

Memoranda, 1975

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64M

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steve Stark
FROM: Stu Eizenstat
DATE: July 24, 1975
RE: Jimmy Carter Supports Voting Rights Extension

"The Voting Rights Act of 1965 will expire on August 6th of this year. It is vital that the Act be extended, expanded, and strengthened.

The very foundation of our republic has been based on an open and responsive political system in which every American through the voting process and the ballot can influence the selection of his representatives and can have a voice in the decisions which affect his fate.

Yet this has never been a reality for black Americans and many other minority groups. Blacks have been denied access to the American political system and a meaningful say-so over their destiny since they arrived in this country.

Every vehicle, overt and covert, was used, both in the South and elsewhere, to deny blacks their constitutional right to vote and elect persons of their choice: physical violence, economic coercion, ~~literacy tests~~, white primaries, poll taxes, literacy tests.

Nothing could be more antithetical to our form of government. All barriers to participation must be ended ~~root-and-branch~~.

(If we expect people to work within the system to achieve meaningful change we must insure that the political system gives people a fair chance for participation. Indeed, it is all too ironic that those who must deplore violent change are the very ones who often devise the most devious means to exclude minorities from participating in the political system to effect non-violent change.)

The Voting Rights Act has started to right the wrongs of generations past.

In 1965, before the Act went into effect, only 1 million blacks were registered to vote in 11 Southern States; today that number is 3 1/2 million. In 1965 only 72 blacks held public office in the 11 southern states while now, thanks in significant part to the Voting Rights Act, there are over 1500 black elected officials in those states, and over 1100 in the 7 southern states covered by the Act. Indeed, it is a source of great pride to me as a former Governor of Georgia that during my last year in office over 100 blacks were elected to political office in Georgia alone!

The Voting Rights Act has transformed politics in the South. In the first time in over 100 years blacks in the South believe they can influence the political process. Diehard segregationists are now a thing of the past. Politicians in the south now openly count black support and champion programs beneficial to minority groups. Black involvement has become a mechanism to influence politicians of all persuasions to support progressive programs.

But the Voting Rights Act has only made a beginning. It is not an end. The hard-carved rights now achieved must not be lost through indifference. The Act still has a place. Its day is not over.

There are still some 2 1/2 million blacks of voting age not yet registered in the 11 southern states and millions more in other sections. Subtle barriers to full voting participation still abound, such as at-large elections, racial gerrymandering, inconvenient registration and polling places, lack of deputy registrars, burdensome registration forms, frequent purges of the voters' lists, absence of minority registrars and poll workers, and a seemingly endless variety of devices to discourage minority registration and participation.

I strongly support extension of the Act for 10 years in its present form and urge the Senate to give the extension a vote of confidence. I call upon the President to sign such an extension into law.

But I would not stop with a simple extension of the Act.

I propose that:

1. ~~Additional~~ Additional personnel and funds be given to the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department to strengthen its enforcement powers under the Act.

2. ~~The~~ The Act be extended throughout the United States with sufficient enforcement personnel to effectively enforce the Act nationwide as proposed by John Lewis of the Voter Education Project. Discrimination is not limited to the South which has come further, faster, than any other part of the country in remedying past evils.

*The protection of the Act should be broadened to include non-English speaking persons, such as Spanish-Americans, Indians, native Alaskans, and Asian-Americans, and bilingual ballots should be provided for such citizens.

*There should be a permanent ban on literacy tests.

*The Justice Department should begin ~~bringing~~^{bring} a series of test cases to attack methods of elections which dilute minority voting strength.

*Postcard registration should be the law of the land so that registration of voters is made as easy and convenient as possible.

*Registration should become permanent and should move with the voter from country to country and state to state.

*Persons of voting age should be allowed to vote by simply registering at the time of the elections, without worrying about arbitrary registration ^{out} ~~act~~-off days, as ~~is~~ permitted in a few states.

(To the extent that we move toward fuller participation and involvement in our democratic process by blacks and other minority groups, then to that extent we will be achieving ~~the dreams for~~^{our nation's dreams} our ~~country held by our Pending Voters~~.



*Mark
Carter*

Rufus Foshee
(61M)

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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

June 4, 1975

Dear Rufus,

Supporters and others interested in Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign will meet Wednesday, June 11 at 7:30pm at the home of Joe Hakanson, 104 Strowdwater St., Westbrook.

I hope you will be interested in attending, or will mention our meeting to friends who may be interested in Jimmy Carter. The chief purpose of this first meeting will be to discuss Jimmy Carter's planned trip to Maine July 3.

Enclosed is a reply card and envelope for your use if you are unable to attend the meeting but would like to help. If for any reason you prefer not to be on our mailing list, you may use the response envelope to advise us.

Joe and I hope to see you Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Chris Brown
New England Coordinator
20 Pleasant Street
Concord, NH 03301

Dear Chris,

Before I go further with support for Jimmy Carter, I want to know how he stands on Regional Government. May I please have this under his signature as soon as possible.

Rufus Foshee

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



MEMORANDUM

TO: STEVE STARK
FROM: MARY KING 
SUBJECT: NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS QUESTIONNAIRE
DATE: NOVEMBER 3, 1975

1. Abortion

The majority of the American public has consistently favored abortion as defined by the Supreme Court. See attached NARAL summary of polls.

Publicly elected officials who have taken consistent moderate stands favoring a woman's right to an abortion have been re-elected or elected to office. See the Rosoff analysis attached. My report on abortion sent to you earlier will address everything else you might need.

A recent Planned Parenthood survey found that only 15% of the country's public hospitals are performing abortions. This means that it is the poor and the very young who still do not have access to safe legal abortions. You should reference this study (see attached Washington Post article and let me know if you want a precis of the study) in what you say to the Caucus.

2. Equal Rights Amendment

The President can set a style of leadership in which constitutional guarantees to equal rights for women are obviously part of his plan for the nation. The power of the presidency in this essentially state issue is indirect but enormously persuasive.

The history of this amendment over the past 50 years is so poignant that it would be wise to show a good working familiarity with the history and the exact status. We'll check exact status in the states when you get to a first draft.

3. Child Care

None of the four bills presently in Congress are "comprehensive". I don't know what they're talking about since there is no clear Congressional intent. (See attached WEAL Washington Report for update on all pending legislation in Congress affecting women.)

Subissues:

1. Nixon killed a good bill by implying that it would socialistically erode the family.
2. The U. S. is the only Westernized country which does not provide public support for child care.
3. The people who are really hurt by our present non-policy are poor women -- the so-called working poor -- and those who could work if they had child care.

The country's leading authority on this subject is Dr. Mary Dublin Keyserling, an economist who has spent an evening with the Governor and has breakfasted with Mrs. Carter. You should call her to get some analysis of the costs of not providing child care (area code 202 - 362-5047). The social costs are very high.

4. Vice Presidential Nominee

I think we should go for broke on this one. Martha Griffiths would make a fine candidate so there's no argument that there's no one qualified. The approach that the Governor used at the Women's National Democratic Club lunch worked exceedingly well: when asked what his vice presidential candidate would be like, he

*Child Care
Dw. Art 7/1
Comprehensive SB-2006*

said, "Well, she would have to....." and received a wild ovation. I have been getting lots of good feedback on that. On the other hand, it would certainly create a crisis of disbelief when we come out of New York and it is not a woman if we have gone too strongly on this. You can say that women will certainly be included on the list that is considered.

5. Presidential Appointments

This is a far different issue. There are literally masses of superbly qualified women who could competently fill Cabinet and sub-Cabinet level posts. Roosevelt had an outstanding woman in Frances Perkins so there is nothing new about it. France has four women in its cabinet. Australia has a sub-Prime Minister, Elizabeth Reid, who is a woman.

There are figures available for the numbers of women serving on the hundreds, if not thousands, of regulatory agencies, presidentially appointed commissions, official delegations, advisory councils and in the super-grades within the Federal government which I do not have at hand. Affirmative action to see that women are effectively appointed would be easy, achievable, politically neutral, and a very happy response to the Bicentennial. It will have taken women only 200 years to become truly part of top governmental structures!

The second part of this question deserves special attention. Obviously women in the Executive Branch deserve equal pay for equal work; it has been the law of the land for over a decade. Let me review some of the elements that lie behind this question and see if we can't work out an even more substantial response than they thought they were asking for.

The enclosed article, "Equal Pay, Where Is It?" by Cook will give you some background.

Essentially, the problem for women is that the Equal Pay Act was watered down so that only jobs which are alike can be compared to ascertain whether there is discrimination. There are some other job evaluation systems that have been developed, but there is a heavy layer of sexual role stereotyping so that the instruments themselves are now recognized as sexist by authorities in DOL. In Mexico City, at the U.S.-sponsored International Women's Year meetings, the consensus was to push for "equal pay for work of comparable value". This means that if a nurse's work is of equal value to society as a plumber's, the pay should be equal. Naturally, the problems of measurement would be colossal. So a compromise concept has been agreed to by feminists: Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value. None of this helps the fact that women have been universally handicapped in education, vocational aspiration, lack of support services for 'child-rearing years, and ^{by} rampant discrimination against those few women who have struggled for work commensurate with ability and their desire. So Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value is more of a conceptual tool until there is some successful litigation that results in court recognition that a woman administrative assistant is doing the work of a deputy director, for example.

I serve on a committee of the U.S. National Commission for IWY which is taking up strategies on Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value at its November 7 meeting and I will send you more information then.

6. Economy

The enclosed working papers for the Committee on Women and Employment for the U.S. National Commission for IWY speak directly to this question. The recommendations for the Small Business Administration are particularly pertinent.

7. Political Party Reform

You can answer this better from Atlanta.

8. Social Security

This is a very intriguing and troublesome area. It is true that our social security system discriminates against women in almost every aspect of its programs and systems.

Firstly, as a regressive tax, social security taxes hurt women more than men -- substantially so -- because women are clustered at the bottom of the economic ladder, and because as Nixon noted in his 1973 Economic Report, there is still a 60 percent wage gap between a full time woman worker and her male counterpart.

A woman worker may contribute 6-12 percent of her income to Federal taxes and FICA over a period of many years but receive no direct social security benefit. Half of her husband's benefits may be higher as his wife than hers would be based on her own contributions. This has led some economists to say that poorer working women subsidize the whole social security system.

The attached Washington Post article (October 23, 1975) will shed some light. You can get the Senate Working Paper directly. I can also send you a bibliography on this subject if you want to examine it further.

Stark

Gary Orr
243-6837

Planning & Evaluation
6

Judy Dornberg

"Income Security"

With reference to the second part of the question, there is an experimental program being carried out by the Office of Planning and Evaluation of the Office of the Secretary of DHEW which tests the negative income tax approach. The three pilot projects are ^{w/non-aged} located in Gary, ^{Low} Seattle and a third city. You might want to ^{pop, welfare people.} discuss that with staff of Dr. Stuart Altman in HEW for latest results. ^{5-10% reduction in working}

There was an earlier pilot such as these carried out by OEO in Trenton but one of its problems was that the researchers chose families headed by men, whereas, statistically 60 percent or more of the families that would be affected by such programs are headed by women. The current projects correct that. ^{work effort - small reduction in work effort}

working poor

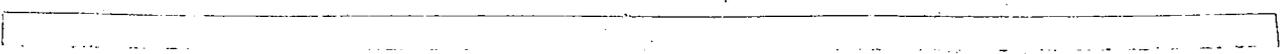
9. Health Care

The attachment to the report on the meeting between leaders of women's groups and the Committee for National Health Insurance will give you specifics that you can mention.

There is an overview of the problems they have in mind in asking this question given by the attached section from a report I did for a group in HEW earlier this fall.

I think you have to call for three things:

- a) comprehensive national health insurance along the lines of the Kennedy (Health Security) Bill
- b) an end to the past discrimination by the health insurance industry against women
- c) policy emphases on preventive care so that we can reduce our infant mortality.



653-4000

10. Social and Human Services

This is a matter of national priorities. You might also want to address the accomplishments of the Governor in reorganizing the Georgia government -- more services to more people who had never had them before for less dollars -- and how he would approach this at the Federal level.

11. Campaign Staffing

Both Birch Bayh and Sargent Shriver have women serving as the number two political campaign directors so watch the rhetoric on this question. You would know particulars better in Atlanta.

12. Rape

I believe I have already put you in touch with enough resources on this question. Marge Gates, a lawyer and co-director of the Center for Women Policy Studies, is willing to read over anything you write on the subject before it is released. They received the lead editorial in the Washington Post for a national study on rape they have just finished for LEAA (see attached). See also WEAL Report. (Incidentally, they are in error. The law was passed earlier this fall.)

13. Civil Liberties re: Sexual Preference

I would just take a libertarian point of view on this (privacy).

14. Equal Opportunity

What lies behind this question is an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act in, I think, 1974, sponsored by Senator Percy which is called the Percy Amendment. It requires an impact analysis on all foreign aid money spent overseas to assure that the expenditures will affect women positively as well as men.

The rationale behind the Amendment was to put an end to this sort of situation which occurred three years ago:

A team of specialists in rice production were sent to Liberia to give technical assistance. Since this was a modern program, wages were paid, and men were enrolled for three days of training. Not until the three days were over did the technicians realize that women do 90 percent of the agricultural work in Liberia, and they had been out in the fields as usual, growing rice, during the training. The net effect was that the rice production was not improved, but the work of the women in that culture was "de-prestigated".

(Told to me by political scientist Irene Tinker, AAAS)

There is now widespread talk of getting Congress to pass a government-wide law which would require that all Federal expenditures would have to first be analysed to assure that women were, if not helped, at least not hurt by the resulting programs or services. You should reference the Percy Amendment in your response, and I would urge supporting it without too much specificity.

I'm not sure impact analyses of all Federal expenditures wouldn't simply slow down the flow of dollars to the states. But the Caucus is asking about impact analyses of legislation and that seems very fair and accomplishable.

15. Fair Credit

The name of the Act is the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 (they are in error). The Federal Reserve Board released the final regulations on October 16, 1975, and they came as a pleasant surprise after months of mounting a tidal wave of pressure against the Fed. (The second set or "revised" regs had exempted women business owners, for example, but we got that corrected.) Specific gripes

which remain are as follows:

- a) A bank or creditor may still ask about child-rearing plans and practices (although no longer about birth control or child-bearing plans).
- b) A woman can be told why she has been turned down on an application but only by request, and the regs don't specify whether that must be in advance.
- c) A woman business owner can request reasons for rejection on a corporate loan only up to \$100,000.

The Biden Amendment to the Act, which I believe just cleared the Senate Banking Committee, would strengthen many of the provisions of the Act. But there again, women business owners were exempted from its coverage as well as women on public assistance initially. Now women business owners are included after similar pressure.

The issue is implementation. One thing that the Governor can call for is appointment of a woman to the Federal Reserve Board. He can also show knowledge of the initial exemption of business owners because this infuriated a much larger community than were actually affected. He could also call for a special task force for compliance which might self-destruct after five years. There are some other pertinent subissues and ameliorative measures suggested by the Polikoff and Gates articles attached.

16. Title IX

This is probably the single most emotionally charged issue concerning women today (particularly if you believe as I do that the peak of antiabortion activity was reached about twelve months ago). It is seen as the single most effective instrument for

ending sexism attitudinally, breaking down the barriers to women in institutions of higher learning so that all the disciplines would have more women working in them. This is viewed as the only measure which would begin to eliminate sexual biases in behavioral research, biological and medical research and educational training. It is also seen as the key to ending the harsh discrimination against women in law and medical schools.

I would be very wary of saying anything about weakening the provisions of the Title IX of the Higher Education Act.

Bernice Sandler at the Association of American Colleges has had grants from Carnegie & Danforth and has done a great deal of work on this question. If you want more material than is given in the WEAL Washington Report you could call Bunny Sandler at (202) 387-1300.

* * * * *

Please let me know what you would like more information about. I will wait to see your first draft.

You might think about starting out with a general statement including the fact that most of the people in poverty who work are women, the continuing 60 percent pay gap, and the importance of woman's contribution to the society similar to the first statement on women's rights. I have heard the Governor talk about how the women who live in Sumpter County have always worked -- they had no choice -- and how all his life he has watched them go to work at the mills in the morning. I would also try to weave in Miss

Lillian's working as a registered nurse for 20 hours a day for \$6.50 and her experience in the Peace Corps. I would include Rosalynn's management of the family peanut business which I have heard her describe, and her years of promoting better mental health services (perhaps in reference to question 10).

I think this should be a very definitive statement on women because it will be picked up again and again. Also, this is the most important group of women to make sure have a complete statement.

Also, by the time you receive this Peter will have called in my statement on abortion to you which may help on number one.



29M

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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

Steve -

Here's the revised women's rights statement, reflecting some Okla. input - primarily Mrs. Maxine Looper of Miami, Ok.

It obviously needs to be smoothed and have the 'facts' checked, but Jimmy apparently likes the revision.

We would like some copies for distribution when you finalize it -

Thanks
David

P.S. Dec. 2, 1975 is national women's day - excellent day to release this statement)

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

*Draft
Carter statement
on women's rights.*

NOT
RELEASED

When voters ask Georgia's Jimmy Carter who his running mate will be next year, he says: "I'll tell you what qualifications she must have." (Newsweek, November 3, 1975.)

STATEMENT ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

I am not only for the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, I'm probably one of its strongest advocates.

There is something wrong with a society when by virtue of being born one sex, one is considered superior or inferior.

Why should my daughter be treated differently under the law than my son? I'm much less concerned about my daughter being drafted or operating a jack hammer than being a second class citizen all her life.

Discrimination against women is morally wrong and socially wasteful. It is essential that we somehow insure an equal status for women.

There are some facts that we must make known to every American. There are still too many of both sexes whose response is, "I don't believe it."

The following figures are a national disgrace!

1. Women hold 42 percent of the jobs, but the only economic category they lead in is poverty.
2. A male college graduate earns about \$12,000 -- a woman about \$7,000 or about the same as a man with an 8th grade education. This, even though she may have stood higher in the class than he did.

3. Of those in the work force, twice as many women as men are unemployed.

4. For every \$100 a man earns, a woman only earns \$60. Compared with men, women are making less today than they did in 1955. The gap is widening.

TODAY - only

7% of all full professors are women.

9% of all physicians are women.

3% of all lawyers are women

1% of all federal judges are women

One woman in the U. S. Cabinet.

One woman Governor.

AND Not one woman U.S. Senator.

In the face of facts like these, how is it that so many still say, "I don't believe it."

The barrier that restricts a woman's life is invisible, based on unspoken assumption. It is like a glass wall.

Our childrens' first grade readers show boys making things while their sisters watch helplessly, but admiringly -- active vs. passive.

Studies of the three major readers show they mention 144 adult careers for a boy to dream of and only 24 for a girl. By the time a girl reaches the working world she may accept as quite reasonable that a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Barnard College must take a typing test to get a job, and it often does not occur to the prospective employer to consider her for the jobs he is trying to find men to fill.

The importance of textbook publishers portraying life more realistically cannot be overstated because children accept limiting, stereotyped notions of woman's place and man's place in society at a very early age.

More women must be appointed to the textbook commissions, to the Board of Governors of the Public Broadcasting System, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission.

Women have life, but they do not truly have freedom or liberty, and their pursuit of happiness is blocked at every turn.

I have great concern for the woman who chooses to stay home and devote full time to caring for her family. She is one of the most vulnerable members of our society. Faced with a seriously high divorce rate and the prospect of widowhood at age 55, the average homemaker without a marketable skill has a very difficult time and legal protection is almost non-existent. We must insure that we do not demean the roles of homemaker and rearer of children. The media too often portrays women in an inaccurate, belittling manner. I also believe that there is much that our educational, legal and other institutions can do to prepare and support both parents in this extremely crucial role in our society.

As we remove the barriers which have denied women participation in business and education and other fields, we also have the tremendous opportunity to give men the opportunity to be fathers and husbands.

Many women want to work outside the home and many women have to work. The working woman feels a double squeeze. Even though she is paid less than a man with the same job, she knows she may claim only partial tax deductions for the care of her children while she is at work.

Anyone below a certain income level, male or female, who must pay for child care in order to work, should be able to deduct the gross income, the full cost of a housekeeper or school for preschool children.

If taxis and martinis are legitimate deductible expenses, so is the care of children.

How many people realize that woman's social security benefits are 80% of a man's -- though she has paid the same premiums? She may be better off taking benefits as a widow than a worker. If she does that she gets nothing back from the premiums she has paid over the years.

In spite of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the earnings gap between men and women is great. Laws, executive orders and significant interpretations of the law, however, are bringing financial pressure on many employers to end sex discrimination. I support equality through court action when that is necessary.

As a further aid to working women, I support the concept of flexible hours for full-time employees.

In some states a woman has to get a court order to start her own business. Until recently, in one state a woman could not serve on a jury, and in most states she may be excused for the asking.

Do you know how the women in the United States are victimized by inheritance laws?

Trying to get credit established is a nightmare -- as a single woman, as a married woman, as a widow.

On October 28th, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act became a law. This Act and the Housing and Community Development Act promise substantial improvement in women's credit problems. The enforcement provisions must be upheld.

In some states husbands have a legal right to control their wives salaries.

A female teacher has to be super good to make it to principal and some are denied the job no matter how good.

Women face discriminatory practices in the "quota system" which determines admissions to colleges and universities.

As Governor of Georgia, I provided support from my own budget and contingency fund for the Commission on the Status of Women to enable them to undertake two important studies: Rape and the Treatment of Rape Victims; and the Equal Rights Amendment and Georgia Law. In addition, I appointed women to seven major positions never before held by women in Georgia, including a state judgeship. I encourage women to seek positions with major decision-making responsibility, and I have women in important roles in my campaign for the Presidency.

As President, I would ensure that:

-- laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, advancement, education, training, credit and housing be strictly enforced;

-- I will seek out women for positions with major decision making responsibilities up to and including the cabinet.

-- that federal legislation and guidelines be created to eliminate sex discrimination in health and disability insurance plans;

-- social security laws be revised so that women would no longer be penalized;

-- women have equal access to health care systems and voluntary family planning programs;

-- adequate childcare be made available to all parents who need such care for their children;

-- strong efforts be made to reform existing rape laws. I urge passage of the National Rape Prevention and Control Act.

In the last presidential election, four million more women than men voted. That is a significant upsurge in political participation by women.

With women making up 52% of our population, it is possible to envision a time in the not-too-distant future when half our doctors, lawyers, scientists, scholars, writers, business leaders and government officials will be women. The dreams, hopes and problems of a complex society demand the talents, imagination and dedication of its finest citizens without regard to sex. As partners, we can provide the very best leadership for this country's third century.

(64M)
C
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MEMORANDUM

TO: Steve Stark
FROM: Stu Eizenstat
DATE: July 24, 1975
RE: Jimmy Carter Supports Voting Rights Extension

"The Voting Rights Act of 1965 will expire on August 6th of this year. It is vital that the Act be extended, expanded, and strengthened.

The very foundation of our republic has been based on an open and responsive political system in which every American through the voting process and the ballot can influence the selection of his representatives and can have a voice in the decisions which affect his fate.

Yet this has never been a reality for black Americans and many other minority groups. Blacks have been denied access to the American political system and a meaningful say-so over their destiny since they arrived in this country.

Every vehicle, overt and covert, was used, both in the South and elsewhere, to deny blacks their constitutional right to vote and elect persons of their choice: physical violence, economic coercion, ~~literacy tests~~, white primaries, poll taxes, literacy tests.

Nothing could be more antithetical to our form of government. All barriers to participation must be ended ~~root and branch~~.

Social Security

To: Jimmy Carter

From: Stu Eizenstat

Date: September 10, 1975

Re: Projected Position on Social Security

I. Unaddressed Problems With the Social Security System

The Ford Administration has ~~totally rejected the effects~~
~~made absolutely no~~
~~any~~ attempt to grapple with the ^{multiple} ~~short term and long term~~
problems of the Social Security system, despite its crucial importance

to millions of Americans. The ^{void created by the} abject neglect of President Ford must be
filled with positive solutions. I have those solutions.

[skip double space] → Nearly 100 million people contribute to the Social
Security program, while one of every seven (7) Americans will
draw a cash social security benefit each month. Over 90% of all
persons 65 years of age or older are protected by the Social Security
system and 45 out of 100 of the mothers and children in this nation
would be eligible for monthly benefits in the event of the death of the
father. What ~~is~~ more, 3 of 5 people between 21 and 64 have
protection against loss of income due to severe disability, and virtually
all persons 65 or over have the protection of Medicare.

In the last 4 years benefits have increased 83% ^{and} the system
is now inflation proof with benefits going on automatically in relation

to the cost of living. The System has been expanded since 1935 when it was renewed as simply old-age insurance, ^{that it now} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~was~~ ^{was} survivors and dependents of workers; the self-employed, pre-retirement age workers who ~~are~~ ^{have} permanent or long-term disability (over)

But major problems confront the Social Security System

which President Ford refuses to recognize and deal with decisively.

These problems have been pointed out time and again, yet the Ford

Administration is paralyzed in old inaction. ^{these problems include} short-term and long-term.

1. Short-Term Financing Problems

The Social Security System faces both short-term and long-term problems which must be recognized and addressed.

The short-term problem has resulted directly from the cruel combination of recession and inflation which has marked the Nixon-Ford years.

Thus, in 1972, Congress established an automatic escalator by which benefits go up with the Consumer Price Index together with automatic rises in the taxable wage base to finance the increases.

It was assumed at that time that wages would go up on average of 5% a year over the next 15 years and that prices would rise only 3%, so that workers' incomes would rise faster than the benefits they

financing problems, increases tax burdens on low and middle income workers, ~~and~~ unequal treatment of women and a variety of other problems.

persons 72 years of age or older who have never paid into the program;

^{provides} Medicare
and health insurance for the elderly.

^{by the end of 1974}, about \$6 billion in monthly benefits
was being paid to over 30 million people - about 1 out of every 7 in
the population. ^{45 out of every 100, children under age 18 and their mothers have} ^{protection and about 80% of those aged 21-64 have protection in the event of} ^{low} ^{standards} ^{benefits}

The Social Security System has always provided a delicate balance between social adequacy and individual equity. It was not intended solely as a social welfare program but as a social insurance plan with universal coverage, to prevent widespread dependency in old age, with benefits related to earnings and with incentives for workers to build up other resources for the drop in income retirement would bring; yet with low-paid workers getting benefits that are a higher proportion of their past earnings than higher paid workers, and with workers who have dependents getting more protection in relation to their taxes than do single workers with no dependents.

The earnings related OASDI program is supplemented by

private pensions (which some 1/3 of Social Security recipients have) and ^{and} ^{the} ^{recently} ^{enacted} ^{supplemental} ^{security} ^{income} ^{program} (SSI) for the elderly poor for those with the lowest earnings.

financed.

Due to typical Republican economic theory, prices have actually outstripped wage increases in the last several years.

The cost-of-living increase that beneficiaries will get next year due to the rise in the Consumer Price Index, will be reflected in a higher wage base beginning January 1, 1976 - probably around \$15,300 or a tax of \$895 each from the employer and the employee.

But the tremendous inflationary increases in living costs will send up the level of benefits to amounts that ^{may not be able to be} ~~cannot be~~ recovered solely by ^{theoretically} raising the wage base.

Inflation has pushed up benefits faster than expected while the recession, with reduced employment, has cut into Social Security

tax receipts. Unemployment ^{has} eroded payroll tax revenues which support the Social Security system and ^{has} speeded the drain on funds as more ~~are~~ workers seek retirement or disability payments - all while inflation pushes up benefit automatically.

The trustees of the Social Security system forecast that

the outflow of benefits will exceed income by some \$3 billion in this calendar year alone. By next year the deficit in the system could run as high as

\$7 billion ^{or} and to \$8.3 billion the following year. The more prices increase relative to wages the worse the financial plight of the program will ^{be} ~~become~~.

While there is a ⁵⁵ \$46 billion cushion in the Social Security
(\$46 billion for the cash benefits program and \$9 billion for
Trust Fund, ^{Medicare's hospital insurance} which insures for the time being that such deficits

will not affect the present beneficiaries of the system, ~~such~~ ^{these} deficits

cannot be long tolerated. It has been estimated that under current

financing, the reserves will be exhausted by 1981. System's

trust fund for worker disability insurance would run out in 1980

and the fund for old-age and survivors insurance would run dry

in 1983. The high rate of inflation ^{and} will require 10 to 15% increases for
social security over the next 25 years than had previously been anticipated.

In short, the Quadrennial Advisory Council on Social Security

in its ~~most~~ recent report, concluded that the "laudable move to

apply automatic cost-of-living adjustments to benefits has

unadvertently introduced instability, unpredictability, and uncontrollability

into the relationship between purchasing power after retirement and

purchasing power before retirement."

2 Long-Term Financing Problems

The long-term financial problems of the Social Security System are even more substantial. These arise largely from the major demographic ^{changes} in American life. Fertility rates ^{now} are at their

lowest recorded rate in the country. In 1957, the fertility rate was 3.77, by 1965 it had dropped to 2.93, by 1970 it was 2.48 and it is now 1.90. Women are having only one half as many children as they did in 1957.
 Best will be there is an ever-declining number of workers engaged with

beneficiaries as life-spans increase. The ratio of workers to beneficiaries

~~is~~ is of crucial importance in determining the cost of the Social Security System to workers.

Originally there were some 30 workers for each

beneficiary. At present, there are about three workers to support each beneficiary, (roughly, 100 million workers provide benefits to some 30 million beneficiaries) and if current trends continue there will eventually be

only two workers to support each beneficiary. The working population has been growing rapidly as the "war babies" enter the labor force and the women

Moreover, the program was promised on the assumption that most people marry and would stay married to the same person, that the man was the head of the household, and the principal source of income. Yet divorce and remarriage are now increasingly

will help stabilize the costs of the system. But in approximately

30 years the process will reverse itself as these "war babies" begin to draw social security benefits while the work force ~~does not~~ ^{fails to} keep pace due to declining fertility rates.

common and over 50% of ^{the} married women in America participate the labor force at some time during the year.

A severe long-term deficit can therefore be projected for the system that cannot be repaired now.

3. Other Problems

The financial problems with the program by no means exhaust the ills of the system which must be addressed - and solved:

--- The Social Security tax is bearing down heavily on low and middle-income taxpayers and the burden threatens

to increase with the projected increases in rates. Although, considering the benefits side (which means low-paid workers & benefit that is a higher proportion of their past earnings) compared to the higher-paid workers, physicians, military professionals, the poor and minorities (over) --- The current retirement test imposes too great

discouragement to work ^{to} healthy and willing persons aged 65-71.

Under the Social Security retirement test, if a beneficiary between the ages of 65 and 71 earns more than the annual exempt amount,

now \$2520, benefits are withheld at the rate of \$1 on benefits for each \$2 earnings above that amount. This disincentive

to work falls most heavily on those ^{elderly persons} who most need work-

income persons are still taxed too heavily during their working life for the benefits they will receive upon retirement. A family of four earning \$4300 per year, while too poor to have to pay any federal income tax, puts out over \$250 per year in Social Security contributions.

low and moderate income persons without independent sources of non-work income to supplement their Social Security benefits

--- Several provisions of the Social Security law unnecessarily distinguish between women and men. For instance, in order for a ~~man~~ man (husband or widower) to become eligible for a husband's or widow's benefit based on a wife's earnings, he must prove that he was receiving at least 50% of his support from his wife when she became retired, disabled or died, but a woman need not meet similar requirements to become eligible for a wife's or widow's benefit based on her husband's earnings. As another example, Social Security benefits are currently provided for the wife of a worker entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits as well as for the widow or surviving divorced wife of a deceased worker, regardless of her age, if she has care of a child under 18 years of age, but fathers in similar circumstances are not entitled to benefits

--- The Social Security law liberally imposes inquiries on working married couples, since under existing law a married couple both of whom work and pay social security taxes can receive less benefits than a couple with the same earnings only one of whose members worked. This can discourage entrance into the work force.

--- The protection of the Social Security system is still not available to all categories of workers, although roughly 9 out of 10 jobs are now covered.

--- The Social Security law imposes too severe a test of disability before any ^{disability} benefits are paid, requiring total disability, and not permitting reduced benefits for severe ~~but~~ though not permanent impairment.

--- Funding of the Medicare portions of the Social Security law must be strengthened and improved. Thus, benefits for part A of Medicare (hospital insurance) are largely financed through taxes based on covered earnings, but benefits are not earnings related like the cost-benefits of Social Security. Part B of Medicare (over) --- More must be done for the poorest of the beneficiaries of the system, who cannot survive on Social Security benefits alone.

--- Benefits now fluctuate widely and unpredictably with changes in wages and prices, giving an unhealthy unpredictability to the system.

(voluntary ^{supplementary medical insurance}) is heavily reliant on premiums paid by enrollees and therefore discourages many from seeking its coverage.

II Goals

Before realistic solutions can be developed to solve many of the critical concerns with the Social Security System, it is crucial that clear-cut goals be established for the system, so that our reforms do not take on a patch-work quality.

There is too great a tendency in Washington to react to crises by ill-considered, poorly coordinated legislation in the name of reform. If defined goals are ~~first~~ established, however, we can shape legislation to ensure it meets those goals.

Thus, in taking stock of the Social Security System, the following goals must be established:

1. ^{We must maintain and not abandon} ~~Preserve~~ the basic Social Security System. The basic nature of social insurance, with its delicate balance between individual equity and social adequacy has served the people of this nation well for over 40 years. We must ensure that in an effort to strengthen the system we do not weaken it. We cannot throw out the baby with the bathwater. Indeed the program should be expanded - not abandoned. Manifest should be avoided in haste and we must reaffirm the concept that Social Security is an earned right of all, not just possible poor.
2. The short-term and long-term financing problems which

could threaten the system must be met and ^{solved} ~~financed~~ without too great a burden on those persons least able to support it. At the same time, uncertainties in the present benefit formula must be ^{clarified} ~~clarified~~.

3. Great incentives to work must be provided to beneficiaries ^{under} the system without, at the same time, imposing too grave a ^{financial} ~~strain~~ on the already strained system.

4. Inequities in benefits between men and women and between married couples with two wage earners and those with one should be eliminated.

5. A greater part of the burden of financing the system should be shifted to the wealthy, with greater protection afforded to the poor, without at the same time converting the social security system into just another welfare program, which is freed to compete ^{for its own} with other programs for general Treasury support on a year-by-year basis.

6. Immediate steps should be taken to coordinate certain facets of the social security system, such as the supplemental security income program (SSI), and the Medicare A and B parts, into more comprehensive legislation, such as income maintenance and

natural health insurance.

III Suggestions for reform

I believe with the problems ~~I have mentioned being~~ adequately analyzed and the goals for the program ~~set out~~ set out, a program of reform can be presented to the American people - a program the Ford Administration has hardly found time to even begin to formulate.

Do these
p. 14

3. Short-Term ^{and long-Term} Financing Solutions

I propose the following immediate action to solve the short-term, ^{and long-term} financial problems of the Social Security system caused by rising inflation coupled with mounting high unemployment, and the long-term financial stresses imposed by the dramatic demographic changes I have discussed: (go to p. 14)

- 1. (A) Providing Greater Certainty in the Social Security System
- (B) The cost of living index should be raised ^(insert sentence from p. 12)

benefit, family should be raised

to ensure that whole protection should automatically keep pace with increases in wages, ~~but that~~ such protection should not exceed the increases in wages - a result, ^{now} occurring under the present benefit

benefit as a proportion of earnings, post-retirement (replacement ratio) are subject to unpredictable variations caused by inflation.

insert at p 11

formula. The present ~~law~~ ^{law} permit benefits under certain

circumstances to rise less than wages and under other circumstances, to rise faster than wages, leading to undesirable uncertainty. Thus the American people should have

^{assurance} ~~certainty~~ that their benefits at the time of retirement have been kept up to date with wages. Present-day contributors should be guaranteed

that their benefits at retirement would fully reflect increases in their productivity, rather than, as under the present system, having to be faced with the uncertainty of whether benefits in the long-run might exceed or fall behind wage increases.

I propose a revised replacement ratio to establish by having a fixed relationship of benefit payments to previous wages earned, ^{which I propose} so that future benefits would keep up to date, but would never exceed, wages. The Social Security system ^{under my proposal} would have substantially lower-range costs, would introduce a needed, and currently missing, degree of certainty into actuarial cost estimates, and would provide workers with a greater certainty that their benefits would reflect their level of living at the time of their retirement, disability, or death.

Indexing earnings before retirement to changes in average earnings and indexing benefits after retirement to changes in prices can help resolve the fluctuation so detrimental to the system.

Thus, for example, everyone in 1975 would have his earnings related to an equivalent 1975 figure, regardless of when they were earned.

2. Providing Greater Protection to Beneficiaries in Periods of High Inflation
The important ^{and automatic} cost-of-living adjustment of benefits, adopted in 1972, should be strengthened during periods of sustained high inflation, such as we have been facing during the Republican years. Under present law, social security cash benefits can be increased automatically each June if the Consumer Price Index ~~has risen~~ has risen by 3% or more between base measuring periods. However, even during periods of high inflation, automatic benefit increases can occur no more frequently than once a year. This is simply too infrequent under present economic conditions.

Therefore, I propose that when the rate of inflation rises by more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% per month for a period of 6 months, cost-of-living adjustments to increase benefits should

occur every 6 months rather than yearly.

3.

(a) Adoption of the revised ~~tax~~ replacement rate formula I have proposed above will result in substantially lower long-range costs under current circumstances, where benefits are outstripping the wages which are taxed to support the Social Security System.

(b) Rather than boost the ^{OASDI} tax rate another 1%, as many Republicans ^{have} urged, I recommend an increase in the maximum earnings base to \$25,000 by calendar year 1977. Another ~~big~~ jump in the tax rate will exacerbate the social security bite on low income earners. This will take care of many of the

financial problems with the system and should bring the social security system ^{as a whole} back into financial balance for several decades, without

(c) An immediate shift of part of the Medicare contributions ^(over) rate should be made to the cash benefit program. This will strengthen the only-tested cash benefit program without at the same time immediately weakening the Medicare program, since the Medicare tax rate will produce more income than will be needed in the short-term.

tax increase. Such an increase ^{on the way base} would also lead to higher future benefits and greater economic security for middle and upper income tax brackets, and would tend to make social security less regressive ^{for proper purposes}. Indeed, an increase to \$24,000 would still leave the base lower in relation to 1977 wage levels than the original base was in relation to the wages in 1937. Stated another way, such an increase would still leave the base well below where it would have been if the present law provisions for adjusting the base automatically to changes in the level of wages in covered employment had been in effect from the beginning.

To ease the burden on increase in the wage base would cause employees (~~some~~ much of the employer contribution is shifted directly to employees in the form of lower wages or to the consumer), some portion of the present corporate income tax could be used in place of some of the employer payroll tax, as former Social Security Administrator Robert H. Phill has suggested.

for the Medicare program.

(d) We should recognize that many of the long-range financing problems would dissipate if the fertility rate were to increase again to 2.5 or if the rate of inflation could be held to an average of 2% per year and wages increased at an average of 5% per year. But we cannot depend on such events. Hence we must introduce, in the future, limited contributions to the general social security trust funds from the general treasury, to supplement employer and employee contributions. Such contributions need not begin for ~~at least a decade~~ ^{some time if any other proposals were enacted, and} should be phased in slowly, unless worsening economic conditions require a quicker timetable.

General treasury contributions should never be permitted to exceed $\frac{1}{3}$ ^{of the total paid into the system} and should never ~~be more~~ ^{exceed} than the contributions of employers and employees.

^{This type of} general treasury funding could well start with Medicare part A (hospital insurance program), which assists beneficiaries

in meeting the costs of inpatient hospital care. It is currently financed mainly through taxes based on covered earnings, but its benefits, unlike OASDI benefits, are not income-related. Therefore,

it is a logical candidate for general revenue financing.

Moreover, the two parts of Medicare could be combined into a single program with the entire program financed, partly from general revenues, partly from employers and (wage) employees. Essentially, both part A of Medicare and part B of

Medicare, the voluntary supplementary medical insurance program, should be folded into an ^{affordable} national health insurance

program.

A. Assistance for the Low and Middle-Income Worker and Beneficiary

(a) Many of the proposals I have made will make the Social Security system more progressive and less burdensome to low and middle income workers, such as the proposals to increase the wage base rather than the tax rate and the ^{partial} use of general revenue funds (from the progressive income tax) for social security financing.

(b) A partial Social Security tax rebate should be afforded the lowest income workers, with increased benefits awarded

partly from employees, without the premium paid by those
over 65 choosing Part B of Medicare.

~~to the law income beneficiaries through the SST program, since they~~ ⁽¹⁾ Some have suggested
~~cannot ~~be~~ learn on private pensions and other non-work-~~
~~related income to supplement their social security benefits.~~
 of the retirement test (under which benefits are not paid in full to a beneficiary with a 72 weeks substantial means) ⁽²⁾ will benefits paid to all at age 65 regardless of their employment status.

cannot ~~be~~ learn on private pensions and other non-work-related income to supplement their social security benefits.

(c) ^(unwatched) ~~The retirement test, should not be abandoned totally. To~~ ^(under which benefits are not paid in full)
 do so would cost the equivalent to a 1/2% increase in the employee - employer contribution rate and would benefit less than 1/10 of the people over 65 who otherwise are eligible for benefits. Thus, it has been estimated that elimination of the retirement test would involve a current cost of \$5 billion, due to the payment of benefits to people ^{earning} as much or more than they ever earned. This would be no advantage to the great majority of those eligible for benefits. Moreover, the notion of paying people an annuity at a given age even if they earn as much as they were previously is contrary to the basic notion that social security benefits should replace lost earnings from retirement.

Nor should non-work-related income be considered as part of wages for purposes of the retirement test, since this would

discourage use of private savings and pensions which have always been considered an important Social Security Supplement.

However, the retirement test should be liberalized to encourage work. I recommend that the exempt amount (that is, the amount a beneficiary may earn in a year without a reduction in benefits) should be raised from the present level of \$2520 to \$3500. For earnings from \$3500 to ~~\$4500~~^{\$6500}, the liberalized withholding should occur so that \$1 in benefits is taken away for every \$3 earned rather than for every \$2 earned. Only when a beneficiary was earning over \$6500 should the current \$1 for every \$2 earned ^{not} be applied.

5. Removal of ^{Superfluous and} Other Inequities

Many of the other inequities I have pointed out likewise capable of change without ~~causing~~ deepening the economic plight of the Social Security System.

(a) The dependency requirements in present law for widows & spouses and surviving spouses' benefits should be made the

same for men and women by elimination of the one-half support requirement in present law for entitlement to husband's and widow's benefits, and secondary benefits should be provided for both men and women under the implied test of dependency in present law for women;

(b) A person based on work in non-covered employment should affect entitlement to and the amount of secondary benefits in the same way primary benefits are affected, thereby treating women and men equally;

(c) Benefits should be provided to fathers on the same basis as for mothers, when wives ^(regardless of age) of fathers entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits get benefit if they are caring for children under 18 years of age.

(d) Under certain situations, an aged divorced wife or aged disabled divorced widow can get a wife's or widow's benefit based on her former husband's earnings. Divorced man should have the same right.

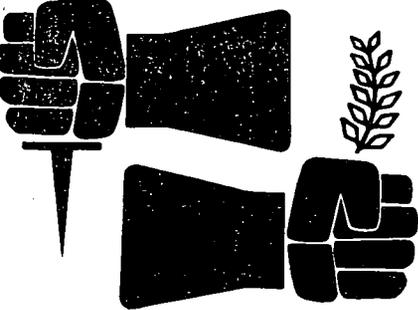
(e) The law should be amended to insure that married couples with two wage earners with significant attachment to the labor force, get at least as much in the way of benefits as single-earner couples with comparable covered earnings.

(f) There are now some 8 1/2 million jobs not covered by Social Security (2 1/2 million are covered by the federal civil service system and 3 1/2 million by state or local retirement systems). These should be brought within the ambit of Social Security protection so that it is universal in application.

IV Conclusion

We must not let inaction by this Republican Administration lead to further deterioration of the Social Security System. ~~It has served us well for so long.~~

The time for positive and constructive action is now - before it is too late.



Handwritten signature in a circle: "Steve Stark" with "the Connally Amendment?" written above it.

December 8, 1975

Dear Steve Stark:

Here is a draft of a possible statement by Jimmy Carter on U.N. reform. If it's not what you want, let me know and I will try to fix it up. If Carter should not be comfortable with the position calling for repeal of the Connally Amendment (which displeases organizations like the American Legion), it would be possible to substitute a position in favor of the Cranston-Taft resolution. This provides that the U.S. make more use of the World Court in various ways and calls for changes in the U.N. Security Council which would make it possible for the Council to bypass the veto in referring disputes to the Court. The Cranston-Taft resolution would be a smaller step toward world rule of law than repeal of the Connally Amendment, but it would probably be easier to get through the Senate. If you would like more information on this, let me know.

Handwritten note: "Steve - State ment basically ok except Connally amend. Don't know ?'s. JC"

I have gone over Jimmy Carter's position on the Middle East and it strikes me as basically sound. However, I do feel it could be amplified constructively. If you would like any inputs there, please let me know.

All best,

Handwritten signature: "Nick Hudson"

Electronically scanned for Preservation Purposes

MEMORANDUM

TO: Research Assistants for Governor Jimmy Carter
 FROM: Stu Eizenstat
 DATE: January 28, 1975
 RE: Information and Referral Service

I greatly appreciate the assistance which you will be providing to us during the campaign. Please know that the material which you will be providing will be of great assistance to the candidate and to the entire campaign.

Due to the burdens of your own individual time, it is not necessary that you summarize any articles (of course, if you do so, this will be helpful, but it is not essential). Simply underline important statistics or facts in an article so that we can pick them up at a glance without having to reread the entire article. I hope that this will make your load somewhat less burdensome.

Following are the periodical assignments for which you have so kindly volunteered:

- (1) Jean and Gary Ackerman:
 - (a) National Observer;
 - (b) New Republic;
 - (c) Washington Monthly;
 - (d) Saturday Review;
 - (e) Specialized journals involving planning.
- (2) Susan and Steve Zoukis:
 - (a) Sunday New York Times;



- (b) New Yorker;
- (c) New York Magazine.
- (3) Rosalyn Bauer:
 - (a) Time Magazine;
 - (b) Reader's Digest.
- (4) Marjorie Tifin:
 - (a) Washington Post (daily and Sunday).
- (5) Cindy Strauss:
 - (a) Atlanta Constitution;
 - (b) Harvard Business School Review.
- (6) Mark Eisenberg:
 - (a) Midstream Magazine;
 - (b) American Bar Association Journal.
- (7) Steve Leeds:
 - (a) New York Times (daily).

Please remember that we will be keeping a "general file" and candidate files on the following candidates: Benson, Jackson, Wallace, Udall, Sanford, Carter, Harris, Bayh, Muskie, and Ford and the Ford Administration, including Rockefeller.

If an article pertains to a particular candidate, make certain to put that candidate's name as well as the code beside his name. If the article is a general article on the subject, simply put the code number.

If more than one code is involved, put all applicable codes and we will xerox the article and file it in all appropriate places.

Again, I cannot thank you enough for your valuable help.

The Governor has also asked me specifically to request of you that you clip all columnists who have an article about politics or national affairs in general (for example, Joseph Kraft, Carl Rowan, James Reston).

Stu Eizenstat

SEE:dan

58M

MEMORANDUM

TO: Research Assistants for Carter For President Campaign
FROM: Stu Eizenstat
DATE: January 3, 1975
RE: Initial Assignments

A fundamental basis of any political campaign, particularly a Presidential campaign, lies in the knowledgeability of the candidate (and the campaign staff) on the details of the great issues of the day. This will be particularly true in Governor Carter's case.

He will be called on time and again to demonstrate both a breadth and depth of knowledge and background information on a myriad of issues, to demonstrate he is not merely a regional candidate but is a serious candidate of "Presidential timber" with a national outlook.

He cannot adequately fulfill this requirement without your help. Here is how we will begin to go about our task.

I attach to this Memorandum an Index of Domestic and Foreign Policy issues which I developed. This will form the outline for the information stream which we will need.

Each opposing candidate (Bentson, Jackson, Wallace, Ford, etc.) and Governor Carter will be assigned a file cabinet with all of the categories shown on the Index. Moreover, one file cabinet

4434 4410 373 3346

("the general file") with each of these categories will also be maintained. In this way, on any given issue, we can tell at a glance what Carter and all of our opponents have said on that issue. Also, "the general file" will contain articles involving each subject matter but not having to do with any particular candidate.

If you read an article in which Governor Wallace is speaking on the subject of "farmers' problems", you would label this article "Wallace: 1-2". If the article was a general analysis of current farm problems, you would label it as "General: 1-2".

It is my hope that between all of the Research Assistants we can cover all of major weekly newsmagazines (e.g. Time, Newsweek, News & World Report, New Republic) and several newspapers (Atlanta Journal, Atlanta Constitution, Washington Post, New York Times). Of course, this will mean no person would be required to research more than one or two newspapers or magazines. I will also be subscribing to some material issues periodicals and would want to assign these out.

It will be up to your discretion as to when an article should be clipped and how it should be indexed (often more than one index number should be used). Please send these to me regularly so I in turn can insure Carter sees the ones he should and so that our files at the office can be kept up to date.

I know you will find this stimulating, informative, yet not burdensome.

(65M)

July 25, 1975

Ms. Madeline MacBean
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Steve / Jody
Pls handle
Madeline

Dear Ms. MacBean:

Mrs. James T. Mills was kind enough to mail me a copy of the speech on energy that Governor Carter made to the Washington Press Club on Thursday, July 10, 1975. I thought the speech was excellent.

Jody -
h krum

If they are available, I will appreciate your mailing me 12 copies of the aforementioned speech for distribution by me.

Bill. let

I have talked with a reporter friend of mine and he is interested in doing an article comparing the environmental records and positions of Governor Carter and Governor Wallace of Alabama.

he handle
to
ste

Of course, Governor Carter will come off looking much better than Wallace. Consequently, I will appreciate your mailing me and Bill Steverson, Staff Writer, The Birmingham Post Herald, 2400 Fourth Avenue, North, Birmingham, Alabama 35202 a collection of materials on Governor Carter's environmental record as governor and his subsequent position on environmental matters.

OK.
JH

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Garner

Bill Garner
Route 4, Box 354
Scottsboro, Alabama 35768

205: 574-5770

CC:
Mrs. James T. Mills
44 Putnam Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30342

63M

MEMO

7/8/75

TO: Staff

FROM: Rick 

RE: Issue Statements

We have received the first issue statements from the printers, on the following subjects:

Code of Ethics
Relationship Between the Government and the Scientific Community
Troops Overseas
Agriculture
Welfare Reform
Oil Imports
Bureaucracy and Government Inefficiency
Secrecy
The Mid East
Government Growth and Budgeting
Federal Judicial Reform
Nuclear Weapons
Education
Senior Citizens

Numerous copies of the foreign policy speech are also available.

Further issue statements are under preparation.

Be sure to refer to these papers as "issue statements."
It would be an exaggeration to call them "position papers."

We have discovered a typo in the Education and Senior Citizens papers. Either defer using these until corrected copies are made, or make the correction yourself before sending them out. Please notify me immediately if you find any other typos.

Do NOT send out 'complete sets' of the issue statements available to date. In the first place, no one will really read through them all, and we should not waste the postage and printing. Secondly, the 14 issue papers completed to date in no way represent a comprehensive policy approach by the campaign. Some crucial papers -- civil rights, economics, crime, etc. -- are still under preparation. Please send out only the specific statement requested.

67M

Mail to
President
Hixon

Steve
J

December 23, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Jack H. Watson, Jr.

TO: Charles H. Kirbo

When I was in Vermont last week, I came across the attached excerpt from a speech by Calvin Coolidge. The excerpt was posted in an old inn built in 1801 called The Old Tavern in Grafton, Vermont. I do not know how much campaigning Jimmy is doing in Vermont, but I thought there might be an occasion for him to use part of President Coolidge's statement in some of his speeches. (President Coolidge was a native Vermonter and was sworn into the Presidency at 2:45 A.M. on August 3, 1923, upon the death of President Warren Harding. He was given the oath of office by his father, John Calvin Coolidge, a prominent State politician.)

JHWJr;ply

Attachment

Jack

RECEIVED
PRES. HANDWRITING

Calvin Coolidge Speech at Bennington College, 1928:

"I love Vermont because of her hills and valleys, her scenery and invigorating climate but most of all because of her people. They are a race of pioneers who have almost beggared themselves to serve each other. If the spirit of liberty should vanish in other parts of the Union and support of our institutions should languish, it could all be replenished from the generous store held by the people of this brave little State of Vermont."

10 HANOVER SQUARE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10005

66M
Steve
J

December 12, 1975

Dr. Lawrence R. Klein
Department of Economics
3718 Locust Street
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Larry:

Thanks again for coming to New York on Monday. As we discussed, I believe your schedule for developing the economic issues is excellent.

If you can merge the responses of Al, Joe, Les and Dr. Cooper into your format by mid January, that would be satisfactory.

The next stage of an in depth development of the critical issues should be ready by March 9th, when the Florida results will undoubtedly focus the hot lights of inquiry into Jimmy's grasp of and positions on the issues.

A forging of any of the innovative ideas that you and Al have discussed into concrete proposals should be ready for the post convention campaign against the Republican nominee.

In view of the fact that so many of the economic issues inextricably parallel the work that Julian will be doing on a National Urban Policy, his suggestions of a joint meeting in January makes a lot of sense.

Any of the working papers should, of course, be sent directly to the Governor. He, as you know, generally likes to think through the issues himself, with the consultation of the experts such as your group.

Sincerely,

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rick Hutchinson

FROM: Landon Butler

SUBJECT: NAHRO Speech June 17, 1975

DATE: June 10, 1975

*Realtors, etc should
join in land use
planning - play major
& constructive role.*

to be...

Here are my suggestions for points that should be incorporated in the Governor's speech:

- 1) As a former governor, as a planner, and as a business man, I am aware of - and have a great deal of respect for - the complexity of the housing sector of our domestic economy.

I never cease to be struck by the number of parties involved in the preparation, production, distribution, and management of housing. Developers, landowners, lawyers, brokers, architects, engineers, lenders, surveyors, contractors, sub-contractors, craftsmen, unions, suppliers, insurance companies - the list of persons and businesses that are vitally affected by the housing industry goes on and on.

Clearly, the housing sector has a crucial ripple effect on our entire economy.

I am also aware that no other sector of our economy is subject to so many different regulations as the housing industry.

A partial list of the public influences on housing would include real estate laws; federal, state and local programs; recording regulations; banking laws; zoning regulations; master plans; building codes; utility regulations; insurance laws; tax laws; and health and safety codes.

Clearly, the public has a legitimate interest in every aspect of the housing process; in turn, our housing policies have widespread implications for our domestic good health.

Perhaps most importantly, I am aware that the American people, acting through Congress, have time and time again called for a decent home in a decent environment for every one of our citizens. Americans have repeatedly asked that our Housing Policies be infused with compassion and high ideals. Policy-Makers who ignore this call betray the trust of the American people.

- 2) When one considers the importance of housing to our economy, when one considers the complexity of the public issues which surround housing, and when one considers idealism and compassion which have motivated our country's housing programs for four decades, then one can only be appalled and outraged at the shabby leadership which the Nixon-Ford administrations have given our housing and redevelopment programs.

Housing starts between 1972 and 1974 have dropped by more than one million units per year, and over a million construction workers across the nation are out of work; instead of production, we have been given moratoriums and questionable impoundments; and the cure-all programs which the administration promised two years ago have proved to be embarrassingly unweildy and expensive.

During this same period, ^{the} The Department of Housing and Urban Development has been rocked by one of the worst scandals in the history of our nation's bureaucracies. Over two-hundred Administration housing officials, some of them political appointees, have been convicted of criminal offenses, and as many more are under indictment.

- 3) As a result of the misguided and maladministered policies of the past six and one half years, our housing sector is in complete disarray, it will be the task of the next administration to put the pieces back together.

We must begin by establishing simple, believable policies. How many people in this room today can tell me what the Ford Administration's housing policy is? No one can, because there is no policy.

The Housing Goals established in 1968 have been tacitly abandoned, and there has not been the feeblest attempt to modify them or revise them. A developer, or a banker, or a local housing authority, or an architect, or a contractor who believes that low or moderate income housing may be needed in his community has absolutely no way at this point in time of learning what our government's intentions are in the field of housing.

As a first step, a new administration must establish simple, believable housing policies which can be understood by all the participants in the housing sector.

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As a second step, we must restore idealism and purpose to our housing programs. We must make it clear that housing for low and moderate income people is an expression of compassion consistent with the highest standards of the American people. The Nixon-Ford administrations have willfully allowed the phrases "public housing" and "subsidized housing" to become dirty words. We must reaffirm our commitment to provide a decent home in a decent environment for every American, and in so doing, we must appeal to the best that is in Americans, and not the worst.

As a third step, we must restore housing professionals to their rightful place in the housing decision-making process. For more than forty years, this nation has been developing a professional corps of men and women in our local housing authorities, in our Federal agencies, in our state agencies, and in the Farmers' Home Administration who are trained to cope with the intricacies of housing development and distribution. On the private side, we have the most highly developed housing industry in the world. For the last six and a half years, the advice and know-how of our housing professionals in both the public and private arenas have been completely ignored by Administration policy makers.

Clearly, one crucial step toward putting our housing sector back together again must be the restoration of the influence of housing professionals.

As a fourth step, I believe we must undertake the comprehensive review of the hidden ways in which the nation's tax laws influence housing policy. This Spring, a little-noticed Tax Expenditures Budget was released which illuminated the incentives which the tax system provides for housing.

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In 1975 the foregone revenue which benefits middle and upper income homeowners through the deductibility of mortgage interest and property taxes totals over eleven billion dollars. Contrast that figure to the total direct federal expenditures for subsidized housing of approximately two billion.

In no other field can it be said with more truth that the United States has free enterprise for the poor and welfare for the rich.

Finally, I think that a new administration must redirect the trust of existing federal programs to meet changing political and economic realities.

I think we must come to grips more squarely with the costs of sprawl. Our present patterns of development are far too costly in this age of limited energy supplies and shrinking public budgets.

I think we must devote more of our attention to the restoration, renovation, and ~~adopted~~ use of our existing housing stock.

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- NEIGHBORHOODS -

I think we must continue to develop innovative programs for the distribution of housing to the rural areas of our country.

Finally, I think we must place greater emphasis on the development of state and local housing finance agencies. We cannot afford to have a scandal in Detroit result in the disruption of our housing programs in other parts of the country.

Fed guarantees in "red-lined" areas