

Debate Issues [10]

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Just
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TO GAIL
FR BERT

OIL CITY RALLY OUTLINE

"

I. The Issues

It's plain enough what the issues are in this campaign:

- jobs and how to create them
- inflation and how to curb it
- taxes and how to reform them
- programs and how to pay for them

And it is plain that there are fundamental differences between the Republican and Democratic tickets on each of these issues -- differences deeply rooted in the traditions of the Republican and Democratic parties.

JOBS

The Republican position on employment is clear. They believe their record is a good one, and that nothing more needs to be done.

- Yet there are 2.5 million more unemployed Americans than when Mr. Ford took office.

- Last year alone, 2.5 million Americans were added to the poverty rolls, the largest increase since government began to keep their statistics in 1959.

- There are actually fewer Americans in private, non-farm jobs today than when Mr. Ford took office.

And the outlook for the future is bleak.

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FR BETT

Last month, the BLS index of leading economic indicators fell for the first time since our tentative recovery began 18 months ago . . . one more signal that recovery is far from assured.

- layoff rates are up.
- manufacturing hours are down.
- new orders for manufacturing of consumer products and materials are down.
- contracts and orders for new plant and equipment are down.
- stock prices are down.
- formation of new businesses is down.

And for the last 4 months unemployment has risen . . . to heights equalled only once since the Great Depression . . . and that was last year.

There is no great mystery to getting our economy moving again:

-- We need additional tax cuts to bolster consumer purchasing power hard-hit by recession and inflation. The purchasing power of the median American family fell \$363 last year . . . and is now back where it was in 1965.

We need to provide that help through credits which help all taxpayers . . . not deductions as Mr. Ford proposes which give the most to those who already have the most.

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\$20,000. And we must fund these tax cuts through tax reform not, as Mr. Ford proposes, through payroll tax increases on those who work.

With this Administration you have to read the fine print. And if you read Treasury Secretary Simon's testimony before the Senate Finance Committee last April, you will find their tax plan:

-- There is \$20 billion in tax relief to corporations and shareholders by 1981.

-- There is less than one-third as much (\$6.6 billion) in new personal income tax relief. And that new tax relief is fully offset by increases in the payroll tax. And it is channeled through deductions which provide a family making \$100,000 a year with 3 times more relief than a family making \$20,000.

This is tax relief for the corporations . . . and a tax shift for most Americans.

We reject that deceptive tax-shift approach.

We will not raise your taxes at the same time that we cut them. We will not care more about the corporations than about working Americans hard-hit by inflation and recession. We will have tax reform. Reform of tax shelters used to create artificial losses, the business deduction, special deferral benefits for multinational companies, and ineffective export subsidies alone would raise \$ 3-4 billion when fully effective. And more than tax relief alone is needed.

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And our review of the tax code will be thorough. We can raise a minimum of \$10 billion in the short term from those who do not pay their fair share of taxes, to provide relief to the great majority of Americans who do pay their taxes.

Tax reform coupled with tax relief can strengthen consumer purchasing power and help get our economy moving. But more than tax relief alone is needed.

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-- We need to fund quick-impact public works to build parks and libraries and hospitals in our local communities and help our private construction industry where unemployment is running 17%.

-- We need special revenue sharing help for recession-hit state and local governments to forestall service cutbacks and increases in property, sales and state and local income taxes.

-- We need training programs and employment programs focused on private industry to help young people and the long-term unemployed.

Mr. Ford has no program. His tax cut is a fraud. He has twice vetoed the Public Works Employment Act and now that his veto has been overridden, threatens to veto funding.

Mr. Ford's answer is that nothing can be done. Our answer is that leadership and planning can restore economic health and a balanced budget by 1980.

Inflation

The Republican answer to inflation is unemployment. And it hasn't worked. In the last 3 years we have had record unemployment and inflation higher than in any other year in the last 25. Experts tell us that only excellent crops and low farm prices are maintaining the present 6% inflation rate. We cannot expect further improvement from an administration afraid to face and counterbalance corporate power.

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-- We need leadership that will bring the weight of American opinion to bear on unjustified corporate price increases as John Kennedy did in the 1960s. (Insert examples)

-- We need leadership that will enforce the antitrust laws against uncompetitive practices costing American consumers as much as \$80 billion a year.

-- We need leadership that will establish and wisely manage reserves of critical commodities.

-- We need leadership that will not talk about regulatory reform, but accomplish it.

-- And above all we need leadership that will restore steady employment and growth to our economy . . . to end the economic swings which encourage shortages in housing and consumer goods and often fuel inflation despite high unemployment

The Republicans have tried to fight inflation with high unemployment. It hasn't worked. Let's fight inflation with intelligent, caring leadership.

Our economy is potentially the strongest in the world. Our farms, our technology, our natural resources, and above all the skill and enterprise of our citizens are unmatched in the world. Let's put them back to work again.

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Program

And let's put to rest once and for all the myth about federal spending.

In the last 8 Republican years the federal budget has grown by roughly \$200 billion.

In those eight years we have increased the public debt by \$281 billion . . . more than all the debt incurred by all the preceding Presidents in 192 years. The deficit last year alone exceeded the deficits of the previous eight.

Their record, totally unprecedented deficits are the product of bad management of both our economy and our government. No one could match Mr. Ford's record as a deficit spender and waster of resources.

We reject the uncontrolled and wasteful policies of the last 8 years.

- We will have a careful, "zero-budget review" of every program to cut waste and achieve coordination.
- We will restructure federal agencies to make government simpler and more effective.
- We need careful planning and the sustained peacetime growth in the 5½% range achieved in 1960-64.
- We will seek to hold the overall growth rate of existing programs to half the growth in revenues as the economy recovers. (This essentially will hold these programs constant in purchasing power)

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-- This policy will give us a margin in the budget by 1980 equal to about 2% of today's budget, or \$50-60 billion. This, with savings from program efficiencies and tax reform, will set the limits for funding of new programs, such as health care, and tax relief.

The danger we have is not of Democratic spending. We are firmly committed to living within our means. The danger is 4 more years of wasteful and uncontrolled growth, leaving us with more spending, less value for the dollar, and billions in Republican deficits at the end of the decade.

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TO: GAIL 10f 2

TO: ~~THE ADMINISTRATION~~
FROM: BEET

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2

FORD'S REAL TAX PLAN -- AN ELECTION -YEAR FRAUD

These Days, Mr. Ford, the candidate, often says that he is for tax relief to moderate income taxpayers. But the real Mr. Ford stood up not long ago and told us what he really has in mind. Mr. Ford has a record. And the record says Mr. Ford's posturing today amounts to little more than election-year fraud.

The tax cut Mr. Ford has in mind is a massive tax cut for business. For the rest, he proposes a very modest tax shift -- from income taxes to payroll taxes.

A close reading of Secretary Simon's testimony before the Senate Finance Committee last April tells the story of Mr. Ford's tax plans in vivid detail.

- There would be \$20 billion a year in tax relief for business and capital investors by 1981.
- There would be less than a third as much -- \$6.6 billion -- in additional tax relief for ordinary taxpayers.
- And before you cheer at that, read on. What Mr. Ford gives with one hand, he takes away with the other. There would be an equal \$6.6 billion increase in unemployment and social security payroll taxes.

This is the tax plan of this very Republican Administration. It echoes the principles for which Mr. Ford has fought for 27 years in Washington.

And it echoes the Dole record as well -- a record of stubborn support for special tax breaks that benefit the privileged. Here is the Dole record:

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Ford's Tax Plan - Fraud

To: ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ GAIL
From: Bert page 2 of 2

- Against reform of oil depletion.
- Against reform of tax shelters which allow the wealthy to hide income in artificial, paper losses.
- Against strengthening the minimum tax on tax loopholes.
- Against elimination of foreign tax deferral that gives multinational corporations an incentive to export jobs and capital overseas.
- For increasing the preferential tax rate for capital gains.

This helps explain why only 1 Senator scored lower than Mr. Dole on tax reform this year according to Taxation with Representation, a Washington public-interest lobby.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole seek to comfort the comfortable. And meanwhile corporate taxes have fallen from 20% of federal revenues in the late '60s to only 14% last year...while payroll taxes rose from 21% to 31%.

The point here is the need for balance. There should be further tax cuts over the next 5 years, as our economy expands. There will be tax cuts in a Carter-Mondale Administration. But the great majority of taxpaying Americans will share in those cuts, along with the business community. And there will be reforms to simplify the tax code and remove the special shelters that unjustifiably protect income from taxation.

There is little mystery to the politics of tax reform. And it is clear enough where the Republicans and the Democrats stand.

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URGENT TO BERT

FORD TAX CUT ALTERNATIVE #2

Mr. Ford's proposal for a \$10 billion tax cut is another election eve fraud. This is not a new proposal -- it's the same old proposal he presented to the Congress last spring.

Let's just take a look at what Mr. Ford asked the Congress to do.

First, at the same time Mr. Ford requested a \$10 billion reduction in individual tax payments -- he requested a massive \$20 billion relief program for corporations and corporate share holders.

Second, Mr. Ford's \$10 billion in individual tax reductions would ^{be} achieved through a higher personal exemption, an approach automatically weighted toward the upper end of the income scale. Under this plan, a family earning \$200,00 per year would receive three times the relief afforded to a family at \$10,000 a year.

Third, Mr. Ford would repeal other tax benefits for working families, eliminating \$3.4 billion from his so-called \$10 billion individual tax cut.

And through increases in the payroll tax - including social security and workman's compensation - the remaining \$6 billion in so-called relief would be completely wiped out.

In other words, working families would be no better off under Mr. Ford's tax relief plan than they are today. But corporations, corporate stockholders and upper income families would be better off to the tune of more than \$20 billion.

And that's not all -- to finance this alleged tax relief plan, Mr. Ford has proposed deep cuts in Medicare for senior citizens -- deep cuts in federal education assistance, which would show up in higher property taxes, deep cuts in environmental protection programs, and of course there would be no liberalization of black lung benefits.

no public works jobs for the unemployed -- in short none of the things this country so desperately needs.

Now, if Mr. Ford was out with the people, answering questions from reporters, I believe he would have a hard time defending a tax hoax like this. But the truth is that he's not answering questions -- he's back behind that desk in the White House. And I think recent experience has shown that one of the worst things we can do is to permit a candidate for our nation's highest office to wrap himself in the mantle of the Presidency and to refuse to answer questions from newsmen about the crucial issues of economic policy, of tax policy and other matters that have been raised in this campaign.



Jasnowski

Republicans charge that your spending programs for jobs, welfare and health can only trigger a new wave of inflation.

4. INFLATION

The Basic Statement

1. The Republican Administration's timid policies have driven prices up faster than *under any other administration in 50 years*. They have put more people out of work than at any time since the depression.

My policy and the policy of the Democratic Party has always been to fight both unemployment and inflation at the same time and with the same weapons -- strong, sustained, steady economic growth and active governmental vigilance to monitor and control the forces which push prices up. That is the kind of leadership which has worked before, and it is the only policy which can work now.

[N.B.]

-- ~~Under President Kennedy and Johnson~~, *average* under President Kennedy and Johnson, the economy grew at an annual rate of ~~4.5%~~ *4.5%* (unemployment was ~~reduced~~ *reduced* to less than 4%) productivity rose ~~2%~~ *annual average of 2%*, and inflation was held to ~~an~~ *less than 2%*. *Our last two Democratic Presidents demonstrated that we could have both low unemployment and low inflation.* *and* our nation has consistently done best against inflation during periods of high economic growth and productivity.

-- ~~Inflation stopped in 1952 with the unemployment rate remaining under 4%.~~

-- So why do the Republicans tell us we can't afford to get unemployment below 7.9% today without unleashing even worse inflation than the current 6%?

-- Why is it necessary for the American people to tolerate in 1976 a higher unemployment rate and a higher inflation rate than every single year from 1952 through 1968?

reduced to less than 4%

even by 1966

reduced

2. The Republicans now claim that their economic policies have been successful. Let's put that claim in perspective.

~~Since 1968 the cost of an average house has risen from \$30,000 to \$46,000. That puts the dream of home ownership beyond the reach of the average American. Is that success?~~
Over the past decade average monthly mortgage payments have risen by 191% for an average home. Three out of every four families are priced out of the cost of new housing.

~~They take pride because the inflation rate has dropped from its highest point in fifty years to its highest point in 25 years. Is that success?~~
12 percent to 7 percent last year - still the highest point in 25 years.

~~We have had more inflation in those 3 1/2 years than in the entire sixteen year period from 1952 to 1968.~~

~~The value of your dollar is still shrinking more than in any of those years. And it will continue to do so. The Republi-~~

~~cans' own Federal Reserve Board Chairman very recently said that the underlying rate of inflation is 6% to 7% and that this rate has not diminished since mid-1975.~~
that the underlying rate of inflation is 6% to 7% and that this rate has not diminished since mid-1975.

~~Industrial commodity prices, which account for over 70% of wholesale prices, have been rising at an annual rate of about 8% for the last three months. This is the best barometer for future consumer price increases. Is that success?~~

~~Unemployment has risen steadily for the past 20 months and it is as high as it was 20 months ago, with 7.5 million people out of work.~~
Unemployment has risen steadily for the past ^{three} months and it is as high as it was 20 months ago, with 7.5 million people out of work.
today

3. The Republicans' do-nothing policies completely misunderstand the causes of inflation.

The Republican platform says: "We wish to stress that the number one cause of inflation is the government's expansion of the nation's supply of money and credit..."

The 1968 dollar is now worth 61 cents. The 1968 gold dollar is now worth 57 cents. I think we should have Secretary Simon by putting his picture on the \$2 bill.

--This is nonsense. The ravaging inflation which we suffer has nothing to do with ~~the money supply or with excess demand.~~ *too much prosperity.*

(of inflation are)
-- The main causes ~~is~~ the extortionate price increases of the OPEC cartel, ~~that accounts for 33% of the rise in the consumer price index since 1973.~~ *(b) and the great Republican price raising of 1972 following to the Russians (c) two devaluations of dollar, and (d)*

-- Two ~~dollar~~ *of the dollar* devaluations by the Republican Administration; ~~account for 20% of the increase.~~

-- The great Russian grain ~~policy~~ *policy* of 1972; ~~had a % impact on the prices Americans paid at supermarket check-out counters.~~

-- Commodity shortages, on-again-off-again wage and price control policies, and monopoly pricing in certain sectors of the economy, ~~have also been major factors in sending the consumer price index skyward.~~

-- None of these causes of inflation have been or can be affected at all by the Republican policy of no-recovery, no-jobs economics. They are anti-jobs, without being anti-inflation. That has never worked. And it is not working now.

4. Inflation cannot be fought with WIN buttons. It takes leadership and management. That is what Democratic economic policies have provided and will provide.

strong - The Republicans only fight inflation by putting people out of work. We will attack inflation directly ~~with~~ *rather* than the discredited policy of driving up unemployment. That's what the Democrats did under Kennedy & Johnson and that is what we will do again.

- Here is the anti-inflation program I will follow as President to *increase* productivity & competition so that we beat inflation:

- I will restore economic growth & productivity so that ~~our~~ ports are ~~not~~ and adequate supplies of housing & other essential goods are provided.

2
employment

-- ~~We~~ will adopt comprehensive policies carefully targeted to reduce unemployment among those groups and in those geographical areas where it is highest. ^a This targeting policy ^{which allow us to} will cut unemployment without accelerating inflation.

-I would establish a food reserve program that protects farmers and consumers from the wild gyrations in food prices we have had in recent years;

-I would review all federal regulation, procurement activities, and programs to ensure that the government is not the party responsible for holding up prices;

-I would meet with the leaders of business and labor to ask them to cooperate in exercising voluntary restraint on wages and prices. Voluntary standards against which major price and wage increases could be measured, and about which the public could be informed, could serve as a great restraint on inflation.

5. Let me emphasize that I would take a hard look at any price or wage increases

that are unjustified and could threaten national price stability. I owe nothing to any special interests. My only obligation is to the voters.

-- The current Council on Wage and Price Stability has done some good studies on the problem of inflation, but no one in the White House ever reads them and acts. In fact, the evidence suggests that the White House attempted to suppress a recent study of suspicious price increases in the aluminum industry. I do not believe you can cover-up the problem of inflation.

-- I would instruct the Council on Wage and Price Stability to investigate and report to me and the public, any price or wage increase which appeared to seriously threaten price stability. Let's give the people the facts about the price increases by the giant corporations in the aluminum industry.

-- I would like to know, and I am sure the American people would like to know, why General Motors intends to

increase the average retail price of cars to \$6,000, while at the same time steel companies, who supply the auto companies, have kept their prices from going up. Maybe it's justified, but we don't know.

-- I would stand up to oppose any major price or wage increase that could not be justified. I think one of President Kennedy's finest hours was when he spoke out against the steel price increases in 1962. He took a lot of criticism for that, but he did the right thing. And we ought to remember that the average rate of inflation during the eight Kennedy-Johnson years was about 2%. We haven't had Jack Kennedy's kind of leadership in the past eight years. We have had the highest rates of inflation that we've experienced in this country in more than fifty years. A President should speak out on behalf of the public against inflationary price or wage decisions. That's his job.

(A)

~~ENERGY BASIC STATEMENT~~

~~Three years after the humiliating Arab embargo, this country is heading to a more serious crisis than the gas lines and rampant inflation we experienced in the fall of 1973.~~

In the first six months of this year, ^{foreign oil} we imported ^{represented} 44% of our ^{energy supply} oil from abroad:

During the week of March 8, ¹⁹⁷⁶ for the first time in our history, we imported more oil than we produced at home. OPEC oil, landed on the east coast, now costs us \$13 per barrel. Our bill for foreign oil last year was \$27 billion. And the OPEC ministers continue to talk of a 10 to 15% price increase next December.

-- This country is far less independent than we were at the beginning of the embargo when imports supplied only 15% of our total energy needs. We need only look back at the 1973 embargo to see the risks our present course holds. By fall of 1974 unemployment had risen to 6.6%. The embargo itself cost 250,000 jobs. In one short year the consumer price index rose ~~11%~~ ^{11.9%}, giving us our first year of double digit inflation since 1947. Energy prices alone rose an astronomical 29%.

~~The American people understand the disastrous consequences of another embargo. Yet neither President Ford nor the Congress has moved much beyond the empty sloganeering of Project Independence.~~

-- Domestic production of oil is down 14%; natural gas production has declined 6% per year since 1973. Even if OPEC prices rise only enough to cover world inflation, the U.S. could be spending \$80 billion ^{for imports} by 1985--almost ~~\$400~~ ^{\$1600} for ~~every man, woman, and child~~ ^{a family of four.} in this country.

With only an estimated 35 year supply of fossil fuels remaining, the energy crisis is not just a U.S. crisis, it is a world crisis.

The Republican Administration

Slogans, not policy

-- Project Independence was invented by Richard Nixon, who against the advice of many of his own advisers tried to tell the American people that we could be completely free of dependence on foreign energy sources by 1980. President Ford has embraced Project Independence, stopping only to redefine "independence" as importing no more than 40% of our oil in 1985. Project Independence tells us that the way to reduce our imports and increase domestic supplies is to let the price of energy rise to whatever the Arabs think best. The same administration which pledged never to ration gasoline has built an entire energy theory around a program to ration energy by prices, not coupons. And to make sure ^{that price} the rationing works, ^{ed,} President Ford ^{promoted in his 1975 State of the Union message} would ~~levy~~ a \$2 per barrel excise tax on domestic oil and a \$2 per barrel tariff on imported oil.

→ If these proposals seem unreasonable today, think back to the time they were proposed. In January 1975, this country was entering the worst recession since the 1930's. The inflation rate was still climbing, reaching % in of 1975. Yet the President harped away at this theme, ignoring or ignorant of the estimates by his own Federal Energy ^{Administration} ~~Agency~~ that ^{decontrol} his ~~program~~ would increase the energy bills of the average family of 4 by almost \$400 per year. If these estimates included the full impact of the increased price of all goods and services we use, then this cost jumps to over \$600 for the average family.

-- The Republican Administration's solution to the energy problem is to raise energy prices so high that oil companies achieve record profits and consumers are priced out of the market.

[Note: the President also promoted an excess profits tax.]

Budget-Busting Energy Plans

~~On top of all this,~~ President Ford had a sudden change of heart about the adequacy of price rationing to spur development of new energy sources and limit imports. In September 1975, he and Vice President Rockefeller proposed the ~~preposterous and~~ budget-busting "Energy Independence Authority" -- a \$100 billion welfare program for private industry. ^

The ~~proposed authority would be a freewheeling body, neither attached nor accountable to anyone, either in the executive branch or the Congress. It would have the authority to offer federal loans or loan guarantees, grants, investments, or price supports to any energy company which was unable to sell its high priced technology to private financial institutions. Critics from all sides were shocked at the proposal. The Wall Street Journal editorialized against it, and the Association of Petroleum Investment Analysts called it an unnecessary intrusion into the free market. Congressional leaders saw it for what it ~~is~~ ^{was} as a means to bail out the nuclear industry and the utilities which had overestimated electricity demands and found themselves stuck with expensive and unnecessary nuclear reactors.~~

~~This 100 billion dollar plan to spend the government into bankruptcy is beyond even the wildest estimates of the cost of the social reforms I have proposed.~~

~~On top of this~~ President Ford would have us add ~~the~~ \$8 billion for loan guarantees to attract private industry into the business

of producing uranium to fuel nuclear reactors. We have already poured billions into the development of nuclear power--this year the President asked for \$1.4 billion, 50% of our energy research and development ^{budget} --for nuclear fission, including the economically uncertain nuclear breeder reactor.

~~The consequences of ^{the President's} this failure to develop a workable program to meet our energy needs hold disastrous consequences for the future of America. How can we hope to honor our commitments to the Middle East, or our allies in the rest of the world, if we are constantly subject to blackmail by OPEC. No reasonable plan for achieving a full employment economy without runaway inflation can possibly be devised unless economically sound energy sources are developed and our appetite for sweet ~~Arabian~~ crude ^{is} curbed through an aggressive conservation program.~~

~~Energy Mismanagement
Not only must we develop an energy policy which sets clear and attainable goals, not pie in the sky ideas, but we must begin to manage our energy programs with conviction and efficiency.~~

--To deal with the emergency of the Arab embargo, the Federal Energy Agency was established. Its mission was to allocate scarce supplies during the boycott, and ensure that the independent oil and gas companies suffered as little as possible when cut off from supplies. But once the embargo was over, and the immediate need for FEA removed, the agency went out hunting for something else to do.

L - FEA now shares authority to develop natural gas policy with the Federal Power Commission. Until Congress intervened, it was competing with ERDA as a lobbyist for nuclear power. It has sought, and through lack of Presidential restraint received, authority to issue unintelligible regulations touching every aspect of energy use. Recognizing the complexity of these regulations, Congress required FEA to create a system whereby businessmen's questions about the regulations would be answered. Today the unanswered requests for interpretations date back to the creation of the agency. Less than a quarter of all requests have been filled, and the agency currently has no employees assigned to the task.

L - ^{As} 14 ~~dis~~parate agencies in Washington have major roles in development of energy policy and regulation. They operate with considerable overlap and little coordination. In fact, it has recently been reported that, in response to my criticisms of the organization of government, President Ford has created a task force to develop a plan for reorganizing government agencies responsible for energy. I am always happy to have a convert, but it is a sorry commentary that it takes a presidential campaign to point out these needs.

This country needs a President who can convince the American people of the urgency of our energy problems. Our people are willing to make sacrifices if they understand the reason for them

New energy policy

and are assured that the burden is fairly distributed. But the Ford program asks those least able to bear the burden to foot the ^{bill for} ~~brunt~~ of increased prices, while it doles out 100 billion dollar handouts to our wealthiest corporations.

-- ~~Our first priority must be to~~ limit ~~our~~ vulnerability to blackmail by OPEC. ^{L- Raped} Government control of imports, development of at least a 30 day ^{reserve} supply of oil, ~~and~~ ^{L- R} emergency standby programs to allocate resources in the event of an embargo must be implemented.

L-- The OPEC nations must understand in no uncertain terms that another boycott is a declaration of economic warfare and will be met in kind by the U.S.

Energy Conservation
~~We must act now to~~ ^R reduce the enormous waste of our energy resources. 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.

~~We must~~ ^{L- B} build on the base of auto fuel efficiency standards, and programs for the improvement of home insulation to promote aggressive and innovative energy conservation measures. ^{L- R} Restructuring electricity rates so that the energy conscious consumer rather than the industrial electricity guzzler gets the benefit of the lowest rates must be implemented. ^Y ~~The private sector must~~

^{L- R} ~~be encouraged~~ ^{private sector} to take energy efficiency into account in making loans for new products. ~~Some~~ 40% of the energy now lost to the atmosphere as waste heat could be put to use by locating energy

-- encourage private sector programs such as that now ~~in effect~~ offered by a West Coast bank which makes loans at lower interest rates for energy efficient cars and houses,

consuming facilities near electricity generating plants. ~~The wasteful use of natural gas to fuel industrial boilers must be curbed in order to save this high quality clean resource for essential uses.~~

New Supplies

-- We have at least a 200-year supply of clean and accessible coal. L-- 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.

L-- Substantial increases in coal production and utilization will only come with a stable regulatory climate. President Ford's two vetoes of the strip mining bills have ~~greatly~~ prolonged the present climate of uncertainty.

We must also ~~exploit~~ ^{use} the potential of solar energy in the construction of new homes and offices.

We ~~must~~ ^{have to} 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~~^{foolish} for each ~~of us~~^{nation} to go ~~on~~^{its} own separate way and replicate research projects which are being completed in other nations. ~~There is certainly enough challenge and responsibility to go around.~~

New Leadership

-- The lack of direction in our energy policy threatens the ~~entire~~ dream which this country holds for a better standard of living here and around the world. We must have a President who is straight with the American people about the need to conserve and to sacrifice. WE must have a President with the vision and leadership to make the hard decisions and direct energy policy. We must act now to take the reins of energy pricing out of the hands of the OPEC countries and to assure our citizens that inflation will not eat away their hard earned dollars.

└-- We must reaffirm our commitment to protecting our environment and creating a stable regulatory climate so that what comes out of Washington is not just a long series of surprises.

└-- Clear, predictable energy policies, developed with the full understanding and participation of our citizens is my pledge to the American people.

Separate sub paragraph with a line of bars.

~~TO: STU EIZENSTAT AND ST LAZARUS~~

~~FROM: BILL JOHNSTON~~

~~RE: EXAMPLES OF WASTE AND MISMANAGEMENT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT~~

~~DATE: SEPTEMBER 9, 1976 1:00 p.m.~~

Regulation

Government regulation is still governed by the same concepts that ^{were} current during Queen Victoria's era, despite enormous changes in the economy. ~~Meanwhile,~~ ^{however,} the amount of regulation has exploded. In 1887 there was one federal regulatory agency -- the Interstate Commerce Commission. Today there are 82. These 82 agencies support 85,000 employees ^{at a cost} of \$2.9 billion. In 1975 they published 45,000 pages of rules, regulations and standards in the federal register, which required filings from industries that cost the consumers an estimated \$40 billion. The budgets of 11 of the most important agencies had ^{be} increased four-fold in the last decade.

The Civil Aeronautics Board, for example, has apparently worked more to protect the status quo in the airline industry, ~~and to assure higher fares~~ than to help the public. Between 1950 and 1976 the CAB received 79 applications to enter air service from firms outside the domestic scheduled industry. It granted none. 90% of all air service is still provided by the same 16 (now merged to 10) companies that were in existence when the CAB was established in 1938. A recent study of the CAB found that two-thirds of its field ^{re} investigative sources were directed to enforcing rules preventing airlines from charging "improperly low" fares.

Regulation of the airline industry has apparently worked against the consumer rather than for him. For example, the minimum fare between Boston and Washington on airlines regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Board

is \$54. For the trip between San Francisco and San Diego, which is almost exactly as far, ^{but} _A which is not regulated by the federal bureaucracy, the fare is \$31.75. ~~The~~ Economists estimate that the CAB's present system costs consumers from \$1-\$3 billion per year.

Civil Aeronautics Board *****

If the ~~CAB~~ ^{could} allowed freer competition, international and coast to coast fares _A to fall to half their current level. Estimates by Boeing, Lockheed and others show that the New York-Los Angeles fare could fall to about \$90 one way (from its current level of \$180) if first class were eliminated, more seats were added to the planes, and 65-70% ^F of the seats were filled. Laker Airways has proposed to fly from London to New York for \$125 each way -- a little more than one third of the current economy fare. The CAB ~~has~~ turned ~~him~~ ^{the} proposal down, ~~in a secret report to the President.~~

In 1963, the Chicago and Northwestern Railway applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission to acquire parts of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad. After 50,000 pages of testimony, 100,000 pages of exhibits, and 13 years they are still waiting for an answer. Meanwhile the Rock Island and Pacific, which has been losing money for nine years, has gone bankrupt.

Over 50% of all airline crashes world-wide occur when the pilot flies unknowingly into the ground. In 1972 and 1973, such crashes resulted in the loss of 1,120 lives and 20 aircraft. At ^{Federal Aviation Administration} ~~the~~ time the ~~FAA~~ _A was aware ~~that~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ~~existence~~ of a device ~~called~~ a ground proximity warning system which would warn pilots with lights and loud taped voices to pull up should a plane be in danger of a crash due to inadvertant proximity to the ground. Though the cost

of installing a warning system was only about \$11,000 per plane -- an insignificant amount ^{Compared to} ~~considering~~ the \$5-\$25 million price tag for each airliner -- the FAA refused to require such devices ~~such~~ on planes. Finally, in 1974 the crash of a TWA 727 with the ~~loss~~ ^{loss} of 92 lives prompted the FAA to require this device on all airliners by December 1976.

In 1969 the Federal Aviation Administration issued an advance notice of proposed ^a ~~rule~~ ^{setting} ~~making the~~ ^{setting} smoke emission standards for aircraft interiors ^{subjected to fire.} On August 8, 1973 the widow of a crash victim killed by inhalation of smoke and poisonous fumes filed a motion for emergency action. No action has been ^{taken} ~~received~~ yet ~~and no~~ ^{and} ~~further action has been taken by the FAA~~ ^{has done nothing} to reduce the danger to passengers from toxic emissions from burning materials.

The Federal Power Commission ~~has in its possession~~ a computer program which was designed in 1968 to ^{help the Commission to} evaluate ~~pipeline~~ proposals ^{submitted by} for new ^{pipe} ~~gas~~ lines. When the program was in use it reportedly saved the public hundreds of millions of dollars each year by establishing where the new lines were most needed. But the program was dropped during the Nixon years because the gas companies, who receive a fixed rate of return on their investment and thus have an incentive to build as many pipelines as ~~is~~ possible, were opposed to it.

the oil and gas industry

Insert

(This example is documentable, but is not yet in public domain.)

* * * * *

The Consumer Products Safety Commission bought 80,000 toy safety buttons to be worn on the lapel to encourage people to be safety conscious about toys. EPA issued no specifications on the buttons, and it turned out that lead paint had been used, which can cause lead poisoning in children. The EPA ^{use of the Commission's} ~~banned~~ ^{its own} 80,000 buttons.

Denville D.
National
Printer

Adams
Adjutant
Inher Tax
W. O. Cooper

28. From Cincinnati

Aug 12

President's

Recently the Council on Wage and
Price Stability ^{long} decided to release a report on apparent
monopoly price practices in the aluminum
industry. ~~That~~ The economists who wrote
the ^{original} study recommended consideration of strong
action but ~~action~~ to ~~prevent~~ forestall repetition of
~~action~~ recent anti competitive pricing policies.
~~They~~ ^{They} cited the 100+ % price increase in
aluminum prices over the past 3 years despite
^{despite} ~~despite~~ ^{growing} demand. But ~~then~~ after strong protests
by the two largest aluminum companies the Council
elected to ~~release~~ ^{despite} the reports ~~with its~~ recommendations
for action ~~established~~ in releasing the report.

Insert

The Federal Trade Commission sent out a subpoena to the oil companies that was 1800 pages long (those are the questions, not the answers).

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Occupational Safety Health Administration ^{has} required Navajo Indians to wear life jackets when working above a dry creek, ^{has} required a barnacle scraper to wear a life jacket when working in 3 feet of water; ^{has} required the University of Chicago to raise a granite wall by an elevated walkway from 3'1" to 3'6" at a cost of \$500,000; ^{has} required Stanford University which has 5,000 chrome fire extinguishers, to cover them all with red tape so they would be "red."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

~~Despite five years of operation and the promulgation of numerous physical standards imposing enormous costs upon industry, every study of ^{the} ~~OSHA's~~ ^{of the Occupational Safety & Health Administration's} result shows no effect what soever on accidents. This is not surprising since most accidents are caused by ~~carelessness or inadequate supervision rather than by faulty equipment.~~~~

regulation

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration standards governing the emission of environmental pollutants differ significantly from the EPA standards in regards to sulphur dioxide, carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxide, particulus and leads.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In 1970 Congress passed the poison prevention Packaging Act ~~of 1970, an Act~~ which allows the Food and Drug Administration, to ^{require} ~~prescribe~~ child-proof safety packaging for hazardous household substances. The aspirin order of February 16, 1972 was the first regulation under the act, and it took over two years to formulate. When finally published, FDA took the extraordinary step of

soliciting petitions from manufacturers for exemptions from it. Thereafter, FDA granted permission for noncompliance for three categories of aspirin products, and extended a deadline for compliance by other categories ^{til} ~~under~~ 1973. According to FDA figures approximately 800 children under five suffered ~~accidental~~ accidental aspirin poisoning each month, and 90% of these would be prevented by special packages.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

For over 34 years the Federal Communications Commission has been unable to resolve a dispute between radio stations KOB in Albuquerque and WABC in New York, which arose because the agency placed the two stations on the same frequency. Since 1941 an international agreement has been in effect requiring the FCC to find a new frequency ^{for} ~~to~~ KOB. Since 1969 the FCC has had a proposed rule-making pending on this issue. Meanwhile, the delay has caused a paperwork nightmare at the FCC, cost the respective companies a fortune in legal fees, and left listeners of either station with interference from the other.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In 1959 the Food and Drug Administration proposed new rules setting the percentage of peanuts that should go into peanut butter. The FDA said it should be 90%; the Peanut Butter Manufacturers Association said it should be only 87%. After nine years, 7,736 pages of testimony including numerous citations ^{from} ~~of~~ cookbooks, and millions of dollars ^{of legal fees} ~~paid to lawyers~~, the FDA issued its final order in the case: ~~The~~ peanut butter manufacturers ^{were} ~~would be~~ required to increase the ^{proportion} ~~composition~~ of peanuts in peanut butter by 3%.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In March 1965 a trucker with a sense of humor, ~~named LeRoy Hilt,~~ applied to the Interstate Commerce Commission to carry a non-existent commodity -- yak-fat --

⑧

from Omaha to Chicago for 45¢ per hundred pounds. The application ^{states} ~~reacts that~~ ~~and to accept shipment~~ in glass or metal containers boxes, barrels, pails, or tubs. ~~The~~ request was promptly contested by a group of the nation's leading railroads, who, ^{upset} by the "non-compensatory" rate, immediately formed a yak-fat arguing committee. ^{The} Railroads ^{argued} ~~pointed out~~ to the ICC that the minimum it should cost to ship the Yak-fat from Omaha to Chicago was 63¢ and that the tariff was therefore 18¢ below cost. The ICC agreed and later that year denied ^{the} request.

In 1975, while the ^{utilities} ~~Environmental Protection Agency~~ was pressuring ^{burning} coal to switch to cleaner oil and gas, the Federal Energy Administration was requiring ^{some of} the same utilities to switch from short supplies of oil and gas to more plentiful ^{coal}.

SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Beneficiaries of federal welfare programs receive only about 88¢ of every dollar spent in the programs. The rest goes to the hundreds of thousands of middle-class bureaucrats who sit in offices filling out welfare forms. Social Security recipients, by contrast, get almost 99¢ of every program dollar. If welfare programs were run as efficiently as social security there would be \$2 billion more in cash available for poor families.

The ^{★ ★ ★ ★ ★} Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Program consistently gives money away to the wrong people, or gives the right people the wrong amount of money. In 1975, 7% of all welfare checks went to people ineligible for the program, while 17% were overpayments. The poor record was compiled after the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had gone on a year-long campaign to reduce errors. Efforts to cut errors in the AFDC program, even though they have theoretically cut the error rate, have not apparently saved any money. According to the GAO study, cost

savings have been overstated by as much as 100% and the error reduction program, in fact, ^{may} have cost more money than it saved. Since 1972 the administrative cost of the welfare program has more than doubled.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★
program

The Supplemental Security Income, was begun in 1974 as an attempt to consolidate and federalize aid to poor people who are blind, aged or disabled. The program, which promised efficiency and better administration, has turned out to be a nightmare of waste and mismanagement. In the program's first two years, a quarter of all payments were incorrect, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare had managed to waste \$547 million in overpayment. These overpayments cause special hardships ~~in~~ months later when the government demands repayment of money already spent.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Administration of the food stamp program is a morass of errors, overpayments and fraud. In ^{some countries of} California, for example, up to half of all dollars spent for the food stamp program never get to the poor people who are supposed to receive them. They are wasted on printing, distributing, vending, redeeming and administering the program.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In 1974, the General Accounting Office found that 18% of all food stamp recipients were ineligible, and ^{that} error rates that were costing the government \$23 million a month.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

According to the GA O, food stamps have become available to many college students. At San Francisco State University, 13% of all students were receiving stamps. At Portland, students receiving food stamps had average incomes of more than \$500 per month.

The GAO has found that about 24,000 eligible schools with 6.7 million students are not participating in the National School Lunch Program. This is because the schools have been unable to comply with the detailed Food and Nutrition Service regulations, or have failed to send out the required application forms ~~for~~ ^{to} all families in order to identify the need ~~of~~ children. Federal regulations are denying Congressionally legislated ^{Child} nutrition help ~~to needy children~~.

The administration of the Medicaid program has been a consistent scandal. In New York, Medicaid mills operate openly out of store fronts, dangerously overtreating patients and fraudulantly overcharging the government. Senate investigators estimate that ~~2.3 million~~ ^{hundreds of thousands} ~~xxx~~

~~unnecessary surgical procedures were formed in 1974 alone at a cost~~ ^{per by Medicaid doctors} ~~to the American public of almost \$4 billion. Unnecessary surgeries,~~ ^{of hundreds of thousands of unnecessary surgical procedures were performed in 1974 alone,} ~~the Senate reported, led to nearly 12,000 deaths last year. Medicaid~~ ^{which may have led to as many as}

~~support was involved in an estimated 1700 deaths. Investigators have~~ ^{one} reported cases in which ^{a man was} individuals ~~were~~ given an x-ray to diagnose a ~~union~~; ~~or~~ ^{another} in which a woman who sought treatment for her child's cold instead received treatment for herself and all 5 of her children at a cost to the taxpayers of \$100. Some doctors in New York have reported receiving over \$1/2 million a year in Medicaid payments.

The Department of HEW which is charged with policing the program, has done little or nothing to remedy the Medicaid fraud, which is estimated to be costing the ^{federal} government as much as \$3 billion per year. ^{though} ~~so~~ the Medicaid program ^{suffers} ~~has a \$15 billion annual budget and~~ ~~is subject to~~ an estimated 40,000 cases of fraud each year, the Department of HEW has only 69 investigators -- ^{1/3} ~~1~~ fewer even than it is entitled to.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development

the Department of Housing and Urban Development

^a
Tino Towers in New York (Harlem) is an example of HUD's fiscal mismanagement. The residents in the low income units pay an average

of \$113 per month; the combined federal, state and local subsidies ~~amount to more than \$500 per month~~ *credited in however, the public is paying more than \$500 per month for these run-down apartments.*

Since July 1970, there have been 1,233 indictments of individuals involved in ~~HUD~~ ^{*Housing and Urban Development*} projects. Seventy-eight were employees of the agency.

HUD has lost \$2.1 billion in foreclosed mortgages and spends \$400,000 per day to manage them. In Detroit there are 8,400 boarded up HUD houses and 1,800 vacant lots; there have been 25,000 foreclosures there that continue at a rate of 500 per month. In Chicago there are 2,200 repossessed units in HUD possession with 4,000 mortgages in default. The GAO reports that HUD has lost \$24.6 million annually in cost overpayments, to low income housing residents because of its repeated failure to monitor the income of recipients.

A classic example of the grandiose failures of the Department of Housing and Urban Development is the new communities program. Under the program, the federal government provided grant and loan guarantees to builders of 14 new, hopefully ideal, communities near urban areas. But the high hopes have never become reality. Today, eight of the new towns are in bankruptcy and ^{all of} the others are in trouble. One ^{town} has spent \$22 million without a single home to show for it. The government has already paid \$17 million in interest on the defaulted bonds and is obligated to pay up to \$354 million for other guarantees. A combination of poor management, insufficient initial funding, and unrealistic planning resulted in a fiasco that will be costing the taxpayers for years to come.

[Note: This new communities program was LBJ's idea.]

In 1974 the Administration proposed and Congress passed a new housing program to subsidize poor persons ~~to~~ rent ^{ins} ~~in~~ private housing. The Administration sold the "Section 8" program to Congress as a replacement for earlier HUD programs the Administration had elected to shut down. ^{Pro} ~~Re~~jections were that the program would produce 400,000 units of low income housing each year. HUD took 8 months even to write regulations and when they came out the regulations so ^{restrictive} ~~discouraged interest in the program~~ that few units ^{have been} ~~were~~ occupied or constructed. As of February 1976, 18 months after the program passage, Section 8 could claim only 2,600 housing units constructed, most of which were disguised conversions from prior programs. ~~Weekly~~ Recent studies by the Library of Congress indicates that Section 8 housing is turning out to be the most expensive form of federal ^{housing} ~~subsidy~~.

Transportation

During the Nixon-Ford years, the Department of Transportation has grown relentlessly while its efficiency has declined. From 1968 to 1976 the Department ^{added} ~~had~~ 10,000 employees, but during the same time the delay between initial planning and final construction of highway projects grew from an average of two-three years to 6-8 years.



The Department of Transportation has wasted hundreds of millions of dollars on outrageously extravagant projects. In Morgantown, W.Va., for example, the Urban Mass Transit ^{Administration} ~~Board~~ built an exotic ^{and} "personal rapid transit" system that cost \$112 million. The system was intended to replace a fleet of 30 buses worth about \$2 million.

Even worse, the expensive technology breaks down so often that the buses are still in service.

The Defense Department

In 1975, the Defense Department revealed that 47 construction projects originally estimated by the Army Corps of Engineers to cost \$2.4 billion would in fact cost \$7.4 billion, a 300% cost overrun.

In 1975, the Defense Department revealed that the Nautilus, the nation's first atomic submarine would cost \$48 million to overhaul. *this was*

Also 300% above the original contract.

laser
In 1975, the administration's Office of Management and Budget added \$3.1 billion to its Defense appropriations request for fiscal year 1976 merely as a bargaining "cushion". In the fiscal 1976 budget the Administration requested another \$4 million for military ~~service~~ *servants* to high ranking officers.

The Defense Department spends \$14 million a year to maintain 300 military golf courses in 19 foreign countries and the United States.

In 1974 the Army spent \$200 million to purchase 14,000 amphibious trucks which turned out, on testing, to sink.

The Frills of Executive Office

Ford has increased funding for White House consultants by \$1.6 million since becoming President. In 1976 Ford requested a 100% increase from \$500,000 to \$1 million for the White House Discretionary Contingency Fund. Also in 1976 Ford proposed a bill to exempt ~~White House travel funds and funds for official White House~~ *and travel, own funds* receptions, entertainment and representation from audit by the General Accounting Office. Ford spent \$537,000 to repair and decorate the new residence of the Vice President, an amount ~~near~~ *above* 3500% ~~his~~ projected cost of \$15,000.

not

← After this expenditure, Rockefeller declined to live in the residence.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, Russell Train, refuses to set an example by giving up his chauffeur driven limousine to come to work via ^a less energy intensive method.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Federal Reserve Board recently ~~fixed~~ ^{built} a bomb shelter for its staff ~~and the nation's money~~ at a cost \$7 billion .

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

While the number of staffers in the White House has declined, (according to administration spokesmen) the payroll costs of the five councils that report directly to the President has increased by \$1.5 million or 22% since Ford took office.

BASIC CHARGE:

ENVIRONMENT : ~~BASIC STATEMENT~~

- insert

BASIC STATEMENT:

~~BASIC RESPONSE:~~

~~Strong environmental leadership will safeguard our natural heritage, conserve our finite energy supplies and support sound economic growth.~~

~~Late one afternoon when I was campaigning for the Governorship of Georgia, I looked in my rear view mirror to see the saddening haze of black smoke draped over the city I'd just left. As I drove along the interstate, I suddenly saw a flash of bronze in the air. Twenty yards in front of my car a wild turkey gobbler sailed into the swamplands to my right. I then thought to myself: Would my three-year-old daughter Amy ever see a wild turkey gobbler in this country? Will the natural areas of the nation be preserved? Will the quality of our air improve? Will our water be protected from industrial discharges and toxic chemicals?~~

natural heritage,
conserve our finite energy supplies and support sound economic growth

Ford lacks environmental commitment

-- ~~is~~, A member of Ford's Cabinet recently said that Earth Day is over. The Republicans would have us believe that concern for the environment is just a passing fad and we can now cut back on our environmental commitments to suit the convenience of large corporations. President Ford wants to delay requirements for reducing automobile emissions until 1982, even though one foreign manufacturer's (Volvo) 1977 models, recently certified in California --meet the Clean Air Act's standards and get 10% better gas mileage over last year's model.

President Ford recommends a do-nothing approach to protection of the remaining parts of this country where the air is still pristine. He has opposed efforts which would ensure that willy-nilly industrial growth and lack of planning don't degrade the air

Basic Charge:

Mr. Carter, you have said that whenever there is any conflict between the environment and economic growth, you would favor the environment. Won't this ~~emphasize~~ preference for the environment undermine your promises to ~~to~~ end high unemployment, ~~and~~ ~~environmental~~ ~~and~~ endanger our ^(energy) supply? ~~of~~

over our national parks and wildlife areas. According to his plan, we should just let air quality deteriorate to the lowest common denominator, and worry about patching it back up later.

~~in consequence of Ford's lack of commitment~~

As many of 15,000 deaths result each year from air pollution alone. Water pollution and uncontrolled dumping of city garbage threaten beaches and shoreline of the Atlantic coast. In the Southwest, agricultural losses run as high as \$50 million per year from ~~salinity~~ ^{salinity} caused by upstream water pollution.

Over two million acres of land which has been strip mined lies devastated. By his two vetoes of federal legislation, President Ford would ask us to continue the very practices which have blighted the countryside of Appalachia and now threaten the same destruction of our western landscapes and water supplies.

Relying on the lobbying of large chemical companies rather than his own environmental advisors, President Ford has opposed requirements to ~~see that~~ ^{test} toxic chemicals ~~are tested~~ before they are used in industrial processes, ^{and} in consumer products. As a result, our workers and the American public are the guinea pigs to test the effects of chemicals such as Kepone, PCBs and vinyl chloride. The result: the James River in Virginia is closed to fishing and 15,000 watermen are out of work. In northern Michigan, dairymen have had to shoot entire herds of cows which were sick and dying from contamination by a carelessly used highly toxic chemical called PBB (polybrominated biphenyl). Lead poisoning from peeling paint and automobile emissions still infects over 400,000 of our inner city children each year.

-- A Republican environmental future

3. Under the Republican program which supports environmental protection only when its convenient we can look forward to oil drilling and exploration of the outer continental shelf which disregards sound environmental practices, and strips coastal states of their rights to protect their own marine and shoreline areas. We will have four more years of uncontrolled strip mining, ~~on~~ both private lands and on the public lands which the government is supposed to protect for all of us. Effective control of toxic substances will be just another idea pending in Congress rather than an industry practice of making sure that the chemicals we use will not endanger health and the environment.

Our national parks and wildlife areas, having gotten election year publicity, will be left again to deteriorate. More and more urban areas which could be dedicated to parks and recreational uses will be bulldozed into parking lots and shopping centers.

Each time the citizens of this country demand responsible environmental protection, the Administration will throw back in their faces the myth that it will cost them their jobs, or exacerbate the energy shortage. It is a timid and shortsighted President who fails to reconcile our need for a health environment with a strong economic plan and a clear energy policy.

-- The Carter Environmental Program

6. My administration would reaffirm this nation's commitment to providing a healthy air and water. I will stick to the goals we have set for environmental protection and our industries will know they cannot come running into the President for a change in direction each time it finds environmental compliance slightly inconvenient. I will sign responsible national strip mining legislation and strengthen and enforce our deep mine safety laws so that coal producers have a clear understanding of the requirements they must meet and coal production can get going again. I will ensure that our park system, our national forests, and our wildlife areas are properly maintained and run not just for the good of the oil companies and special interests which use and exploit these resources but for each and every individual.

-- Safe drinking water, a pure food supply, and a healthy urban environment will provide the foundation for a successful national health program. We will develop the resources of the outer-continental shelf in a way which permits our coastal states to protect their shorelines, tourist industries and coastal communities. I will cut back on porkbarrel kinds of expenditures now used to build unnecessary dams and to channelize every winding country stream.

-- Environment and jobs

I reject the premise that there must be a conflict between environmental protection and jobs. Over a million new jobs have been created by our concern for air and water quality. Construction of sewage treatment facilities has created between 200,000 and 300,000 jobs in the hard hit construction industry. Biologists, chemists and toxicologists -- who five years ago who were unable to find work, now find their talents in high demand to assess the

FA

effects of pesticides, water pollutants, and toxic chemicals on the environment. The manufacturing of pollution control equipment, has emerged as a new \$1.7 billion industry. But we have only scratched the surface. Enactment of a strong federal strip mining law will reduce the present uncertainty surrounding coal production and put miners back to work without exacting unreasonable environmental costs. Development of rapid transit systems to reduce our dependence on the automobile cuts down air pollution and provides jobs for unemployed auto workers.

Recovery of the resources which we now throw away will reduce the need for imported raw materials such as aluminum and copper creating jobs here in America rather than abroad. Solar energy, when fully developed is estimated to be almost three times as job intensive as nuclear power and far more environmentally sound. Each million dollars invested in home insulation to stop wasting energy creates an estimated 70 to 90 jobs compared with 43 jobs per million dollars invested in building new electrical generating plants.

To get from here to there, however, we need strong leadership, not a President who meets every new pollution control challenge with the same tired rhetoric than pollution control expenditures put people out of work or that industry cannot afford to provide a safe and health workplace.

Environment and energy

I do not believe that production of adequate domestic energy supplies must conflict with protection of the environment. A President who understands the nature of the energy and environmental problems will recognize that both have the same basic cause. We have used our air, water and energy supplies as

~~2~~

though they were infinite, inexhaustible, and free. It was conservationists who first warned that our energy supplies would be exhausted unless care was taken to use them wisely and efficiently. But now that prediction has come true, the very forces which encouraged us to abuse and squander our natural resources turn around and blame the energy shortage on the environment. Conservation of our natural resources by better using what we have will protect both our environment and help close the gap between energy supplies and demand.

If the federal government were to encourage cities to take advantage of the technology which already exists to convert municipal garbage into energy supplies we could immediately save the equivalent of 40,000 to 50,000 barrels of oil. The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that recovery of resources from solid waste could save the energy equivalent of 521,000 barrels of oil per day, an amount equal to 35% of the oil we will be receiving each day through the Alaska pipeline.

Intelligent management of our electricity demands by encouraging peakload pricing and locating smaller generating stations near industrial consumers can reduce the need and demand for new coal supplies by 150 tons for each 1% saving in the electricity growth rate.

Development of rapid transit systems permits our citizens to commute more conveniently and efficiently while lessening the air pollution caused by the automobile.

I believe this nation is filled with people who love God's world, who love the trees and the wildlife and who want to pass along to their children and grandchildren a world which reflects high quality stewardship of our national resources that ^I know we can achieve.

MEMORANDUM - September 9, 1976

TO: GOVERNOR CARTER
THRU: STU EIZENSTAT
FROM: JERRY JASINOWSKI
RE: CARTER ADMINISTRATION BUDGET OUTLOOK

The following is a rough budget picture between now and fiscal 1981, the last budget year of the first Carter administration. It is based on inputs from Charlie Schutze, Nancy Teeters, Jim Storey, Doug Lee and other budget experts. Although there are some disagreements, the following rough budget outlook emerges:

1) HIGH GROWTH. The entire budget analysis is based on the premise that we can achieve an average real growth rate of about 5.5 percent over the next four years. Although this is much higher than the 4% historical average, we have achieved such high rates before -- particularly during the 5 years of the Kennedy-Johnson years of 1962-66. Because of the importance of high growth to achieving your other objectives, you should continue to say that your growth goals are 4-6% -- with the emphasis on the upper end of the range.

2) GENERAL BUDGET ASSUMPTIONS. The projections assume no changes in the tax laws, existing programs are only increased as required by existing laws and inflation adjustments, and defense

spending is only allowed to increase to maintain the real level of appropriations which approximates your statement that you would reduce defense expenditures by \$5-7 billion. Remember that these budget assumptions do not expect any tax revenue gains from tax reform because your tax reform strategy is to cut taxes as the quid pro for eliminating special tax provisions.

3) PRELIMINARY FISCAL DIVIDEND OF \$60 BILLION. Given a 5-6% growth rate, and the above budget assumptions, revenue will grow to \$600 billion by fiscal 1981, expenditures will rise to \$540 billion, yielding a budget margin of \$60 billion. See Attachment A.

4) CONTINGENCY ALLOWANCE OF \$10 BILLION. Good budget planning would subtract \$10 billion from the fiscal dividend for unforeseen contingencies in the future. If no contingencies occur, this money could be used to reduce taxes.

5) EFFICIENCY DIVIDEND. The attached papers identify possible budget cuts in ineffective or low-priority programs in a range from \$10-\$23 billion dollars. Since most of these cuts would be difficult to do politically, the lower range of \$10 billion is more realistic. We are evaluating the feasibility of these cuts further, and I suggest you not bring them up publicly until we have made a more detailed analysis. But you can see that such an efficiency dividend could bring your budget margin back up to at least \$60 billion by fiscal 1981. See Attachment B.

6) BUDGET SURPLUS IN 1981. It is sensible economic policy to plan for a budget surplus of about \$10 billion in fiscal 1981 because the economy will be at full employment. This would again reduce your budget margin to \$50 billion, which is roughly the net amount of money available to finance your social programs.

7) BUDGET MARGIN SUMMARY.

--\$70 billion total budget margin consisting of a \$60 billion fiscal dividend and a \$10 billion efficiency dividend;
--minus a \$10 billion contingency allowance or tax cut;
--minus a \$10 billion budget surplus in fiscal 1981;
--yields a \$50 billion net budget margin to finance social programs by fiscal 1981.

8) 21% RULE. You have said that you favor holding Federal spending to its historical trend of 20-21% of GNP. A \$50 billion expenditure increase would be 21.1 percent of projected GNP in fiscal 1981; a \$60 billion expenditure increase would be 21.4 percent of projected GNP in fiscal 1981. Given that Federal expenditures were 22.4 last year, and that we need a 21.4% in order to spend \$60 billion, I suggest you say that the share should be held to about 21% when you are pressed for a number. Don't go below 21% because then we will not be able to spend enough money to pay for your social programs.

9) THE COST OF REPUBLICAN PLATFORM. Attachment C is a costing out of the Republican platform by the Senate Budget Committee. These rough estimates show their platform costs to fall in the range of \$82 to \$110 billion. \$14 to \$45 would be in increased domestic expenditure programs; \$10 billion additional in defense; and \$27 to \$55 billion in tax reductions. These numbers must be further refined before they are used publicly.

10) THE REPUBLICAN ESTIMATES OF THE COST OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM. The Republicans have charged that the Democratic platform could cost \$100 to \$200 billion when fully implemented. Attachment D. is one Republican cost analysis that concludes that the Democratic platform would cost \$102 billion when fully implemented. It is of course a serious overstatement of the costs, particularly with respect to child care, education, and health insurance.

11) BUDGET COMMITTEE ESTIMATE OF DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM COSTS. Attachment E contains Democratic estimates of the Democratic platform that range from \$53 to \$125 billion, depending upon what interpretations are given to statements in the platform. Obviously, the lower range can be funded with the budget margin identified above.

(12) COST OF CARTER PROGRAM. There is no way to know precisely how your program would differ from the platform, but there are substantial differences. The following is a rough outline of what your program might cost when full implemented. These are the crudest possible estimates and should only be used to begin making decisions on where you want to spend your budget margin.

a) Jobs	\$ 6.0
b) Welfare	\$ 8.0
c) Child care	\$ 1.0
d) Education	\$ 5.0
e) Health	\$20.0
f) Social Security	\$ 1.5
g) Veterans	\$ 1.0
h) Housing	\$ 3.0
i) Other	<u>\$ 4.0</u>
TOTAL	\$50.0 billion

September 1, 1976

To: Dick Moe

From: Duane Scribner

Subject: Televised Debate

No doubt you have brilliant help available to you. But on the chance that something I know may be useful, I offer the following observations:

1. THE MEDIUM. Television has been called the "cool" medium. That means several things:

- a. It exaggerates emotion, voice pitch at the extremes, facial expression, hesitation--anything, in short, that might be desirable to exaggerate for effect purposes in an ordinary platform appearance. It is a "cool" medium because those who moderate all of the above communicate more effectively.
- b. Along the same line, television communicates slight variations very effectively. Firmness, indignation, and the rest of the actor's rhetorical devices are all communicable with very slight emphases.
- c. The conversational, as opposed to the oratorical, approach is more effective.
- d. Short answers are more effective than long ones; the medium is not a good device for complicated explanations of nuances or involved formal sentences; it is impossible to look back at the previous sentence to re-establish the line of thought.
- e. A single striking fact or example (brief) is effective, but long recitations of facts are not; they blur together in the consciousness of the viewer and all go down the drain.
- f. What is communicated through the television tube is a feeling about what is seen and heard. The feeling or "image" is the lasting thing. If you try to remember a memorable TV presentation, you will remember it in terms of general overall sense impressions of the person, not of the facts or the issues, especially if many separate issues are included in the presentation. When we say, "he said on TV that" we tend to think of the who with greater emphasis than the what.
- g. A monotone is as extreme as shouting. There must be variations in level, speed, etc., even though they must not be extreme variations. You can't have extreme sameness, either. A good example is Bob Dole's acceptance speech. He has a wonderful voice for the first 30 seconds; it is resonant and his articulation is precise. But he puts you to sleep because he never varies.

2. THE TACTICS. Given the characteristics of TV, a lot can be done to use it more effectively. Besides taking into consideration the obvious implications of what is said above:

- a. You only have to look a little interested to appear very interested, and it is fatal to appear uninterested.
- b. Find various ways to show that you are following the discussion--again, be careful about sameness.
- c. If the format--seated or whatever--provides opportunity to lean into or away from the picture, never lean away. It communicates lack of interest, rejection, uneasiness, fear of mixing into the discussion, and a host of other things that communicate negatively to the viewer.
- d. Stiffness, constant straightness of posture, gripping the arms of chairs, and motion can all be negatives. But again, watch out for sameness.
- e. Find the happy balance between gestures that look like nervous jerks and the broad stuff that makes you look like you're falling over. Remember that TV can show the emphasis of a finger. Nobody in the real audience is more than a few feet away.
- f. Avoid disgust in expression and harsh interruption when at all possible. Those things look extremely rude on TV, though you look good when you calmly insist on your rights or your opportunity to make a point. Take charge whenever possible--nothing looks better than having the initiative, being in control of both the opponent and the media types--but it is not necessary to tromp very hard to get the message across.
- g. Above all, remember the audiences. There are many, and they are important. The opponent is not one of them. The studio audience is significant only if allowed to clap, boo, or cheer. You can control what you are saying to the large TV audience, and that audience also includes an audience of media people who are going to select items for news programs, national stories, columns and other dope articles and editorials, etc. They will be grateful for something quotable. The audience is worth thinking a great deal about in advance of the debates.
- h. Sarcasm, ridicule, disdain are not good TV techniques. Remember the audience gets an impression of the user as well as the victim.
- i. It is hard to be too direct and straightforward on TV; it is easy to be too subtle or obscure, because there's no way to go back and read the line again. That also has major implications for vocabulary choice. And an unusual accent (which WFM doesn't have) can really get in the way for the same reason.
- j. Signs of happiness and personal security (smiles and nods) are better than signs of unhappiness and insecurity (frowns).

3. THE DEBATE ITSELF. While the debaters are not in control of the specific questions, they can do a great deal to influence the directions the questions take:

- a. A brief answer requires that another question be asked, hopefully on a different subject. A long answer raises more questions on the same subject. Behave according to whether it is desirable to stay with the subject.
- b. A comment at the end of an answer can suggest another specific question; i.e., "The Republican candidates disagree on that subject just as they do on" Of course it should be something you want the subject changed to.
- c. Facts, statistics, etc. can help emphasize a particular aspect of a problem that you'd rather talk about, and really should be used in this way for TV debate because there is no way to be comprehensive on a subject. But see 1, d, e, f above.
- d. Because of the transitory nature of facts in this medium, it is worth emphasizing and re-emphasizing the things you are doing well with, especially in a 90-minute format. That requires some quick thinking on the spot and dragging things in by the heels when necessary. And if your opponent or the moderator says it's irrelevant, remember they don't control the jury.
- e. Despite the smirking way in which media people refer to practicing, TV is a medium where it is at least as important to establish a personality as it is to establish a scholarly reputation. And it is also critical to analyze and take advantage of the other guy's personality. Great care should be taken, troublesome as it may seem, to get criticism of the approach on TV from people who look at it on the tube, in advance practice sessions with monitors.
- f. Plan out the specific results for the debate. Then, with a goal clearly in mind, it is much easier to decide what to do when the opportunity presents itself in the actual debate. Never take a shot in the debate that conflicts with the overall plan and goal. And always put that goal in terms of the various audiences.
- g. Try to figure out the questions and feed the questioners. You should know everything you can about who they are and what their attitudes are. On the issues, it is very likely that you will know more about everything than they do, but if you know what they know, you will know what they will ask and how they will ask it.

You will notice that there is nothing in this memo about the substantive issues. By now you certainly have developed a way of understanding them and taking positions. That can be gamed, also. This summer, for example, WRA appeared on the three network question shows in five weeks. There was only one question we did not anticipate. I presume that you have all the help you need in that game, but I will be happy to feed you possible questions, and answers too if you think it might be helpful. It is possible to come up with more questions in a day than can be asked in an hour and a half, and most of the questions will be easy to anticipate. We have found that media people asking questions get them from the same stories and columns that we read, and we do that intensively in preparation, as no doubt you do. And we have also found that the questions are topical, in the sense that media people don't prepare for these events a long time in advance. And of course a good briefing book with some decisions made about which facts and other documentation are the most salesworthy on TV is a must.

In reading this over, it seems pretty elementary. But if any of it is useful, I'll be happy. And happier if you already know it all. Make sure you have a good consultant. And if there is anything here that you'd like elaborated, or anything additional I can do to be helpful, let me know.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

- I. Debate Format
- II. Preliminary Comment
 - 1. Image to convey: tough, compassionate, centrist
 - 2. Specific suggestions for debate strategy, e.g. refer to Republican Administration, give personal examples, etc. *don't "time too"; deal w/ major w/ lists*
- III. Themes (Summary)
 - 1. Carter
 - a. Positive Themes
 - b. Negative Themes vs. Ford
 - 2. Ford
 - a. Positive Themes
 - b. Negative Themes vs. Ford
 - 3. Elaboration of Carter Themes
 - 4. Defense vs. Ford Attacks
- IV. Budget and Economic Overview *5 Ford memoranda*
 - 1. Budget figures: 1960-76
 - 2. Economic figures: 1960-76
- V. Questions and Answer Section
 - 1. Most likely Questions & Answers
 - 2. Specific questions by subject area
- VI. Background Memo by Area
 - 1. Pertinent facts or figures and budget summary for each issue.
 - 2. Jimmy Carter's prior statements by area
 - 3. Ford's position by area
 - 4. Legislation now pending by area
 - 5. Platform comparisons by area
 - 6. Examples of waste and poor organization by area
- VII. Experiences in state government with the federal government

Ford record

COMMENTS ON THE ABORTION ISSUE

WILLIAM F. HYLAND (9/7/76)

It is important from a campaign viewpoint to reduce pre-occupation with the constitutional amendment aspect of this issue. This could be done by having Governor Carter explain his opposition to the amendment route. This position is not at all inconsistent with opposition to abortion and is the viewpoint of many Catholics and non-Catholics.

The statement by the candidate that he is not necessarily opposed to all forms of amendment has caused concern, not only on the issue itself, but more importantly, on the issue of Governor Carter's capacity to avoid capitulations that suggest political expediency.

I suggest the following approach:

The moral issue at stake is demeaned in concluding that the protection of unborn life can be accomplished only through amending the Constitution. Those who insist an amendment is indispensable have said, in effect, that the force of the ideal, and the persuasiveness of those leaders who espouse it, have been lost.

A constitutional amendment effort will engender bitter philosophical struggles in America. If successfully carried out, it will also cause a reversion to those days when women determined to achieve abortion were obliged to submit to the greedy, untrained practitioners of an illegal backroom art. The weight of that reversion falls heaviest upon the poor and the ignorant.

The problem should not be addressed on a legalistic plane, but rather as a moral issue. If that issue is to prevail, the nation's moral leaders, including the natural leaders within the family, must do a better job in advancing their viewpoints, as the means of setting the standards for our nation.

Comments on the Abortion Issue, Hyland, p. 2

This approach reflects several considerations:

1. The conventional argument that "morality cannot be legislated";
2. Large numbers of Catholics, on both sides of the issue, disagree with the positions and leadership of the Church hierarchy on this and on many other issues, and would welcome a middle ground; and
3. The challenge to persons of strong moral persuasion to establish a position in the marketplace of ideas is more appealing than undertaking the divisive, political struggle that seeking a constitutional amendment would involve.

MEMORANDUM

TO : Jody Powell and Stu Eizenstat
FROM: Phil Zeidman
DATE: September 9, 1976
RE : Daily Press Coverage: Further Thoughts

This will supplement our further discussions on this topic, and suggest at least an interim solution, in accordance with the discussion with Stu and Al Stern last night.

It now appears to me that the problem is twofold:

1. We are not adequately informed about the coverage of the campaign itself. It can be very helpful in dealing with reporters to know what they are writing, and to know what is being reported on the network news shows, etc.

2. Neither the candidate nor we are adequately informed about news developments which should be considered in connection with prepared remarks, anticipated questions, etc. This lack of information is reflected in three incidents in the last two days alone:

- (a) The Humphrey-Hawkins problem on September 7.
- (b) Yesterday, John Lang of The New York Post told me that Ford had just issued a statement proposing debates on the two candidates' respective views on

2 07 2

abortion. This turns out, in fact, not to be the case; but we wasted some time and some thought on the subject because of our ignorance.

(c) A reporter from a Columbus, Ohio, newspaper told me yesterday that, on the previous day, he had asked Governor Carter what he thought about the recent Cleveland desegregation decision, and that he was "shocked" to learn that the Governor did not know anything about it, since it has been a matter of considerable comment in the news since the decision on August 31. In fact, the material provided by Isabel Hyde for the Cleveland trip adequately covers this, but the Governor had not looked at that material, understandably, prior to leaving for Ohio.

While this may be a peculiar situation, i.e. a reporter talking to him in advance of his departure for a state where a matter is in the news, the Cleveland decision is in fact a matter of general news significance, not limited to Cleveland alone.

These incidents illustrate our need to have more information about what is happening, as well as what is being said about the campaign itself. A campaign plane is in some ways the most insulated cocoon imagineable. We leave the hotel before the Today show; we arrive too late to watch the network news; we don't have time to get newspapers; and, when we do, we are frequently out

of range of the major metropolitan newspapers (the Times, the Post, etc.). Ironically, we are locked in a cabin with some of the best informed and best known newsmen in the world, but we are all, they as well as we, largely ignorant of what is happening outside the plane.

This can be dangerous in two ways:

1. The candidate and the staff can make errors because of lack of information.
2. The candidate can appear to be uninformed, a peculiarly dangerous perception for reporters to acquire when comparing the candidate to a presumably well informed incumbent President, who has the capacity to command instant network coverage of any announcement he may make regarding a recent development in the news.

There are several ways of handling this problem, all with defects. A ticker on the plane sounds at first like the best solution. In fact, however, it takes room, is expensive, attracts a lot of people watching it and wasting time for no useful purpose, and to a large degree is filled with information which we do not need.

The telephone calls to New York or Washington from the plane, as tried yesterday, are simply too cumbersome. The solution must be for Atlanta to get the information and feed it to us.

This should not be difficult. The equipment on the plane is perfectly adequate to receive whatever Atlanta sends, whenever it sends it. I would recommend that that include not only the matters

discussed last night (the ticker, what the network news is covering, the reports from New York and Washington, etc.), but whatever else the Issues staff feel is essential. It is important that this be limited to the absolutely bare essentials. We will otherwise be inundated in paper, and I believe it is better to be uninformed than to be spending too much of our time reading things we don't need to know. If the items can be limited to a brief description, we can then ask for more information if we need it.

I would suggest that the transmission be frequent, rather than accumulated at the end of the day. While there may be wisdom in sending a single end-of-the-day report to wrap up the high points, it will be too late in some cases, unread in other cases, and oppressive in size if it is the only report upon which we rely. In addition, it will clog the machinery unnecessarily. Accordingly, it would seem that several brief reports during the day would be desirable.

I suggest we try this approach for a few days and evaluate its effectiveness.

A Final Note:

The special problems posed by a press conference underscore the need for better and more timely information. At this morning's press conference, one of the questions asked dealt with a rumored plan for substantial U. S. contributions to a program for the resettlement of white Rhodesians. Governor Carter said he was not prepared to respond, as he knew nothing about it. In fact, an article

in The New York Times this morning mentioned it; and, I am told by Dave Broder, a column in yesterday's Washington Post dealt with it. Our ignorance of the matter prevented his being briefed; made him vulnerable to an appearance of being less informed than he should; and delayed our issuance of a statement on the subject until at least tomorrow. (Similarly, our ignorance of the content of Ford's response to the B'nai B'rith speech required us to track it down through Joe Duffey.)

The point is that, no matter what we do with respect to briefing generally, we must make a special effort on the evening before and the morning of press conferences. I would recommend the same general technique proposed above, but to be supplemented by a telephone discussion with Atlanta several hours before the press conference.

There are other steps which should be taken as well--a portable TV on the plane, for example--but this approach should be tried.

PZ:cs

cc: Milt Gwartzman
Greg Schneiders



Unemployment May '76

(1) San Diego	11.2
(2) San Fran	11.1
(3) Buffalo	10.4
(4) Miami	10.3
(5) Detroit	10.0
(6) New York	9.7
(7) Newark	9.3
(8) Los Angeles	9.2
(9) Boston	8.5
(10) Seattle	8.3

*** END OF DISPLAY ***

^B//1^ PICK TERMS-VIEW MORE=A//TERM # PICK TERMS-NEXT STEP=B//TER #
 MORE TERMS=C XRF=D//TERM # NO TERMS=E

- 1 NEIGHBORHOODS (NYC) SUB XRF 16-31/C
- 2 NEIGHBORHOODS UNITING PROJECT ORG 1/C
- 3 NEIGHBORHOODS, PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON ORG 1/C

*** END OF DISPLAY ***

^E^ ACCEPT TERM=A REJECT TERM=B

HOMOSEXUALITY

1024-2047/C

^A^ PICK TERMS-VIEW MORE=A//TERM # PICK TERMS-NEXT STEP=B//TERM #
 MORE TERMS=C XRF=D//TERM # NO TERMS=E

- 1 CARTER, JIMMY PER 2048-4095/C
- 2 CARTER, JIMMY (MRS) PER MRS/TTL 16-31/C
- 3 CARTER, JIMMY, CITIZENS FOR (NYC) ORG 2-3/C
- 4 CARTER, JIMMY, COMMITTEE FOR ORG 1/C
- 5 CARTER, JIMMY, FOR PRESIDENT ORG 2-3/C
- 6 CARTER, JIMMY, ORGANIZATIONS FOR SUB 4-7/C

*** END OF DISPLAY ***

^B//1^ IS TERM LIST COMPLETE? YES=A NO=B

^B^ ENTER TERMS=A//TERM//TERM//ETC.

^A//ETHNIC^ PICK TERMS-VIEW MORE=A//TERM # PICK TERMS-NEXT STEP=B /TERM #
 MORE TERMS=C XRF=D//TERM # NO TERMS=E

- 1 ETHNIC AFFAIRS CENTER, NATIONAL URBAN ORG 1/C
- 2 ETHNIC AFFAIRS OF NJ, CENTER FOR URBAN ORG 1/C
- 3 ETHNIC AFFAIRS, NY CENTER FOR ORG 4-7/C
- 4 ETHNIC AMERICA, NATIONAL PROJECT ON ORG 2-3/C
- 5 ETHNIC COMMUNITIES CONGRESS, NJ ORG 1/C
- 6 ETHNIC FACTORS IN EDUCATION, NEW JERSEY CONSULTATION ON ORG 1/C
- 7 ETHNIC GROUPS SUB 0/C
- 8 ETHNIC MILLIONS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE ORG 1/C
- 9 ETHNIC STUDIES SUB XRF 4-7/C
- 10 ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES (BOOK) SUB 1/C
- 11 ETHNICITY: THEORY AND EXPERIENCE (BOOK) SUB 1/C

*** END OF DISPLAY ***

^B//7^ IS TERM LIST COMPLETE? YES=A NO=B

^A^ PERSONAL NAME MODIFIERS=A BIBLIOGRAPHIC MODIFIERS=B

ALL MODIFIERS=C NO MODIFIERS=D

^D^ LINK TERMS-VIEW MORE=A//LOGIC LINK TERMS-SEARCH=B//LOGIC

VIEW MORE TERMS=C

- 1 AGNEW, SPIRO THEODORE PER 4096-8191/C

2 HOMOSEXUALITY

SUB

1024-2047/C

3 CARTER, JIMMY

PER

2048-4095/C

4 ETHNIC GROUPS

SUB

0/C

*** END OF DISPLAY ***

B//IA3 EARLIEST DATE=A MOST RECENT DATE=B

NUMBER OF ITEMS RETRIEVED = 8

B VIEW ON SCREEN=A DEFERRED PRINT=B

NUMBER OF ITEMS RETRIEVED = 8

A PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C

(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION

1 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1976- 7-11 4: 1: 5 4/WGT 13/LIN

192- 2-42

1177587/IDN

REV OF JIMMY CARTER'S POL LEANINGS FINDS HE IS AS LIBERAL OR CONSERVATIVE AS HE NEEDS TO BE AT ANY MOMENT OR IN ANY GIVEN POL SITUATION; '70 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN IN WHICH CARTER CHARGED OPPONENT CARL SANDERS HAD SOLD OUT TO 'ULTRA LIBERALS' RECALLED; CARTER HIMSELF SEEN AS STRONG LIBERAL ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES; HIS EFFORTS TO SIDESTEP VIETNAM SO AS NOT TO STIR UP HIS HAWKISH CONSTITUENTS RECALLED; HIS STATEMENT AFTER RELEASE OF PENTAGON PAPERS URGING ENACTMENT OF FED LEGIS TO MAKE NEWS ORGNS CRIMINALLY LIABLE FOR SUCH PUBLICATIONS RECALLED; HIS STATEMENT THAT HE PHONED VICE PRES SPIRO AGNEW AND URGED HIM NOT TO RESIGN UNDER PRESSURE NOTED; HIS '74 REFUSAL TO CASTIGATE 'WELFARE CHEATERS' DURING SOUTHERN POL CONF RECALLED (M)

2 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1976- 5-19 : 41: 1 4/WGT 7/LIN

139-76- 5

EDC/TOM

1158593/IDN

JAMES RESTON ON POSSIBLE VICE PRES NOMINEES AND HOW THEY WILL BE CHOSEN; SEES LIKELY REPEAT OF TYPICAL LAST-MIN SCRAMBLES THAT RESULTED IN NOMINATIONS OF SEN THOMAS F EAGLETON AND EX-VICE PRES SPIRO T AGNEW; SEES JIMMY CARTER LIKELY TO CHOOSE SENS BAYH, MONDALE, STEVENSON OR REPR UDALL; SEES FORD LIKELY TO CHOOSE JOHN CONNALLY, SENS BAKER OR BROCK OR COMMERCE SEC RICHARDSON; SEES HUMPHREY LIKELY TO CHOOSE CARTER

B PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C

(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION

3 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1973- 6- 8 : 17: 2 4/WGT 16/LIN

159-73-66

327797/IDN

ARTICLE ON WATERGATE SCANDAL'S EFFECT ON 65TH NATL GOVS CONF AT LAKE TAHOE, NEV; PRES ASPIRANTS HAVE ALWAYS USED PAST CONFS FOR POL MANEUVERING, AND 1 RESULT OF WATERGATE IS THAT NO SUCH ACTIVITY IS TAKING PLACE AT THIS CONF; ANOTHER EFFECT IS LOW PROFILE BEING MAINTAINED BY SUCH LEADERS AS GOV REAGAN AND GOV ROCKEFELLER; VICE PRES AGNEW, WHO ATTENDS CONF AS WHITE HOUSE LIAISON AND CHIEF REPUB CATALYST, LEFT MIDWAY THROUGH CLOSING SESSION, COMMENTING, 'WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO DEFINE ANYTHING IN DOMESTIC SENSE JUST NOW'; MANY GOVS COMPLAIN THAT NIXON ADM HAS BEEN PARALYZED SINCE MARCH BY ITS PREOCCUPATION WITH WATERGATE AFFAIR, AND REPT THEIR PAST DIFFICULTY SORTING OUT PRES NIXON'S REVENUE-SHARING PROGRAMS HAS INCREASED; MAIN PROBLEMS SEEN AS INCREASE IN PUBLIC'S SUSPICION OF ALL POLITICIANS, REGARDLESS OF PARTY, AND, AS GEORGIA GOV J CARTER SAYS, 'EXACERBATION OF ALREADY BAD SITUATION BETWEEN STATES AND WASHINGTON'

B PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C

(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION

4 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1972- 9- 7 : 38: 4 4/WGT 12/LIN

250-72- 1

PHO/ILS

221892/IDN

SOUTHERN GOVS CONF MEETING IN HILTON HEAD, SC, ON SEPT 6 ELECTS GOV WALLACE AS CHMN AND VIRGIN IS GOV M H EVANS, A BLACK, AS VICE CHMN; MOVE SEEN AS TRIBUTE TO WALLACE AND EVIDENCE THAT HE

HAS BECOME FULLY RESPECTABLE AMONG FELLOW SOUTHERN GOVS; UNDER
CONF RULES, LEADERSHIP ALTERNATES BETWEEN REPUBS AND DEMS; DEM
VICE CHMN GOV J WEST, WHO WOULD HAVE AUTMATICALLY BECOME CHMN,
STEPS ASIDE TO ALLOW WALLACE ELECTION AFTER CONF REJECTS GOV
CARTER PROPOSAL THAT 2 DEMS BE ALLOWED TO SERVE, WEST AS CHMN
AND WALLACE AS VICE CHMN; WALLACE ATTENDS CONF SESSIONS
ACCOMPANIED BY BODYGUARD, AIDES AND WIFE; CONF HEARS VICE PRES
AGNEW AT SEPT 5 BANQUET; RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY CONF NOTED;
WEST, WALLACE ILLUS

5 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1972- 7- 2 4: 2: 1 4/WGT 4/LIN
183- 1-31 CTN/ILS 197913/IDN

ARTICLE SPECULATES ON SEN MCGOVERN'S CHOICE OF RUNNING MATE,
SHOULD HE WIN DEM PRES NOMINATION; HOLDS PRES NIXON WILL DECIDE
ON HIS RUNNING MATE AFTER DEMS NOMINATE THEIR CANDIDATES;
DRAWING

~B~PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C
(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION

6 OF 8 WP /JNL 1972- 6- 5 : 2: 1 4/WGT 6/LIN
379-70-15 661950/IDN

SOUTHERN-LED 'STOP MCGOVERN MOVEMENT' MEETS SKEPTICISM FROM DEM
GOVERNORS AT 64TH NATL GOVERNORS CONFERENCE IN HOUSTON (TEX)
JUN 4; DRIVE LED BY GA GOV J CARTER ATTRACTED NO SUPPORT;
CONFERENCE WILL HEAR VICE PRES S AGNEW, SEN H HUGHES AND FRANK
MANKIEWICZ; MD GOV M MANDEL WILL PROBABLY SUCCEED W VA GOV A A
MOORE AS NEXT CHMN OF NATL GOVERNORS CONFERENCE

~B~PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C
(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION

7 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1971- 4- 2 : 16: 4 4/WGT 20/LIN
92-71-62 AP /SRC 84519/IDN

PUB AND PRIVATE SECTORS IN US, IN VARIETY OF WAYS, EXPRESS
GROWING OPPOSITION TO CONVICTION AND SENTENCING OF LT W L
CALLEY FOR MURDERS AT MYLAI, S VIETNAM; MORE THAN 1,200
TELEGRAMS DELIVERED TO FT BENNING COURTHOUSE, THOUSANDS OF LRS
DELIVERED TO CALLEY'S APARTMENT; RADIO STATIONS REPT THOUSANDS
OF CALLS DENOUNCING VERDICT; VICE PRES AGNEW REFUSES TO COMMENT
SPECIFICALLY ON CASE, BUT SAYS CONDITIONS DURING MIL OPERATION
ARE NOT 'SUBJECT TO MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACK JUDGMENTS';
INDIANA GOV E WHITCOMB ORDERS ALL STATE FLAGS FLOWN AT
HALF-STAFF TO PROTEST CONVICTION AND SENTENCING; COMMENTS ON
CONVICTION; UTAH GOV C RAMPTON SCORES VERDICT AND SENTENCE; GA
GOV J CARTER PROCLAIMS APRIL 5 'AMER FIGHTING MEN'S DAY' IN
STATE AND URGES RESIDENTS TO DISPLAY FLAG AND DRIVE WITH
HEADLIGHTS ON; ARK SEN AND HOUSE APPROVE RESOLUTION ASKING PRES
NIXON TO GRANT CALLEY EXEC CLEMENCY; KAN SEN ADOPTS RESOLUTION
THAT CALLEY BE FREED; SIMILAR RESOLUTION IS PASSED IN TEX SEN
AND INTRODUCED IN TEX HOUSE; SUPPORT FOR CALLEY FROM SEVERAL
INDIVIDUALS NOTED; SOLDIERS AND VETERANS COMPLAIN OF VERDICT;
STAFFORD COUNTY, VA, DRAFT BD RESIGNS IN PROTEST OVER CASE;
MARCHES PLANNED IN SOME CITIES

~B~PRINT ABSTRACTS=A//# NEXT=B OR B//# END INQUIRY=C
(C)NYTIMES.SEE ABSTRACT FOR YEAR.NONTIMES MATERIAL BY PERMISSION

8 OF 8 NYT/JNL 1970-11- 4 : 32: 6 6/WGT 3/LIN
308-70-52 64614/IDN

CARTER ELECTED GA GOV; PARTIAL TALLY; REPR THOMPSON LEADS IN
RE-ELECTION CONTEST AGAINST YOUNG, NEGRO; GOV CAMPAIGN, NIXON
AND AGNEW AID FOR SUIT REVD

*** END OF DISPLAY ***

~X~LINK TERMS-VIEW MORE=A//LOGIC LINK TERMS-SEARCH=B//LOGIC
VIEW MORE TERMS=C

- 1 AGNEW, SPIRO THEODORE 4096-8191/C
- 2 HOMOSEXUALITY 1024-2047/C
- 3 CARTER, JIMMY 2048-4095/C
- 4 ETHNIC GROUPS



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Issues

Stuart Eizenstat - National Issues and Policy Director

Al Stern - Deputy Issues Director

Orin Kramer - Assistant Issues Director

Bert Carp - Mondale Issues Coordinator

Bob Barnett - Assistant Mondale Issues Coordinator

Generalists:

- ✓ Sam Bleicher X *Bleicher* Criminal justice, gun control, S-1, government accountability, corporate responsibility, consumer problems, civil rights, civil liberties.
- ✓ Bob Ginsburg X Economics.
- ✓ Bob Havelly X OSHA, health care, abortion, alcohol and drug abuse, U.S. Immigration, gay rights. **DISABLED & HANDICAPPED.**
- ✓ Dick Holbrooke Foreign policy, defense.
- ✓ Jerry Jasinowski X Economics.
- ✓ Paul Jensen X Government reorganization, housing, urban policy, labor.
- ✓ Bill Johnston X Transportation, (merchant marine), social, (welfare reform, human welfare, poverty), social programs, services, social security, veterans, elderly, ~~disabled handicapped.~~
- ✓ Oliver Miller X Agriculture, food policy, education, arts, FDA
- ✓ David Rubenstein X Republican record
- ✓ Kitty Schirmer X Energy, environment, natural resources, amnesty, women.
- ✓ Noel Sterrett Science and technology.
- ✓ Isabel Hyde Local issues
- David Berg*
✓ David Aaron Assistant to Senator Mondale for Foreign Policy

TO: Governor Carter
FROM: Stu Eizenstat
DATE: August 16, 1976

I wanted you to know about the organization of the issues area, and about the people staffing it. The function of the issues department is to support you in developing positions and proposals which are the recommendations of our campaign. It does this by a side process of consultation with outside experts and the solicitation of materials and ideas from the public. On the basis of solicitation of materials and ideas from the public. On the basis of these materials and the expertise of the staff, it explores options and makes recommendations to you as to policies which might be advanced and programs which might implement them. It is also the source of research in the campaign on the record of the opposition.

In its organized solicitation and development of materials, the Issues Office relies in part on established task forces in the traditional areas of foreign and domestic federal policy. On the basis of that, plus internal work of the Issues staff, it develops option papers, briefing papers, background papers for internal use as well as position papers and speech drafts for external dissemination during the campaign. It also answers detailed issues questions from the press concerning issues' positions.

It is estimated that for the remaining part of the campaign we shall be called on to produce at least 40 position papers and about 25 speeches. We shall also establish a "statement" operation in the issues department, sending messages, soliciting support, and indicating concern to the various organizations which will hold conventions, meetings and other affairs during the campaign period; and we shall answer questionnaires from press, magazines and journals concerning Carter positions on the issues as well as handling a substantial volume of issue-related mail. To accomplish these tasks, we have divided our operation into two parts with the outside expertise of the task forces being organized and managed by a branch of the issues operation based in Washington, D.C. The position papers, etc. are to be produced by the staff with the campaign organization here in Atlanta. The individuals involved are -

Stu Eizenstat - Issues and Policy Director

Al Stern - Deputy Issues Director.

Al Stern, 48, born New York City. M.A., N.Y.U. Founder of Monteith College, a college of interdisciplinary studies at Wayne State Univer-

sity in Detroit, MI. Presently has a dual appointment as professor in Division of Natural Science and Division of Humanities. Has been visiting professor at the University of Chicago, Committee on Social Thought. Has served in a variety of roles in democratic national campaigns since 1948.

Orin Kramer - Assistant Issues Director.

Orin Kramer, 31, born Newark, NJ. B.A., Yale College, J.D., Columbia Law School. U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1967-69. Associate, Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett in New York, 1970-71. Executive Director, New York State Commission of Living Cost, 1973-74. Exec. Assist. to NJ State Treasurer, 1974-76. Lecturer, Rutgers Law School, 1974-75. Articles on public finance, federalism published in New York Times.

GENERALISTS

Sam Bleicher- criminal justice, gun control, S-1, government accountability, corporate responsibility, consumer problems, civil rights, civil liberties.

Sam Bleicher, 34, born Omaha, Nebraska. B.A., Northwestern University, J.D., Harvard Law School. Professor of Law, University of Toledo College of Law, 1966 - present. Teaches environmental law, constitutional law, international law. Author of several articles on environmental and international law. Deputy Director for Regulation and Enforcement, Ohio E.P.A., 1972-75.

Bob Ginsberg- economics.

Robert Ginsberg, 33, born Washington, D.C. B.A., Western Maryland College, M.A., Princeton. J.D., Harvard Law School. New York law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore since 1969, specializing in corporate finance and business transactions.

Bob Havelly- OSHA, health care, abortion, alcohol and drug abuse, U.S. Immigration, gay rights.

Robert Havelly, 24, born Alton, Illinois. B.A., Columbia University. Staff of Georgia Legislature: Research Analyst, 1974-75.

Dick Holbrooke- foreign policy, defense.

Richard Holbrooke, 35, born New York City. B.A., Brown University. Foreign Service, 1962-74. Author of one volume of Pentagon Papers, 1967; Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of State, 1968-69, presently on leave as managing editor of Foreign Policy magazine and Contributing Editor of Newsweek International.

Jerry Jasinowski- Economics.

Jerry Jasinowski, 37, born LaPorte, Indiana. B.A., Indiana University, M.A., Columbia University. Captain, U.S. Air Force, Assistant Professor of Economics, Air Force Academy, 1967-70. Professor of Economics, American University, 1976. Senior Research Economist, Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, 1970-76.

Paul Jensen- Government reorganization, housing, urban policy, labor.

Paul Jensen, 29, born Denver, CO. B.A., Macalester College, M.A., Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Ph.D. candidate, Univ. of Minn. Staff consultant, Minn. State Planning Agency, Study Director, Issues, Democratic National Committee, Deputy Director, 1976 National Democratic Platform Committee.

Bill Johnston- Transportation, (merchant marine), social, (welfare reform, human welfare, poverty), social programs, services, social security, veterans, elderly, disabled handicapped.

Bill Johnston, born Washington, D.C., 31. B.A., Yale University, U.S. Army, 1969-70. Research Associate, George Washington Univ. Center for Social Studies, 1972-76. Author or co-author of volumes and articles on unemployment and status of minorities including: Still A Dream, the Changing Status of Blacks Since 1960 and Indian Giving: Federal Programs for American Indians.

Oliver Miller- Agriculture, food policy, education, arts, FDA.

Oliver Miller, 22, born in Berkeley, CA. Senior, Yale University, American Field Service exchange student to England, Italy, 1971-72. Tutor, Urban Improvement Corp, New Haven, 1972-74. Director, Foreign Press Desk, 1976 Democratic National Convention.

Kitty Schirmer- Energy, environment, natural resources, amnesty, women.

Katherine Schirmer, 27. B.A., Wellesley College. Legislative Assistant to Senator Phil Hart (D-Mich.) 1975-present. 1971-75, E.P.A. as special assistant to the administrator for Water and Hazardous Materials.

Noel Sterrett- Science and Technology.

Noel Sterrett, 28, born in Atlanta, GA. B.A., Michigan State. 1973 - began small importing business, 1974 - helped found and became stage mgr. of new dinner theatre in NY, co-author of national issues booklet for Carter Campaign.

In addition to the Generalists, the following people have been given special issue-related assignments:

Isabel Hyde - Issues/Field Coordinator. She will be responsible for briefing Carter and Mondale on local material (key issues, political figures; interest groups) that will both acquaint and identify the candidate with the area.

Dave Rubenstein - Republican record. He will be conducting research on the Republican record. This will include material that may be used against Ford by the field or surrogate speakers. He will also be responsible for compiling a Carter-Ford record comparison and for formulating responses to attacks by the Republicans.

Steve Travis - Researcher.

Isabel Hyde: 27, born in New York City. Studied at the Sorbonne University, Paris, 1966-67. B.A., Barnard College. M.A., Teachers College, Columbia University. 1972-73, assistant to Senior Editor, Bantam Books.

Dave Rubenstein: 27, born in Baltimore, MD. B.A., Duke University, J.D., Univ. of Chicago Law School, Law Review Editor. Associated with New York City Law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison from 1973-75. Chief Counsel to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments from mid-1975 to July, 1976.

Steve Travis: 34, B.A., University of Georgia. Reporter, Atlanta Constitution and the Washington Post; Program and Congressional Relations Specialist, Office of Economic Opportunity, Director of Press and Publications, U.S. Conference of Mayors.

All of the above are located in Colony Square in Atlanta.

Washington

Joe Duffey - Associate Director of Issues

Harry Schwartz - Task Force Director

Louise Weiner, administrative assistant to Joe Duffey.

35, art critic, advisory member of State Crime Commission, B.A., Bryn Mawr,

Dan Dozier, administrative assistant to Joe Duffey.

32, Platform coordinator for Labor Coalition, Mayor Coleman Young's staff, Lawyer for UAW, B.A. and J.D. Wayne State University

Susan Van der Horn, administrative assistant to Harry Schwartz.

33, attorney, HEW in civil rights work, 1974-76.

Carl Shepard, administrative assistant to Harry Schwartz.

26, B.A. Clairmont College, CA. Former Forest Service employee.

Laurie Lucey Ethnic group relations. (Laurie - daughter of Gov. Pat Lucey)
Virginia Sloyan

Task Forces

There are presently 18 task forces coordinated out of the Washington office. Their membership is broad-based with an eye to both ideological and geographic diversity. The function of these task forces is to present a range of policy options rather than formal proposals. These groups, as a rule, do not meet together but work on assignments under the direction of Harry Schwartz. Task force topics:

Foreign Policy	Environment
Economics	Transportation
Nuclear Disarmament	Welfare & Poverty
Food/Agriculture	Criminal Justice
Land use, Housing	Government Organization
Urban Policy	Science and Technology
Energy	Tax Reform
Education	Consumer Protection
Health Care	Arts and Humanities

Issues Liason

Minority Enterprise

The Washington office also serves as liason between congressional committees, interest groups, and professional associations.

Speechwriters

The chief speechwriter, Pat Anderson, will be assisted in Atlanta by Jim Fallows and Si Lazarus operating out of the Issues office.

Issues on Plane

We will have two issues people on the plane for short statements and contact with Atlanta.

Carter Issues an Apology On 'Ethnic Purity' Phrase

*But He Says He Would Not 'Use Federal
Force' to Change a Neighborhood
—Supporters Fear a Setback*

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 8— Jimmy Carter apologized today for using the phrase "ethnic purity" in his pledge two days ago to defend the stability of established neighborhoods. But he stuck to his original basic position, saying he would not "arbitrarily use Federal force" to change a neighborhood's ethnic character.

His apology notwithstanding, the "ethnic purity" reference and two others he had used in the same context—"black intrusion" and "alien groups"—constituted a haunting refrain throughout the Georgia Democrat's first full day of campaigning for the Pennsylvania primary on April 21.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, Mr. Carter's foremost advocate in black communities North and South, told the candidate for the Presidential nomination this morning that his phrasing was "a disaster for the campaign."

In a telephone interview from Washington, Mr. Young said, "Either he'll repent of it

or it will cost him the nomination." At best, Mr. Young said, the former Georgia Governor's recovery will require time and an explicit policy statement on housing.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the other active candidates in the Democratic primary here, both seized today on Mr. Carter's remarks in Indiana Tuesday as the kind of mistake they had waited to exploit against the surprise early leader in the race for the nomination.

Senator Jackson said Mr. Carter's statements were "amazing," but did not explain why he thought so.

Mr. Udall, who has high hopes of winning votes in Philadelphia's large black community, said in a written statement: "Much worse than his ambiguity which has become as much a trademark of Jimmy Carter as his grin are some of the words and phrases he used

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Carter Issues an Apology For 'Ethnic Purity' Term

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

to express himself on this issue. It is disturbing, very disturbing language to hear from a Presidential candidate, whatever he ends up saying he meant to say."

In an important policy shift, Mr. Carter announced today that he could now support the so-called Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill that organized labor and the Congressional Black Caucus have made their top priority Federal legislation.

The bill, sponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and Representative Augustus Hawkins, Democrat of California, would set a three-year goal of reducing unemployment to 3 percent and would guarantee Federal jobs, as necessary, to accomplish that end. Mr. Carter had heretofore made a point of emphasizing the cost to taxpayers of putting the unemployed to work. Today he said the bill has been amended sufficiently to make it acceptable, by adding emphasis to the development of jobs in the private sector, and by making 3 percent the goal of adult unemployment, not of the work force at large, which included teen-agers.

'Unfortunate Choice'

Mr. Carter used his first news conference of the day to volunteer his apology for "an unfortunate choice of words," referring specifically to his use of "ethnic purity."

"I don't think there are ethnically pure neighborhoods in this country," he said. The word "purity," he told a questioner, "bothers me, too."

Mr. Carter reiterated his sup-

port of Federal and state open-housing laws and for Government action to enforce equal opportunity in new housing built with Federal assistance.

He restated the position he took on Tuesday, saying, "I would not arbitrarily use Federal force to move people of a different ethnic background into a neighborhood just to change its character."

He acknowledged, at the same time, that he was attacking a kind of "arbitrary action" that had not been proposed or taken, saying, "I don't think the Congress or anybody else has advocated this."

When a reporter asked whether he was creating "a straw man, something that doesn't exist," Mr. Carter replied, "yes, that's correct." Yet, he insisted that he had not been trying to play politics with the overtones of his words.

"If the phrase had racial connotations," he said, "I've apologized, I hope, to the public, and I've already talked to my supporters."

Mr. Udall praised Mr. Carter for his swift apology, but he commented that the timing of Mr. Carter's earlier words was nonetheless "remarkable" — coming, Mr. Udall said, "when [Gov. George C.] Wallace [of Alabama] is leaving the race and Pennsylvania and Michigan are coming up."

Mr. Carter said he would sooner "withdraw from the race" than use "racist" appeals to win it. "My feelings are quite the opposite of that," he said. Blacks and others who know his record as Governor of Georgia will understand that his words on Tuesday were "careless," Mr. Carter said.



Associated Press

Jimmy Carter greeting a supporter and her children at Philadelphia rally Wednesday

But he was also prepared to pay some political penalty. "If they don't try to make political hay out of it," he said, referring to Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson, "I would be surprised."

Young Fears Impact

Mr. Young saw the danger of lasting damage, observing: "A lot of people who said 'You just can't trust a Southerner' are going to say, 'See, I told you so.'"

Mr. Young was torn today between defending Mr. Carter and denouncing his language. "This doesn't mean to me he's a racist," he said. "It means he made a terrible blunder that he's got to recover from."

"I just think it's an awful phrase. I don't think he understood how loaded it is with Hitlerian connotations. My theme all along," Mr. Young

continued, "has been that white liberals would eventually follow blacks to support him. But this gives them some reason not to. A lot of white liberals will hesitate, and blacks who don't know him personally will wait and see what he means."

"Those of us who do know him know he's had a good record on open housing," Mr. Young said. "He's kind of put himself into this trap. It wasn't Udall, Jackson or Humphrey. Nobody baited this for him. He's got to find a way to get out—and frankly I hope he does."

Many prominent Pennsylvania Democrats, both black and white, saw the "ethnic purity" controversy as a shaping event in their primary.

Chuck Stone, the black strategist and author, used his

Philadelphia Daily News column this morning to call Mr. Carter, famous for his toothy smile, a "mandibular phony."

He praised Mr. Carter as "the only candidate who campaigned aggressively for black votes in all the primaries," but this week, in Mr. Stone's analysis, "Carter quickly moved to reassure white America he was still their 'good ol' boy' and called for a new kind of segregation by homogeneity."

David Richardson, a black Philadelphian, said that Mr. Carter's statement about "ethnic purity" had "damaged him tremendously."

Edgar Cambell, chairman of Philadelphia's 29 black ward leaders, said of Mr. Carter, "I don't want to condemn him, but he seems to be everything to everybody."

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Sept. 3 — Senator Robert J. Dole charged today that Jimmy Carter's criticism of President Ford's repeated use of the veto demonstrated a "distressing lack of knowledge or understanding of how our Government is constructed."

Moreover, Mr. Dole, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, told the National Conference of State Legislators here that the President's power should be further strengthened by a constitutional amendment providing for an "item veto" that would permit him "to strike irresponsible or otherwise unacceptable provisions from legislation."

Noting that President Ford had used the veto 53 times in his two years in office, an average of 26.5 times a year, the 53-year-old Kansan recalled before a heavily Democratic luncheon audience of about 700 members of the legislators' conference at the Crown Center Hotel that "President Truman, on the other hand, averaged 35 vetoes a year, and Franklin Roosevelt averaged a whopping 52 vetoes a year."

Senator Dole, in a speech that was billed as "nonpartisan," went on to imply that Mr. Carter, the Democratic Presidential nominee, was perhaps being political in having "decided that the veto is an evil thwarting the will of the majority."

"As Governor of Georgia," he declared, "Mr. Carter vetoed an average of 38 House and Senate bills and resolutions each year, 154 in all. In 1974, his last year in office, he vetoed 53 bills and resolutions passed by the Georgia General Assembly." And with evident sarcasm, he added:

"Presumably, many of these vetoes were justified just as presumably many of President Ford's have been."

'Nonpartisan' Speech

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"As Governor of Georgia," he declared before a heavily Democratic audience, "Mr. Carter vetoed an average of 38 House and Senate bills and resolutions each year, 154 in all. In 1974, his last year in office, he vetoed 53 bills and resolutions passed by the Georgia General Assembly." And with evident sarcasm, Mr. Dole added:

"Presumably, many of these vetoes were justified just as presumably many of President Ford's have been."

Nevertheless, Mr. Dole said, the veto "is a theme which we've seen returned to time and again in this Presidential campaign" by Mr. Carter and his running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, who addressed the legislators here yesterday.

Cites Carter's Charges

"It seems to me, without meaning to attack Mr. Carter and without intending to impugn his motives," Mr. Dole went on, "that there is still something to be said against flailing away at the President again and again and again, calling him uncaring, indifferent, lacking in compassion, beholden to big business and all the other allegations which have been made over those vetoes."

He said it seemed that Mr. Carter "might have taken the



Alf Landon, who was the Republican Presidential candidate in 1936, chats with Senator Robert J. Dole, the current Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, during a campaign stop by Mr. Dole in Topeka, Kan.

time to study the legislation in question and to find out why those bills were vetoed and why he [Mr. Ford] might have vetoed them."

He said that President Ford had "vetoed 53 bills in an effort to restore fiscal responsibility to Federal Government and taxpayers' money to taxpayers' pockets; and 44 times the Congress has upheld his veto, confirming his wisdom."

"And over \$9.2 billion in taxpayers' dollars has been saved by President Ford's vetoes," he contended.

Declaring that he was "disturbed" that Mr. Carter "seems to be so totally uninformed on the power and the purpose of the veto," Mr. Dole said that this was not an issue "for po-

litical expediency," but one "that goes to the very heart of the system by which we govern ourselves here in America."

He said that the framers of the Constitution had provided the Presidential veto "to restrain the accent of the legislature and to defend the nation against the anticipated 'tyranny of the majority.'"

After noting that the veto was not made absolute, but could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, Mr. Dole asserted that the President's power "ought to be strengthened."

"For all the seeming weakness of the Congress in the face of the White House," he continued, "the fact is that the Congress still possesses great pow-

er to circumvent the efforts of the President to represent the interests of each single American, and to circumvent the veto itself."

He said that when Congress has "a pet spending bill which it knows no responsible person can sign or would sign," members find "a bill which is so vitally important to the national interest that the President has no choice but to sign it" and then the congressmen "attach the pet spending bill to it."

Asserting that this practice, known as "Christmas-treeing," is a "corruption of the Constitutional process," Mr. Dole proposed a constitutional amendment that would give the President power to "line-item veto

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WED. SEPT. 8 8:00	H.M.S. PINAFORE Fowles, Costa-G Fredricks; Billings; Densen; Miner
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FRI. SEPT. 10 8:00	THE MAKROPULOS AFFAIR Niska; Pierson; Pailo
SAT. SEPT. 11 2:00	LA BOHEME Malfitano, Palmer; Bar Paul; Morelli
SAT. SEPT. 11 8:00	DIE FLEDERMAUS Meier, Roland; Smith, Maas; Billings; Pailo
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SUN. SEPT. 12 7:00	CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA Niska, He Darrenkamp; Morelli
TUES. SEPT. 14 8:00	CARMEN Conrad, Fowles; Mauro, R
WED. SEPT. 15 8:00	LA BOHEME Malfitano, Palmer; Bar Hale, Paul; Morelli
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Mezz. \$17.50, 14, 12; Balc. \$8, Wed. Mats. at 2
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Dole Calls Carter Uninformed for Saying Ford Uses Veto Too Often

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Sept. 3

Senator Robert J. Dole charged today that Jimmy Carter's criticism of President Ford's repeated use of the veto demonstrated a "distressing lack of knowledge or understanding of how our Government is constructed."

Moreover, Mr. Dole, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, told the National Conference of State Legislators here that the President's power should be further strengthened by a constitutional amendment providing for an "item veto" that would permit him "to strike irresponsible or otherwise unacceptable provisions from legislation."

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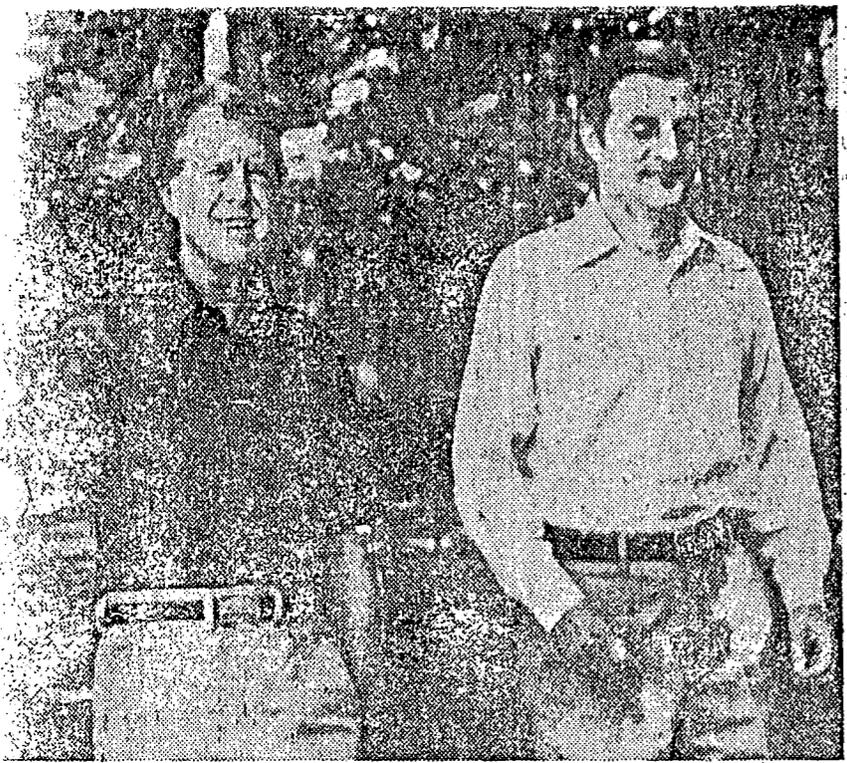
Asserting that this practice, known as "Christmas-treeing," is a "corruption of the Constitutional process," Mr. Dole proposed a constitutional amendment that would give the President power to "Line-item veto

fiscally irresponsible portions of otherwise meritorious spending legislation."

Mr. Dole, who was making the item-veto proposal for the first time, told his audience that he had not discussed it with President Ford, but noted that the governors of 43 states have item-veto power.

After his speech, however, and a 5-minute phone call to Mr. Ford, he was reported to have told Mr. Ford of his plan. "The President" indicated that he would look favorably upon that, Larry M. Speakes, Mr. Dole's press secretary, said.

Senator Dole said in his speech, however, that he felt "very strongly" the Congress amendment.



Associated Press

ter and his running mate, Senator Walter F. Mondale, leaving Mr. Carter's home in Plains, Ga., to hold an outdoor news conference yesterday.

Stresses Need to Control Inflation

other programs he had promised? "Those promises will be kept," he said, "but it is a matter of initial phasing and timing." "I remarked that the disclosure that a legitimate investment tax credit had substantially reduced the Federal income tax he paid in 1975 'illustrates vividly' the need for tax reform. He said he would like to see such tax credits, which in his case resulted from investment in a new peanut-processing plant, based on how many new jobs they created. In his case, 15 to 20 new jobs were created, he said. Over the last decade, he added, he had paid

stood for high and uncontrolled new Federal spending. In other remarks at the news conference, Mr. Carter also did the following: "I remarked that the disclosure that a legitimate investment tax credit had substantially reduced the Federal income tax he paid in 1975 'illustrates vividly' the need for tax reform. He said he would like to see such tax credits, which in his case resulted from investment in a new peanut-processing plant, based on how many new jobs they created. In his case, 15 to 20 new jobs were created, he said. Over the last decade, he added, he had paid

time to study the legislation in question and to find out why those bills were vetoed and why he [Mr. Ford] might have vetoed them." He said that President Ford had "vetoed 53 bills in an effort to restore fiscal responsibility to Federal Government and taxpayers' money to taxpayers' pockets; and 44 times the Congress has upheld his veto, confirming his wisdom." "And over \$9.2 billion in taxpayers' dollars has been saved by President Ford's vetoes," he contended.

NEW YORK CITY OPERA

NOW THROUGH NOVEMBER 14

TODAY AT 2:00	LA BOHEME Malfitano, Palmer; Bartolini, Cossa; Hale, Paul; Morelli
TONIGHT AT 8:00	TURANDOT Ballard, Lee; Mauro, Ramey, Jamerson; Rudel
SUN. SEPT. 5 1:00	MADAMA BUTTERFLY Craig, Walker; Scano, Justus; Morelli
SUN. SEPT. 5 7:00	LA TRAVIATA Brooks; Sandor, Fredricks; Somogl
TUES. SEPT. 7 8:00	THE MARRIAGE OF FIGARO Meier, Battle (debut); Harris; Hale, Justus, Densen; Effron
WED. SEPT. 8 8:00	H.M.S. PINAFORE Fowles, Costa-Greenspon; Glaze, Fredricks, Billings; Densen; Minar
THURS. SEPT. 9 8:00	TURANDOT Ballard, Malfitano; Mauro, Ramey, Fazah; Rudel
FRI. SEPT. 10 8:00	THE MAKROPOULOS AFFAIR Niska; Taylor, Clatworthy, Pierson; Pallo
SAT. SEPT. 11 2:00	LA BOHEME Malfitano, Palmer; Bartolini, Cossa, Hale, Paul; Morelli
SAT. SEPT. 11 8:00	DIE FLEDERMAUS Meier, Roland; Glaze, Roe, Jamerson, Smith, Malas; Billings; Pallo
SUN. SEPT. 12 1:00	MADAMA BUTTERFLY Sold Out
SUN. SEPT. 12 7:00	CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA Niska, Heglerski; Bartolini, Darrenkamp; Morelli PAGLIACCI Craig; Mauro, Elvira, Holloway, Lowery; Morelli
TUES. SEPT. 14 8:00	CARMEN Conrad, Fowles; Mauro, Ramey; Pallo
WED. SEPT. 15 8:00	LA BOHEME Malfitano, Palmer; Bartolini, Cossa, Hale, Paul; Morelli
THURS. SEPT. 16 8:00	LA TRAVIATA Brooks; Sandor, Fredricks; Klipstatter (debut)
FRI. SEPT. 17 8:00	MADAMA BUTTERFLY Niska, Walker; Scano, Justus; Morelli

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

Vetoes

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 look 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 campaign 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 of both a 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 deepseated 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 Americans 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 give-away 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 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 short-sighted. 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 demonstrates 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.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign



“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.”

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