowering of standards, and a pervasive acceptance in government of the right to break the law.

Almost 50 years ago Justice Brandeis wrote in a legal dissent: "Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

In times of crisis where is our protection from this threat? Ostensibly from the Department of Justice.

But following the recent presidential elections, our U. S. Attorney General has replaced the Postmaster General as the chief political appointee, and we have on recent occasions witnessed the prostitution of this most important law enforcement office.

It was disgraceful that because of actual crimes within the Department of Justice and a lack of trust in the Attorney General a special prosecutor had to be appointed just to enforce the law. As much as is humanly possible the Attorney General should be removed from politics, and should enjoy the same independence and authority and should deserve as much confidence as did the special prosecutor during the last few weeks of the Watergate investigation.

Recently the U. S. Senate overwhelmingly passed a bill establishing a permanent special prosecutor, to be appointed by the President. If a special prosecutor is needed, we should strengthen the Senate bill and let the courts and not the President make the appointment. My own preference is that the special prosecutor be appointed only as needed and not comprise another permanent government agency. These opinions are, I understand, shared by some of the foremost investigators, prosecutors and congressional leaders who were active in resolving the Watergate crisis.

It is obvious that our executive branch of government cannot be assigned all the blame. Scandals in the Congress involving the improper spending of public money have not been prevented, nor have they been instantly and vigorously investigated.

If I become President, I will never turn my back on official misdeeds. I intend to take a new broom to Washington and do everything possible to sweep the house of government clean.

Change is difficult to implement and to accept, but it is inevitable. As Alvin Toffler has said, "Change is the process by which the future invades our lives." In the scientific and agricultural world, I always saw change and innovation welcomed eagerly. It seems to be different in government and in law.

We need not fear change, so long as we hold fast to an unchanging core of personal integrity and ideals.

A woman who had a great influence on my life was Miss Julia Coleman, my high school principal, who gave me an early introduction to the world of art, books and music some 40 years ago. As a retired school teacher in 1962 she wrote these words in a Christmas letter to some friends:

"We have to adjust to changing times and still hold out for unchanging principles. It is not easy. But neither

education nor religion promises us an easy life. Anyway, I like it better with challenge and effort—with ideals of service to causes good and true."

"To adjust to changing times and still hold out for unchanging principles. . . ." I don't know how a Justice Holmes or a Chief Justice Marshall could have expressed it any better.

A combination of unwise and impractical rules and procedures, lack of effective management of cases, and increasing case loads has priced the poor and middle American out of the judicial system. Now even the wealthy citizen and big business are finding the price of justice too high to pay.

Thus we have the very poor, the very wealthy, and all of us in between joined in one goal and purpose—to create a workable system of justice. We must examine and change our own judicial system so that it serves all justly and at a price one can afford to pay. We must move boldly, quickly and with persistence until we reach this goal.

I note with concern that the current administration has recently recommended a one-third cut in the budget of the Legal Services Corporation.

The best deterrent to crime is swift and certain justice. Civil justice is of no practical value to the average citizen when cases are intolerably delayed. Of the \$4.4 billion spent by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration over the past eight years, only 6% was allocated to aid state and local courts. This is a grossly misdirected set of priorities.

There are demands for complex and controversial changes in your own profession, and it is obvious that you are concerned about such issues as:

- Reduced jury size,
- Legal assistance for indigents,
- Reorganization of the court system,
- Administrative officers and balanced case loads,
- Simplified civil and criminal court procedures,
- Compulsory arbitration outside of court,
- Prepaid legal service,
- Public legal clinics,
- The use of paraprofessionals,
- Expanded class action rights,
- Broadened definitions of legal standing,
- Funding of public interest law,
- Elimination of fixed fee schedules, and
- Relaxation of advertising restriction.

This agenda shows that the American Bar Association is becoming increasingly active in assessing change in the infrastructure of our legal society.

As lawyers you are in a superb position to analyze other changes that are inevitable and necessary in our

society. Your knowledge of the past, your educational background, your influence at the point of debate and decision and your constant involvement in the multifaceted aspects of our private and public life equip you uniquely to shape the future of our country.

As Governor of Georgia, I studied court records, and visited our prisons and noted how few wealthy, influential criminals were ever punished. I talked with inmates and heard convincing stories of injustice and inequality. I traveled the state and listened, again and again, to the questions and frustrations of average citizens who had come in contact with our system of justice.

So, with the cooperation of the Georgia Bar, I went to the legislature and we were successful in implementing a series of reforms in our judicial system:

- A nominating system to insure merit appointment of judges;
- Mandatory retirement for judges and a method of hearing citizen complaints and removing incompetent judges from office;
- Automatic review to insure increased uniformity of sentencing among judges;
- A uniform and unified court system (to allow a more efficient and timely dispensation of justice);
- Prison reform with emphasis on rehabilitation;
- A professionalized Georgia Bureau of Investigation;
- A reduction of emphasis on victimless crimes;
- Expanded staff aid for judges and administrative officers for the courts.

It is of course difficult for all of us to lift our vision beyond the specific issues of our daily lives, such as tax law and torts, and to concern ourselves with the broader issues of a free society and social justice. We deplore the present circumstances in our nation but we often refrain from an inspired and aggressive search for better laws or better administration of those we have.

Whether we are lawyers or candidates or peanut farmers, we tend to avoid controversial issues because we are afraid we might lose a customer or a client or a vote or a dollar. But almost every important improvement is going to be controversial.

The laws must be constantly changing to accommodate the forces and counterforces in our dynamic society and the total law at any time is an expression of the structure of society. There simply must be a close correlation between law and justice.

It is no secret that most professions, including your profession, are in great disfavor with the American people. So are the courts, businessmen, politicians and the government in general. Many people believe that they are denied fairness in the courts, in the market-

place and in the government generally. Fundamental to this attitude is the lack of a workable system of justice in the broadest sense.

I hope that you will think grandly of your role as attorneys in providing equal justice for all. If elected President, I will be an eager partner with you.

A prime responsibility of our next President will be to reestablish the confidence of the American people in the professions, in business and in the various departments that make up our government. In other words, to reestablish confidence in the American system.

The question is not who caused the problems but who will correct them. It is not merely whether we want to make some incremental corrections but whether we wish to preserve the system. Time is running short and only by making our system of justice fair and workable can it be preserved.

Substantial improvements are needed in our government, and as one of our noted Supreme Court justices said, "Sunshine is the best disinfectant." We need a comprehensive sunshine law in Washington so that special interests will not retain their exclusive access to the decision-making process.

Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official.

Complete revelation of all business and financial involvement of major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest.

The sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and industries being regulated should be terminated, and no personnel transfers between agency and industry should be permitted until after an extended period of time has elapsed.

The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled.

Public financing of campaigns should be extended to members of Congress.

Minimum secrecy within government should be matched with maximum privacy for private citizens.

All federal judges, diplomats and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit.

Every effort should be made to encourage our people to participate in government, including universal voter registration for elections and the strengthening of citizen advocacy groups.

Tax inequities must be rooted out. This will be a major and urgent project if I am elected President.

Even when these difficult changes in laws and regu-

lations are made, the search for true justice will of course not be complete.

There are limits to what the law can do. It can establish the outer limits of acceptable conduct in a civilized society, but it cannot teach us or force us to do what is right. That understanding and that moral imperative must come from institutions even more ancient and more personal than the law—from family and community and the ethical and religious training which they alone can impart.

We must be dedicated to the preservation and enhancement of these basic institutions of family and community which can give rise to a more perfect justice than any written code can hope to compel.

I have traveled in this country for the past 19 months

perhaps more than any other individual. I have talked a lot, but I have also listened. I can tell you that our people have been hurt and embarrassed but they have not given up; they have not yet turned away.

There is a reservoir of honesty and decency and fairness among our people that can, in a democracy, find expression in our government.

Our people are willing to give our nation's leaders one more chance to correct our mistakes, to answer difficult questions, to meet legitimate needs, and to achieve a higher standard of freedom, equality and justice. If we disappoint them again—we may not get another chance.

There is a great responsibility on us. We must not fail.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER AT

Town Hall Forum

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

August 23, 1976

During the past week, when the attention of the political world was focused on the events in Kansas City, I spent most of my time at my home in Plains, Georgia, reading, studying national issues, talking with friends and advisers, and trying to sort out my thoughts as I looked ahead to the Presidential campaign.

I want to share some of those thoughts with you today, and I want to say at the outset that my mood is one of confidence and optimism. Not simply optimism over my own immediate political prospects, but optimism about the future of this country.

I think, and I believe the American people agree, that this is one of our most important elections, that this is one of those elections, as in 1932 and 1960, when we have a chance to break with the past and make a fresh start in our national affairs.

Every election is unique, of course. In 1932 our nation faced an economic disaster, and our people correctly judged that Franklin Roosevelt was the candidate whose personal character and political courage made him best qualified to lead us through that crisis.

In 1960 we faced not an economic crisis but a state of spiritual malaise, a sense of national drift, and the people correctly judged that John Kennedy, with all his youth and vigor, could keep his promise to get the country moving again, as in fact he did.

Today, as we face the election of 1976, I think there is a feeling in the land, much like those of 1932 and 1960, that we face an economic crisis, and that we are drifting and need to get moving again. But there is something more than that. After all we have been through in recent years, we need to have our faith in our government restored. We want to believe once again that our national leaders are honorable and competent and deserving of our trust. For, if we cannot believe that, little else matters.

I have thought for some time that this year's cam-

paign was taking place on two distinct levels. At one level, and quite properly, there is policy, and the economy. In many hundreds of public forums I have discussed all these issues with our people for 20 months, and later this month I will make statements on defense and veterans' affairs, agriculture and economics. But today I would like to discuss with you the other level of this year's campaign, the less tangible issue, which is simply the desire of the American people to have faith again in our own government.

We have been through too much in too short a time. Our national nightmare began with the assassination of John Kennedy, and went on to include the assassination of Robert Kennedy, and of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the wounding of George Wallace. We watched the widespread opposition to the war in Vietnam, and the division and bitterness that war caused, and the violence in Chicago in 1968, and the invasion of Cambodia, and the shootings at Kent State, and revelations of official lying and spying and bugging, the resignations in disgrace upon disclosure that our top security and law enforcement agencies were deliberately and routinely violating the law.

No other generation in American history has ever been subjected to such a battering as this. Small wonder, then, that the politics of 1976 have turned out to be significantly different from years past. I doubt that four years ago or eight years ago a former Southern governor with no national reputation and no Washington experience would have been able to win the Democratic nomination for President. But this year many voters were looking for new leaders, leaders who were not associated with the mistakes of the past.

This is suggested not only by my own campaign, but by the success that Governor Jerry Brown achieved in several of the Democratic primaries. For, however else we may differ, Governors Brown and Reagan and I have in common the fact that we are all outsiders as

far as Washington is concerned, and committed to major changes in our nation's government if elected President.

To want a change, to want a fresh start, to want government that is honest and competent again, is not a partisan issue. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, all share those fundamental concerns.

In the last analysis, good government is not a matter of being liberal or conservative. Good government is the art of doing what is right, and that is far more difficult. To be liberal or conservative requires only ideology; to do what is right requires sensitivity and wisdom.

I think that most Americans are not very ideological. Most Americans share a deep-seated desire for two goals that might, to an ideological person, seem contradictory. We want both progress and preservation.

We want progress because progress is the very essence of our American dream—the belief that each generation, through hard work, can give a better life to its children. And increasingly in this century we have realized that it is a proper function of government to help make that dream come true.

But we do not want reckless change. We want to preserve what is best in our past—our political traditions, our cultural heritage, our physical resources—as guideposts to our future.

To walk the line between progress and preservation, between too much change and too little, is no easy task. It cannot be achieved by the extremists of either side, by those who scorn the past or those who fear the future. It can only be accomplished by leaders who are independent and imaginative and flexible in their thinking, and are guided not by closed minds but by common sense.

That is the kind of leadership the American people are looking for this year, and that is the kind of leadership that, if elected, I intend to provide.

As I have observed the political world in recent years, it has seemed to me that there is a process at work, in both political parties and probably in all nations, by which over a period of time the political leadership becomes isolated from, and different from, the people they are supposed to serve.

It seems almost inevitable that if political leaders stay in power too long, and ride in limousines too long, and eat expensive meals in private clubs too long, they are going to become cut off from the lives and concerns of ordinary Americans. It is almost like a law of nature—as Lord Acton said, power tends to corrupt.

I think this process reached a peak a few years ago, when we had a President who surrounded himself with

people who knew everything in the world about merchandising and manipulation and winning elections, and nothing at all about the hopes and fears and dreams of average people.

When government becomes cut off from its people, when its leaders are talking only to themselves instead of addressing reality, then it is time for a process of national self-renewal, time to look outside the existing governing class for new leaders with new ideas. I think that is what happened in the Democratic Party this year. I think our party was ready for renewal, for new faces, for a changing of the guard. If the candidate had not been myself, I think we would have chosen someone else who was not part of the old order of things.

My sense is that millions of American feel that this is the year in which they will give the system one last chance. They do not want to be disillusioned again. They are going to study the candidates, examine our political records and our personal ability and character, and make a judgment as to which candidate can best restore competence and vision and honesty to our government.

I welcome their scrutiny, and have confidence in their judgment.

Obviously there are some outstanding political leaders in Washington—one of the most outstanding, Senator Mondale, is my running mate—and yet I think our people are correct in seeking leadership from outside Washington, new leadership which can approach the executive branch of government with fresh eyes and an open mind.

As a governor, I have been on the receiving end of our federal programs. Members of Congress may see the new programs on the drawing board, or hear about their theories, but governors and local and state officials deal with the realities. I have wrestled with the unnecessary regulations, and the paperwork and red tape and the overlapping jurisdictions. I know what it is to try to start a state drug-treatment program and have to negotiate with almost a dozen different federal agencies that have separate legal responsibility for the drug problem.

Let me say that, on the basis of my experience, I have never been more serious or more determined in my life than when I promise to carry out a complete reorganization of the executive branch of government.

Let me say also, in case there is any question in anyone's mind, that I am not anti-government. I am anti-waste in government. I don't believe in giveaway programs. I don't believe in wasting money. I do believe in tough, competent management, and I have tried to practice it as a naval officer, as a farmer, as a businessman, and as a governor. I also believe in delivering services to those people who need those services in

an efficient, economical, and sensitive way. That is not liberal or conservative. It's just good government, and that's what the American people want, and what I intend to provide.

I think the basic issue in this campaign is going to be whether we want government that looks confidently to the future, or government that clings fearfully to the past.

There's a song in the musical "Oklahoma" called "Everything's Up to Date in Kansas City." But I didn't think everything was up to date in Kansas City last week. We kept hearing the same old, tired rhetoric about socialism and reckless spending that we've been hearing every four years since the Roosevelt years. I don't think the American people are much impressed by that kind of rhetoric. The American people don't believe that Social Security and Medicare were reckless spending, or that TVA and the minimum wage were socialism. The American people consider the source of those charges, and look at the record, and aren't deceived by the nay-sayers.

One of the real issues in this campaign is going to be President Ford's record of vetoes. It is a record that I cite more in sorrow than in anger, for it is a record of political insensitivity, of missed opportunities, of constant conflict with the Congress, and of national neglect.

In six years as President, Mr. Ford's predecessor vetoed 41 bills that had been passed by Congress. In only two years, Ford has already vetoed 53 bills, about four times as many bills per year as his predecessor—and to be four times as negative as Mr. Ford's predecessor is a remarkable achievement.

What did these vetoes accomplish? Did they save us from wasteful, reckless spending, as the administration would like us to believe? I think not.

One of the bills President Ford vetoed was the Emergency Employment Act, which would have created nearly two million full and part-time jobs, to help those millions of Americans who have been rendered jobless by Republican economic policies. I think our government has a responsibility to help those people get back to work. When people can't find jobs, we pay the price over and over in increased costs of welfare and unemployment compensation and lost tax revenues.

Congress also passed a bill that would have granted those unemployed homeowners temporary help in meeting their mortgage payments. I think that was a responsible action for Congress to take. But Mr. Ford vetoed the bill.

When people are out of work, they and their children still have to eat, and Congress passed the School Lunch Act to increase the number of families whose

children were eligible for school lunch subsidies. But Mr. Ford vetoed that bill.

I had occasion, very close to home, to see what that kind of veto could mean to the real people who were on the receiving end of it. I know a young teacher who taught a remedial class for first-graders in the Plains Elementary School. Most of the students in this special class happened to be black, and were having a hard time getting started in school because of the devastating poverty in which they had been raised.

Free milk was provided twice a day, in the morning and at lunch, for needy students, but then there was a cutback and the morning milk was eliminated. So the young teacher began using her own money to see that all her students had milk. And when she ran out of money she went to her father and he saw to it that her students had milk every morning.

That is the sort of thing that happens when our leaders ignore the human factor in government, when they think in terms of statistics and economic theories instead of in terms of real human needs.

These leaders are so shortsighted. Doesn't it make more sense to spend money on milk and education today, to help children get a fair start in life, than to spend money on police and courts and jails ten years from now, when those children have grown up untrained for a productive life and turned against a society that treated their needs with indifference?

It has been my experience in government that the most profitable investment is in people, and that is the rule I will follow if I become your President.

There were many other vetoes. Mr. Ford vetoed a bill to provide loans and grants to train nurses. He vetoed a bill to send more doctors to rural areas and inner-city slums where there are far too few doctors. He vetoed a bill to provide job training and college educations for Vietnam veterans, the most unappreciated heroes in our nation's history.

These vetoes haven't helped our economy. They haven't balanced the budget—far from it. They have only contributed to needless human suffering.

An occasional veto may be justified, if legislation is poorly drafted or ill-considered, but 53 vetoes in two years demonstrate a negativism, a dormancy, and a fear of action that can only be harmful to this country. There is something seriously wrong when the members of Congress, all of whom were elected by the people, repeatedly pass legislation the country needs, only to have it vetoed by an appointed President. I believe those men and women in Congress are a great deal closer to the national mood than Mr. Ford has shown himself to be.

We have had enough of government by veto. It is

time we had a President who will lead our nation, and who will work in harmony with Congress for a change, with mutual respect for a change, out in the open for a change, so the working families of this country can be represented as well as the rich and the powerful and the special interest groups.

Another major issue this fall is going to be the state of our nation's economy. Republicans have a long tradition of mishandling the economy, one that goes back to Herbert Hoover; except in election years, when they sometimes manage to make the economy pick up by temporarily adopting Democratic economic programs.

During the Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford Administrations, we had five recessions. Under Kennedy and Johnson we had none. And we all know that recessions are hardest on those people who are weakest, who are poor and uneducated and isolated, who are confused and inarticulate, who are often unemployed and chronically dependent—in short, those members of society whom a good government would be trying hardest to help.

Do you know what the basic Republican anti-inflation policy has been? To put people out of work. Cooling down the economy, they call it, because that sounds nicer. I say to you that any economic policy that sees virtue in unemployment is morally and politically and intellectually bankrupt.

What's more, those policies have been dismal failures. In 1968, the last year of a Democratic administration, the unemployment rate was 3.6%. Today it's more than twice that—about 7.8% and rising. Under Kennedy and Johnson the average annual rate of inflation was 2%. During the Nixon and Ford Administrations it has been almost 7%.

With all this human suffering, has the Republican administration balanced the budget? In the last three years, the accumulated deficits are about \$160 billion, more than the previous 30 years combined. Under Kennedy and Johnson, the average deficit was less than \$4 billion. Under Nixon and Ford, the average deficit has been more than \$24 billion a year.

In short, the Republican economic policies have not worked, and I believe they have failed to work because they were the creations of people who put economic theories and special interests ahead of the realities of human need in this country.

There are many other problems and many other issues in this campaign. I have been speaking about the breakdown of the American family, and I mentioned that among young people the second most prevalent cause of death is suicide and that in the past ten years

the gonorrhea rate has tripled among children 14 years of age or younger.

I sensed that some people thought I shouldn't use those words, suicide and gonorrhea, because they are ugly words describing unpleasant facts. But there are many unpleasant problems in our society—children who need food, overcrowded jails and mental institutions, inadequate treatment for the young men who were maimed in Vietnam, and the heartbreak and family disintegration that unemployment can bring.

All these are ugly problems and it is a natural human instinct for us to want to tune them out. But we cannot tune them out. We can only succeed in tuning out our own humanity, including those qualities of compassion and concern without which no society, however rich or powerful, can be truly great.

"No man is an island," John Donne wrote many years ago; we are all part of the mainland of humanity. That is still true today, and as American citizens, most of us blessed with a good education and influence in society, we cannot ignore the needs and suffering of our less fortunate fellow citizens—not if we want this nation to remain great.

"Ask not for whom the bell tolls," Donne went on to say; "it tolls for thee."

I think there is a bell tolling for all of us this year.

It is asking us what kind of America we want.

It is asking whether once again an American President can inspire patriotism and pride in all of our people.

It is asking if we can tear down the walls that have divided different races and different religions and different regions in America, and once more be a united nation.

It is asking if we are indeed a tired, worn-out, cynical nation, or if we can once more be moved by optimism and hope and love for our fellow human beings.

It is asking if through our democratic system we can once again give this nation a government as competent and as good as our people.

I believe we can. We have lived through a time of torment, and now we are ready for a time of healing. I believe we are ready for new leadership, leaders who come from the people and who speak to the people and who care about the people. I believe we have reached a turning point in our national history, a time of cleansing and rededication, and I promise you I will do all in my power to bring this nation back to the greatness we deserve and that the world expects of us.

Thank you.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER ON

Neighborhoods

AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

September 6, 1976

I come from a different part of the country, but I feel very much at home here.

A healthy city neighborhood, like the one that means so much to you, is not so very different from the small town in Georgia where I grew up.

People know each other. They look after each other's children. The local policeman is somebody's cousin, and he has a name. You recognize your neighbors and you know the butcher where you shop. There's a place of worship on one corner and perhaps a club or restaurant on the next.

Both a neighborhood and a small town have their own special character, their own distinctive life. I don't come from Americus, or Vienna, or Cordele. I come from Plains. You come from Flatbush—and not Sunny-side or Bay Ridge or Brooklyn Heights.

We feel most at home where our roots run deep.

That describes my home town of Plains. It also describes your neighborhood, and the many other diverse neighborhoods of the older cities of America.

It is time for us to recognize that neighborhoods are more than sections of the city, bricks and mortar, plots of land. They are people, and families, and homes.

Neighborhoods and families are the living fiber that holds our society together. Until we place them at the very top of our national policy, our hopes for the nation, and our goals for our private lives, will not be attained.

But, for too many years, urban policy has been an enemy of the neighborhoods—and of the families, too.

We have sent in bulldozers and called it urban renewal. I have never seen a freeway going through a golf course, but I have seen too many freeways cut through the heart of a living neighborhood.

For too many years, the government has not given neighborhoods the only thing they need—a chance to make it on their own.

No government that cared about our neighborhoods would stack the tax deck against them. A landlord can let a building run down and make a good living on the tax breaks. But, when a homeowner spends a little hard-earned money fixing up his house, the assessor raises his taxes.

No government that cared about neighborhoods would make it impossible for you to own your own home. For seventy years, beginning at the turn of the century, more and more families bought homes of their

own. By 1969, we had accomplished what no other society had ever achieved. More than half the families in this country could afford their own homes.

But what took seventy years to accomplish has been undone in only eight. Between 1969 and 1976, Republican tight money and the Republican recession reduced the percentage of families who can afford their own homes from more than 50 to only 32.

No government that cared about neighborhoods would let their lifeblood drain away through redlining. Redlining is discrimination on geographical grounds. The banks draw a line around a neighborhood and say it has to die. Redlining means that your children can't get mortgages. It means your brothers and sisters can't find jobs. It means that the government does not care what happens to you or your children.

No government that cared about the neighborhoods would become a major slumlord. In many neighborhoods, you look down the street, past rows of family houses. When you see a vacant lot or a boarded-up house, chances are the government is the owner. The federal government is now the largest homeowner in the country. But almost no one lives in its houses.

If we are to save our cities, we must revitalize our neighborhoods first. If we are to save our country, we must give our families and neighborhoods a chance.

If I am elected, that is what we will do.

For eight long years, it is what the Republicans have failed to do.

Just one year ago, the Republicans gave us their philosophy of city life. They essentially told the largest, the greatest city in our country—your city—to drop dead.

They had been telling us that by their actions all along.

I remember when the FHA was a wonderful thing. It made an enormous difference to the families of this country—especially the young families buying their first home. For a small down payment, a family could get a mortgage which the government would insure. It was efficient and compassionate at the same time. The fund even turned a small profit.

Under the Republicans, FHA has become a monitor.

Just yesterday, the General Accounting Office released its latest investigation of the FHA. It showed that the FHA doesn't care any more about getting fam-

ilies started in their homes. It doesn't care about revitalizing neighborhoods. It doesn't even care about efficiency. Under the Republicans, its administration has become so sloppy and corrupt that last year alone it lost six hundred million dollars.

And the FHA is only a symbol of the scandalous failures of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. More than five hundred HUD officials have been indicted, and more than two hundred convicted so far, on charges of corruption and bribery in administering the department's programs.

Under the Republicans, the FHA and HUD have actually become threats to the health of our neighborhoods.

Another threat is crime. We have heard a lot from the Republicans in the last eight years about crime in the streets.

From my experience, there is nothing that stops crime as effectively as a healthy neighborhood or town. The people know each other, the police are local residents, and there is cooperation between community and police.

The Republican record is remarkable. On programs like the FHA and LEAA, their mismanagement has wasted millions of our dollars. Never has an administration wasted so much money to do so little good.

But, when it comes to the small, practical steps that could make an enormous difference, the Republicans have cut back.

The Neighborhood Housing Services, for example, are an efficient, proven way to stabilize neighborhoods, through a partnership between families, banks, and the government. But the Republicans invest only three percent as much in NHS as they waste through mismanagement in the FHA.

And now—after the record of the last eight years—the Republicans have suddenly rediscovered the neighborhoods. You will not hear about cities dropping dead between now and November. This summer, the Republicans appointed a special Task Force on Neighborhood Policy. They think three months' devotion will make us forget the years that went before.

They may fool the bears of Yellowstone Park that way. But they cannot fool the people of our neighborhoods.

We need more than election-year enthusiasm. We need a new neighborhood policy which strengthens the many strands that hold our people together.

There are two Latin words that help explain what we need. The Romans used the word "urbs" to describe the actual place where people lived. The urbs were the city. But they also used the word "civitas." That meant the whole network of voluntary, informal bonds—family, organization, religion, affection—which held the city together and made society truly human.

We have to restore both the urbs and the civitas in this country, instead of attacking them both. We must have a partnership—between a government which knows its limits, a private sector which is encouraged

to do the right things, and the people, in their families, and neighborhoods, and voluntary organizations.

If we can have a partnership, we can correct the worst lesson of the Republican years—the idea that, whenever we want to help people, we can only succeed in wasting money. Our neighborhoods and families can succeed in solving problems where government will always fail. Strong neighborhoods and families can help the government use its money efficiently, for a change.

Let me give you an example. Here, in New York, there are many thousands of homeless children. It costs \$25,000 each year to keep one of them in a public institution. But, when a child is in a foster home, it costs the public only \$5,000 a year. And there is no doubt about which is better for the child, and the community, and the family.

The only way we will ever put the government back in its place is to restore the family and the neighborhood to their proper places.

There are other elements of our neighborhood policy. We need to reclaim the thousands of abandoned houses the FHA has left throughout the cities. And we need to clean up the FHA and HUD.

The Neighborhood Housing Services program should be made available to neighborhoods where it can make a difference.

New highways should not destroy stable neighborhoods, and the people of each locality should have a much greater voice in determining where a highway will be placed.

Urban homesteading is an efficient, sensible way to encourage people to restore their own neighborhoods.

We need a national law against redlining, and federal regulatory officials who understand that banks are chartered to serve their communities.

We need honest officials in HUD.

We must make homes available to our people again—in our urban neighborhoods as well as in the suburbs. Tight money, shrinking paychecks, and a stagnant housing industry are some of the saddest products of the Republicans' disastrous economic record.

Some of these steps must be taken in Washington.

But the most important thing Washington can do is to enable families and neighborhoods to take steps of their own.

I have said before that, in every policy I support, in every decision I would make as President, I would carefully consider the impact on the American family. Our neighborhoods are extensions of our families, and policies that strengthen one will strengthen the other.

We need a government that thinks about the family and the neighborhood, and cares about the family and the neighborhood, and makes its every decision with the intent of strengthening the family and the neighborhood.

With your help, we can rebuild our neighborhoods and our families, and give ourselves a country, and a government, we can be proud of once again.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE American Legion SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

August 24, 1976

It is a pleasure to appear here today before my fellow Legionnaires and to have this opportunity to discuss matters of common concern to us as veterans and as Americans.

I am, as you may know, a member of Legion Post #2 in Americus, Georgia, as was my father before me.

A tradition of military service runs deep in our family. My first ancestor to live in Georgia, James Carter, fought in the Revolutionary War. Almost a hundred years later, others fought in the War between the States, and my father, Earl Carter, served as a first lieutenant in the Army during the First World War.

Including my time at the U.S. Naval Academy, I spent 11 years in the Navy, most of my sea duty in submarines. I had the good fortune to serve under Admiral Rickover on the development of one of the first atomic submarines, and I have tried to carry over into my business career and my political life the high standards of dedication and competence that I learned from that remarkable military leader.

My son Jack continued our family's tradition in the military, but his service came in an era quite different from my own. Jack left college several years ago and volunteered to serve in Vietnam. He did so because he didn't think it was right for him to escape service simply because he had the money and the educational background to stay in college.

During the Second World War, and even during the Korean War, I always wore my uniform with immense pride, and it was a badge of honor among my civilian friends and neighbors.

That was not the case when Jack came home from Danang in 1969. He and the uniform he wore were all too often greeted with scorn and derision. Many of his friends told him he was a fool to risk his life in a meaningless war that couldn't be won.

Hundreds of thousands of Vietnam veterans were meeting that same bitter reception all over America, and I believe very strongly that those scenes, and the national mood they reflected, amount to nothing less than an American tragedy.

I believe in patriotism. I believe that people should love our country, and be proud of our country, and be willing to fight to defend our country. That is how

you and I grew up—never doubting that ours was the greatest nation on earth, and getting, as Senator John Glenn once put it, a warm feeling inside us whenever the American flag passed by.

I know that your patriotism has been demonstrated not only in your military service, but in your work in community and national affairs, such as your outstanding "War on Cancer" fund drive. But we must recognize that for millions of our fellow Americans, patriotism is out of fashion, or is an object of scorn and jokes. That fact is part of the bitter heritage of an unpopular war.

I do not seek a blind or uncritical patriotism. Obviously a government's policies must be deserving of public support. But in recent years, disagreement with our nation's policies too often became rejection of our nation itself. There is a great need for the next President to do everything in his power, by word and deed, to restore national pride and patriotism in our country—and if I am elected, that is what I intend to do.

I also believe in tradition. I was Governor of Georgia when Congress passed the law that changed the observation of Armistice Day away from the traditional date of November 11. I thought that action was unnecessary, insensitive, and offensive, and we kept November 11 as Armistice Day in Georgia.

I did not come here just to get your vote or endorsement, nor just to make a good impression on you. I come here as a nominee for President who has spent full time the last 20 months learning about this country—what it is and what it ought to be.

I want to talk to you about some tough decisions—as veterans, yes, but also as Americans who are farmers and truck drivers, doctors and lawyers, fathers and grandfathers, school teachers and civil servants, employed and unemployed, rich and poor.

We must maintain adequate military strength compared to that of our potential adversaries. This relative strength can be assured:

- by a commitment to necessary military expenditures;
- by elimination of waste, duplication among forces, excessive personnel costs, unnecessary new weapons systems, inefficient contracting procedures;
- and by a mutual search for peace so that armament

levels can be reduced among nations, because the most important single factor in avoiding nuclear war is the mutual desire for peace among the superpowers.

I would never again see our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country unless our own security was directly threatened. But it is imperative that the world know that we will meet obligations and commitments to our allies and that we will keep our nation strong.

We seek friendship with the unaligned and developing nations of the world. Many of them are weak and vulnerable and they need allies who can contribute to their peace, security and prosperity. Yet we must remember that excessive foreign commitments can overtax our national ability. We must therefore be cautious in making commitments, but firm in honoring them.

I have spoken recently with many experts in national defense matters, and I believe we have, overall, adequate ability to defend ourselves, to meet obligations to our allies, and to carry out a legitimate foreign policy. But we must be constantly vigilant to recognize and correct adverse trends.

Our total American ground combat forces are less than half those of the Soviet Union, and the number of men under arms in that country has increased by a million while ours have decreased by 1½ million since 1968. During the same period the number of U.S. ships has been cut in half. For every tank we have, the Soviets have at least eight. Because of our greatly improved anti-tank weapons, this heavy Soviet investment in tanks may prove to have been an unwise investment.

Of course there are counterbalancing factors of strength such as superior quality of our weapons, the relative security of our own borders, our more ready access to the sea, and the trustworthiness and military capability of our allies.

There is now, in my opinion, an overall rough equivalency in direct military strength. This balance must be maintained.

Yet, as we seek an adequate defense, we must face the fact that the very words "national security" have fallen into disrepute. I want to hear those words spoken with respect once again. Too often, those words are now viewed with scorn, because they have been misused by political leaders to hide a multitude of sins, and because they have been used to justify inefficiency and waste in our defense establishment.

Whatever the price and whatever the pressures, the President must insist on a national defense posture that is lean and muscular and flexible.

It is sometimes said that the threat of war has receded. But in Europe, the Middle East, in northeast Asia, potential for conflict still exists, powerful armed forces are deployed and Americans have recently

been brutally killed. To deny that these situations pose a potential danger to peace is to turn away from reality.

Our military power must be continually reviewed. In Europe, NATO must increase its combat readiness and adapt its forces to new military technology, if it is to offset steady improvements in Warsaw Pact forces. In the eastern Mediterranean, strong U.S. naval power must be maintained. We must also assure a close and confident defense relationship with South Korea and Japan.

We must maintain rough equivalency with the Soviet Union in strategic nuclear forces. Equally important, we and our allies must have conventional military capability adequate to reduce dependence on nuclear striking power. In a world where massive mutual devastation is the likely result of any use of nuclear weapons, such strategic forces cannot solely be relied upon to deter a vast range of threats to our interests and the interests of our allies.

We must always recognize that the best way to meet ideological threats around the world is to make our own democratic system work here at home.

The strongest defense grows out of a strong home front—out of patriotism. Our defense must come not only from our fighting forces, but from our people's trust in their leaders, from adequate transportation, energy, agriculture, science, employment, and most of all from the willingness of our people to make personal sacrifices for the sake of our nation. Not until we restore national unity can we have a truly adequate national defense.

Only then can we, in Theodore Roosevelt's phrase, speak softly but carry a big stick.

I recognize, of course, as you do, that it is not enough for the President to talk about patriotism and national security. He must take positive, aggressive action to ensure that our defense establishment is worthy of national respect. That calls for leadership, and it calls for management.

In any given annual budget, now or in the future, there is a limited amount of money available for national defense. When any resources are wasted, our nation's security is weakened. We now have an excessive drain on defense funding from waste and unnecessary expenditures.

We must better coordinate long-range planning and budgeting among departments responsible for military, foreign, fiscal, economic, transportation and social affairs of our government. A spirit of cooperation must be restored.

Foreign aid must be consistent with our national purposes, and designed to strengthen our allies and friends and to fulfill humanitarian purposes. I'm tired of our taxing the poor people in our rich country and sending the money to the rich people in poor countries.

We must frankly and constantly assess the effectiveness of our present voluntary recruitment program. As unemployment drops and civilian jobs become more plentiful, it will be much more difficult to maintain our present military strength.

We must ensure that an oversized support establishment does not prevent us from maintaining needed combat force levels.

We must recognize that our military personnel are transferred too much. At any given moment, about one out of seven of those personnel is in the process of moving, or is away from his family on temporary training duty. This year \$2.5 billion will go simply to move service personnel, their families, television sets and furniture from one base to another. Such frequent moves not only eat up money, they undermine morale. If we extend the average tour of duty by just two months, we could save up to \$400 million per year.

We need to reexamine our military training programs. Recent congressional hearings, by the way, revealed that the ratio of students to instructors and support personnel is 2.2 to 1. By moving to a ratio of only three students to each instructor, we could save hundreds of \$ millions per year.

Cost overruns have become chronic. The Pentagon itself estimates that the total current cost of overruns on the 45 weapons systems now in the process of development in the three services—exclusive of inflation—is \$13-14 billion. Over the next five years that would approximate the cost of the proposed B-1 bomber program over the same period.

We need sound, tough management of the Pentagon not only to eliminate waste, but to ensure that force structures are correlated with foreign policy objectives. Tough management will mean that overlaps are eliminated between Pentagon programs and similar programs of civilian agencies. It will mean that we cooperate closely with our allies in our mutual defense, that our weapons systems are integrated with each other, technically and strategically, and that we put a stop to the dubious practice of arms giveaway programs for potential adversaries.

Ever since I was Governor of Georgia, when I attended National Guard training sessions every summer, I have been concerned that our reserve forces, both the regular reserve and the National Guard, do not play a strong enough role in our military preparedness. We need to shift toward a highly trained, combat-worthy reserve, well equipped and closely coordinated with regular forces—always capable of playing a crucial role in the nation's defense.

If we can get the flab out of the Pentagon's budget, I believe that the public will evaluate questions about weapons systems and force levels on their merits in a calm and rational manner. Our people will support an adequate defense establishment without complaint, so long as they know that their tax dollars are not being wasted.

The threat to our security comes not only from states that might be hostile. International terrorism knows no boundaries, recognizes no law of warfare, accepts no standards of conduct. It is brutality at its worst, the law of the jungle in its most primitive form.

Recently at Entebbe the Israelis reaffirmed courageously the old principle that every state has the right to defend its citizens against brutal and arbitrary violence—violence that in this case was even based on collusion between the terrorists and a government.

The issue of international terrorism must be a priority item for the entire international community. If I become President, I intend to recommend strong multinational sanctions against guilty nations as a necessary and productive means for crushing this intolerable threat to international law and peace. International terrorism must be stopped once and for all!

In our own country, we must recognize that, in far too many cases, the Vietnam veteran has been a victim of governmental insensitivity and neglect. Large bureaucracies of the federal government have often been incompetent, inefficient, and unresponsive in their fulfillment of responsibilities to veterans. Each month, thousands of veterans are plagued with late delivery of badly needed benefit checks. Hundreds of millions of dollars of benefit payments have been improperly computed. The average VA hospital has only half the doctors and supporting personnel found in the average community hospital.

The poor record of the government bureaucracy has been especially bad in programs intended to help recent veterans to find jobs. In 1973 and 1974 Congress passed legislation requiring special consideration for veterans in public service jobs, in training programs, for jobs with federal contractors, and for jobs in the federal government. None of these requirements has been fully or effectively carried out.

For example, despite the mandates of the law, many federal departments and agencies have few disabled veterans or Vietnam veterans serving within them. It took the Labor Department 18 months to establish administrative guidelines to ensure the hiring of veterans. In 1975, 16 federal agencies failed even to submit required plans for hiring disabled veterans until congressional inquiries were begun.

The record of placement in private sector jobs and training has been no better. In 1975 more than two thirds of the 153,000 job training slots went unfilled, largely due to inadequate administrative procedures.

Yet last month there were still 531,000 Vietnam veterans who had no jobs.

The reason for this dismal record is clear:

It is a failure of leadership.

Sympathetic leadership would not submit—as did the present administration—a budget recommending

cuts of ten percent or more to veterans' programs and denying full cost of living protection to disabled veterans.

Concerned leadership would not have vetoed a bill overwhelmingly voted by Congress for higher education allowances, better work-study programs, more educational loans, and employment and training preferences for more than two million veterans.

Only because the Congress overrode this veto do Vietnam veterans enjoy some of the educational benefits they deserve.

I believe we need to address the needs of veterans, especially of Vietnam veterans, with sympathetic and active leadership rather than with vetoes and passive resistance. Men who have endured so much suffering, so bravely, fighting in a far-off land, should not now suffer anew in their own country at the hands of insensitive bureaucrats and indifferent politicians.

If I become President, the American veteran, of all ages, of all wars, is going to have a friend, a comrade and a firm ally in the White House. My administration will act to strengthen the competence, the responsiveness, and the independence of the Veterans' Administration. I will appoint the most capable administrators available and I will insist on fair and sensitive treatment for veterans by every employee of the executive branch of government from top to bottom.

I would like to speak for a moment about the single hardest decision I have had to make during the campaign. That was on the issue of amnesty. Where I come from, most of the men who went off to fight in Vietnam were poor. They didn't know where Canada was, they didn't know where Sweden was, they didn't have the money to hide from the draft in college. Many of them thought it was a bad war, but they went anyway. A lot of them came back with scarred minds or bodies, or with missing limbs. Some didn't come back at all. They suffered under the threat of death, and they still suffer from the indifference of many of their fellow Americans. The Vietnam veterans are our nation's greatest unsung heroes.

I could never equate what they have done with those who left this country to avoid the draft.

But I think it is time for the damage, hatred and divisiveness of the Vietnam war to be over.

I do not favor a blanket amnesty, but for those who violated Selective Service laws, I intend to grant a blanket pardon.

To me, there is a difference. Amnesty means that what you did is right. A pardon means that what you did—right or wrong—is forgiven. So, pardon—yes; amnesty—no.

For deserters, each case should be handled on an individual basis in accordance with our nation's system of military justice.

We may not all be able to agree about what was the right course for the nation to take in 1966. But

we can now agree to respect those differences and to forget them. We can come together and seek a rebirth of patriotism in which all our citizens can join.

We must bind up our wounds. We simply cannot afford to let them fester any longer. The world is too dangerous. We cannot remain distracted from what must be our overriding aim. Our attention must turn to rebuilding the military, economic and spiritual foundations of a peaceful world order.

Those who most want peace, and who best understand the need for strength as a prerequisite for peace, are our past and present servicemen and their families. As a former submarine officer, I know that fact from experience.

I can still remember hearing President Truman explain to the world that the atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima. I was at sea in an old battleship in the North Atlantic. None of us had ever heard even a rumor of this quantum leap in destructive power. We had no way of comprehending the meaning of this new weapon which had been dropped on Japan. We were mainly relieved at the prospect that the need for invading Japan might be averted, thus saving what would surely have been the loss of hundreds of thousands of American and Japanese lives.

After we saw the destruction in Japan, for a while we understood the terrible havoc and devastation which would follow any use of nuclear weapons. But now we have a tendency to forget. Even if a strategic nuclear war could remain "limited in nature," it would still involve the death of approximately ten million Americans. A so-called "limited nuclear war" in Europe could produce an even greater number of deaths. In an all-out nuclear war, 200 million Americans could die—virtually the entire population.

Obviously, such a holocaust is beyond our capacity even to imagine. Numbers like 10 million dead or 200 million dead seem unbelievable. But they are true.

The Duke of Wellington said in 1838: "A great country cannot wage a little war." In our time that doctrine has acquired new meaning. In a nuclear world, we cannot rely on little wars to prevent big wars. We must maintain our strength and use it to prevent all wars.

Our people have been shocked and hurt over and over again. Things which we used to take for granted are now subject to widespread doubt. Things like trust in our leaders, confidence in our institutions—even love and respect for the flag and support and appreciation for the men and women who defend the flag. But I believe there is no one in this country—certainly there is no one in this room—who does not want to heal our wounds and restore the precious qualities and the national strengths we seem to have lost.

I hope to play a role in that noble enterprise.

I hope you will help.

Thank you.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER BEFORE THE

10-1

National Wildlife Federation

March 15, 1975

Thank you very much.

I might first say that I came in from New York this morning on TWA and for the last hour or so we had been stuck on the runway of the airport. Fortunately, however, the four feet of snow that had accumulated in front of our plane's wheels was finally shoveled out of the way and I arrived here just in the nick of time to hear one of the finest Congressmen in Washington give you his talk.

You know, if every member of Congress had the same understanding, sensitivity and capability and motivations as Congressman Heinz, you would not have to be concerned about the future of our nation.

Insofar as I am concerned, let me first say that I do appreciate the introduction given. You know, sometimes an introduction can separate a speaker from his audience. This happened on an occasion, not too long ago, with me.

Some four or five years ago I was visiting a college campus, the campus of the oldest women's college in the nation. Each summer we bring to that campus the 400 brightest high school students in the state, as determined by comparative examinations. They spend eight weeks there studying various subjects, advanced subjects, such as new teaching techniques and the like.

There is one day, out of that eight-week session, that we set aside for career training, and we spend that full day bringing onto the college campus professionals—doctors, dentists, nurses, businessmen, scientists, engineers, teachers, etc., so that students in small groups can study what they want to do in the future with their own brilliant young lives—in order to plan their careers in an orderly fashion.

I was invited at that time to make the main banquet speech and the individual, in introducing me, said, "Tonight we are happy to have at this time, Jimmy Carter to come and tell us how to plan our life careers." He then pointed out that I was born and raised in Georgia, had gone to college there and then he said—"Senator Carter went to Georgia Tech where he studied engineering and then he went to the Naval Academy at Annapolis where he got a degree in Naval science and then he went to Union College in New York, where he did his graduate work in Nuclear

Physics and now he grows peanuts for a living and is now going to tell us how to plan our life's careers." (Laughter) Well, by the time I got my speech done, I had finally gotten that audience back.

I do want to talk to you today, however, about some concepts that are important to us all.

You know, God has given us a great heritage to take care of, which sometimes we don't appreciate adequately.

I have tried to think of a story to illustrate this point and the only one I could think of was about the old gentleman who lived in the mountains and he, his father, his grandfather and his great grandfather before him had owned the same little tiny plot of land—fifty acres—and they were very proud of that and everytime, during those four generations, that they had made a nickel or a dime, they had put it back in the beautification of this little plot of land. The trees were beautifully pruned; the stream was absolutely pure; the rose garden was beautiful; the fences were all straight; the little house setting on the southern part of the farm was whitewashed and the old gentleman was very proud of what he had, the beauty of it and the like.

He had a new nephew who one day visited him coming from a far western area and that first night they were standing on the porch and the old gentleman said, "I want you to see the beautiful place we have. Just over there beyond the rose bushes you see the western boundary of our farm. Just beyond that little creek on the hill is the northern boundary and over there, just beyond those pine trees, is the eastern boundary of the farm and then my house here happens to be located in the southern corner. What do you think about our place?"

Well, the young man was very bright and replied, "By golly, do you call this a farm? Where I come from they have really got farms. My house also happens to be on the southern corner and I get into my pick-up truck early in the morning, drive as hard as that truck will go until ten o'clock in the morning and I have to stop and rest and put some oil in the truck and it takes me until noon to get to the northern corner of my farm. I then stop and eat lunch and by mid-afternoon I am back at the eastern corner and

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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

then it is nightfall before I get back to my house in the southern corner. What do you think about that?"

Well, the old gentleman thought awhile and then replied, "Well, son, I sympathize with you. I used to have a pick-up truck like that myself."

Well, sometimes we do have different perspectives of beauty and different perspectives of our responsibilities and that is important to us.

I am an engineer, I am a conservationist, and I am a scientist, an environmentalist, I am a Nuclear Engineer, I am an outdoors man, I am a Christian, and I don't see any conflict among these things, but when I was elected Governor, I approached the Office with a great deal of anticipation, not as a politician but as a businessman, an outdoors man, as a planner, as a farmer, and I found a terrible bureaucratic mess.

For example, we had 300 agencies and departments in the Georgia government. We abolished 278 of them. We set up a simple structure, one that you could understand and that could deal with comprehensive problems of the people of the state in an effective, aggressive, comprehensive and understandable way.

We established a new kind of budgeting technique called "zero" based budgeting, where every year we stripped down the Georgia budget to zero and we analyzed every single program that delivered services to the Georgia people. If it was doing a good job, we kept it. Sometimes we even enhanced it. If it was ineffective, then we eliminated it.

We carefully put together each year a proper priority of the delivery of services to the Georgia people and a proper allocation of funds paid in by taxes of the people served.

We have long-range plans in every parameter of Georgia's life—mental health, physical health, transportation, education, environmental quality, recreation, parks, game and fish management, coastal plains, preservation of marshlands, etc.—so that the majority of people know ahead of time what is going to happen a year, two years, five years and sometimes even twenty-five years in the future.

We have a very economical and efficient government and I am proud of it and I would put it up against the efficiency and economy of many corporations, such as Delta Airlines, Sears Roebuck, Coca Cola, General Motors, or IBM.

However, I would also like to remind you that nowhere in the Constitution of the United States or Declaration of Independence, nor the Bill of Rights, nor the Old Testament, nor the New Testament, do you find the words "economy or efficiency." However, you find other words that are much more important—words like "self-reliance," words like "beauty" and words like "appreciation," and words like "foreight," and words like "stewardship," "brotherhood," "tenacity," "commitment," "compassion," and "love," that describe what a human being ought to be and also describe what the government of those human beings ought to be.

The title of my speech, as I noted it when I got here

this morning, comes from the Bible—"for if the trumpet be given an uncertain sound, then who shall prepare themselves for the battle?"

I tell you that this is no time for those of us who love God's earth and the beauty of it, the purity of the air and water, to compromise or to retreat or to yield in any possible measure to the devastation or deterioration of the quality of our lives or our environment.

If the members of the Environmental and Conservation groups of this nation are willing to compromise ahead of time on tough decisions relating to the quality of the lives of the American people, then who in God's world is going to maintain a staunch position from which we can make proper decisions?

Not long ago, I noted that one of the Cabinet Members made a statement—"Earth Day is over," and then another prominent official in Washington said, in referring to people like you and me, that we were green bigots.

Well, I think this is inevitable. I helped, for example, to organize the Georgia Conservancy and I have grown up, in relation to my life, in the swamps, rivers, fields and woods of Southwest Georgia.

I started with my game and fish conservation programs when I was a twelve-year-old child and I never had an electric light until I was fifteen years old. I know how important it is to stand fast when problems get serious and when challenges get great and when public opinion swings back and forth in a time of crisis.

Environmentalists now are under attack for one basic reason and that is because we accurately predicted what would happen in our modern fast-changing, technological world if we did not make long-range plans, concerning the population explosion, food shortages, pollution control, depletion of commodities, natural resources, energy supplies, and now with those predictions having come true, in some strange ways those of us who made the accurate predictions several years ago are being blamed for the consequences of a lack of planning.

There is no incompatibility between careful planning and economic progress on the one hand and environmental quality on the other hand.

Our present economic distress, in a major degree, has come from waste and from the lack of planning to corollate the disparate elements that affect our modern world.

Now, I happen to be a scientist and I have seen the almost complete severance of separation in the last few years of the scientific community from the decision-making center of our nation, which is in the White House.

You know, in times past, when the world was slowly changing, it was possible for political leaders to make predictions and judgements and then call on scientists and say, "This is what we have decided, now you help us achieve the goal we have established."

However, that time is gone. Now, the inexorable

forces of nature which cannot be changed on a world-wide basis, concerning food, population, pollution, energy resources, are so complicated that a full-time President, a full-time Congressman or a full-time Governor or a full-time Mayor has not the time nor most often the competence to predict what is going to happen and to design what the alternatives are—to make careful correlated planning for the future and use the best alternatives.

Now is the time when professionals, like many of you, and scientists like me, need to be in the most enviable and possible posture in our government.

Now, what is our nation's policy on energy?

Well, there is none.

What is our nation's policy on comprehensive transportation programs?

There is none.

What is our nation's policies on mental health, physical health, education, welfare, tax reform?

There are none.

How can we hope to inspire the American people to reach for greatness and to make sacrifices when they don't know the purpose of their sacrifice and don't know the consequences of selfish actions and have no way to look toward a common goal so that we can work in harmony and with a mutual support for realizing the potential of our great society?

The safety and good health of workers, for example, is not incompatible with the proper utilization of energy sources.

The destruction of the surface of our lands with uncontrolled strip mining is certainly not a logical approach to meeting energy requirements.

The unrestrained and profuse off-shore leasing of scarce and very lightly understood oil reserves is in no way protecting the public's interest and the public's oil deposits.

The right of private businesses, in conjunction with the Federal Government, to condemn lands over the opposition of state and local governments, farmers and ranchers, is no proper procedure in a free and democratic society.

The right to establish arbitrarily sites which might be derogatory to the environment of a beautiful area is no proper procedure for our government to espouse.

One of the most frequent questions I get in my travels around this country is "what are we going to do about energy?"

Other nations have a comprehensive energy policy—we do not.

We have, in the entire world, about sixty cubic miles of oil, total reserves and the best estimates are then that we can expect from the ground about seventy-five percent of that oil. We use about 1.3 cubic miles per year and the rate of that use is increasing year by year, not particularly in this country now but in the areas of the world which is becoming more industrialized—which means, in turn, we have enough oil to last about thirty-five years: we have enough uranium

to last forty or fifty years and we have enough coal to last six hundred years.

Among the Nuclear Physicists of this country, there is a fifty-fifty judgement about whether or not we will have electricity from fusion in this century. We are now seeing a struggle going on, an economic struggle, about how to use what we do have.

There is a great pressure to make synthetic fuels out of coal, to take coal and change it into oil or gas.

This is probably counter-productive because it takes a lot of energy just to change the form of coal but we do need research and development to make sure that when coal is used that the environment is less adversely affected.

Shale also has tremendous potential but enormous amounts of water and energy are required to extract oil from shale and to get four or five percent of our total energy resources from shale would require us to dig a Panama Canal every day.

The Federal Government has an integral role to play in every aspect of environmental life that I have mentioned to you this morning.

The total budget allocated to conservation and wildlife is about one percent of our total budget but that includes, in a major degree, two types of expenditures which quite often are counter-productive.

One involves the building of unnecessary dams by the Corps of Engineers and the other one is a channelization of our streams by the Soil Conservation Service.

Not too long ago, in Georgia, I vetoed a major dam project because it would have been destructive to the quality of Georgia's wildlife in the future and also a gross waste of money and that the computations used to economically justify that particular dam were false.

A great reduction must be made in the construction of dams and channelization of streams in this country. We need to enhance recreation and park expenditures, utilization of our forests, both privately and publicly owned and accentuate good wildlife habitat production for our wildlife. We have to become involved in the protection of natural areas, historic areas and sites that are important and the property management of public lands, not for the oil companies, not for the coal companies, but for the people of the country.

In closing, I would briefly like to indicate to you two incidents that happened to me.

One of these occurred when I was campaigning for Governor of Georgia.

Late one afternoon, I was tired and I was leaving one of our major cultural cities and as I was driving on the Interstate Highway, I-16, I looked into my rear-view mirror and was very, very saddened to see a haze of black smoke over that major city and remembered a conversation which I had with some fisherman on the banks of the Savannah River, who formerly could catch fish in the mouth of that river but who could no longer do so.

Snewell Dam
Synthetic Fuels

I could see the haze in my rear-view mirror and, at about that same time, overhead, over the Interstate Highway, which was used to transport hundreds of cars to and from the city, I saw a flash of bronze in the air and then about twenty yards in front of my car, as I drove westward, there was a turkey gobbler. Then, just in front of my car, he set his wings and he sailed into the Georgian swamp on the right.

I then thought to myself, would my three-year-old child ever see a wild turkey gobbler in Georgia? Will the natural areas of our state be preserved? Will the quality of our air improve? Will our land and water be protected?

Well, as Governor of Georgia, I tried to keep all of those factors in mind and never yielded an inch on the quality of our lives.

The people of this country are very deeply concerned about two basic things. One is the integrity and the purpose of our Federal Government. Does it represent accurately the character and quality of our people?

The second basic concern about the government is—is it accountable and able to deal with the complicated factors that will face our lives and which are going to get more complicated in the future?

As we approach the 200th birthday of our country, it is important for us to stop and see whether or not we as Americans in a leadership capacity, representing perhaps a minority view, can compromise our principles.

You know, during my last two years in the Navy, I worked for a remarkable man by the name of Rickover. He is probably the greatest engineer this nation ever produced. He is a great scientist and is completely dedicated. He works very, very hard. He will be seventy-five years old this year.

In years gone by he has been responsible for all the nuclear and power generation for the Navy Atomic Submarines and the Atomic Energy Commission. Further, he has absolutely no tact—doesn't care for anything. As a matter of fact, all the time I worked for him he never said a decent word to me. However, he did change my life because he had one characteristic, and still has it, which has always been unique. He would never accept mediocrity or low average achievement in relation to anything he did or anyone under him did.

I helped him and a few others develop the first two atomic submarines and I worked at the General Electric Company at that time and whenever the Admiral would come around to inspect my work, if I had done a perfect job, which wasn't too often, but every now and then I did, he never said a word—never once did he say, "good job, Jimmy" or "well done, Carter." If he found no fault, he simply looked, turned around and walked away.

However, if I made the slightest mistake, in one of the loudest and most obnoxious voices I ever heard, he would turn around and tell the other people in the area what a horrible disgrace I was to the Navy, and

that I ought to be back in the oldest and slowest and smallest submarine from which I had come.

Further, I remember the first time I met the Admiral. We were in a room almost a quarter as large as this one. There was one table in the room and a chair on each side. I was being interviewed for a job and that interview lasted three and a half hours. He looked right between my eyes the whole time. He never smiled. He let me choose any subject I wanted to talk about and, of course, I carefully chose a subject about which I knew the most at the time, navigation, seamanship, foreign affairs, music, art, drama, whatever it was, and then with questions of increasing difficulty, in each instance, he proved that I did not know anything about the subject I had chosen.

Toward the end of our interview I was sitting there in a cold sweat and he asked me a question in relation to which I could finally redeem myself.

He asked—"how did you stand in your class at Annapolis?"

Well, I had done very well and so my chest swelled up with pride and I replied, "Sir, I stood so and so in a class of 765."

Well, I sat back to wait for a favorable reaction and the congratulations never came. I found out later, for example, he had stood number 1 in his class.

He then asked me another question. He said, "Did you do your best?"

I started to say "yes" but then I remembered for a part of the time when I was there, there were times when I could have learned a little bit more about things, weapons, seamanship, navigation and so I gulped a couple of times and I said, "No, sir, I did not always do my best."

Well, he sat there for a long time looking at me and then he turned his chair around to end the interview and asked me one final question, something which I have never been able to forget and to which I have never been able to think of a good answer to. He asked, "Why not?" Well, after a while, I got up and walked out of the room.

Well, this room is filled with people who love God's world, who love the grass and the trees and the mountains and the wildlife; who are concerned about the future; who consider themselves stewards; who have natural leadership capabilities, who are trusted by their fellow Americans, neighbors; who have seen firsthand some of the problems that we personally face; who have been tempted to compromise our principles because of public pressure or political pressure. However, let's not do it.

I think that it is incumbent upon us, on the cutting edge of the preservation of the quality of life, to ask ourselves the question that Admiral Rickover asked every single officer who goes into an atomic submarine—for the people of this country, for the future of it, for our nation and for ourselves individually—and a question we should ask ourselves—"why not the best?"

Thank you very much.

JIMMY CARTER WALTER MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

SPEAKERS PACKET

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