

Pre-Convention Issues Statements

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FORD CHARGE: Carter has said we are strong and that we are not strong.

RESPONSE: The strength we have is military strength and an underlying economic capacity. The weakness is our lack of policy and leadership, our damaged morals and our underutilized economic capacity.

FORD CHARGE: Carter claims that the Helsinki agreement is not making progress.

RESPONSE: The rate of Jewish emigration is the same as pre-Helsinki and lower than earlier years. Soviet citizens can no longer receive foreign currency. Soviet dissidents are under pressure. Andrei Sakharov was not allowed to go to Oslo to get the Nobel Peace Prize. Radio Free Europe is still being jammed. No relaxation of oppression or progress on human rights.

Governor Carter was completely wrong in claiming

FORD CHARGE: ~~The Ford Administration chooses to claim it was not~~

the United States

was embarking upon another Vietnam-like situation in covertly providing military assistance to ~~one side of an internal dispute~~ focus in Angola

Response; The facts disprove this.

RESPONSE When the American people and the Congress are not apprised of \$32 million in covert military assistance being channeled ^{in a single year} to a civil war in a distant continent, with \$28 million more in the works, it is readily apparent that Vietnam is a proper analogy.

When the American people and Congress are not given facts and must instead rely on news reports of United States involvement, financially or militarily, the Vietnam analogy becomes particularly appropriate. While it has never been disclosed that troops of our armed forces were used in Angola -- as distinguished from CIA personnel -- there is no way of telling when ^{re} the Ford Administration's open-ended and surreptitious commitment would have stopped, absent Senate action to ban further covert assistance to Angola.

or CIA-supported personnel

FORD CHARGE: Governor Carter said the GAO report on Mayaguez was approved by the Administration. That is incorrect.

RESPONSE: The Governor did not state as a fact that the accuracy of the report had been cleared. In context, he said, "I understand that both the Department of State and the Defense Department have approved the accuracy of today's report, or yesterday's report and also the National Security Agency. I don't know what was right or what was wrong or what was done. The only thing I believe is that whatever the knowledge was that Mr. Ford had should have been given to the American people." In other words, the Governor said I don't know what was done by the Ford people, including their review of the report, but I do know an accounting is due the American people on the entire Mayaguez incident.

The only response the Ford people have is diversionary. Ignoring completely ^{a full} ~~the~~ accounting to the public, they have instead chosen to point out the report was not cleared for accuracy. Well that is nice to know, but so what -- that is not the real issue.

Charge: MAYAGUEZ REPORT WAS NOT APPROVED BY
STATE + DEFENSE

MAYAGUEZ REPORT. The Governor did not state as a fact that the accuracy of the report had been cleared. In context, he said: "I understand that both the Department of State and the Defense Department have approved the accuracy of today's report, or yesterday's report and also the National Security Agency. I don't know what was right or what was wrong or what was done. The only thing I believe is that whatever the knowledge was that Mr. Ford had should have been given to the American people." In other words, the Governor said I don't know what was done by the Ford people, but I do know an accounting is due the American people on this issue.

The only response the Ford people have is diversionary. Ignoring completely the accounting to the public, they have instead chosen to point out the report was not cleared for accuracy. Well so what -- that is not the real issue.



FORD CHARGE: It is false to say we have made no progress on SALT.

RESPONSE: The pace of negotiations is glacial. Twenty-two months have gone by and no formal announcement of agreement has yet been made. This is another example of secrecy. We have not even made the Vladivostok agreements permanent and time is running out -- as Ford said.

FORD CHARGE: Carter claims of economic reaction to an embargo of oil are wrong policy.

RESPONSE: Ford would do nothing. His lack of coherent policy and accord with allies makes a common front impossible to construct, even where common interests would dictate one.

FORD CHARGE: The grain embargoes were not wrong; they were needed to keep consumer prices low.

RESPONSE: The farmers will be interested to hear again direct from Ford's lips this reason for the embargoes. Consumers can only look at the supermarket checkout slips to see how ineffective this policy was.

Charge. SALE OF F-14's TO IRAN IN PREFERENCE
TO OUR OWN FORCES IS FALSE

CARTER:

"As a matter of fact, Iran is going to get eight F-14s before we even meet our own Air Force order for F-14s."

~~Ford response not true:~~

According to Mr. Blechman^H of the Brookings Institute, the statement on aircraft delivered to Iran before our forces is correctly answered as follows. It is true our forces were receiving F-14s before the sales to Iran. However in order to accommodate our sales to Iran, our own delivery schedule was stretched out so that as the Ford figures show our Navy will be receiving planes after the Iranian deliveries have been made. The U.S. deliveries are obviously needed so that the delay proves that Iran has been given precedence over our own forces.

In Jan '75 in Sec of Defense Policy Statement it was announced that production was reduced from 6 to 3 planes per month to accommodate Iran.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER claims Ford's interest

1. Allegation: Ford has ~~taken interest~~ in nuclear proliferation only recent in the last few days, and hasn't moved on major initiatives which he could have adopted during his two years as President.

RESPONSE

Proposed Response: The Conference of Nuclear Suppliers which Mr. Ford cites as evidence of his interest in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons has failed ~~entirely in reaching~~ to reach any agreements which prevent the sale or spread of technology to make the bomb. While the Conference has met six times since May 1975, it has not been attended either by Mr. Ford or Mr. Kissinger. Its meetings have been held in secret and the discussions have been attended only by middle level bureaucrats. The Conference has failed to stop the sale of spent fuel reprocessing technology by France to Pakistan or by West Germany to Brazil, two of the most critical steps toward further weapons proliferation which have occurred during the Ford Presidency.

Ford charge: Carter claims that Ford

2. Allegation: Ford administration lobbyists ~~have~~ blocked the passage of non-proliferation legislation in Congress. ~~Gov.~~ Carter specifically states that he doesn't think the President would deny this.

RESPONSE

Proposed Response: Mr. Ford made no attempt to deny that he and his Administration put pressure on Congress not to enact modest non-proliferation legislation, in spite of the Carter challenge to do so. Administration spokespersons testified against measures proposed by Senators Ribicoff, Glenn, and Percy as going too far. ~~Further Mr. Ford specifically stated~~ told these ~~to these~~ Senators that he would not permit compromise non-proliferation legislation to be considered unless Congress also agreed to consider his proposal to provide an \$8 billion subsidy for private investment in uranium enrichment facilities. ~~One of Ford's main objections to the Export Administration Act (aside from the language dealing with the Israeli boycott) was its provisions dealing with nuclear non-proliferation.~~

FOED CHARGE: Carter says Ford has failed to supply it

~~3. Allegation. While we need to take steps to regain our status as a reliable supplier of enriched uranium, Mr. Ford, under pressure from the atomic energy lobby, has held enlargement of the government-owned facility at Portsmouth, Ohio, hostage to his proposal to subsidize private investment in the uranium enrichment business.~~

holding it

Proposed Response: While Ford responds that he supports the enlargement of the Portsmouth facility, his support was both late in coming and held hostage to enactment of legislation to give an \$8 billion subsidy to multinational corporations to invest in private uranium enrichment plants. He did not announce his support for the Portsmouth enlargement until one day before the Republican primary in Ohio. At a press conference in Columbus Ohio on May 26, 1976, Ford said, "As soon as Congress passes the Nuclear Fuel Assurance Act (the private subsidy bill), I will ask the Congress to appropriate \$170 million for FY 1977 to proceed with the design, planning, and the procurement of long lead time construction items for the Portsmouth plant."

7/19/75

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER BEFORE THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Third Annual Benefit Dinner

August 30, 1976

Mrs. King, Mr. [VEP Executive Director John] Lewis, Mr. [VEP President Harry] Huge, Senator Mathias, Dr. [Benjamin] Mays, _____, my friends.

It is good to be home.

As you may know, I have done quite a lot of traveling in recent months. I have heard hard and bitter things said about our system of government. I have seen disillusion and even doubt about the future of democracy in our land.

I do not share these doubts. I am optimistic. Here in this room is the proof that I am right.

To be in this room tonight is to feel the history of the last decade and a half, since the Voter Education project was founded in 1962. It is a history which you have made. Your accomplishments bear witness to the vitality of our national faith. They show that the will to make democracy live still flourishes. It can prevail against the longest odds and the most vicious opposition.

Think, if you will, of the staggering changes we have seen. Fifteen years ago John Lewis was a freedom rider. He was attacked, and beaten, and imprisoned. Along with many in this audience, and many thousands of other Americans, he knew only privation, danger, struggle. In 1976 John Lewis was cited by a cover story in Time magazine as one of four American "living saints."

During those fifteen years, as you know, two million black people have been registered to vote in the eleven states of the South.

One decade ago, fewer than 100 blacks held office in the South. Now more than 100 blacks hold office in Georgia alone. The total of Southern black office-holders is over 2,000.

When the Voter Education Project was created in 1962, there was not a single black member of any state legislature in the South. Today there are 95 blacks in southern legislatures.

Black congressmen and women are among our most important national leaders.

This is not just tokenism. Many officials, black and white, now owe their jobs to newly registered black voters. Politicians of the past have changed their rhetoric. And governments have changed their policies.

As I have said many times this year, blacks are not the sole beneficiaries. We are all in your debt, for lifting the curse of racism. You have liberated the entire South. You have enabled it finally to enter the mainstream of American politics.

Indeed, the South is an inspiration to all Americans. Our quiet revolution has shown that the most violent antagonisms can be erased, that the ugliest injustices can be overcome, and that the deepest wounds, centuries old, can be healed.

That is a message of hope to America in a time of dismay.

And there is an added message of hope which goes forth from this room. Look around. You will see that we are not just Southerners, we are not just blacks, we are not just Democrats.

We are people from both parties, who know it is no honor to

serve an unjust political order.

We are business men and women who know that prosperity is an illusion, if it is founded in indifference and repression.

We include representatives of millions of American working men and women, who gave their votes and their dollars to the civil rights movement at the time of its most desperate need,

They too cared deeply about enfranchisement and opportunity for all.

We are worshippers in every kind of church and synagogue in America, bound together by the faith that serving God requires commitment to the relief of human suffering.

And we are all citizens, just plain citizens, men and women, black and white, who love the Constitution. We know that this old faith must constantly be renewed. Our rights cannot be secured by turning our eyes away from violations of its great principles, however deeply entrenched they may be.

We have every reason to be proud of our achievement. But I hope we will not be complacent. Sometimes one hears people say the civil rights movement is dead. Your presence here shows that that charge is untrue.

Like everything else, the civil rights movement is changing. Because the challenges and opportunities, the needs and perceptions of the American people, are changing.

In the South today, 3½ million black people are registered to vote. That is two million more than in 1962. But it is three million less than the total population of voting age blacks.

In the United States as a whole, 97 million people are registered to vote. That is 48 million less than the total

voting age population of the nation.

In other words, only about half our people are presently in a position to participate in the selection of the men and women who will govern our country in November.

Moreover, participation in our elections has actually been declining. In the 1960 federal election, 64% of the voting age population took part. This is a severe indictment of our system.

To my knowledge, no other Western democracy rests its government on so small a portion of its people. In West Germany's most recent general election, held in 1972, 91% of the electorate voted. When the people of France last voted for their President, 88% of the voting age population participated. The turnout in the most recent general elections in Britain and Italy fell just below 80% in both countries.

Many theories have been advanced to explain this disparity between the United States and its kindred democracies. None of these theories excuse the appalling exclusion of so many Americans from the political process here. And one factor seems to stand out, in my mind. Ours is the only system of government which places the burden of registration on the citizen, instead of on the government and its election officials.

We have not always had the complex system of registration which prevails in most of our states. In 1876, before most of these laws were enacted, 80% of the eligible Americans voted in the election for President. By 1920, when all states had adopted registration laws, voter participation had fallen to 48%.

Moreover, the disenfranchising effect of these laws was not entirely an accident. In the South they followed Reconstruction. In the North, their passage came at the same time as the

massive immigration of Eastern and Southern Europeans into the United States. And the registration laws were motivated in part by a desire to make it difficult for those new members of society to vote.

No one here has to be told that privileged and powerful elements in society may manipulate election laws to block participation by the poor and the weak. These barriers worked against white ethnic groups in the North, as well as against blacks in the South.

There are those who say that registration requirements do not in fact create substantial barriers to voting. There are those who say that potential voters who do not vote act "voluntarily," that they are just not interested in participating in government.

Such cynicism can only come from the vantage point of privilege. Such things could only be said by people who do not know the impact on poor people and working people of remote office locations, lack of adequate registration personnel, burdensome registration forms, inadequate registration hours, confusing procedures, bureaucratic foul-ups, as well as by more blatant abuses of the registration process.

As you all know, these can be real and formidable obstacles to men and women who are worn down by the struggle to feed their families, to people who expect harsh and indifferent treatment from the bureaucracies with which they deal.

No valid public policy is served by any unnecessary barriers to full political participation by the working person, the aged person, or by the poor. The main effect is to keep the system

stacked against them. People who feel excluded and unwelcome and powerless, people who feel that government does not respond to their needs, become more discouraged and more inclined to turn away from their government.

The two million courageous citizens who have registered in the South in the last decade now know that voting can make a difference in their lives. They have seen new faces and new responsiveness from their government representatives, especially those in state and local government.

They can expect at least some courtesy and fairness from the sheriff, regular attention to their neighborhoods from municipal services, respect and sympathy for their children from teachers and administrative officials in their schools.

But for many millions of our citizens, in and outside the South, the promise of democracy remains a mirage. I believe that the fundamental challenge facing our nation is the need to restore faith in government. Any program to meet this challenge must include provisions to break this cycle of exclusion and disillusion and despair.

There may be technical difficulties in selecting the most efficient way to break down the present barriers to registration. I am confident that these questions can be solved, as they have been solved by states such as Minnesota, Maryland, New Jersey, Texas and North Dakota. These states already have some form of registration by mail, or registration simultaneous with voting. It is my understanding that the record in these states shows that these important reforms can be accomplished without undue cost and without increasing the rate of vote fraud.

I do not believe that the challenge of broadening the electorate should be a partisan issue. The fight against racial discrimination was not a partisan issue. The work of the Voter Education Project has not been a partisan issue.

It is now time, I believe, for the nation -- and especially for those of us concerned about the achievements we honor tonight -- to make public participation a reality at all levels of government, across the nation.

Last week I imagine that most of you joined me in silently celebrating the anniversary of what was surely the finest moment in the recent history of our country.

On August 21, 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., shared with the American people the dream which had moved him, and moved all of you, to bring the promise of the Constitution to the South.

There is still a long way to go. And much work ahead. But to an extent which few of us then would have forecast, we have realized that dream.

Dr. King's dream of brotherhood and tolerance was more powerful, perhaps, than even he could know. It could not be confined to one region, or to one group.

Dr. King, John Lewis, and those who stood with them in Montgomery in 1956, in Jackson in 1961, in Selma in 1965, in Memphis in 1968, dared to hope. They dared to act on their hopes. Now their example has fired new aspirations throughout America -- aspirations among every group cut off from equal enjoyment of the American dream -- among hispanic Americans, among women, and among immigrants and the sons and daughters of immigrants who still experience discrimination on the basis of cultural or national origin.

The civil rights movement has not only stirred new interest in political participation and equal opportunity. It has also rekindled awareness of the distinctive cultural heritage of many national and racial groups in our society -- again, not only blacks and Hispanic Americans, but also Polish, Slavic, Czech, Baltic, Hungarian, Greek, Italian, Jewish, and Irish Americans, to name only a few.

I believe that this resurgence of pride is healthy and exciting. It should be welcomed and fostered. Group pride can help to dissolve the walls of suspicion and prejudice.

We are a land uniquely rich in the diversity of languages, religions, and cultural traditions which flourish among our citizens.

We are a secure people, united by our commitment to common ideals, and eager to enjoy and respect the distinctive contributions of the myriad elements of our society.

As we continue to seek brotherhood, there will of course be misunderstandings and differences along the way. There have always been.

But I believe that we cannot fail, if only we want to succeed. The desire of all the American people for healing and unity will prevail.

The curve of progress toward brotherhood will continue upward, just as it has since the people in this room began the first brave steps toward change two decades ago.

In that effort, you will always have my heart and my help.

#

Deleted Material from VEP Remarks

Many of you are already engaged in this program of national enfranchisement [universal registration]. I would like to suggest that our concern for civil rights should be turning in an additional new direction as well.

Race and sex discrimination are now, of course, widely identified as social evils. Substantial resources are devoted to remedying them. But as I have traveled the country throughout the past months, I have discovered that another form of discrimination persists, to a ~~surprising and~~ disturbing extent. I speak of discrimination on the basis of national origin.

Virtually every federal civil rights law bans discrimination on the basis of national origin. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance are both required by their own regulations to combat discrimination on the basis of national origin.

But these are hollow commitments.

These agencies have devoted almost literally no attention and no resources to identifying and remedying discrimination against Polish Americans, or Slavic Americans, or Italian Americans, or Greek Americans, or Jewish Americans. In fact, neither EEOC nor OFCC even collect any information about the extent of discrimination against such groups.

This default is deplorable. Private studies indicate that substantial barriers block participation by many ethnic groups in our society. For example, one study for the Chicago metropolitan area produced extremely troublesome findings regarding em-

ployment by 106 of Chicago's largest corporations. Although blacks make up 17% of the Chicago area population, they accounted for but 0.4% of the directors and 0.1% of the officers of these firms.

That may not surprise you. But you may be surprised to learn that, while first and second generation Polish Americans make up 7% of the city's population, they comprise only 0.3% of the directors and 0.7% of the officers of these same corporations. For Italian Americans, the relevant percentages are only slightly better.

Within all our lifetimes, signs have been posted at factory gates and executive suite doors, which said "No Irish need apply," or "No Italians need apply," as well as "whites only."

Federal antidiscrimination agencies are widely viewed as products of the civil rights movement. This perception is, I believe, accurate and proper. But discrimination on any basis is abhorrent. The cause of equal opportunity should have meaning for every group in America. If that cause is seen as limited, then its support may likewise be limited.

The civil rights movement, of which you are all such an important part, and the federal agencies which enforce civil rights, should be as broad in their concerns, as is the evil of discrimination which they are designed to cure. If any American is singled out for discrimination--whether on the basis of race, sex, religion, or national origin, the American dream has become less a reality.

I pledge, if elected, an administration which will have ra-

cial, religious, and ethnic minorities, and women, represented in the highest positions, and which will root out discrimination, in and out of government, however it is based.

The Republicans talk about the future as if they had no past.

It's just not credible for Republicans to pick up a vision of the future as if they were buying a new suit of clothes.

Mr. Ford's finally running, but it's his own record ~~his~~^{he's} running against. That sort of election year politics is just not believeable.^A

He suggests that performance should be the test; for an incumbent that's obviously the proper standard. But Mr. Ford's speech then manages to gloss over the performance of his own Administration, as if the performance standard doesn't work in this case.

He's right. It doesn't. Performance is not the most favorable test to apply to this Administration.

The people know the record because they've lived it.

He claimed credit for creating 4 million new jobs over the last 17 months, since March, 1975. But he has been President 24 -- not 17 -- months, since August, 1974. His full record on jobs tells a different story -- a story revealing that 800,000 more working men and women lost jobs than found them during his Administration.

He talks about jobs but vetoed every major jobs proposal that came before him.

Since August, 1974, Mr. Ford's policies have put 2.5 million people out of work, and raised unemployment during May, 1975, to its highest level since the Great Depression years. He has put more people on the jobless rolls since becoming President than he has put on the job rolls.

When Mr. Ford took office, unemployment stood at 5.5%. But in less than nine months, it had soared to 8.9% -- a 50% jump. Despite Mr. Ford's claims of a vigorous recovery, unemployment has risen for the last three months in a row and now stands at 7.9%. That is the same level it was 20 months ago.

And despite his claims that more private jobs is a top priority, there are fewer workers today in private non-farm jobs than when President Ford took office two years ago. (64.5 million in August, 1974, vs. 64.2 million in August, 1976).

Mr. Ford's concerned about housing -- about interest rates that are too high, down payments that are too high, monthly mortgages that are too high.

He's right. But let's look at the Republican record. What he omits is that housing starts are lower now than they were when Mr. Ford took office.

Mortgage interest rates from 1961 to 1968 under the Democrats averaged 6.05%. The average rate under the Republicans has been 8.4% -- 40 percent higher. In 1968, mortgage interest rates were 7 percent. They are now 9 percent.

The reason down payments are high is because home prices are high. In 1968, the median price of a new single-family home was \$22,000. In 1976, it is \$44,000 -- a 100 percent increase.

The monthly payment for a median-priced home with a 80%, 25-year mortgage has increased from \$124.40 per month in 1968 to \$294.40 per month in 1976 -- a 137 percent increase.

Nor would Mr. Ford's proposals remedy the problems Republicans have created.

FHA homes represent only 10 percent of the market (100,000 homes each year). What about the other 90% of the home buyers in America who can't afford a down payment.

Mr. Ford's proposal does nothing about home prices, which have increased 100% in the past eight years. Currently, two-thirds of our citizens cannot afford to buy a home.

Mr. Ford's proposal does nothing about mortgage interest rates which have increased from 7% in 1968 to 9% today.

This Administration has pressured Congress for the past three years to raise FHA down-payment requirements. Now they totally change their policy on the eve of the election.

Mr. Ford talks of health care.

But he exhibited no concern as federal mismanagement of Medicaid cost taxpayers up to \$7 billion a year.

He took no action when the government's fiscal watchdog -- the GAO -- said that the federal government wasn't enforcing anti-fraud legislation designed to reduce Medicaid waste.

He didn't try to explain a 250% increase in health costs and a 121% rise in hospital costs over 8 years.

The President's attack on a \$70 billion health insurance which I have never seen, which I certainly never proposed or endorsed, will not cover up this Administration's dismal record of skyrocketing health costs and mediocre quality care.

Finally, Mr. Ford again cites his election year boondoggle for the parks as an illustration of his commitment to recreation. It's a useful step for those of us with ready access to Alaska, but millions of other Americans would prefer to see the Republicans meet more mundane responsibilities -- to control the crime rise -- in urban parks, to restore dilapidated historic structures, to reduce the burden on overcrowded campsites.

If Mr. Ford were serious, all but \$200 million of his fancily packaged proposal could be put into effect simply by asking Congress for additional funds from those already authorized. If he were serious, he could begin to stop the deterioration of natural areas by announcing his intent to sign the Land and Water Conservation Fund legislation, rather

than thwarting Congressional efforts with repeated statements of opposition. While I'm all in favor of preserving Alaska's unique and spectacular resources, the Administration's proposal will not double the chances that each of our citizens, particularly those living in our cities, will be able to visit and enjoy a park next year.

The same man who professes to care deeply about our parks has opposed efforts to ensure that air quality in the parks is not degraded by haphazard industrial development. This President has twice vetoed strip mining legislation which would protect both public and private land from the ravages of abusive mining practice. It was President Ford who in his FY 77 budget requested less money for our national parks than had been spent in 1976. That's what the Republicans really mean by performance.

JIMMY
CARTER

WALTER
MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

SEP 10 - 14 - 76

September 18, 1976

I am happy to welcome the NASAA to my home state of Georgia. I'm sorry I cannot be with you personally, but I would like to take a little time to share my feelings on the arts with you, the state chairmen and chairwomen who are helping establish the arts in our nation's schools and communities.

I am vividly aware of the importance of the arts to our communities. I still remember the impact a visiting symphony orchestra made in the county I come from in south Georgia. It was the first time a symphony orchestra had ever played in that area. Everybody, from country merchants to farmers went, listened and enjoyed.. The orchestra's visit was the main topic of conversation for weeks afterwards. People felt that something beautiful had touched their lives.

A recent poll has confirmed what I saw then -- there is an almost unanimous perception among the American people that the arts are not a luxury, but a vital part of American life.

Over 90 percent of those surveyed felt that the arts were important to the quality of life in the community. Over 90 percent considered it important for their children to be exposed to a wide range of arts and cultural events. Yet more than half said they had never had the chance to attend a major cultural event themselves.

What is sorely needed on the federal level and what should be encouraged on all levels is a well-defined policy of support programs designed to bring arts programs and cultural events to more Americans.

The National Endowment and the State Arts Agencies have made an excellent beginning in this direction, but much more needs to be done. It can be done by a true partnership between the state agencies and the federal government. That is what I believe in.

If we can respond to the desire of the American people to participate in the arts, if we can educate our young people in an atmosphere in which the arts are an integral part of the everyday world, then we will have built a strong and secure base for the future of the arts in America -- a base on which individual artists and professional organizations can build; a base on which folk

arts and ethnic dances, symphony halls and great museums will thrive.

I commend the job the National Endowment and the State Arts Agencies have done in the past. I am committed to strengthen their support so that we can realize the goals I have outlined above.

During the next few weeks I hope to be in touch with some of you personally, and many of you through my issues staff. Please feel free to volunteer your suggestions for future arts policies in America.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

JC:rk

VETOES

1. Governor Carter's statement on vetoes should be amended to refer to "veto overrides": Ford has had a higher percentage of his vetoes overridden than any President since Andrew Johnson. Ford has vetoed 56 bills and been overridden 11 times. By contrast, in eight years, Kennedy and Johnson were never overridden; and Eisenhower in his eight year term, was overridden only twice.

2. The statistics cited by Ford for Truman and Roosevelt vetoes are accurate only if the hundreds of private bills they vetoed are included. If they are not, Roosevelt averaged only 13 vetoes of public bills a year, Truman, 10 vetoes.

3. Carter did veto 154 of 3,580 bills and resolutions over a 4 year period. None of these vetoes, dealt with job creation, improved health care, government secrecy, improved housing; rather they concern the typical type of private bill and special interest legislation passed by a state legislature. Examples:

- (a) Bill to create a new political judicial circuit.
- (b) Bill to exempt certain leaders from loan disclosure requirements.
- (c) Bill to reduce county contribution for forest fire prevention.
- (d) Bill to change fee system for a county's court reporter.

4. The Senate Budget Committee has determined that Ford's vetoes saved no more than \$4 billion. Ford provided no source for his estimated savings, though it is probably his own Office of Management and Budget. That Office has not released its report on the veto savings, unlike the Senate Budget Committee. Whatever the savings, it is a fraction of the money that would have been saved in unemployment and welfare benefits had Ford not vetoed 4 bills that would have created hundreds of thousands of jobs. One of those bills, by Ford's own admission would have created 125,000 jobs.

5. That Ford was penny-wise and pound foolish is indicated by, among other things, the fact that on 6 bills involving appropriations a majority of his own party in both houses voted to override his veto:

- a. Rehabilitation Act Amendments
- b. Veterans Benefits Bill
- c. Restructuring Railroad Retirement System
- d. Special Health Revenue Sharing Act of '75
- e. National School Lunch Act and Child Nutrition Act Amendments
- f. Education Appropriations for FY '76

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

REMARKS BY JIMMY CARTER TO THE AMERICAN LEGION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON - AUGUST 24, 1976

It is a pleasure to appear here today before my fellow Legionnaires and to have this opportunity to discuss matters of common concern to us as veterans and as Americans.

I am, as you may know, a member of Legion Post #2 in Americus, Georgia, as was my father before me.

A tradition of military service runs deep in our family. My first ancestor to live in Georgia, James Carter, fought in the Revolutionary War. Almost a hundred years later, others fought in the War between the States, and my father, Earl Carter, served as a first lieutenant in the Army during the First World War.

Including my time at the U.S. Naval Academy, I spent 11 years in the Navy, most of my sea duty in submarines. I had the good fortune to serve under Admiral Rickover on the development of one of the first atomic submarines, and I have tried to carry over into my business career and my political life the high standards of dedication and competence that I learned from that remarkable military leader.

My son Jack continued our family's tradition in the military, but his service came in an era quite different from my own. Jack left college several years ago and volunteered to serve in Vietnam. He did so because he didn't think it was right for him to escape service simply because he had the money and the educational background to stay in college.

During the Second World War, and even during the Korean War, I always wore my uniform with immense pride, and it was a badge of honor among my civilian friends and neighbors.

That was not the case when Jack came home from Danang in 1969. He and the uniform he wore were all too often greeted with scorn and derision. Many of his friends told him he was a fool to risk his life in a meaningless war that couldn't be won.

Hundreds of thousands of Vietnam veterans were meeting that same bitter reception all over America, and I believe very strongly that those scenes, and the national mood they reflected, amount to nothing less than an American tragedy.

I believe in patriotism. I believe that people should love our country, and be proud of our country, and be willing to fight to defend our country. That is how you and I grew up--never doubting that ours was the greatest nation on earth, and getting, as Senator John Glenn once put it, a warm feeling inside us whenever the American flag passed by.

I know that your patriotism has been demonstrated not only in your military service, but in your work in community and national affairs, such as your outstanding "War on Cancer" fund drive. But we must recognize that for millions of our fellow Americans, patriotism is out of fashion, or is an object of scorn and jokes. That fact is part of the bitter heritage of an unpopular war.

I do not seek a blind or uncritical patriotism. Obviously a government's policies must be deserving of public support. But in recent years, disagreement with our nation's policies too often became rejection of our nation itself. There is a great need for the next President to do everything in his power, by word and deed, to restore national pride and patriotism in our country--and if I am elected, that is what I intend to do.

I also believe in tradition. I was Governor of Georgia when Congress passed the law that changed the observation of Armistice Day away from the traditional date of November 11. I thought that action was unnecessary, insensitive, and offensive, and we kept November 11 as Armistice Day in Georgia.

I did not come here just to get your vote or endorsement, nor just to make a good impression on you. I come here as a nominee for President who has spent full-time the last 20 months learning about this country--what it is and what it ought to be.

I want to talk to you about some tough decisions--as veterans, yes, but also as Americans who are farmers and truckdrivers, doctors and lawyers, fathers and grandfathers, school teachers and civil servants, employed and unemployed, rich and poor.

We must maintain adequate military strength compared to that of our potential adversaries. This relative strength can be assured:

- by a commitment to necessary military expenditures;
- by elimination of waste, duplication among forces, excessive personnel costs, unnecessary new weapons systems, inefficient contracting procedures;
- and by a mutual search for peace so that armament levels can be reduced among nations, because the most important single factor in avoiding nuclear war is the mutual desire for peace among the superpowers.

I would never again see our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country unless our own security was directly threatened. But it is imperative that the world know that we will meet obligations and commitments to our allies and that we will keep our nation strong.

We seek friendship with the unaligned and developing nations of the world. Many of them are weak and vulnerable and they need allies who can contribute to their peace, security and prosperity. Yet we must remember that excessive foreign commitments can overtax our national ability. We must therefore be cautious in making commitments, but firm in honoring them.

I have spoken recently with many experts in national defense matters, and I believe we have, overall, adequate ability to defend ourselves, to meet obligations to our allies, and to carry out a legitimate foreign policy. But we must be constantly vigilant to recognize and correct adverse trends.

Our total American ground combat forces are less than half those of the Soviet Union, and the number of men under arms in that country has increased by a million while ours have decreased by 1-1/2 million since 1968. During the same period the number of U.S. ships has been cut in half. For every tank we have, the Soviets have at least eight. Because of our greatly improved anti-tank weapons, this heavy Soviet investment in tanks

may prove to have been an unwise investment.

Of course there are counterbalancing factors of strength such as superior quality of our weapons, the relative security of our own borders, our more ready access to the sea, and the trustworthiness and military capability of our allies.

There is now, in my opinion, an overall rough equivalency in direct military strength. This balance must be maintained.

Yet, as we seek an adequate defense, we must face the fact that the very words "national security" have fallen into disrepute. I want to hear those words spoken with respect once again. Too often, those words are now viewed with scorn, because they have been misused by political leaders to hide a multitude of sins, and because they have been used to justify inefficiency and waste in our defense establishment.

Whatever the price and whatever the pressures, the President must insist on a national defense posture that is lean and muscular and flexible.

It is sometimes said that the threat of war has receded. But in Europe, the Middle East, in northeast Asia, potential for conflict still exists, powerful armed forces are deployed and Americans have recently been brutally killed. To deny that these situations pose a potential danger to peace is to turn away from reality.

Our military power must be continually reviewed. In Europe, NATO must increase its combat readiness and adapt its forces to new military technology, if it is to offset steady improvements in Warsaw Pact forces. In the eastern Mediterranean, strong U.S. naval power must be maintained. We must also assure a close and confident defense relationship with South Korea and Japan.

We must maintain rough equivalency with the Soviet Union in strategic nuclear forces. Equally important, we and our allies must have conventional military capability adequate to reduce dependence on nuclear striking power. In a world where massive mutual devastation is the likely result of any use of nuclear weapons, such strategic forces cannot solely be relied upon to deter a vast range of threats to our interests and the interests of our allies.

We must always recognize that the best way to meet ideological threats around the world is to make our own democratic system work here at home.

The strongest defense grows out of a strong home front--out of patriotism. Our defense must come not only from our fighting forces, but from our people's trust in their leaders, from adequate transportation, energy, agriculture, science, employment, and most of all from the willingness of our people to make personal sacrifices for the sake of our nation. Not until we restore national unity can we have a truly adequate national defense.

Only then can we, in Theodore Roosevelt's phrase, speak softly but carry a big stick.

I recognize, of course, as you do, that it is not enough for the president to talk about patriotism and national security. He must take positive, aggressive action to ensure that our defense establishment is worthy of national respect. That calls for leadership, and it calls for management.

In any given annual budget, now or in the future, there is a limited amount of money available for national defense. When any resources are wasted, our nation's security is weakened. We now have an excessive drain on defense funding from waste and unnecessary expenditures.

We must better coordinate long-range planning and budgeting among departments responsible for military, foreign, fiscal, economic, transportation and social affairs of our government. A spirit of cooperation must be restored.

Foreign aid must be consistent with our national purposes, and designed to strengthen our allies and friends and to fulfill humanitarian purposes. I'm tired of our taxing the poor people in our rich country and sending the money to the rich people in poor countries.

We must frankly and constantly assess the effectiveness of our present voluntary recruitment program. As unemployment drops and civilian jobs become more plentiful, it will be much more difficult to maintain our present military strength.

We must ensure that an oversized support establishment does not prevent us from maintaining needed combat force levels.

We must recognize that our military personnel are transferred too much. At any given moment, about one out of seven of those personnel is in the process of moving, or away from their family on temporary training duty. This year \$2.5 billion will go simply to move service personnel, their families, television sets and furniture from one base to another. Such frequent moves not only eat up money, they undermine morale. If we extend the average tour of duty by just two months, we could save \$400 million per year.

We need to reexamine our military training programs. Recent congressional hearings, by the way, revealed that we now have an average of one and a half military students for each instructor. By moving to a ratio of only three students to each instructor, we could save an estimated \$1 billion per year.

Cost overruns have become chronic. The Pentagon itself estimates that the total current cost of overruns on the 45 weapons systems now in the process of development in the three services--exclusive of inflation--is \$10.7 billion. Over the next five years that would approximate the cost of the proposed B-1 bomber program over the same period.

We need sound, tough management of the Pentagon not only to eliminate waste, but to ensure that force structures are correlated with foreign policy objectives. Tough management will mean that overlaps are eliminated between Pentagon programs and similar programs of civilian agencies. It will mean that we cooperate closely with our allies in our mutual defense, that our weapons systems are integrated with each other, technically and strategically, and that we put a stop to the dubious practice of arms giveaway programs for potential adversaries.

Ever since I was Governor of Georgia, when I attended National Guard training sessions every summer, I have been concerned that our reserve forces, both the regular reserve and the National Guard, do not play a strong enough role in our military preparedness. We need to shift toward a highly trained, combat-worthy reserve, well equipped and closely coordinated with regular forces--always capable of playing a crucial role in the nation's defense.

If we can get the flab out of the Pentagon's budget, I believe that the public will evaluate questions about weapons systems and force levels on their merits in a calm and rational manner. Our people will support an adequate defense establishment without complaint, so long as they know that their tax dollars are not being wasted.

The threat to our security comes not only from states that might be hostile. International terrorism knows no boundaries, recognizes no law of warfare, accepts no standards of conduct. It is brutality at its worst, the law of the jungle in its most primitive form.

Recently at Entebbe the Israelis reaffirmed courageously the old principle that every state has the right to defend its citizens against brutal and arbitrary violence-- violence that in this case was even based on collusion between the terrorists and a government.

The issue of international terrorism must be a priority item for the entire international community. If I become President, I intend to recommend strong multi-national sanctions against guilty nations as a necessary and productive means for crushing this intolerable threat to international law and peace. International terrorism must be stopped once and for all!

In our own country, we must recognize that, in far too many cases, the Vietnam veteran has been a victim of governmental insensitivity and neglect. Large bureaucracies of the federal government have often been incompetent, inefficient, and unresponsive in their fulfillment of responsibilities to veterans. Each month, thousands of veterans are plagued with late delivery of badly needed benefit checks. Hundreds of millions of dollars of benefit payments have been improperly computed. The average VA hospital has only half the doctors and supporting personnel found in the average community hospital.

The poor record of the government bureaucracy has been especially bad in programs intended to help recent veterans to find jobs. In 1973 and 1974 Congress passed legislation requiring special consideration for veterans in public service jobs, in training programs, for jobs with federal contractors, and for jobs in the federal government. None of these requirements has been fully or effectively carried out.

For example, despite the mandates of the law many federal departments and agencies have few disabled veterans or Vietnam veterans serving within them. It took the Labor Department 18 months to establish administrative guidelines to ensure the hiring of veterans. In 1975, 16 federal agencies failed even to submit required plans for hiring disabled veterans until congressional inquiries were begun.

The record of placement in private sector jobs and training has been no better. In 1975 more than two thirds of the 153,000 job training slots went unfilled, largely due to inadequate administrative procedures.

Yet last month there were still 531,000 Vietnam veterans who had no jobs.

The reason for this dismal record is clear:

It is a failure of leadership.

Sympathetic leadership would not submit--as did the present administration--a budget recommending cuts of ten percent or more to veterans' programs and denying full cost of living protection to disabled veterans.

Concerned leadership would not have vetoed a bill overwhelmingly voted by Congress for higher education allowances, better work-study programs, more educational loans, and employment and training preferences for more than two million veterans.

Only because the Congress overrode this veto do Vietnam veterans enjoy some of the educational benefits they deserve.

I believe we need to address the needs of veterans, especially of Vietnam veterans, with sympathetic and active leadership rather than with vetoes and passive resistance. Men who have endured so much suffering, so bravely, fighting in a far-off land, should not now suffer anew in their own country at the hands of insensitive bureaucrats and indifferent politicians.

If I become President, the American veteran, of all ages, of all wars, is going to have a friend, a comrade and a firm ally in the White House. My administration will act to strengthen the competence, the responsiveness, and the independence of the Veterans' Administration. I will appoint the most capable administrators available and I will insist on fair and sensitive treatment for veterans by every employee of the executive branch of government from top to bottom.

I would like to speak for a moment about the single hardest decision I have had to make during the campaign. That was on the issue of amnesty. Where I come from, most of the men who went off to fight in Vietnam were poor. They didn't know where Canada was, they didn't know where Sweden was, they didn't have the money to hide from the draft in college. Many of them thought it was a bad war, but they went anyway. A lot of them came back with scarred minds or bodies, or with missing limbs. Some didn't come back at all. They suffered under the threat of death, and they still suffer from the indifference of many of their fellow Americans. The Vietnam veterans are our nation's greatest unsung heroes.

I could never equate what they have done with those who left this country to avoid the draft.

But I think it is time for the damage, hatred and divisiveness of the Vietnam war to be over.

I do not favor a blanket amnesty, but for those who violated Selective Service laws, I intend to grant a blanket pardon.

To me, there is a difference. Amnesty means that what you did is right. A pardon means that what you did--right or wrong--is forgiven. So, pardon--yes; amnesty--no.

For deserters, each case should be handled on an individual basis in accordance with our nation's system of military justice.

We may not all be able to agree about what was the right course for the nation to take in 1966. But we can now agree to respect those differences and to forget them. We can come together and seek a rebirth of patriotism in which all our citizens can join.

We must bind up our wounds. We simply cannot afford to let them fester any longer. The world is too dangerous. We cannot remain distracted from what must be our overriding aim. Our attention must turn to rebuilding the military, economic and spiritual foundations of a peaceful world order.

Those who most want peace, and who best understand the need for strength as a prerequisite for peace, are our past and present servicemen and their families. As a former submarine officer, I know that fact from experience.

I can still remember hearing President Truman explain to the world that the atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima. I was at sea in an old battleship in the North Atlantic. None of us had ever heard even a rumor of this quantum leap in destructive power. We had no way of comprehending the meaning of this new weapon which had been dropped on Japan. We were mainly relieved at the prospect that the need for invading Japan might be averted, thus saving what would surely have been the loss of hundreds of thousands of American and Japanese lives.

After we saw the destruction in Japan, for a while we understood the terrible havoc and devastation which would follow any use of nuclear weapons. But now we have a tendency to forget. Even if a strategic nuclear war could remain "limited in nature," it would still involve the death of approximately ten million Americans. A so-called "limited nuclear war" in Europe could produce an even greater number of deaths. In an all-out nuclear war, 200 million Americans could die--virtually the entire population.

Obviously, such a holocaust is beyond our capacity even to imagine. Numbers like 10 million dead or 200 million dead seem unbelievable. But they are true.

The Duke of Wellington said in 1838: "A great country cannot wage a little war." In our time that doctrine has acquired new meaning. In a nuclear world, we cannot rely on little wars to prevent big wars. We must maintain our strength and use it to prevent all wars.

Our people have been shocked and hurt over and over again. Things which we used to take for granted are now subject to widespread doubt. Things like trust in our leaders, confidence in our institutions--even love and respect for the flag and support and appreciation for the men and women who defend the flag. But I believe there is no one in this country--certainly there is no one in this room--who does not want to heal our wounds and restore the precious qualities and the national strengths we seem to have lost.

I hope to play a role in that noble enterprise.

I hope you will help.

Thank you.

JIMMY CARTER WALTER MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

Jimmy Carter on Americans with Disabilities

Over 28 million of our people are disabled. In the next administration, the disabled will be active partners in our attempts to achieve our common goals--full civil rights, full personal dignity, and full human happiness for all Americans who are physically or mentally disabled.

Many critical problems face our disabled citizens today. These are not only problems of medicine, but problems of law, of education, of employment, and others. One of the most urgent of these is the denial of basic civil rights. I am committed to the proposition that disabled people deserve to control and shape their own lives. I am committed to insuring that our disabled citizens have the right and the opportunity to function independently and creatively in our society, rather than to be segregated from it.

As President, I will take all necessary steps, through specific legislation and the appropriate exercise of executive powers, to insure our handicapped citizens equal protection under the law, equal opportunity for education, employment, and other services, and equal access to public accommodations and facilities.

I oppose discrimination in any form, and when my administration moves against discrimination it will vigorously seek out and redress discrimination against the handicapped, as well as all other discrimination. I will support legislation to allow workers in sheltered workshops to negotiate wages and conditions, and use the executive authority of the President to insure employment opportunities for handicapped individuals in projects funded by the federal government. And I will constantly work to see that discrimination in private industry is also eliminated.

On September 6 I gave a speech at Warm Springs, Georgia, where I spoke of the history, the hope, and the leadership associated with that facility and its most famous occupant, Franklin Roosevelt. We have accomplished a great deal in the past thirty years, and we have made an important beginning on a constructive and creative agenda for our people with handicaps and disabilities.

But in eight years of aloofness and insensitivity that agenda has been left unfinished. A government that was competent and concerned would not leave 28 million people outside the mainstream of our national life.

The Republican administration has offered no housing policy. It has offered no transportation policy. It has proposed education without rehabilitation, and rehabilitation without jobs.

From 1970 to 1973, President Nixon vetoed nine important pieces of legislation of concern to the disabled. Together Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole cast eight votes in support of these vetoes.

The battle over the Rehabilitation Act of 1972 was a tragedy in itself. President Nixon vetoed it twice, and was assisted by a sustaining vote in the Senate by Mr. Dole.

President Ford has exercised 6 vetoes of concern to disabled citizens, including a veto of the 1974 Amendments to the Rehabilitation Act. This last veto was overridden in Congress by the largest margin in our history.

Section 501 of the Rehabilitation Act requires each department of the federal government to develop an affirmative action program for hiring the disabled. Section 503 requires affirmative action from government contractors. Section 504 prohibits discrimination against disabled citizens by recipients of federal financial assistance. These are fine in theory, but they will mean very little until an administration in full accord with their spirit stands behind the law. No administration that really cared about disabled citizens would spend three years trying to avoid enforcing Section 504. No compassionate administration would force disabled consumers to take it to court before it would enforce the law.

The Education Amendments of 1972 are designed to prevent discrimination against the blind. But the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has flatly refused to enforce them. We have a federal architectural barriers law, but it is not being adequately enforced.

We all realize that the problems we face are not simple. There are many different kinds of disabilities, and many competing interests among the disabled. There are sometimes disagreements between consumers and professional groups about the most desirable approach. But our laws must be enforced, and the full resources of the Presidency must be enlisted toward that goal. And in the next administration, our partnership with the disabled will address the problems and start finding the solutions.

My commitment to this cause is not new. Under my administration, the state of Georgia took over management of Warm Springs, and average daily patient attendance at the facility rose by nearly 75 percent during the first year. Because of our efforts there and elsewhere in the state, Georgia stood, during every year of my administration, among the top five states in the nation in its proportion of successful rehabilitations.

We passed a building-access law in Georgia. If a citizen cannot get into a courtroom, a polling place, or the office of a government official, it is the same as being turned away. More than 100 new public buildings have come into compliance with the law.

We fought disabling birth defects with extensive programs of pre-natal nutrition and care. Our network of day care centers for mentally handicapped children was greatly expanded. We established 44 pilot programs which provide diagnostic services and development and educational programs for young children.

We established a program for deaf persons through which a consumer organization contracted to provide interpreters for the deaf whenever they conducted business with a state agency or the courts.

We built 17 Community Mental Health Centers, trained and hired handicapped individuals for meaningful and important state jobs, reorganized our government to provide better, more extensive, and more responsive services, doubled the number of students served through our special education program, funded 20 centers for emotionally disturbed children, greatly expanded our prevention programs, and much more. I pledge to bring this energy and this commitment to Washington.

My experience in Georgia makes me all the more determined that our present federal programs must be overhauled. For eight years, our disabled citizens have dealt with an administration that is incompetent and aloof. Many thousands of dedicated professionals, both inside and outside the government, have been hamstrung by uncoordinated, overlapping and unresponsive federal programs.

There are many programs and kinds of programs designed to assist the disabled. Often they work at cross-purposes. A disabled person must deal with one agency when he is of school age, another if he takes vocational training, and several more when he is an adult. With a weak political will and a lack of coordination, no number of agencies is enough. But with a deep moral and political commitment, with a sense of sound management, and with a willingness to involve those who are affected by a program in its design and application, then one Democratic administration's determination to do the job simply and efficiently can make the difference.

We must reorganize our government. We must coordinate our programs. We must streamline functions and operations. We must plan for increased efficiency and increased responsiveness, and the programs affecting disabled citizens are a good place to start.

First, we need an increased and much better coordinated program of research and development, and we must be sure to apply the results of our knowledge.

I support strong efforts to fill our knowledge gaps in current service delivery systems by more effectively involving the basic and applied research community in the solution of critical problems, and I support adequate funding of such programs.

We must work harder on the problems of the severely disabled, and those who are institutionalized. We must strive to help them return to the productive mainstream and protect their civil rights. I will enforce the guidelines laid down for institutional care in the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act of 1975.

We must broaden the traditional concepts of rehabilitation to include independent living as a supported rehabilitation objective.

I support the extension of rehabilitation funding to provide services beyond the college level to those who have demonstrated their qualification for further education.

We must provide for more extensive development of research on the prevention, treatment, and cure of handicapping conditions.

Second, we must involve our disabled citizens much more thoroughly in the development and execution of important programs.

As President, I will establish a mechanism which is sensitive to the differences in needs for each disability group, through which I can develop, with the assistance of disabled people, a clear national policy for our disabled citizens, and through which we can insure that existing and future programs are carried out in a coordinated and effective manner.

In the next administration, the disabled will not meet the Secretary of HEW in a courtroom, but around a conference table to jointly plan policy.

We must work with disabled people to insure that SSI and Social Security disability and insurance benefits are adjusted to reflect cost-of-living levels in each region of our country.

In May of 1977 there will be convened in Washington a White House Conference of Handicapped Individuals. My administration will closely study the recommendations that the Conference produces. I pledge that this will be a process from which vigorous action flows.

Our nation has a long agenda in this area to address, and we have much lost time to make up for. We must begin again. If we neglect the abilities or rights of even one person, it does not just hurt that person. It hurts us all.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

It is crucial that the advice of the scientific and professional community of this nation be actively and permanently sought by elected officials in the evolution of national policy dealing with the complicated, unpredictable and rapidly changing technological problems of this modern world.

The day when political leaders could make effective policy decisions independently and turn to the scientific community only for assistance in implementation has long passed.

The Office of Science Advisor to the President should be upgraded immediately to provide a permanent and high level relationship between the White House decision-making process and the scientific community.

Here is what Jimmy Carter has to say about agricultural policy:

I am a farmer myself and I know first-hand that the greatest need among those involved in the agricultural sector of this nation is a coherent, predictable, and stable government policy.

Republican Agriculture Policy

Wheat farmers, corn farmers, feed grain farmers, soybean farmers, livestock producers and sugar producers want a farm policy that works for four full years -- not one that only works at election time.

Embargoes

The Republican Administration has misled farmers and disrupted their markets by imposing export embargoes, after promising farmers they could rely on markets free of government interference. Under a Carter Administration, we will have a predictable and stable agricultural policy. Barring an unforeseen national disaster, there will be no embargoes under a Carter Administration.

Exports

We need a program of "active salesmanship" to promote the sale of American agricultural commodities. The tremendous potential productive capacity of this nation should be marshalled to help balance foreign trade. This will require strong sales efforts on the part of federal agencies in times of temporary overproduction. The farm community should be actively involved in the evolution and the carrying out of our overall national farm policy.

Imports

We need to constantly and carefully scrutinize the entry of subsidized imports of meat, dairy products and palm oil into the American markets in direct competition with the products of American producers. We need to vigorously enforce beef import quotas. Imported dairy products should be required to meet the same health standards as domestic dairy products.

Price Supports

We need to guarantee a decent price for the farmer and a reasonable price for the consumer. Net farm income went down by $\frac{1}{4}$ between 1973 and 1975. The costs of production have risen much faster than the prices you can get. Support levels are unreasonably low.

If I am elected, we will make sure that our support prices are at least equal to the cost of production. That will not guarantee a profit -- no real farmer wants that -- But it will give the determined family farmer a chance to stay in business.

Drought and Disaster Relief.

Farmers and ranchers face greater risks from natural disaster than any other producers in our economy. The present disaster relief system actually hinders farmers and ranchers from obtaining the compensation due them. As President, I will instruct my Secretary of Agriculture to send to the Congress a legislative package that makes sense of the overlapping, confused, and often conflicting disaster programs which even taken together do not solve the problems that farmers and ranchers face year after year. We need an end to excessive paperwork, conflicting standards and confusing regulations that characterize the present disaster protection programs.

Estate Taxes

Congress has recently moved to reduce the burden estate taxes place on our family farmers. I have long endorsed such a move. We must now work to keep the estate tax exemption in line with rising land costs, and ensure that permanent farmland is valued at its use for agricultural purposes.

Rural Development

The Nixon/Ford Administration has illegally refused to administer statutes duly enacted by Congress, such as the Rural Electrification Act, Soil and Water Conservation Programs, and Rural Development Programs. I want to improve the quality of life of our rural people. I live on the outskirts of a little town of only 683 people. It's important to me that my children and your children have as good an education and as high an income, and the same right to shape their own destiny as children who live in the largest or wealthiest community in our nation.

Reserves

We want a system of handling carryover stocks which will give our own consumers adequate supplies of food and yet keep control of a good portion of those stocks in the hands of farmers - to prevent government dumping to artificially lower farm prices.

Grain Inspection

The Nixon/Ford Administration has winked at corporate wrongdoing in the inspection and weighing of grain. The adulterated and short-weighted export shipments that have resulted have undercut the confidence of foreign buyers and imperiled both farm income and foreign exchange. A Carter Administration will vigorously enforce the law, and move quickly to punish any wrong-doing.

Agricultural Leadership

We need to take agricultural leadership in Washington out of the hands of the corporate interests and the grain speculators. We need a President and a Secretary of Agriculture who understand the problems of the family farmer and the American consumer -- and if I am elected we are going to have both.

WHEAT, CORN, FEEDGRAINS: PRICE SUPPORTS

May 1, 1975 -- President Ford vetoes Emergency Farm Bill. A bill which even the Consumer's Federation of America and other consumer groups endorsed.

Spring, 1976 -- Wheat and feedgrain farmers petition to increase loan rates to provide meaningful price protection.

September, 1976 -- An Administration spokesman replies: "An increase in loan rates that would move prices up would only hamper our efforts to expand sales and at the same time stimulate a further expansion of wheat production."

and

"We would urge all wheat farmers to carefully study the long and short-term supply/demand and price outlook for other crops and consider production alternatives which might provide them a better profit in their particular farming operation."

In other words "Thank you for producing all-out for us. Sorry you got hurt, try planting tulips next year."

October 13, 1976 -- Jimmy Carter calls for increased support prices to provide assistance for wheat farmers.

October 13, 1976 -- A top USDA economist announces that there is "NO ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION FOR AN INCREASE IN WHEAT PRICE SUPPORTS"

October 14, 1976 -- President Ford announces increases in support price levels for wheat, corn and feedgrains citing administration's "long time concern for farmers."

BEEF AND LIVESTOCK

1974 and 1975 -- Beef import quotas suspended.

-- Administration, and Sen. Bob Dole, try to repeal ability of school lunch programs to buy beef and other commodities from the government -- a program which helps even out supply problems for beef producers while providing beef at low prices for needy schoolchildren. Administration tries to substitute program to dole out cash instead of commodities.

1975 -- Administration discovers 47 million pound "book-keeping" error which results in the importation of 27 million pounds of beef in excess of ceiling limitations.

September 30, 1975 -- Deadline for USDA report on beef imports passes. No report is issued.

October 8, 1976 -- Jimmy Carter calls for enforcing beef import quotas.

October 9, 1976 -- President Ford, after two years of inaction, follows Carter's lead and announces enforcement of quotas in order not to lose beef producer votes.

SUGAR:

June 17, 1976 -- Sugar producers petition President Ford to act as sugar prices rapidly plunge below cost of production.

July 7, 1976 -- Administration spokesman tells sugar producers that there is no reason for alarm and that "the public interest is best served when market forces are permitted to allocate resources and determine prices" -- small comfort for farmers who watched sugar prices drop to nine and ten cents a pound -- 33% below even conservative estimates of the cost of production.

September 21, 1976 -- One week before a scheduled campaign trip through the sugar country in the South, President Ford changes his mind. He announces a token, one cent a pound increase in tariffs on imported sugar.

September 2_, 1976 -- President Ford campaigns in Louisiana.

Many farmers feel they are merely being used by the Ford administration for election purposes -- and rightly so.

I believe that Mr. Ford's "death-bed conversions" are so obviously political that they will buy few votes.

What kind of policies will Mr. Ford pursue when he doesn't have an election or another candidate to make him pay attention to farmers' needs?

Farmers want a policy and a President that will work for the farmers for four years, not for four weeks out of every four years.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

The safety and protection of the American worker must be guaranteed. As many as 100,000 working people die each year due to occupational illnesses and accidents. This terrible toll cannot be tolerated.

The basic concept behind OSHA is excellent. The complexity and sheer magnitude of the problem exceeds the capabilities of individual states. The problem with OSHA has been the lack of focus on meeting the vast problems in this area. Efforts should be made to clarify and expand state roles in implementation of standards.

If investigation demonstrates that current programs are inadequate, we must take all steps necessary to insure that those who earn their living by personal labor may work in safe and healthy environments. In Georgia, we took positive steps to improve working conditions and work-related health and safety programs. Nationwide efforts in this vital area must continue until our working citizens are safe in their jobs.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CABLE TELEVISION INDUSTRY REGULATION

The regulatory role of the federal government, including the FCC, in the field of public communications, is vital because it represents and protects the public interest. But there has been a tendency for government regulation to grow to the point where it may no longer be serving this purpose.

Since some regulation is clearly desirable, the Carter Administration would reexamine federal government regulatory activity in the cable television industry, among others, including such specific subjects as the origination and content of local program material, to insure that regulation exists to serve the public but does not, by imposing excessive federal controls, stifle the responsible growth or expansion of services.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE DEATH PENALTY

My position on the death penalty was spelled out as Governor. It should be retained for a few aggravated crimes like murder committed by an inmate with a life sentence. The penalty must be assessed by a jury and must be reviewed in each case by a 3-judge panel of the State Supreme Court.

Since there has not been an execution since 1967 in the U.S., the death penalty actually means ineligibility for parole consideration.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON AMERICAN INDIANS

I am deeply concerned with the present condition of American Indians, and believe there must be a greater sense of federal responsibility to meet our obligations to them. We must obey and implement our treaty obligations to the American Indians, and in so doing, I pledge an all-out effort to assist in the protection of their land, water and their civil rights.

As part of my reorganization of government, I will review and revise as necessary the federal laws relating to American Indians and the functions and purposes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The guiding principles of my review will be a strengthened reaffirmation of our legal and moral trust responsibilities to the American Indians, and a strong personal respect for the dignity of each of our first Americans.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON DAIRY FARMING

I favor adequate milk price supports to assure dairy farmers an adequate and reasonable profit. As President, I would have signed the bill President Ford vetoed raising supports to 85% of parity. Such adjustments are needed to account for higher production costs. If such adjustments are not made, milk prices could rise even more in the coming months as more farmers become discouraged and cut production.

I oppose the subsidizing of European dairy product imports. The farmers of this country can compete on even terms with unsubsidized imports but we should not give other countries' products an unfair advantage in our markets.

I also urge that funds for the "Sire proofs" program in the dairy industry be retained in the federal budget. This program is the basis for genetic improvement of dairy herds to increase per cow production of milk. Under the President's proposed budget, this \$1.5 million a year program will be phased out. As Senator Nelson has pointed out, application of the genetic selection program can double per cow production and in many cases surpass it.

I also support automatic quarterly reevaluation of milk support prices. I hope that such legislation will not tie adjustments to an arbitrary formula. Adjustments should also reflect many other economic factors, such as the state of the economy and the demand for milk.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CYPRUS

AUGUST 19, 1976

TO:

Supreme President William G. Chirgotis
AHEPA 54th Supreme Convention

Congratulations on the occasion of the 54th Annual Supreme Convention of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association. I have the greatest admiration for the impressive contributions which Greek-Americans have made to American industry, education, the arts and political life, without your losing your strong ties to church and community. Your heritage lies in a land where democracy was first born, and where, thankfully, it has seen a recent rebirth. You are still among democracy's staunchest defenders. I salute you.

As you deliberate I want you to know of my deep concern over existing tensions between Greece and Turkey. The United States for many years has had a major role and responsibility in helping to preserve the security of both Greece and Turkey in the context of the NATO Alliance. The United States thus has made a large contribution to the military postures of both countries. For this reason, the United States must help to resolve the differences between our two allies peacefully.

The absence of progress in the Cyprus negotiations is tragic and dangerous. The Administration's record is a record of one lost opportunity after the other, having failed to deal with the situation in three respects: it failed to bring about a settlement in Cyprus during the five years before the Cyprus crisis; it failed, despite repeated warnings, to prevent the 1974 coup against Makarios engineered by the former military dictatorship in Athens; and it failed to prevent or even to limit the Turkish invasion of Cyprus that followed. Secret and personal agreements, vacillation and cynicism, are no substitute for a clear commitment to an early settlement which gives Cyprus its independence.

I hope there will be successful initiatives from the Greek and Turkish governments and Turkish Cypriots to end the impasse which now exists in the talks between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. To contribute to an enduring peace, any settlement must provide a solution to the territorial problem, bearing in mind the proper balance between the two populations and the need for a viable economic base for the two communities and the island as a whole. It must protect the rights of both the Greek majority and the Turkish minority on the Island, including the rights of those displaced from their homes by the Turkish invasion.

I hope both Greece and Turkey will avoid any action that would increase existing tensions and the possibility of conflict over the issue of oil rights. Both these nations have infinitely more to gain from friendship than from enmity. Therefore, I would hope they would sit down together to resolve their differences on a just basis with such help from any international organization they may deem appropriate and useful. Perhaps the International Court of Justice can clarify some of the legal issues involved in the oil rights dispute in the Aegean. Effective diplomatic steps to support the rule of law must be taken.

P.O. Box 1976, Atlanta, Georgia 30301, Telephone 404/897-5000

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JANUARY 22, 1976

JIMMY CARTER ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS

It is said that 10% to 15% of the consumer's purchasing power is wasted because consumers are unable to get the information they need to make the best buy. About 20% of deaths and injuries related to household consumer products involve unsafe products. Roughly 1/3 to 1/2 of all consumers have billing disputes. A Department of Transportation study of the automobile insurance system revealed that for every dollar spent on auto insurance premiums, only 42¢ ever gets back to an individual who gets hurt. It is obvious that major reforms are needed to protect the consumers of this nation.

First of all, we need a new dialog between producers and consumers. Years ago, when we lived in a predominantly rural society, we did not need consumer protection since our friends and neighbors were the people with whom we did business. But unprecedented population growth, accelerated urbanization and mechanization in the last 25 years have created almost unsolvable consumer problems. It is quite possible today to operate a large business in an urban center and never see the same customer twice. Already, some businesses are moving to establish consumer departments within their companies. I encourage this move. It is important for business to be aware that it cannot survive unless the people trust and support it.

Next, we need some sort of strong nationwide program of consumer education. The average consumer has little or no knowledge of the laws designed to protect him or her in the marketplace. In Georgia, we set up a program in which state field workers traveled across the state, training social workers and teachers in the basics of consumer law and protection. We set up a Toll Free WATS line to help the citizens of our state with their consumer complaints and need for information. The last year I was Governor, more than 25,000 Georgians called this number. Through this program, we found that the aged have special consumer problems, and we developed a separate program to deal with their needs. We developed a program with Offender Rehabilitation for training prisoners in economic management.

As President, I would like to set up similar programs on a nationwide scale. I would put a strong emphasis on consumer education in our schools, teaching our students everything from how to write a check to a basic understanding of the energy shortage and what we, as a nation, must do to conserve our resources.

But education, by itself, will not be enough. There must be a strong agency voice for consumers within the government itself. Such an agency could research information for all government hearings, presenting evidence supporting the voice of the consumer. Such an agency could assure all our citizens that their federal government is a government that speaks for them. Those consumer offices which do exist within government today frequently lack money and staff and are often excluded from policy making.

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Through executive order, by law and by public commitment, our people must be assured that positive steps will be taken to prevent the mistakes and abuses of the past.

An all-inclusive "Sunshine" law, similar to those passed in several states, should be implemented in Washington. Meetings of federal boards, commissions, and regulatory agencies must be open to the public, along with those of congressional committees. (The only exceptions should be those actually involving narrowly defined national security, those dealing with unproven charges similar to grand jury proceedings, and those whose preliminary knowledge might cause serious damage to our nation's economy).

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

Maximum personal privacy for private citizens should be guaranteed.

All federal judges, diplomats, and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit.

The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled, both within Congress and within executive department agencies. The federal regulation of the lobbying act of 1946 is weak and ill-enforced.

Complete revelation of all business and financial involvements of all major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest.

The attorney general should be removed from politics and be given the independence and authority granted recently to the special prosecutor. The attorney general and all assistants should be barred from any political activity.

All requests for special government consideration by private or corporate interest should be made public and decisions should be made only on the basis of merit.

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

As President, I will be responsible for the conduct of the executive branch of government. Errors or malfunctions will be immediately revealed and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action to prevent any recurrence of such actions.

These are some of the reforms I would propose in order to set a "code of ethics" for our federal government and executive branch. But there are other reforms I would hope to implement to protect the consumers of this nation.

The revolving door which now exists between regulatory agencies and the regulated industries should be closed. A recent report stated that a

total of 350 decision-makers once worked for the industries they now regulate. At least 41 high-level officials - and probably many more - have left those agencies in the last five years to take often more lucrative posts with companies in those same regulated industries.

More than 100 of the government officials who decide what drugs can be sold and what chemicals can be put in food once worked for drug or chemical companies.

More than 30 top-level regulatory officials are now making the rules for sale of stocks and bonds to the public by their former employers - including brokerage firms and stock exchanges.

We obviously need federal legislation to restrict the employment of any member of a regulatory agency by the industry being regulated.

To make certain the voice of the consumer is heard within government, we also need the following reforms:

- additional formal machinery to permit class actions by consumers, private causes of action to enforce consumer laws and to permit "standing" by consumers in both agencies and courts.

- enhanced informal grievance settlement machinery, mediation and arbitration, and available and convenient small claims systems.

At the same time, we must also restore a spirit of competition to our economic system. Strong antitrust enforcement must be at the root of any consumer policy. To fulfill this commitment, I would recommend the following measures:

- renew effective antitrust enforcement.

- reinstitute competition in non-competitive and ineffectively competitive industries and markets.

- make available necessary and relevant economic data (for example, in regard to the energy industry).

I would also recommend the following measures to enhance competition in the marketplace:

- quality standards wherever possible and feasible for such food items as produce and such manufactured products as tires.

- minimum warranty standards to ensure that consumers are not cheated by shoddy or defective merchandise.

- full product labeling of relevant information affecting price and quality and price-per-unit labeling.

- "truth in advertising" measures to require that manufacturers be prepared to substantiate product performance claims.

The 1970 National Commission on Product Safety stated that accidents in American homes associated with consumer products account for 30,000 deaths, 110,000 permanent disabilities, and more than 20 million minor injuries a year. To assure safety, I would recommend the following reforms:

- strong enforcement of existing laws.
- enforcement of adequate flammability standards for clothing for children and the elderly.
- development of adequate research programs to anticipate potential hazards.
- implementation of automobile safety research through enforceable regulations.

There are other areas of government which can be reformed to aid consumer protection. The airline industry would be more competitive without regulatory interference. We need stronger action in the area of credit and insurance.

But none of these measures will be an ultimate solution without a strong awareness among all our people that they together form a class of consumers. If our government is truly going to be a government of the people, it must also be a government that protects the rights of the consumer.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

JIMMY CARTER ON CYPRUS, GREECE AND TURKEY

September 14, 1976

The continuing tensions between Greece and Turkey damage the NATO alliance and endanger stability in the eastern Mediterranean. If these two allies of the United States are to play a vigorous role in the alliance, there must be a just and rapid settlement of the tragic situation in Cyprus.

The policy of the Ford Administration of tilting away from Greece and Cyprus has proved a disaster for NATO and for American security interests in the eastern Mediterranean.

Despite repeated warnings, the Administration failed to prevent the 1974 coup against President Makarios engineered by the former military dictatorship in Athens. The Administration failed to prevent or even limit the Turkish invasion that followed. The Administration failed to uphold either principle or the rule of law in the conduct of our foreign policy. American law requires that arms supplied by the United States be used solely for defensive purposes.

Today, more than two years later, no progress toward a negotiated solution of Cyprus has been made.

The lack of progress is disappointing and dangerous. Peace must be based upon the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3212 of 1 November 1974 endorsed by Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, calling for, among other things, the removal of all foreign military forces from Cyprus. The widely reported increase in colonization of Cyprus by Turkish military should cease. Greek-Cypriot refugees should be allowed to return to their homes. Both Greece and Turkish-Cypriots should be assured of their rights, both during and after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus.

The impasse on Cyprus must be broken. The United States must be prepared to work with others, including the United Nations, to insure the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus.

In addition, the dispute over rights in the Aegean must be resolved peacefully, under international law. Provocations must be avoided.

Greece and Turkey are and must remain our allies within NATO and neighbors at peace with each other within the community of nations.

The United States must pursue a foreign policy based on principle and in accord with the rule of law.



JIMMY CARTER

WALTER MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

STATEMENT BY JIMMY CARTER ON BEEF IMPORTS

During my travels across the country, I have had several chances to speak with farmers and ranchers and discuss agricultural matters.

All have agreed that one of the most serious problems facing our agricultural community is the plight of our nation's cattle producers. For the last three years cattle producers have been losing \$50 to \$100 on each animal they sell. Many cattle producers are being forced out of business.

Consumers, too, will suffer in the long run if the present conditions are allowed to continue -- as fewer and fewer cattle are raised for market, beef prices may once again skyrocket to their 1973 levels.

This situation demands immediate action. We must vigorously enforce the Beef Import Law of 1964.

While cattle farmers have suffered, President Ford and former Secretary of Agriculture Butz have hesitated to protect cattle raisers from meat imports that exceed the legally permissible amount.

President Ford should immediately move to enforce the quotas to provide greater protection against foreign imports.

President Ford should also immediately enforce the spirit and letter of the law in regard to "free trade zone" imports such as those from Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. Beef importation in excess of the law is not only an evasion of the law, it poses a threat to our domestic cattle growers and should be stopped immediately.



Carter-Mondale On The Issues

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER

BEFORE AN AUDIENCE OF SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN IN

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, SEPTEMBER 13, 1976

This morning, I particularly want to talk about a subject that's important to me. And that is the small businessman in our nation. It is an extremely great honor for me to have John Sparkman here with us -- a great Senator, a great leader, a candidate of our own party in 1952 for Vice President, and this man has also, as you know, been a leader in the Senate, as a chairman of the Small Business Committee. He's now gone to the foreign affairs committee, but his leadership in this field makes it extremely valuable for me to have him on the platform with me.

We haven't had a farmer in the White House since Thomas Jefferson. We haven't had a small businessman in the White House since Harry Truman. And so we're going to bring a lot of good things to the White House after this election.

I think it's good to point out my own background -- very briefly -- to lay the groundwork for my credentials in speaking on this subject.

I came home from the Navy in the winter of 1953. I moved into the government housing project to live. I started a small business, a continuation of what my father had done selling fertilizer. We reorganized, and my mother and I became partners together. The first year was 1954. Those of you who are farmers remember 1954. It was the worst drought year the South has ever seen in recorded history. We had a crop failure. And although I sold about 3,000 tons of fertilizer, and should have made about \$9,000 gross profit, my profit was less than \$300. I didn't make enough money to pay my house rent in the government housing project.

The next year my wife went to work. That made two of us in the business. In the third year, I hired my first employee. But I had to struggle then, as a professional Naval officer, to learn about accounts receivable, to learn about balancing budgets, to learn about payroll, and to learn about government red tape and paperwork which at that time was practically nothing compared to what it is now.

In a few years, I was still struggling. And I went to the Small Business Administration for a loan to build an office building which I needed, and to build a cotton gin, and to make an investment in better handling equipment for peanuts. And at that time I was proud of the Small Business Administration. It was honest, it was open, it was well-organized, it had a very close, very intimate relationship with the private lending institutions of our area. I believe that 90% of my loan came from the local bank. But the SBA guaranteed the loan and put up 10% of the money.

Later, year by year, top business executives, on a volunteer basis, would come down to Plains, and they would go through Carter's warehouse. I opened my books to them. And they said, "Jimmy, this is something I think you'd better watch. Here's an area where you can save money. This is something that you ought to quit doing."

And I felt that I had a partnership between those who knew about business and those who were willing to lend me the money and myself as an embryonic businessman. That's all changed now.

We don't have a small business administration of which we can be truly proud. In the last few years we've had I don't know how many indictments and twenty convictions in the Small Business Administration. And the organizational structure of the agency is deteriorated along with a lot of other aspects of government.

This Republican Administration has given us a lot of new things. The first \$200 billion budget. The first \$300 billion budget. The first \$400 billion budget. We're now spending over a billion dollars a day and our deficit is a billion dollars a week.

In the last eight years we've seen a number of bankruptcies more than double. From 15,000 in 1969 to over 30,000 this past year. We've seen interest rates go up 50%. We've seen unemployment go up more than 100%. We've seen the deficits, the unbalanced budgets, increase grossly. Harry Truman for 7 years had an average surplus of over \$2 billion. Johnson/Kennedy (including the deficit of the Vietnam war) had an average deficit of less than \$7 billion. Under Nixon and Ford, this Republican Administration, the average deficit has been more than \$24 billion a year. And the last two deficits, recommended by the President, have averaged over \$50 billion a year. This, as I said earlier, is a billion dollars every week. We go further in debt. This is the kind of improper management that really grates on the consciousness of a businessman.

Now my professional training is in engineering, science, my career training has been in planning, in managing a business, in running a farm. I produce certified seed on my farm -- mostly peanuts. And I process peanuts now, starting this past year for the market. I know what it means to meet a payroll. I know what it means not to waste my own money. I know what it means to have balanced budgets. I know what it means as a governor not to waste the taxpayers money.

I have never known an unbalanced budget -- in my business, on my farm, as governor of Georgia. And I've set a goal for myself, which I intend to meet: that before my administration is over, the budget of the United States will be balanced.

I've learned some other things. Whenever there is a choice between government performing functions, and the private sector performing the functions, I believe in the private sector having the responsibility. Whenever there is a choice between the federal government doing something or the state and local governments doing the same function, I believe it's best to place the responsibility and the authority as near as possible to the individual private citizen.

I believe in a maximum openness in government. My government is your government. And whenever it is wrapped in secrecy, and the people are excluded from the process of making decisions, that's when we make our serious mistakes in foreign affairs, as Senator Sparkman so well knows, and in domestic affairs. You can go back the last number of years, whenever we've had a serious mistake it has been because the American people have not been part of the process of making the decisions and carrying them out. So maximum openness in government and a maximum personal privacy of our citizens is a good commitment to which we need to return. We need to have confidence in ourselves. Our nation's strong -- economically -- the strongest nation on earth. Richard Nixon didn't hurt our system of government. Watergate didn't hurt our system of government. The Vietnamese - Cambodian war didn't hurt our system of government. The CIA revelations haven't hurt our system of government. Even the gross mismanagement of programs like the Medicaid programs and SBA haven't hurt our system of government. It's still a basis on which we can predicate answers to complicated questions, bind ourselves together and face the future with confidence. We ought to remember that. And

the greatest thing which we have and which we can depend on in the future is the American people. We still have within us the same intelligence, the same ability, the same patriotism, the same sense of brotherhood, the same commitment to the work ethic, the same belief in personal freedom, the same high moral character that we've always had.

And that's a tremendous resource that's waiting to be tapped. And next January it's going to be tapped again. And you can depend on that.

Now what can we do specifically to help small businessmen and women? We've got a lot more women in this country who have now decided to go into their own professional careers. In not just education, but in medicine, law, and also in business. So what can we do to help them? First of all, we need to have more private investment participation in loans for the new starting business. This has gone backwards in recent years. We need to have more equity capital and not debt financing. The trend here has been absolutely terrible. We've gone more and more to a debt financing of business establishments and business expansion instead of letting business finance their own improvements with equity. We need to have more top business executives volunteer to work in government. Now when I was elected governor, we reorganized the structure of government. We put in good electronic data processing, good personnel management, good transportation systems. We cut down red tape, eliminated paperwork as much as we could. And the ones on whom I called to help me with that were the top business executives. I have told you already how they came into my own small business in Plains to give me advice. That's an important resource that our country ought to tap.

I might add one other thing. It's not fair to blame the business community for the mistakes that government makes. The business community is as honest as any farmer or any preacher. If we can understand that the government treats us fairly, now if there is an excusing by government of the violation of the law of business, quite often this grows on itself. It ought to be competitive. If business becomes involved in illegalities, and improprieties of government. But business is basically honest. More so that they're given credit for. And one thing a President can do is to help restore the stature and the approval and the public support and the confidence in the business community.

It's a cheap shot when elected public officials blame the business community for the economic, social and political problems of our country.

Another thing that we must do is to increase the chance for small businesses to compete for government contracts. The Republican administration has paid lip service to small businesses and big service to big business, and that's got to be changed too in the next administration.

We need to increase the opportunity for sales of products produced in small business. Most very large businesses have their own built-in organization -- legal staff, lobbyists, overseas sales mechanisms and outlets. But small businesspersons, like myself -- I'm sure most of you are bigger than I am in business -- have a very difficult time understanding how to sell our products overseas. It's a tremendous market. We now export, for instance, in agriculture alone, \$24 billion of our products every year. When I was governor of Georgia, I joined in a hot competition with Governor Wallace and Governor West in South Carolina and Governor Askew in Florida because in the Southeast one of the major responsibilities on the shoulders of a governor is to increase job opportunities by bringing in new industry and by selling the products we produce. While I was governor, we established and we maintained, trade offices all over the world. We now have full time trade offices just for Georgia, in places like Sao Paulo, Brazil; Toronto, Canada; Bonn, Germany; Brussels, Belgium; two in Japan, Great Britain, and so forth. Just to have a focal point in foreign countries so that a business person large or small can make arrangements there to make a trip to Great Britain or a trip to Common Market Countries, or a trip to South America, or a trip to Japan, and have the arrangements made to meet with the top leaders to sell products there and to get increased investments in our state.

When I went to these foreign countries, like for instance Brazil, a tremendous potential market for our products, there would be hot competition. The Japanese, the Germans, the Chinese and small places like Bulgaria, the French and others would be there. And they would have government, business, labor, and agriculture representatives in a trade mission and they would sit down with the leaders in Brazil and say, this is the products we have to offer, this is the delivery date that we can meet, this is the quality of our products, this is the cost of them, this is the interest rate we'll charge, this is the repayment schedule. And if they could offer a good package, they'd sign a contract right there. I went down with business and labor and agriculture leaders of Georgia. And when I tried to get an answer from Washington, on a specific trade deal, I never could find which department to go to. It's absolutely impossible. Is it Agriculture? Is it Commerce? Is it Treasury? Is it State? Is it Defense? Nobody knows. We need to have the same kind of commitment to overseas trade to put our people back to work on a nationwide basis as the Southern states have done in the last number of years to overcome the aftermath of the war between the states a hundred years ago.

The world is waiting for good, top quality products that our nation can produce. But quite often they wait in vain because of the bureaucratic mess that we have in Washington, and that needs to be straightened out as well.

I just want to mention a couple of other things that are specific. We need to have tough enforcement of the antitrust laws. Our system of private enterprise must be preserved. And when the government does anything to lessen competition it hurts us all. It hurts the small businessman, it hurts big business, and particularly it hurts consumers. Tough enforcement of the antitrust laws is mandatory. Now the Republican administration has stood in the way of that enforcement. Mr. McLaren, under President Nixon, resigned and recently the top Assistant Attorney General under this administration has also quit in disgust because of a lack of enforcement or commitment to tighter antitrust policies that have been proposed to the Congress. We need to break up the sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and industries being regulated. Regulation on business is almost unbelievable. In 1975 alone, the 82 regulatory agencies in Washington put out 45,000 pages of regulations. Now a big business organization can take care of that perhaps, because they can have a superb fulltime CPA staff and secretarial pools and attorneys. But a small businessman can't deal with those regulations, without a great deal of hardship and many obstacles placed in his or her way to success. The tax laws are a disgrace to the human race and they have got to be reformed completely to give us a fair deal from our own government. Quite often businesses will take an action that's contrary to their long term best interest just to get a one year credit under the tax laws. I happen to be mainly a farmer and in the processing of farm products. But a very wealthy city dweller -- a lawyer, a doctor and so forth -- who wants to have a deliberate loss to benefit from tax shelters can come in and buy the farm next to mine, deliberately lose the investment, make a great deal of profit off of it, and provide unwanted competition with the rest of us. As you know, the same thing applies under the tax shelter programs, in the area of oil drilling or any other aspect of our lives. So the tax program has got to be revised to remove this unwanted intrusion into the business community, and the decision-making process.

We also need tough, competent, business-like management of the government itself. We now have over 2900 agencies, departments, bureaus, commissions in Washington. They need to be cut back drastically to make sure we eliminate confusion, overlapping and waste. We need to install also zero-based budgeting which means that every year you reassess every program in the executive budget. You eliminate obsolete programs, you reveal and eliminate overlapping in the agencies and you establish priorities that spend your next year's money where the money's needed to be spent next year -- not where it was supposed to be spent 50 years ago. And we need a sunset law to review every major department, regulatory

agencies included, at least every five years -- initiated by the Senate and the House. So zero-based budgeting, tough competent management, sunset laws by the Congress will help weed out those obsolescent agencies that create most of the unnecessary paperwork and red tape. That's going to come next year, as well.

The last point I want to mention is this. We need to have more cooperation among the different entities in our society. Between governments at all levels -- business, industry, labor, agriculture, education and science, and others. There is no way now to tell what the government is going to do next. I don't favor the government planning for the private sector in our society. But the government ought to let us know what the government is going to do next. So that we can make our plans accordingly. Now I need to know 15 months ahead of time what agriculture policies are going to be in existence. On acreage allotments, target prices, reserve supplies, exports, imports, I don't have the slightest idea what Mr. Butz is going to do next. That's typical of the kind of administration we've got in Washington, and although I've got a lot of priorities when I get to the White House, I think the first one is going to be to send Mr. Butz back where he came from and have a good agriculture policy. So farmers and the business people of our country don't want a handout. We believe in work. We don't believe in welfare. We want to be sure we have a competitive area in which to operate.

We don't want special favors. We want some predictability about it. We do not want to have the rug pulled out from under our feet after we make a commitment that can't be reversed. Now cooperation ought to extend between the White House and the Congress. I believe that I can cooperate as President with Democratic and Republican congressional leaders. This has been done in the past. There's a constitutional delineation of responsibility. It's time for the White House and the Congress to cooperate for a change, with mutual respect for a change. I know that the Congress is inherently incapable of leadership. You can't expect 535 different people to lead this country. Our founding fathers never thought that that would happen. No matter how strong the individual Members of Congress are, there's only one person that can speak with a clear voice to the American people. There's only one person that can set a standard of ethics and morality and commitment. There's only one person that can call on the American people to make a sacrifice when necessary and explain the purpose of that sacrifice. There's only one person that can answer complicated questions or propose bold programs to deal with our needs. There's only one person that can insure cooperation and unity within our complicated nation. There's only one person that can harness the tremendous resources of our country to support a strong defense and understandable foreign policy.

And that person is the President. In the absence of that leadership, there is no leadership. We have no leadership now. Our country is drifting. I can't recall a single thing that our incumbent president has done in the two-year period that indicates a capability for leadership.

Our nation cries out for clear, statements of where we are, and where we hope to be. And this depends upon a close relationship between the White House and Congress, but also between the President and the people. Now I've run my campaign that way all my political life. I started out 21 months ago without any built-in organization, I didn't have very much money, I came from the small town of Plains, not a major media center. Plains was not a major media center at that time -- I didn't hold public office, not many people knew who I was. But I and my family and a few other supporters began going from one front living room to another, only 4 or 5 people would come in, and from one labor hall to another. Maybe 10 or 12 people would come. We went to farmers markets, to livestock sale barns, county court houses, city halls, shopping centers, factory shift lines, barbershops, beauty parlors, restaurants, shaking hands, talking a little bit, listening more. And we built up an organizational structure quite often with people who had never been before involved in politics. It's a close relationship between me and the people of our nation.

And I feel secure in my political campaign and even with the prospect of the awesome responsibility of President, because of that relationship with the people. I don't know all the answers. I'm just an average American like you. I got involved in politics almost by accident. But I enjoy the public service.

But I believe the fact that I have been an engineer and a scientist and a farmer and a businessman and a local school board member, state senator, a governor, and have campaigned throughout the country, will stand me in good stead if I get to the White House.

But the greatest source of confidence and strength that I have is the fact that the people with their experience and intelligence, with their commitment to our country, with their high moral character, is where I get my support and my advice and my counsel and my criticism. If I can keep that close relationship, and tap that tremendous resource -- it's what our nation is -- then I think I can have a good administration next year.

I owe special interests nothing. I owe the people everything. And I'm going to keep it that way. If you think it's time for a change in Washington, I hope you'll help me. I think it's time for a change for the better.

Thank you very much.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

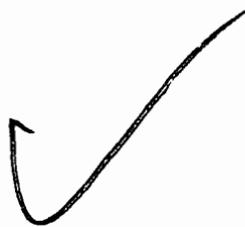
94-1

JIMMY CARTER ON THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

The safety and protection of the American worker must be guaranteed. As many as 100,000 working people die each year due to occupational illnesses and accidents. This terrible toll cannot be tolerated.

The basic concept behind OSHA is excellent. The complexity and sheer magnitude of the problem exceeds the capabilities of individual states. The problem with OSHA has been the lack of focus on meeting the vast problems in this area. Efforts should be made to clarify and expand state roles in implementation of standards.

If investigation demonstrates that current programs are inadequate, we must take all steps necessary to insure that those who earn their living by personal labor may work in safe and healthy environments. In Georgia, we took positive steps to improve working conditions and work-related health and safety programs. Nationwide efforts in this vital area must continue until our working citizens are safe in their jobs.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

95-1

ADDRESS BY JIMMY CARTER TO

THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 11, 1976

"We will not lie, cheat or steal, nor tolerate among us those who do."

These words comprise the ancient code of honor which was adopted and still is used by the Air Force and Military Academies, and which has recently been questioned as being too strict and rigid for the future leaders of our nation's armed forces.

Is this too strict a code for cadets? I think not. Is this too strict a code for senior military officers who defend our country? I think not. Is this too strict a code for any public official who serves our nation? I think not.

All too often in recent years laxity and the abandonment of rigid high standards among our leaders has caused our nation to suffer and to grieve. It has been the law, and our national commitment to the law, that has kept the fabric of our society from being ripped apart. Even with a total commitment to the law we are not perfect, but we have a framework within which we can work toward a more just and perfect society.

During this post-Watergate era our nation has been struggling anew with the question of how to establish and maintain standards of morality and justice. So far we have failed.

Unfortunately, there has been little progress toward enacting reforms that are needed to get our government's house in order. There has been strong political opposition to legislation designed to secure more openness, accountability and increased integrity in government.

Nearly forty years ago President Franklin Roosevelt had a proud vision of regulatory agencies. He said they would be "tribunes of the people" and would provide "active and positive protection of the people against private greed."

But in fact, regulatory agencies and other important government positions are still used as dumping grounds for unsuccessful candidates, faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aids, and representatives of special interests.

For instance, if a recent nomination is approved by Congress, the Consumer Product Safety Commission will have a majority of its members who have come directly from the Ford or Nixon White House staffs.

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

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

Of the forty-five appointments to the nine most important regulatory bodies in the past five years, more than half have come from the regulated industries themselves. This unprecedented abuse is a sign of contempt for the regulatory agencies and for the public they are supposed to defend and protect.

Bribery is a crime in every nation in the world, but the administration solution to the embarrassing problem of international bribery is, in effect, a proposal to allow corporations to engage in bribery so long as they report such illegal transactions to the Department of Commerce. Of course, the proposal is that the reports can be kept secret from the public, perhaps forever. "Confidential disclosure" and "authorized criminality" seem to be contradictions in terms.

This is not the kind of reform the American people want nor the kind of moral leadership the American people deserve.

Our nation has seen crimes discovered, publicized, and then condoned. This almost inevitably produces a subtle lowering of standards, and a pervasive acceptance in government of the right to break the law.

Almost 50 years ago Justice Brandeis wrote in a legal dissent: "Our government is the potent, the omnipotent teacher. For good or for ill it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

In times of crisis where is our protection from this threat? Ostensibly from the Department of Justice.

But following the recent presidential elections, our U.S. Attorney General has replaced the Postmaster General as the chief political appointee, and we have on recent occasions witnessed the prostitution of this most important law enforcement office.

It was disgraceful that because of actual crimes within the Department of Justice and a lack of trust in the Attorney General a special prosecutor had to be appointed just to enforce the law. As much as is humanly possible the Attorney General should be removed from politics, and should enjoy the same independence and authority and should deserve as much confidence as did the special prosecutor during the last few weeks of the Watergate investigation.

Recently the U.S. Senate overwhelmingly passed a bill establishing a permanent special prosecutor, to be appointed by the president. If a special prosecutor is needed, we should strengthen the Senate bill and let the courts and not the president make the appointment. My own preference is that the special prosecutor be appointed only as needed and not comprise another permanent government agency. These opinions are, I understand, shared by some of the foremost investigators, prosecutors and congressional leaders who were active in resolving the Watergate crisis.

It is obvious that our executive branch of government cannot be assigned all the blame. Scandals in the Congress involving the improper spending of public money have not been prevented, nor have they been instantly and vigorously investigated.

If I become president, I will never turn my back on official misdeeds. I intend to take a new broom to Washington and do everything possible to sweep the house of government clean.

Change is difficult to implement and to accept, but it is inevitable. As Alvin Toffler has said, "change is the process by which the future invades our lives." In the scientific and agricultural world, I always saw change and innovation welcomed eagerly. It seems to be different in government and in law.

We need not fear change, so long as we hold fast to an unchanging core of personal integrity and ideals.

A woman who had a great influence on my life was Miss Julia Coleman, my high school principal who gave me an early introduction to the world of art, books and music some 40 years ago. As a retired school teacher in 1962 she wrote these words in a Christmas letter to some friends:

"We have to adjust to changing times and still hold out for unchanging principles. It is not easy. But neither education nor religion promises us an easy life. Anyway, I like it better with challenge and effort -- with ideals of service to causes good and true."

"To adjust to changing times and still hold out for unchanging principles..." I don't know how a Justice Holmes or a Chief Justice Marshall could have expressed it any better.

A combination of unwise and impractical rules and procedures, lack of effective management of cases, and increasing case loads has priced the poor and middle American out of the judicial system. Now even the wealthy citizen and big business are finding the price of justice too high to pay.

Thus we have the very poor, the very wealthy, and all of us in between joined in one goal and purpose -- to create a workable system of justice. We must examine and change our own judicial system so that it serves all justly and at a price one can afford to pay. We must move boldly, quickly and with persistence until we reach this goal.

I note with concern that the current administration has recently recommended a one-third cut in the budget of the Legal Services Corporation.

The best deterrent to crime is swift and certain justice. Civil justice is of no practical value to the average citizen when cases are intolerably delayed. Of the \$4.4 billion spent by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration over the past eight years, only 6% was allocated to aid state and local courts. This is a grossly misdirected set of priorities.

There are demands for complex and controversial changes in your own profession, and it is obvious that you are concerned about such issues as:

- Reduced jury size,
- Legal assistance for indigents,
- Reorganization of the court system,
- Administrative officers and balanced case loads,
- Simplified civil and criminal court procedures,
- Compulsory arbitration outside of court,
- Prepaid legal service,
- Public legal clinics,
- The use of paraprofessionals,
- Expanded class action rights,

Broadened definitions of legal standing,
Funding of public interest law,
Elimination of fixed fee schedules, and
Relaxation of advertising restriction.

This agenda shows that the American Bar Association is becoming increasingly active in assessing change in the infrastructure of our legal society.

As lawyers you are in a superb position to analyze other changes that are inevitable and necessary in our society. Your knowledge of the past, your educational background, your influence at the point of debate and decision and your constant involvement in the multi-faceted aspects of our private and public life equip you uniquely to shape the future of our country.

As Governor of Georgia, I studied court records, and visited our prisons and noted how few wealthy, influential criminals were ever punished. I talked with inmates and heard convincing stories of injustice and inequality. I traveled the state and listened, again and again, to the questions and frustrations of average citizens who had come in contact with our system of justice.

So, with the cooperation of the Georgia Bar, I went to the legislature and we were successful in implementing a series of reforms in our judicial system:

- A nominating system to insure merit appointment of judges;
- Mandatory retirement for judges and a method of hearing citizen complaints and removing incompetent judges from office;
- Automatic review to insure increased uniformity of sentencing among judges;
- A uniform and unified court system (to allow a more efficient and timely dispensation of justice);
- Prison reform with emphasis on rehabilitation;
- A professionalized Georgia Bureau of Investigation;
- A reduction of emphasis on victimless crimes;
- Expanded staff aid for judges and administrative officers for the courts.

It is of course difficult for all of us to lift our vision beyond the specific issues of our daily lives, such as tax law and torts, and to concern ourselves with the broader issues of a free society and social justice. We deplore the present circumstances in our nation but we often refrain from an inspired and aggressive search for better laws or better administration of those we have.

Whether we are lawyers or candidates or peanut farmers, we tend to avoid controversial issues because we are afraid we might lose a customer or a client or a vote or a dollar. But almost every important improvement is going to be controversial.

The laws must be constantly changing to accommodate the forces and counterforces in our dynamic society and the total law at any time is an expression of the structure of society. There simply must be a close correlation between law and justice.

It is no secret that most professions, including your profession, are in great disfavor with the American people. So are the courts, businessmen, politicians and the government in general. Many people believe that they are denied fairness in the courts, in the marketplace and in the government generally. Fundamental to this attitude is the lack of a workable system of justice in the broadest sense.

I hope that you will think grandly of your role as attorneys in providing equal justice for all. If elected president, I will be an eager partner with you.

A prime responsibility of our next president will be to reestablish the confidence of the American people in the professions, in business and in the various departments that make up our government. In other words, to reestablish confidence in the American system.

The question is not who caused the problems but who will correct them. It is not merely whether we want to make some incremental corrections but whether we wish to preserve the system. Time is running short and only by making our system of justice fair and workable can it be preserved.

Substantial improvements are needed in our government, and as one of our noted Supreme Court justices said, "Sunshine is the best disinfectant." We need a comprehensive sunshine law in Washington so that special interests will not retain their exclusive access to the decision making process.

Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official.

Complete revelation of all business and financial involvement of major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest.

The sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and industries being regulated should be terminated, and no personnel transfers between agency and industry should be permitted until after an extended period of time has elapsed.

The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled.

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

Minimum secrecy within government should be matched with maximum privacy for private citizens.

All federal judges, diplomats and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit.

Every effort should be made to encourage our people to participate in government, including universal voter registration for elections and the strengthening of citizen advocacy groups.

Tax inequities must be rooted out. This will be a major and urgent project if I am elected president.

Even when these difficult changes in laws and regulations are made the search for true justice will of course not be complete.

There are limits to what the law can do. It can establish the outer limits of acceptable conduct in a civilized society, but it cannot teach us or force us to do what is right. That understanding and that moral imperative must come from institutions even more ancient and more personal than the law -- from family and community and the ethical and religious training which they alone can impart.

We must be dedicated to the preservation and enhancement of these basic institutions of family and community which can give rise to a more perfect justice than any written code can hope to compel.

I have traveled in this country for the past 19 months perhaps more than any other individual. I have talked a lot, but I have also listened. I can tell you that our people have been hurt and embarrassed but they have not given up, they have not yet turned away.

There is a reservoir of honesty and decency and fairness among our people that can, in a democracy, find expression in our government.

Our people are willing to give our nation's leaders one more chance to correct our mistakes, to answer difficult questions, to meet legitimate needs, and to achieve a higher standard of freedom, equality and justice. If we disappoint them again -- we may not get another chance.

There is a great responsibility on us. We must not fail.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON SOVIET JEWRY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

"I would do everything I possibly could as President to encourage the Soviet Union to liberalize its emigration policies for Jewish citizens who want to move. I would not hesitate to use the trade pressures to effectuate that purpose, but I think it can best be done by diplomatic means which would preserve the honor and independence of the Soviet leaders, rather than with a legislative act, which I believe cut down rather than increased the out-migration of Soviet Jews."

March 31, 1976 St. Louis Jewish Light

"I would keep the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate to other countries as one of the preeminent considerations in all my negotiations with the Soviet Union. In my private discussions, in trade negotiations and in other relationships, we would discuss mutual advantages between their country and our own. One of the advantages I would hope to secure for our own country would be the release or the freedom of Jews from Communist Soviet Union."

May 14, 1976 Baltimore Jewish Times

"I believe strongly that the Soviet Union and other countries should abide by the human rights commitment they had made at the Helsinki accords and elsewhere and that the United States should voice its support for such compliance."

July 14, 1976

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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JIMMY CARTER ON AMERICAN INDIANS

I am deeply concerned with the present condition of American Indians, and believe there must be a greater sense of federal responsibility to meet our obligations to them. We must obey and implement our treaty obligations to the American Indians, and in so doing, I pledge an all-out effort to assist in the protection of their land, water and their civil rights.

As part of my reorganization of government, I will review and revise as necessary the federal laws relating to American Indians and the functions and purposes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The guiding principles of my review will be a strengthened reaffirmation of our legal and moral trust responsibilities to the American Indians, and a strong personal respect for the dignity of each of our first Americans.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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JIMMY CARTER ON CABLE TELEVISION INDUSTRY REGULATION

The regulatory role of the federal government, including the FCC, in the field of public communications, is vital because it represents and protects the public interest. But there has been a tendency for government regulation to grow to the point where it may no longer be serving this purpose.

Since some regulation is clearly desirable, the Carter Administration would reexamine federal government regulatory activity in the cable television industry, among others, including such specific subjects as the origination and content of local program material, to insure that regulation exists to serve the public but does not, by imposing excessive federal controls, stifle the responsible growth or expansion of services.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

86-1

JIMMY CARTER ON THE UNITED STATES, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THE SEARCH FOR WORLD ORDER

A central task of American foreign policy in the crucial next quarter of the twentieth century is the building of international institutions to manage critical world problems of vital importance to the American people and to all people and nations.

These problems include the need to protect civilization against the unregulated spread of nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons, the dangerous proliferation of conventional weapons, the increasing financial burden of the arms race, the poisoning of the world's oceans and atmosphere, the depletion of energy and other resources, the threat of global food shortages, the explosive growth in world population, and escalating terrorism and international violence.

The Nixon-Ford Administration and the diplomacy of Henry Kissinger have failed to give adequate priority to these global challenges. Instead, our foreign policy has favored short-term considerations over long-term interests, bilateral diplomacy over multilateral institution-building, and military responses over economic and scientific cooperation.

The maintenance of a global balance of power is obviously essential to the survival of the United States. Equally essential, however, is the building of a stable world order which can give our children and grandchildren safe passage into the twenty-first century. The time has come, therefore, to supplement balance of power politics with world order politics.

A central element in the foreign policy of my Administration will be the building of effective international institutions to manage the critical world problems which now threaten our security as a free and prosperous society. To this end, we must determine which problems can be dealt with effectively through the United Nations system and which cannot. In the former cases, we should work much harder to reform and strengthen the United Nations; in the latter, we should urgently set about building alternative structures.

I pledge to involve the best brains in our nation in the search for peace. In pursuing my commitment to world order politics, I will call upon the best talent I can find in the universities, the business world, the professions, and the scientific community. My appointments to our United Nations delegation and to international conferences will be made exclusively on a merit basis, in contrast to the political patronage that has characterized appointments under the Nixon-Ford Administration.

The American people are justifiably critical of recent developments in the United Nations, particularly the resolution equating Zionism with racism. This resolution could have been avoided had this Administration worked more effectively to win votes at the United Nations and to use our diplomatic power in key foreign capitals.

To defend our interests more effectively in the future, a Carter Administration will:

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- Make multilateral diplomacy a central part of our total diplomacy so that other countries know in advance the importance which the United States attaches to their behavior in the United Nations and other international organizations.

- Undertake a systematic political and economic cost-benefit analysis of existing international institutions in the United Nations system and outside, with a view to determining the appropriate level of United States support.

- End the current diplomatic isolation of the United States in international forums by working more closely with our allies and with moderate elements in the developing world on a basis of mutual understanding consistent with our respective national interests.

- Put the best brains in our nation to work in the search for peace, appointing delegates to the United Nations and other international agencies exclusively on a merit basis.

- Launch a major effort at the reform and restructuring of the United Nations system. We will carefully examine the desirability and feasibility of amending the United Nations charter. However, in view of the practical difficulties of Charter amendment in the immediate future, we will put primary emphasis on strengthening the United Nations through other means, such as those recommended by a group of twenty-five experts on the restructuring of the United Nations. One of the recommendations proposed by this group is to allow a "cooling-off period" during which conciliation can replace voting on contested issues.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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JIMMY CARTER ON WELFARE PROGRAM

We need an efficient and compassionate welfare system in this country. What we now have is neither of these.

There are about 25 million Americans who are classified as poor. Two-thirds of them are English-speaking and white. About one-half (12 million) receive welfare payments of some kind on a regular basis. Roughly ten percent of these recipients are able to work full time. A massive bureaucracy of over 2 million employees attempts to administer over one hundred different assistance programs of bewildering complexity - one employee for every six recipients. Welfare cheaters flourish in the morass. In some cases, it is financially profitable for a recipient not to work. In others, the system encourages fathers to leave the home so the wife and children will receive increased benefits. Some combined welfare payments exceed the income of the average working family, while other needy families have difficulty obtaining a bare subsistence.

*Some-
ment
inefficiency*

We have been promised welfare reform for over a generation. The basic components of a fair and a workable program are well known. We do not yet have such a program because of a lack of political courage.

The ten percent of recipients who are able to work should be separated from the other ninety percent and treated as part of our unemployed work force. The private and public training and educational programs of this country should be marshalled to prepare them for employment commensurate with their ability and talent. Private job opportunities should be identified and encouraged. Public jobs should be created as necessary for those who are able and willing to work. If a job is offered and not accepted, benefits should be terminated.

The remaining ninety percent are not considered to be employable. There should be an adequate, fairly uniform, nation-wide allocation of funds for these families and individuals to meet the necessities of life. A work incentive program should be included for those who may be able to hold part-time jobs. Earnings from these jobs should not be confiscated by reduction in benefits.

This simplified system, which involves two programs rather than one hundred, will allow welfare workers to work with people instead of paper. It will encourage dignity, self-respect and self-sufficiency instead of despair and continual dependency. The ultimate beneficiaries will be those who pay the taxes as well as those who receive the services.

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in women's problems. The enforcement provisions must be upheld.

I support the Equal Rights Amendment. Even though it has not yet been ratified, the coalitions and organizations forming throughout the country are producing valuable results. These networks of women working together for a common cause will inevitably bring about needed legal reforms; in fact, they are already producing such reforms.

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: (1) laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, advancement, education, training, credit and housing be strictly enforced; (2) strong efforts be made to create federal legislation and guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in health and disability insurance plans; (3) social security laws be revised so that women would no longer be penalized; (4) women have equal access to health care systems and voluntary family planning programs; (5) adequate childcare be made available to all parents who need such care for their children; (6) strong efforts be made to reform existing rape laws. I urge passage of the National Rape Prevention and Control Act.

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.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

88-1

I am firmly committed to equality between women and men and in promoting a partnership concept in all aspects of life. In spite of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the earnings gap between men and women is great. Full-time working women earn 60 cents for every dollar earned by full-time working men. Laws, executive orders and significant interpretations of the law, however, are bringing financial pressure on many employers to end sex discrimination. I support the efforts of women to achieve equality through court action when that is required. As a further aid to working women, I support the concept of flexible hours for full-time employees. The recent upholding by three circuit courts of appeal of the EEOC guidelines stating that childbearing leave must be treated as any other temporary disability has far-reaching implications for working mothers.

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. I firmly believe that there is no higher calling for a man or woman than the care of the children they bring into the world. 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 in the finest sense of those terms.

Education is another area where women have not gotten a fair return on their investment. Now that Title IX guidelines have finally been approved, enforcement must be obtained to end sex discrimination in education. Women entering law school have increased from 10.2% in 1970 to 23.7% in 1974; and medical school enrollment for women went from 11.1% in 1970 to 22.2% in 1974. But in spite of these important advances, there are practically no women in administration, few principals, college presidents or superintendents. Under pressure from feminist groups throughout the country, textbook publishers are taking long overdue steps to portray women and men more realistically in their publications. The importance of this cannot be overstated because children accept limiting, stereotyped notions of woman's place and man's place in society at a very early age.

The media too frequently portray women in an inaccurate, belittling manner. More women must be appointed to the Board of Governors of the Public Broadcasting System, the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission.

On October 28th the Equal Credit Opportunity Act became law. This Act and the Housing and Community Development Act promise substantial improvement

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STATEMENT BY JIMMY CARTER ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

PRESENTED JUNE 13, 1976

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF 51.3 PERCENT

As a candidate for President I am fully committed to equality between men and women in every area of government and in every aspect of life. As President, I will live up to that commitment.

As perhaps you know, when I was governor of Georgia, my wife and I worked for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in our state, and we were unsuccessful.

As President, I intend to see the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

As a candidate for President, I will try to make it clear to the American People that, despite propaganda to the contrary, ERA is not an elitist issue, but a very basic matter of social justice that directly affects the personal and economic well-being and freedom of every woman in this country.

Let me state briefly some of the positions I will take as President on matters of special concern to women.

I will vigorously enforce laws prohibiting sex discrimination in hiring, job advancement, education, credit and housing.

I will support legislation to end sex discrimination in health and disability insurance.

I will act to end discrimination against women in the Social Security system and in our income taxes.

I will support legislation to provide improved child care services for working parents.

I will continue to oppose any Constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decisions on abortion.

I will support efforts to provide more part-time jobs and flexible work schedules to help families stay together.

I will appoint qualified women early in my administration and in substantial numbers. They will not be in a few token positions at the top of my administration, but in jobs of importance throughout the government.

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I will continue to be deeply concerned about those women who choose to stay home and devote themselves to their families. These women, faced with a rising divorce rate and the possibility of early widowhood, and often having no marketable job skill, are among the most vulnerable members of our society. A compassionate government would give attention to their needs, and as one step in that direction I will support the Displaced Homemaker's Act, to give legal assistance and counseling to those who need help in finding work outside their homes.

These are some of the steps I will take as President, not only to achieve simple equality, but to provide a government that is sensitive to the special problems women face.

Later in my campaign, I intend to devote an entire speech to outlining my views on women's issues.

Today, I am pleased to announce the formation of The Committee of 51.3 Percent.

This is a committee consisting of women elected officials and other women leaders who represent the women who make up 51.3 percent of our population.

The Committee of 51.3 Percent will have three basic purposes.

First, it will advise me on my campaign for President and how women can best and most fully be involved in it.

Second, it will advise me on the issues -- not only such traditional "women's issues" as health and education, but on all issues -- war and peace, the budget and the economy, and other matters of importance to the American people.

Third, this committee will assist me in seeking out well-qualified women to serve in my administration. I see no reason why women should comprise only two percent of the nearly 10,000 employees in the top three civil service grades, or why only three women have served in a presidential cabinet in our nation's history.

With the aid of this new committee, representing millions of American women, and serving as my advisors, my critics and my talent scouts, I intend to make the fullest possible use of the women of America in helping carry out my program for America.

Democratic platform

CARTER ANSWERS 'WOMEN TODAY' QUESTIONNAIRE

In the last issue of Women Today (Vol. VI, No. 5) we listed the questions and answers to our Presidential candidate questionnaire. JIMMY CARTER, a Democratic Presidential candidate, did not respond in time to meet our deadline. His response was received in our office March 8, and we are listing his answers below. No other responses were received since our last issue.

1. I strongly support the Equal Rights Amendment. I campaigned for 262 days last year and in every state, including those states which have not yet ratified the Amendment, I have consistently and unhesitatingly advocated passage of the Amendment. As Governor of Georgia, I fought hard for the passage of ERA. But in the South, the textile industry and the John Birch Society, have been strong and effective opponents in discouraging ratification of the Amendment. In my own Presidential Campaign, my beliefs in equal rights are evident. Women are fully involved. . . . I believe that the Democratic Party must make an effort to see that the Amendment is passed. As a candidate, I will insist that the ERA be made part of the Democratic Party's national plank. As President, I will use the influence of the office both to see that the Amendment becomes law, and to set a style of leadership that clearly and unmistakably makes equal rights and equal opportunity national goals.
2. One of the most far reaching social and economic changes of recent years has been the very rapid increase in the employment of women, particularly mothers of young children. Women work because, like men, they need the money. Today, nearly two out of every five mothers of preschool children bring home a paycheck. I believe that federal aid is desirable to help the states and localities fund necessary day care services. The need for these services is growing rapidly. Six and one-half million children under the age of six have gainfully employed mothers—a number which has increased 30 percent in the last seven years. Many of their families cannot afford the full cost of day care which meets essential standards. I do not believe we are now able to extend the concept of public education entitlement to all children below the present school age level whose parents wish them to benefit from early childhood education. Because it is in the public interest that no child be neglected, I favor public subsidies for day care services for children with employed mothers in low income families. For those families with incomes between low and moderate level, and able to meet part or most of the costs, subsidized fees should be scaled to ability to pay. I will, when elected, recommend legislation to implement my policy.
3. I do not believe that colleges and universities should be exempt from the affirmative action provisions of Executive Order 11246 and revision order No. 4. This order requires affirmative action plans of all contractors with contracts of \$50,000 or more and 50 or more employees. Enforcement of these plans should be strenuously handled by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) to end sex discrimination in our educational institutions, as well as in other agencies. Since sexual discrimination in higher education was not legally prohibited until the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 I feel that colleges and universities as employers may actually need the impetus of affirmative action. There is another aspect to this question. According to a 1975 Civil Rights Commission report, "Although DHEW awarded numerous contracts for the evaluation of programs affecting women in 1972, only 5 percent of the total contracting funds were identified as having been awarded to women-owned firms." I see this as a major concern for women since discriminatory practices have historically limited women's participation in business. As President, I would see that Federal contractors hire women without bias, and that OFCCP, in its review of contracts, treats the problem of sexual discrimination against women business owners with honest concern.
4. I do not approve of exempting physical education from the Title IX regulations of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX has broken down many barriers to women in institutions of higher learning and will over time be one of the most effective tools to end sexually discriminatory attitudes. If physical education were excluded from the regulations of Title IX, discrimination against women in this segment of their education might continue. I have always felt that physical

health is vital to mental health, and excluding women from equal opportunities to participate in all types of sports would be unfair. I would like to see my eight year old daughter, Amy, be able to excel in any sport she might choose, just as my sons have been able to do. I would oppose any legislation that would weaken the provisions of Title IX. I am still studying the issue of revenue-producing sports and will be analyzing that issue on a continuing basis so that I can comment later.

5. I believe that changes are necessary indeed to make the current Social Security system more equitable for women and men. The payroll tax that finances Social Security takes a larger slice out of the income of the low income worker in relation to his or her ability to pay. Anyone earning over \$50.00 a quarter pays 5.8 percent to Social Security. Since women are clustered at the bottom of the economic ladder, and since there is still a 60 percent differential between the salaries of men and women for the same work, this has an adverse affect on women. I am presently studying one proposal that has been advanced which would assure every adult his or her own Social Security record. The record would be built up and maintained throughout his or her working life. This proposal aims to eliminate the inequity faced by working wives who do not receive benefits for having contributed to the Social Security system, a goal with which I am certainly in accord. I believe that eventually the Social Security system must be less regressive so that the highly paid contribute more to the system. This would help equalize the system for women.
6. I would strongly recommend that consideration be given to the introduction of an income tax credit for families with two wage earners and to single persons who have family responsibilities. These revisions would make the present income tax structures more equitable for married and unmarried persons.
7. I am firmly committed to equal opportunities for women and men in all aspects of life. The "Displaced Homemaker's Act" would help end discrimination against a segment of our national work force that makes valuable contributions to the welfare and economic stability of the Nation. 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 homemaker without a marketable skill could have a difficult time, and legal protection for her is almost non-existent. This bill would establish nationwide model program centers to provide legal counseling and services for individuals who have worked in the home for a substantial number of years and are having difficulty in finding employment. Therefore, I see the passage of the "Displaced Homemaker's Act" as valuable in meeting two of our national goals. First in our priority to provide jobs for every American who wants to work; and secondly, in our national effort to end discrimination against women.
8. I strongly encourage the availability of more part-time jobs in our economy. I would support legislation which would increase part-time employment; especially that legislation which is intended to benefit housewives, retirees. As a further aid to working women, I support the concept of a more flexible work-scheduling program. A woman who is forced for economic reasons to seek employment outside the home, or a woman who is able to combine her career interests with a family, deserves support from her government.
9. I have consistently stated that I oppose Constitutional amendments to overturn the Supreme Court's decision. I believe that abortion is the doctor's treatment for failed birth control, and that in the long run the need for abortion services can be minimized by providing better family planning services. This means stronger family planning programs, more accessible services, and improved contraceptive technology. I have always believed in preventive health care, and this question is no different. Although we have 159 counties in Georgia, it became one of the few states in the nation with family planning clinics operating in every county health department under my administration. Participation in the family planning programs increased by 200 percent just during the first two years of my administration. The Supreme Court left many questions unresolved including parental or spousal consent, and the problem of late abortions. Those questions are being litigated in the courts. As President, I would be guided and bound by the courts' decisions on these and other questions pertaining to abortion services.
10. I do not like the idea of government money being spent on abortions, and I do not think government should do anything to encourage abortions. But I am aware that the courts have been requiring Medicaid, for example, to pay for this service. I would like to see us as a nation reach the stage where no one who is poor is ever forced to obtain an abortion because she could not obtain proper family planning. On this question, and the question of private hospitals, I will be guided and bound by the courts.
11. No. Please refer to number 9.

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JIMMY CARTER ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

It is crucial that the advice of the scientific and professional community of this nation be actively and permanently sought by elected officials in the evolution of ~~national policy~~ dealing with the complicated, unpredictable and rapidly changing technological problems of this modern world.

The day when ~~political leaders~~ could make effective policy decisions independently and turn to the scientific community only for assistance in implementation has long passed.

The Office of Science Advisor to the President should be upgraded immediately to provide a permanent and high level relationship between the White House decision-making process and the scientific community.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign



JIMMY CARTER ON REVENUE SHARING

As I have proposed since I was governor of Georgia, we need some change in the basic structure of dispersing revenue sharing funds.

While there have been some benefits from revenue sharing in the past, we should recognize that the present program, as now constituted and as the Administration proposes to extend it, has not really achieved the goals for which ~~it~~ was originally created. Increases in revenue sharing funds have been offset by reductions in categorical grants so that the net increase of funds available to local governments has been smaller than might be expected. Social programs of national concern have suffered most in this fund shifting since local areas have understandably chosen, for the most part, to spend money on services or facilities with non-recurring cost.

I would favor an approach which would give funds directly to local cities and communities rather than the states. I would favor this for two reasons. First, it is a means of giving local governments more control over programs that affect them daily, because it is a mechanism that combines effectively local needs and decision-making processes with the federal government's powers of coordination and revenue-raising. Second, and more important, local communities do not have the capacity to generate extra income - through taxes or other methods - that the states have.

Inevitably, under our present tax laws the income of the federal government increases at a very rapid rate compared to that of the state and local governments. For instance, each time the gross national product goes up a certain amount, say 100, state income goes up almost exactly the same amount. Federal government income goes up 135, local government increases only 72. So over a period of time, there ought to be a shift of funding from the federal government to the local governments because of the regressive and tightly-constrained source of local funds which is derived primarily from property tax. Whatever revenue sharing funds are available should go only to local governments, not to states, except perhaps in Alaska and Hawaii where most local services are provided by state funds.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON LABOR

77-1

Labor unions have had and continue to have an important and constructive role to play in our nation's economic and social life. By providing a forum within which labor and management can settle disputes and plan for the future, labor unions help increase worker morale and industrial productivity, while ensuring that adequate pay and benefits, safe working conditions and other needs leading to an improved standard of living are achieved. Indeed, the well-organized, well-led unions which we have in the United States have played an important role in eliminating the costly and destructive general strikes and worker unrest that have plagued other industrial nations.

Labor unions are necessary to balance the economic power of business and industry. Without the collective voice which labor unions provide for American working people, they would be economically powerless to achieve the standard of living to which their sweat and handiwork entitle them.

Moreover, labor unions have played and are playing a vital role in assisting this country out of its economic crisis and in regaining our sense of purpose as a nation.

JIMMY CARTER'S RECORD AS GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA

As Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter always exhibited great concern for the problems of working people. Though only 13.9% of Georgia's working force is unionized - the national average is approximately 28% - early in his Administration, Carter announced a new day for labor in Georgia government. As his term drew to a close, he told the IUD, AFL-CIO:

"There was a time in the past when the Georgia General Assembly was heavily dominated by the rural communities in Georgia and the leaders of the unions in this state may not have been well-received in the halls of the State Capitol, but that time is gone."

Governor Carter formed a firm coalition with labor, together they drafted new and progressive legislation in tax reform, unemployment compensation, and health care. Regarding unemployment compensation, the Governor devised a law eliminating the waiting period when a worker is laid off. He worked with organized labor on Consumer Protection Laws, vocational training, and the upgrading of Georgia's Workmen's Compensation Program - including improved compensation benefits.

Governor Carter personally intervened to resolve a legislative dispute that had blocked implementation of the state's occupational safety and health regulations. Speaking to a convention of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, the Governor characterized this legislation as guaranteeing ". . . to every working man and woman in this State a right to a clean, safe place to work. This is a guarantee that I intend to see enforced without exception," he added.

An aggressive seeker of new industry and jobs for Georgia workers, Carter

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50-1

JIMMY CARTER ON ABORTION

I do not support constitutional amendments to overturn the Supreme Court ruling on abortion.

However, I personally disapprove of abortion. I do not believe government should encourage abortion. The efforts of government should be directed toward minimizing abortions.

If, within the confines of the Supreme Court ruling, we can work out legislation to minimize abortion with better family planning, adoption procedures, and contraception for those who desire it, I would favor such a law.

Abortion is the result of the failure of measures to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Abortion should never be considered just one of a number of equally acceptable methods of contraception.

As Governor of Georgia I obtained the first line item appropriation for family planning in the history of the state. I created by executive order the Special Council on Family Planning to spearhead the implementation of a comprehensive, voluntary, family planning program throughout the state.

The Georgia Medical Consent Act was amended to allow all females regardless of age or marital status to receive medical treatment for the prevention of pregnancy.

Although we have 159 counties in Georgia, it became one of the few states in the nation with family planning clinics operating in every county health department. Participation in family planning programs increased by 200 percent just during the first two years of my administration.

I believe my record as Governor and my personal inclinations equip me to insure a more productive role for the government in this area.

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JIMMY CARTER ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON AFRICA

1. What are the general objectives that should guide U.S. foreign policy; how do these objectives find expression in Africa?

The United States should pursue a foreign policy which encourages the process of needed change and orderly nonviolent progress for the peoples of the entire earth. As a nation which itself struggled for freedom, we must be aligned with the legitimate aspirations for self-determination and liberty of peoples all over the world. This should be accomplished primarily through support and cooperation with multilateral international institutions.

The development potential of the world can best be encouraged through the World Bank, through the establishment of an economic partnership in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), and by the establishment (through the International Monetary Fund) of an international monetary system which is equitable to the developing nations as well as to ourselves.

The United States must also continue to enter into bilateral aid programs and respond to the emergency needs of those nations that are struggling to develop democratic institutions. When in our national interest, we may also enter into ~~military aid~~ programs whenever the national sovereignty of friendly nations is threatened by external powers. However, I think that the United States should refrain from covert activities which interfere with the internal affairs of friendly nations and should develop the kind of economic interdependence which would assure our ability to relate in a variety of ways to the nations of the world.

The United States of America is a world power and cannot escape from that responsibility and all that it entails. Our economy needs the natural resources which Africa can offer, and we will not be able to solve our problems of unemployment and inflation until there is a worldwide market system in which the producers and the consumers share equitably in the earth's resources.

2. How should aid priorities be determined, as between friends and non-friends, between Africa and the rest of the developing world; between "democratic" and "non-democratic" regimes; between countries with interesting natural resources and those with none; between countries that have potential for economic development and those who need long term humanitarian assistance?

As a nation, we must protect our own self-interest and give some priority to those nations who share the democratic principles and ideals which our nation tries to embody. However, we live in a world in which no nation can be completely written off as unfriendly; a nation's friends are sometimes determined by her interest in a particular situation, and such should be the case with Africa. While it is very difficult to export American concepts of democracy to another continent, we should always show preference for those democratic regimes that are based on majority rule and on the protection of minority rights. But we must not ignore political realities that may not conform to our ideals.

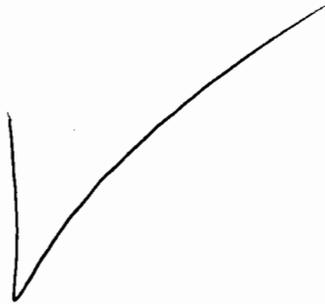


8. Do you think that African questions, as a whole, receive less than their warranted consideration by the U.S. government?

There is no question that Africa has been ignored since the days of John F. Kennedy. Africa should become, and will become, one of the major foreign policy issues of the coming decade. Many of our domestic and international problems will be determined by the direction of our policies in Africa.

9. What would you like to see as the basis of relations between the U.S. and Africa?

The only basis of relationships between the United States and any part of the world must be that of mutual self-interest. There is an amazing congruity between the interests and needs of the United States and Africa. Africa needs development assistance and technological advances which only the United States can supply, and the United States needs both the resources and markets of an emerging Africa. This relationship should be built on mutual responsibility, mutual need, and a kind of partnership that is best expressed in the concepts of equality, justice and brotherhood.



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JIMMY CARTER ON AGRICULTURE

The greatest need among those involved in the agricultural economy of this nation is a coherent, predictable and stable government policy relating to farming and the production of food and fiber.

The second requirement is an emphasis in government policy on the mutual concerns of the family farmer and the consumer, which are irrevocably tied together.

A third requirement is a Secretary of Agriculture who is inclined toward stability, predictability, and honest concern for the needs of family farmers and consumers.

There is now no coordination between our Departments of Agriculture or Commerce or Interior or Defense or any of the countless agencies, boards and bureaus that make decisions affecting agricultural policy. There is no logical reason for separating commodity policy from policies involving energy, land use, foreign affairs, monetary exchange or foreign trade.

We should again maintain a predictable, reasonably small and stable reserve of agricultural products. About a two months' supply would be adequate with about one-half of these reserves being retained under the control of farmers to prevent government "dumping" during times of moderate price increases.

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53-1

JIMMY CARTER ON VIETNAM PARDON

If I am President, I will issue a pardon for all those who are outside our country, or in this country, who did not serve in the armed forces. I am going to issue a pardon, not an amnesty. I think those kids who have lived in Sweden or in Canada or who have avoided arrest have been punished enough. I think it is time to get it over with.

In my opinion, amnesty says what you did was right. Pardon says whether what you did was right or wrong, you are forgiven for it.

For those who deserted due to their opposition to the Vietnam War, I would not issue a blanket pardon, but would treat them on a case by case basis.

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deserters
war resisters
draft evaders
exiles
clemency

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54-1

JIMMY CARTER ON THE ARTS

The United States government's cultural and educational programs here and abroad have been of enormous benefit to our country. Indeed, more and more of the American public has come to recognize the important role cultural institutions play in improving the quality of commodity life.

However, the very success of the government's role in cultural life focuses renewed attention on a number of identifiable problems. The Carter Administration will review existing programs and institutions in order to further improve what is by common consent a highly constructive federal role in our domestic cultural life.

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55-1

JIMMY CARTER ON THE B-1

I oppose production of the B-1 bomber at this time. I believe that research and development should continue. The decision on the production of this weapon system should be made by the next Administration. An addition to our manned bomber fleet may become necessary, but I do not think the B-1 meets this need at this time.

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JIMMY CARTER ON

BUREAUCRACY AND GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENCY

Our government in Washington now is a horrible bureaucratic mess. It is disorganized, wasteful, has no purpose, and its policies -- when they exist -- are incomprehensible or devised by special interest groups with little regard for the welfare of the average American citizen.

This is not an inherent, unavoidable aspect of government. We must give top priority to a drastic and thorough revision of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system and to the procedures for analyzing the effectiveness of its many varied services.

Tight businesslike management and planning techniques must be instituted and maintained utilizing the full authority and personal involvement of the President himself.

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

In Georgia, we met that opposition head on -- and we won! We abolished 278 of 300 agencies. We evolved clearly defined goals and policies in every part of government. We developed and implemented a remarkably effective system of zero base budgeting. We instituted tough performance auditing to insure proper conduct and efficient delivery of services.

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

There is no inherent conflict between careful planning, tight management, and constant reassessment on the one hand, and compassionate concern for the plight of the deprived and afflicted on the other. Waste and inefficiency never fed a hungry child, provided a job for a willing worker, or educated a deserving student.

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57-1

JIMMY CARTER ON BUSING

This question of busing has been an integral part of the lives of those who live in the South for the last 15 or 20 years. We have dealt with it as best we could. And I'd like to express as succinctly as I can a view that I think has been evolved after a long and torturous ordeal. And perhaps what we have accomplished there can be some guidance for the rest of the country, that is now going through the same phase of school integration. I just want to say this. The best thing that ever happened to the South in my lifetime was the passage of the Civil Rights Acts and the complete integration of our schools, our public facilities and the granting to black people of a chance to work, to live, to attend public facilities as they choose. It would be almost incomprehensible for those who live outside the South to know what has occurred there. And I will be very quick with this. I have one daughter who is eight years old, she came to me and Rosalynn when we had been married 21 years, we really love her; and we have three older sons. Last year she was in the second grade in the place where we live, a little town, called Plains, total population 683. We have a majority of black citizens there. We live in harmony and peace. In Amy's second grade classroom of the public schools last year she had 13 white classmates, 16 black classmates, a black teacher, a white principal and that is absolutely typical throughout the rural parts of Georgia. And that's the way we like it. She goes there because we want her to be in an integrated school. She likes it, her mother likes it, and I like it.

We have tried in Atlanta mandatory busing. It did not work. The only kids I have ever seen bused are poor children. I have never seen a rich child bused. The rich parents either move or they put their kids in private schools.

At first it is very important to the black citizens to have the busing order, and this is a phase that you have to go through, and I think maybe it's a mandatory phase. I don't argue with it. But eventually the poor parents, mostly blacks, say "We don't want our kids bused any more to a distant school", because these are the very parents who don't have a second car, and if their children get sick in the middle of the day or if they want to go to athletic events, they can't go. So the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta, quite liberal, finally said to the NAACP, the SCLC, and to myself as Governor and to then Mayor Sam Massell, who happens to be Jewish, and the then Vice-Mayor, Maynard Jackson, who is black, to sit down and work out a plan that suited us. And this is the plan that we worked out. It is very simple and easily described, and it suits the NAACP and others.

First of all, any child who wants to be bused can be bused at public expense. Secondly, the busing must contribute to increased integration. You can't be bused away from a school just because it's got black kids in it. Third - and this is missing completely in Boston and a lot of other cities, but it's integral for an ultimate solution - the black leaders have to be adequately represented in the decision-making processes of a school system at all levels, so the black people will feel "that's my school system too,

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it's not just a white folks' school system that my kids have to go to". And last, and this is important in my opinion, no child is bused against the wishes of the child.

That's what we've evolved; it's been in effect for two or three years, and it's worked. I guess that at the end of four or five more years in Louisville and Boston and many other places, the Atlanta plan is going to be what is accepted by black and white citizens.

I might add one other thing as a ~~political candidate~~; that's my preference, but when I'm President, I will be sworn to uphold the law, and if Federal Courts rule differently from what I believe I will support the Federal Court. But I believe this is not the subject to be reopened with a constitutional amendment. I would really hate to see that done.

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58-1
Undertlined for indexing

JIMMY CARTER ON THE CIA

The CIA should not be abolished. We need some sort of intelligence gathering service. We cannot rely upon public relations handouts from Communist countries as our sources of information. But there is only one person who ultimately can be responsible for the actions of the CIA. That man is the President. As President, I can assure you that I will take full responsibility for all of the agency's actions.

We have learned recently that never again should our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people. We must not use the CIA or other covert means to effect violent change in any government or government policy. Such involvements are not in the best interests of world peace, and they are almost inherently doomed to failure.

We must never again keep secret the evolution of our foreign policy from the Congress and the American people. They should never again be misled about our options, commitments, our progress or our failures. If the President sets all policies openly, reaching agreement among the leaders of both parties rather than letting a handful of people plot the policy behind closed doors, then we will avoid costly mistakes and have the support of our citizens in dealing with other nations.

The CIA must operate within the law. The President must be willing to accept responsibility for the mistakes within the executive branch and to take specific steps to see they do not recur. Intelligence is a service to allow foreign policy to be based on more complete information. The function of the intelligence agency should be to provide this service, not to overthrow governments or make foreign policy unilaterally or in secret.

bipartisan policy ✓

informed public discussion, openness

nonintervention

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CIVIL RIGHTS

#59-1

I wrote in my inauguration speech (as Governor of Georgia): "I say to you quite frankly that the time for racial discrimination is over. Our people have already made this major and difficult decision, but we cannot underestimate the challenge of hundreds of minor decisions yet to be made. Our inherent human charity and our religious beliefs will be taxed to the limit. No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simply justice."

It was my privilege as governor to appoint dozens of qualified black citizens to major policy board positions, so they could participate fully in official deliberations such as those concerning the university system, the corrections systems, state law enforcement, and aspects of human resources, the prison and parole system, and the professional examination boards for dentists, physicians, nurses, funeral directors, beauticians and barbers, and many more.

One of the challenging aspects of my life in Plains revolved around our attitudes toward the race question. During the 1950's, there was strong concern and excitement in Georgia about the Supreme Court rulings and the prospective passage of laws in Congress to eliminate the legal aspects of segregation. My views on the subject were sometimes at odds with those of most of my neighbors.

One of the ideas that swept the south in that time was the formation of White Citizens' Councils. When the White Citizens' Council movement hit Plains, recruitment of new members did not prove to be difficult. After a few days I was visited by two of the town's leading citizens acting as organizers for the new local White Citizens' Council. After some discussion, the two men left, but in a couple of days they returned to my office at the warehouse to notify me that every white male adult in the community had joined the White Citizens' Council . . . except me. I repeated my statement that I did not wish to join and eventually they left again. After a few more days, they came back with several of my close friends, some of whom were customers of mine in the seed and fertilizer business. They pointed out that it would damage my reputation and my success as a businessman in the community if I proved to be the only hold-out in the community, and because of their genuine concern about my welfare they were willing to pay the dues for me. My response was that I had no intention of joining the organization on any basis; that I was willing to leave Plains if necessary; that the \$5 dues requirement was not an important factor; and that I would never change my mind.

There was also a serious problem with the churches in the community, brought into focus by the concerted effort of the more activist civil rights groups to integrate the white church congregations. I was a deacon in our church and missed one very critical deacons' meeting during this period. On that occasion, the other eleven deacons and our pastor voted

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unanimously to propose to the church congregation that if any blacks attempted to enter the church on Sunday they would be blocked and excluded from the worship service. On the Saturday before our monthly church conference, my family and I were attending the wedding of a cousin of mine north of Atlanta. We decided to get up early and drive home to the church on that Sunday morning of the conference. I asked for recognition and spoke to members of the church urging them to reverse the decision of the deacons and to permit free entry of any blacks who attempted to enter our church. The only six people voting to keep the services open to all worshippers were my mother, my wife Rosalynn, our two sons, myself and one other member of the congregation.

A new degree of freedom for both black and white southerners evolved from the trauma of desegregation. Instead of constant preoccupation with the racial aspect of almost every question, public officials, black and white, are now at liberty to make objective decisions about education, health, employment, crime control, consumer protection, prison reform and environmental quality.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

February 17, 1974

60-1

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER AT THE CEREMONY FOR UNVEILING OF PORTRAIT OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AT THE GEORGIA STATE CAPITOL

Before I accept this portrait, there are two people that I would like to recognize in a special way. One of them is a young woman who serves on my staff, who has come to me many times to say, "Governor, you have an opportunity to perform a service that will bind all our people together in a common attitude of understanding and communication and love." She has been a constant inspiration to me. Her name is Rita Samuels. She is over in the corner, characteristically not seeking the limelight.

The other person that I would like to recognize again, now that you have seen the product of his great work, is George Mandus, the artist.

As I sat here in the rotunda of our Capitol, I looked up at some of the portraits that already hang in there, that I consider to be, hallowed halls. To my left, on the next floor, is a portrait of George Washington, our first President. On the right is Thomas Jefferson, a great humanitarian who loved the common people. Here on my left, illuminated, is a portrait of Robert E. Lee, who served in a time of great stress in our nation and who, I think, deserved the devotion and respect of men who knew him personally and the admiration of those of us who have come to know his character.

Now, today, we are unveiling the portrait of another great American.

A German philosopher, Hegel, who wrote about 1800, tried to bring together in his writings an analysis of some of the philosophies that had preceded him. One of his more remote comments was that the life of a great man places on the world the responsibility of understanding and explaining his works.

In the history of our nation there has been a constant struggle for greater freedom for our people to understand and to control our government. Many years ago, the state legislatures elected our United States Senators. Then there was an amendment to the Constitution which let the people do this directly.

There was a great wailing and gnashing of teeth among legislators who said, "the people can't make the right judgment. We leaders ought to make those decisions." Later, women were granted the right to vote, and men who occupied a privileged position, and to some degree still do, said, "this will be a catastrophe because we can't trust women to make sound and proper judgments."

These predictions, obviously, have proven to be incorrect.

In Georgia, almost 30 years ago, our Constitution was modified to permit 18 year olds to participate in the electoral process, and just two years ago, I signed into law a bill to give them all the rights of full citizenship. In 1945 and in 1971 many adults said, "this is an improper abrogation of authority to these young people."

These predictions of catastrophe also proved to be untrue.

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In the life of Martin Luther King, Jr., our black citizens of Georgia and throughout this nation saw their own aspirations realized, and they saw the prejudices and legal prohibitions against full citizenship begin to be removed. The privileged and powerful leaders of our nation said, "this cannot be".

But I can state to you today a truth that all of you know: that the prediction of Martin Luther King, Jr., that freedom would thus be enhanced among all men has come true.

It would be hard to say who has been more greatly liberated, the black or the white citizens of our nation, because our white citizens have been relieved of a millstone about our necks and of preoccupation with an artificial distinction between the worth of men, which was a handicap to the progress of us all.

I believe we now recognize that we have been liberated, all of us, by granting equality of rights and participation to all Americans regardless of race or color.

Dr. King's works were an inspiration not only to Americans, but throughout the earth, and his awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize was recognition of his contributions.

In closing, let me say that as Governor of this State, I am proud of Georgia. I think it is fair to say that I have taken no innovative nor courageous action contrary to the inclinations of the 5 million people I represent. As I said in my inaugural address three years ago, "the time for racial discrimination is over." I said this not to inspire Georgians to change their minds, but to recognize, as Secretary of State Ben Fortson well knows, a change that has already taken place in the minds and hearts of the people that I love and represent.

I want my country to be number one. I want the United States of America to be the preeminent nation in all the world; but I do not equate preeminence solely with military might nor with the ability to subjugate others or to demonstrate prowess on the battle field. We must have adequate forces to defend ourselves. But, in addition to that, an accomplishment in truth, a recognition of the equality and worth of man, a constant searching for honesty and morality, an openness of government, the ability of all men to control their own destinies and a constant recognition of the values of compassion and love among all our people - these are the proper measures of a great nation.

I accept this portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr., on behalf of all those who live in our State. I believe that it will enhance the education of visiting school children, both black and white; that it will be an inspiration to all Georgians and to other visitors to our Capitol; and that it will stand as a reminder of the proper correlation of natural human frailties in governmental and social affairs with the greatness and purity of our religious principles.

Thank you very much.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign



Telegram

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THE JANUARY 12 COLUMN BY ALEXANDER COGBURN, "THE RIDDLE OF JIMMY CARTER, CAN A DARK HORSE CHANGE HIS SPOTS," IS A WONDERFUL EXAMPLE OF THE CREATION OF "THE BIG LIE" BY A COMPILATION OF HALE TRUTHS, AND DISTORTED FACTS.

JIMMY CARTER IS NOT AND NEVER HAS BEEN GUILTY OF THE KIND OF IMPLIED RACISM OF THESE CHARGES. HE IS ONE OF THE FINEST PRODUCTS OF A MOST MISUNDERSTOOD REGION OF OUR NATION.

PERHAPS THE REAL HEROES AND THE MOST AUTHENTIC LIBERALS OF OUR TIME ARE THOSE WHO EXPRESS THEIR CONVICTIONS IN THEIR OWN HOME TOWNS, POLITICAL COURAGE IN WASHINGTON IS CERTAINLY TO BE RESPECTED, BUT IT CANNOT TOUCH THE CONVICTION AND HEROISM REQUIRED TO BE DIFFERENT IN SUMTER COUNTY, GEORGIA IN THE LATE FIFTIES AND EARLY SIXTIES.

EVEN MORE REMARKABLE IS THE CAPACITY FOR MORAL PERSEVERANCE WHILE MAINTAINING COMPASSION, SYMPATHY, AND GENUINE UNDERSTANDING FOR THOSE BRETHREN WHO STILL LANGUOR IN THE DARKNESS OF INSECURITY AND IGNORANCE.

IT HAS BEEN JUST THIS CAPACITY THAT HAS MADE POSSIBLE THE PROGRESS OF THE SOUTH AND PRODUCED A NEW LEADERSHIP FOR THE NATION.

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S WHOLE APPROACH TO CHANGE EVOLVED OUT OF CONDEMNATION OF THE MISDEEDS AND INJUSTICE OF A SITUATION WHILE MAINTAINING A GENUINE GOOD WILL TOWARD THE PERPETRATORS OF THOSE EVIL ACTS.

A RECONCILIATION OF THE TENSIONS WHICH DIVIDE THIS NATION REQUIRES JUST THIS KIND OF LEADERSHIP.

IT MAY NOT BE TRADITIONAL "LIBERAL" POLITICS TO ACT THIS WAY, AND YOU ARE PROBABLY RIGHT IN QUESTIONING JIMMY'S DOCTRINAIRE LIBERALISM, BUT PROGRESSIVE POLITICS IN 1976 MUST BE BASED ON A "TOUGH MIND AND A TENDER HEART", AND EFFICIENT PRAGMATISM BUILT ON A FOUNDATION OF SOUND VALUES AND A SENSITIVE LOVING HUMAN SPIRIT. I HAVE SENSED THIS NOT ONLY IN JIMMY CARTER, BUT ALSO IN HIS MOTHER WHO JOINED THE PEACE CORPS TO SPEND 2 YEARS IN INDIA AT AGE 68.

LET ME ENCOURAGE YOU TO LOOK AND LISTEN FOR YOURSELF, THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION AND REG MURPHY WERE ARDENT SUPPORTERS OF CARL SANDERS FOR GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA IN 1970 (AND SO WAS I) AND NEVER COULD FORGIVE JIMMY FOR BEATING HIM SO BADLY, LESTER MADDOX FOUGHT JIMMY

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#61-2

FOR 4 YEARS ON EVERYTHING HE TRIED TO DO. THEIR TESTIMONY IS HARDLY OBJECTIVE. BOTH WOULD MAKE SIMILAR ATTACKS ON MAYNARD JACKSON, ATLANTA'S BLACK MAYOR.

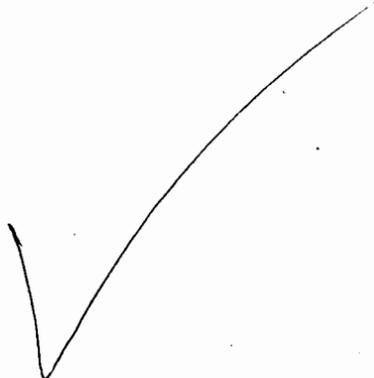
IDEOLOGUES AND INTELLECTUALS WILL ALWAYS HAVE PROBLEMS UNDERSTANDING AND EXPLAINING A MAN LIKE JIMMY CARTER. HE LOVES PEOPLE - MCGOVERN PEOPLE, WALLACE PEOPLE, POOR PEOPLE, AND RICH PEOPLE. HIS ACTIONS GROW OUT OF SOUND INSTINCTS AND HUMAN SENSITIVITIES WHICH TRANSCEND TRADITIONAL PATTERNS AND CATEGORIES.

I'M SURE THERE ARE SOME LEGITIMATE CRITICISMS OF JIMMY CARTER. I HAVE KNOWN HIM PRETTY WELL FOR THE PAST 5 YEARS, AND WHILE I AM A SUPPORTER I RESIST THE TRUE BELIEVER SYNDROME THAT OVERWHELMS POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS. BUT I MUST CONFESS SO FAR MY BIGGEST PROBLEM WITH JIMMY IS THAT HE WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT, SO THERE MUST BE SOMETHING THE MATTER WITH HIM. I HAVE NOT FIGURED OUT YET JUST WHAT IT IS, AND NEITHER HAVE YOU.

CONGRESSMAN ANDREW YOUNG, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

11:53 EST

MGMATLT HSB



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JANUARY 22, 1976

62-1

JIMMY CARTER ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS

It is said that 10% to 15% of the consumer's purchasing power is wasted because consumers are unable to get the information they need to make the best buy. About 20% of deaths and injuries related to household consumer products involve unsafe products. Roughly 1/3 to 1/2 of all consumers have billing disputes. A Department of Transportation study of the automobile insurance system revealed that for every dollar spent on auto insurance premiums, only 42¢ ever gets back to an individual who gets hurt. It is obvious that major reforms are needed to protect the consumers of this nation.

First of all, we need a new dialog between producers and consumers. Years ago, when we lived in a predominantly rural society, we did not need consumer protection since our friends and neighbors were the people with whom we did business. But unprecedented population growth, accelerated urbanization and mechanization in the last 25 years have created almost unsolvable consumer problems. It is quite possible today to operate a large business in an urban center and never see the same customer twice. Already, some businesses are moving to establish consumer departments within their companies. I encourage this move. It is important for business to be aware that it cannot survive unless the people trust and support it.

Next, we need some sort of strong nationwide program of consumer education. The average consumer has little or no knowledge of the laws designed to protect him or her in the marketplace. In Georgia, we set up a program in which state field workers traveled across the state, training social workers and teachers in the basics of consumer law and protection. We set up a Toll Free WATS line to help the citizens of our state with their consumer complaints and need for information. The last year I was Governor, more than 25,000 Georgians called this number. Through this program, we found that the aged have special consumer problems, and we developed a separate program to deal with their needs. We developed a program with Offender Rehabilitation for training prisoners in economic management.

As President, I would like to set up similar programs on a nationwide scale. I would put a strong emphasis on consumer education in our schools, teaching our students everything from how to write a check to a basic understanding of the energy shortage and what we, as a nation, must do to conserve our resources.

But education, by itself, will not be enough. There must be a strong agency voice for consumers within the government itself. Such an agency could research information for all government hearings, presenting evidence supporting the voice of the consumer. Such an agency could assure all our citizens that their federal government is a government that speaks for them. Those consumer offices which do exist within government today frequently lack money and staff and are often excluded from policy making.

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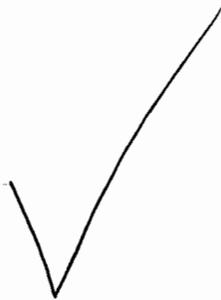
62-4

The 1970 National Commission on Product Safety stated that accidents in American homes associated with consumer products account for 30,000 deaths, 110,000 permanent disabilities, and more than 20 million minor injuries a year. To assure safety, I would recommend the following reforms:

- strong enforcement of existing laws.
- enforcement of adequate flammability standards for clothing for children and the elderly.
- development of adequate research programs to anticipate potential hazards.
- implementation of automobile safety research through enforceable regulations.

There are other areas of government which can be reformed to aid consumer protection. The airline industry would be more competitive without regulatory interference. We need stronger action in the area of credit and insurance.

But none of these measures will be an ultimate solution without a strong awareness among all our people that they together form a class of consumers. If our government is truly going to be a government of the people, it must also be a government that protects the rights of the consumer.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

63-1

JIMMY CARTER ON CRIME

Every American has a right to expect that laws will be administered in an evenhanded manner, but it seems that something is wrong even with our system of justice. Defendants who are repeatedly out on bail commit more crimes. Aggravating trial delays and endless litigation are common. Citizens without influence often bear the brunt of prosecution. Violators of anti-trust laws and other white-collar criminals are often ignored and go unpunished.

Overall, I think the best way to reduce crime in a substantive manner is to reduce unemployment. The best deterrent to crime from within the criminal justice system is the certainty of swift, firm punishment. That doesn't exist now. I think a streamlining of court procedures, an abbreviation of the trial procedure, a sure punishment for a brief period of time, administrative offices for the courts, an emphasis on prevention of crime in areas where crime is so rampant, all of these could contribute to reducing the crime problem.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CYPRUS

For more than twenty years, Greece and Turkey together have held the southern flank of NATO and helped maintain the security of the Mediterranean. Both, as part of our joint alliance, have given base rights and other invaluable support to the United States. It is very much in our own national interest that our close relationship with both countries continue.

Unfortunately, their relations with each other have for many years been troubled by conflicts over Cyprus. Since the coup against Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus over two years ago, these differences have become so serious as to threaten the security of NATO and the good relations of both countries with us.

It is a major U.S. interest that harmony in the alliance be restored. The Republican Administration has failed to deal with the situation in three respects: it has failed to exert its influence effectively to bring about a settlement in Cyprus during the five years before the Cyprus crisis; it failed, despite repeated warnings, to prevent the 1974 coup against Makarios engineered by the former military dictatorship in Athens; it failed to prevent or even to limit the Turkish invasion of Cyprus that followed. This Administration therefore bears a large share of the responsibility for the dangerous deterioration in our relations with Greece and with Turkey.

We should now exert our influence in every feasible and constructive way to help Greece, Turkey and the Cypriots resolve their differences. Only if we are able to maintain the confidence of all three, however, can we hope to be listened to.

Any solution that is to endure must be a just one. It must protect the rights of both the Greek majority and the Turkish minority on the island, including the rights of those displaced from their homes by the Turkish invasion.

The United States cannot impose a solution. It can and must help; but only agreement among the three governments directly concerned can restore harmony and cooperation.

Secret and personal agreements are no substitute for a clear commitment to an early settlement which gives Cyprus its independence.

I feel most distressed that Mr. Kissinger's recent agreement with the Turkish government was not coupled with an agreement which promised more rapid progress toward a just solution for the Cyprus tragedy. In my judgment, we would be negligent of the moral issues and courting longer-range disaster if we fail to couple the improvement in relations with Turkey with increased fair progress on the Cyprus issue along the lines I have outlined above.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

65-1

JIMMY CARTER ON DAIRY FARMING

I favor adequate milk price supports to assure dairy farmers an adequate and reasonable profit. As President, I would have signed the bill President Ford vetoed raising supports to 85% of parity. Such adjustments are needed to account for higher production costs. If such adjustments are not made, milk prices could rise even more in the coming months as more farmers become discouraged and cut production.

I oppose the subsidizing of European dairy product imports. The farmers of this country can compete on even terms with unsubsidized imports but we should not give other countries' products an unfair advantage in our markets.

I also urge that funds for the "Sire proofs" program in the dairy industry be retained in the federal budget. This program is the basis for genetic improvement of dairy herds to increase per cow production of milk. Under the President's proposed budget, this \$1.5 million a year program will be phased out. As Senator Nelson has pointed out, application of the genetic selection program can double per cow production and in many cases surpass it.

I also support automatic quarterly reevaluation of milk support prices. I hope that such legislation will not tie adjustments to an arbitrary formula. Adjustments should also reflect many other economic factors, such as the state of the economy and the demand for milk.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

66-1

JIMMY CARTER ON THE DEATH PENALTY

My position on the death penalty was spelled out as Governor. It should be retained for a few aggravated crimes like murder committed by an inmate with a life sentence. The penalty must be assessed by a jury and must be reviewed in each case by a 3-judge panel of the State Supreme Court.

Since there has not been an execution since 1967 in the U.S., the death penalty actually means ineligibility for parole consideration.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

67-1

JIMMY CARTER ON DEREGULATION OF GAS

There is no need to deregulate the price of old oil. The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of O.P.E.C. oil.

However, our natural gas supply is rapidly approaching critically low levels. As our shallower wells gradually become exhausted, we must depend more and more on deeper wells to supply our natural gas needs. Under the present regulated price structure, producers who attempt to exploit these deeper wells are forced to take a loss on every cubic foot of gas they pump.

We need to deregulate the price of gas for a period of five years. During this time, presently existing contracts will remain in force. At the end of a five-year period, the success of the programs should be evaluated and appropriate new actions taken.

Such a policy would help ensure an adequate supply of gas during the coming years.

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

With proper national planning and determined execution of long-range goals, energy conservation and development can be completely compatible with environmental quality and economic well-being. The elimination of waste, and technological advances into new energy fields along with our current resources can result in enhanced employment opportunities without any reduction in the quality of our economic lives.

price controls on natural gas
Federal Power Commission (FPC)
Arab oil boycott
Project Independence
gas rationing
import quotas

economic reprisals
against Arabs.
new gas
old gas

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68-1

JIMMY CARTER ON OIL COMPANY DIVESTITURE

I support restrictions on the right of a single company to own all phases of production and distribution of oil. However, it may not always be in the consumer's interest to limit a company to one single phase of production. Such a restriction, for example, might make it illegal for the same company to explore for oil and then extract that oil from the ground once discovered. This would clearly result in tremendous price increases to the consumer.

I support legal prohibitions against ownership of competing types of energy, oil and coal for example. However, I cannot promise to oppose any joint responsibility for any phase of production of competing energy sources. Fuel oil and some propane, for example, are produced from crude oil. Their production clearly cannot be separated until after extraction and refining take place. It may not be beneficial to the consumer to separate control of these two competing energy sources until even further down the distribution line.

When competition is inadequate to insure free markets and maximum benefit to America's consumers exists, I will support divestiture. At the present time, I consider these circumstances to exist or to be a threat at the whole-sale and retail levels within the vertically integrated oil companies, and within the coal and uranium industries because of excessive ownership and control by the oil companies.

vertical divestiture ✓
horizontal divestiture ✓
~~concentration in the oil & gas industries~~
break-up of oil companies ✓

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

69-1

JIMMY CARTER ON EDUCATION

 America's commitment to education has facilitated equality of opportunity, yet we still do not provide all citizens with the education necessary to develop their natural potential and participate meaningfully in the decisions of their government. Moreover, those educational institutions and methods we have produced are being seriously undermined by today's fiscal pressures.

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

Meanwhile we are graduating teachers each year who will not be able to find jobs—in 1974, 290,000 teachers for less than 120,000 jobs; in 1976, 164,500 new teachers for 115,000 new positions. The job situation is even more bleak for PhDs, whose numbers tripled during the 1960s. High school enrollment will have reached its peak in 1976; enrollment in elementary schools is already decreasing; colleges have ended their period of great growth and their enrollment is expected to enter a period of decline by 1980.

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

they confront a ceiling in job demand. Cutbacks in numbers of teachers and course offerings are harming the quality of their education. Mean SAT scores have decreased annually for the past 12 years; this year's drop was the greatest in two decades. Top American high school students ranked seventh in scientific knowledge when compared with similar students from 19 other advanced nations. More tragically, 14 million citizens of this wealthiest nation in the world are judged "functionally" illiterate.

Reform must begin with methods of financing. My early predictions that revenue sharing would be used as an excuse to steal funds from a wide range of social programs, including education, have proven true. Funds for local governments should be greatly increased, and the prohibition against using this money for education should be eliminated.

The federal share of public education costs was 10 percent in 1974. If existing inequalities are to be eliminated and American teachers provided with a decent standard of living, this portion must be increased. But most of the funding for public education will continue to come from state and local sources. Unfortunately, regressive and haphazard methods of local financing produce severe inequalities. As governor, I successfully sponsored a major reform of education financing in Georgia to help eliminate disparities based on the relative wealth of the area in which a child lives.

As President, I will initiate a comprehensive program as one of my early, major priorities for implementation by the President, the

Congress, and the states. I will not hesitate to propose and support such basic and controversial changes as:

- The creation of a separate Department of Education. Generally, I am opposed to the proliferation of federal agencies, now numbering some 1,900, which I believe should be reduced to 200. But a Department of Education would consolidate the grant programs, job training, early childhood education, literacy training, and many other functions currently scattered throughout the government. The result would be a stronger voice for education at the federal level.

- Expanded vocational and career education opportunities. Although the number of students enrolled in career education has more than doubled within the last six years, two-and-one-half million leave the educational system without adequate vocational training; it is estimated that 750,000 untrained young enter the unemployment pool annually. Community colleges and other existing programs must be strengthened and extended. By 1980, 80 percent of all jobs are expected to require education beyond high school but less than a four-year degree.

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

•Imaginative reforms to strengthen colleges and universities in times of financial difficulties. For example, parents whose children attend private colleges understandably complain that they must support public colleges and universities through taxation as well as pay high tuition fees. During my years as governor of Georgia, voters authorized annual grants for each student attending private colleges, at a smaller cost to taxpayers than if these students enrolled in public institutions. Such legislation should be encouraged elsewhere. Also basic tax reform proposals should give proper consideration to private philanthropy in education. Other creative reforms can

make our schools and institutions more efficient. If education for the elderly were increased, schools and universities could employ more teachers, utilize facilities more fully, and also provide an invaluable service to the community. If schools and universities were encouraged to pool or share resources, then costly services and equipment would not need to be duplicated and competition for students could decline. When I was governor, I oversaw the expansion of such a "shared service" program for Georgia school systems. Congress has encouraged such plans for higher education but has yet to provide adequate funding. An all-year school calen-

dar, use of student aides, and college intern programs must also be explored in individual cases.

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



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

70-1 This is
sam las
wildlife
speech.
KS

GUEST OPINION

"for if the trumpet be given an uncertain sound, then who shall prepare themselves for the battle"

Jimmy Carter

Late one afternoon five years ago 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 had just left as I drove along the interstate. Suddenly, I saw a flash of bronze in the air. Twenty yards ahead of my car a turkey gobbler had set his wings to sail into the swampland to my right.

I then thought to myself: Would my three-year-old daughter, Amy, ever see a wild turkey gobbler in this county? Will the natural areas of our nation be preserved? Will the quality of our air improve? Will our land and water be protected?

Not long ago, I noted that one of the Cabinet members made a statement, "Earth Day is over" while another prominent Washington official referred to conservationists like myself as "green bigots." I think such talk is inevitable. Environmentalists are now under attack for one basic reason and that is because we accurately predicted what would happen in our modern, fast-changing technological world if we did not make long-range plans concerning the population explosion, food shortages, pollution control, depletion of commodities, natural resources, energy supplies, and now with those predictions having come through, in some strange ways those

of us who accurately predicted several years ago are being blamed for the consequences of a lack of planning.

There is no incompatibility between careful planning and economic progress on the one hand and environmental quality on the other. Our present economic distress, in a major degree, has come from waste and from the lack of planning to correlate the disparate elements that affect us.

I am an engineer, a conservationist, a scientist, environmentalist, nuclear physicist, outdoors man, a Christian, and I've never seen this



Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President in 1976.

diverse background as a conflict. When I was elected governor, I approached the office with a great deal of anticipation, not as a politician but as a businessman, an outdoors man, a planner, and a farmer. I found a terrible, bureaucratic mess. We had 300 agencies and departments in the Georgia government, 278 were abolished. We set up a simple structure, one that was understandable and that could deal with comprehensive problems of the people of the state in an effective, aggressive, comprehensive and understandable way.

We established a new kind of budgeting technique called "zero" based budgeting, where every year we stripped down the Georgia budget to zero and we analyzed every single program that delivered services to the Georgia people. If it was doing a good job, we kept it; sometimes we even enhanced it; if it was ineffective, we eliminated it.

Each year a proper priority of the delivery of services to the Georgia people was carefully assembled and a proper allocation of funds paid in by taxes of the people served. Long-range plans in every parameter of Georgia's life — mental health, physical health, transportation, education, environmental quality, recreation, parks, game and fish management, coastal plains, preservation of

marshlands, etc. — so that the majority of people know ahead of time what is going to happen a year, two years, five years and sometimes even twenty-five years in the future.

I would like to remind you that nowhere in the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Old and New Testaments, do you find the words "economy" or "efficiency." You find other words that are much more important — words like "self-reliance," "beauty" and "appreciation," "foresight," "stewardship," "brotherhood," "tenacity," "commitment," "compassion," and "love," that describe what the government of those human beings ought to be.

The title of this article comes from the Bible — "for if the trumpet be given an uncertain sound, then who shall prepare themselves for battle?"

This is no time for those of us who love God's earth and the beauty of it, the purity of the air and water, to compromise or to retreat, or to yield in any possible measure to the devastation or deterioration of the quality of our lives or our environment.

If the members of the Environmental and Conservation groups of this nation are willing to compromise ahead of time on tough decisions relating to the quality of the lives of the American people, then who in God's world is going to maintain a staunch position from which we can make proper decisions.

One of the most frequent questions I get in my travels around this country is "What are we going to do about energy?"

The destruction of the surface of our lands with uncontrolled strip mining is certainly not a logical approach to the meeting of energy requirements.

The unrestrained and profuse off-shore leasing of scarce and very lightly understood oil reserves is in no way protecting the public's interest and the public's oil deposits.

The right of private businesses, in

conjunction with the Federal Government to condemn lands over the opposition of state and local governments, farmers and ranchers, is no proper procedure in a free and democratic society.

The right to establish arbitrarily sites which might be derogatory to the environment of a beautiful area is no proper procedure for our government to espouse.

Other nations have a comprehensive energy policy — we do not.

We have, in the entire world, about sixty cubic miles of oil, total reserves and the best estimates are then that we can expect from the ground about seventy-five percent of that oil. We use about 1.3 cubic miles per year and that rate of that use is increasing year by year, not particularly in this country now but in the areas of the world which are becoming more industrialized — which means, in turn, we have enough oil to last about thirty five years; we have enough uranium to last forty or fifty years and we have enough coal to last six hundred years.

Among the nuclear physicists of this country, there is a fifty-fifty judgment about whether or not we will have electricity from fusion in this century. We are now seeing a struggle going on, an economic struggle, about how to use what we do have.

There is a great pressure to make synthetics out of coal; to take coal and translate it into oil or gas.

This is probably counter-productive because it takes a lot of energy just to change the form of coal but we do need research and development to make sure that when coal is used that the environment is affected less adversely.

Shale also has tremendous potential but enormous amounts of water and energy are required to extract oil from shale and to get four or five percent of our total energy resources from shale would require us to dig a Panama Canal every day.

The Federal Government has an integral role to play in every respect

of environmental life that I have mentioned.

The total budget allocated to conservation and wildlife is about one percent of our total budget but that includes, to a major degree, two types of expenditures which quite often are counter-productive.

One involves the building of unnecessary dams by the Corps of Engineers and the other one is a channelization of our streams by the Soil Conservation Service.

Not too long ago, in Georgia, I vetoed a major dam project because it would have been destructive to the quality of Georgia's wildlife in the future and also a gross waste of money and that the computations used to justify economically that particular dam were false.

A great reduction must be made in the construction of dams and channelization of streams in this country. We need to enhance recreation and park expenditures, utilization of our forests, both privately and publicly owned, and accentuate good wildlife habitat production for our wildlife. We have to become involved in the protection of natural areas, historic areas and sites that are important and the property management of public lands, not for the oil companies, not for the coal companies, but for the people of the country.

Well, this nation is filled with people who love God's world, who love the grass and the trees and the mountains and the wildlife; who are concerned about the future; who consider themselves stewards; who have natural leadership capabilities, who are trusted by their fellow Americans, neighbors; who have seen firsthand some of the problems that we personally face; who have been tempted to compromise principles because of public pressure or political pressure. However, let's not do it.

I think that it is incumbent upon us, on the cutting edge of the preservation of the quality of life, to ask ourselves a single question: For the people of this country, for the future of it, for our nation, and for ourselves individually, "Why not the best?" □

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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Jimmy Carter's Code of Ethics

Released March 1, 1976

The two questions I hear again and again across this country are: "Can our government be competent?" "Can our government be honest and decent and open?" I have to say that a majority of people would say, "no." This is the first time since polling was started that a majority of our people say that our national and economic status will be worse in 5 years than it is now. But we don't need to be pessimistic.

I have run the Georgia government in a tough, business-like way. As a scientist, businessman, planner and farmer, I've managed it tightly and brought about some dramatic changes in its costs, long-range planning and budgeting techniques and organizational structure. We cut administrative costs more than 50% in Georgia. We abolished 278 out of 300 agencies and departments. So, I know it is possible to run an efficient government.

We ought not to lower our standards in government. Our government in Washington ought to be an inspiration to us all and not a source of shame. I want to spell out to you a number of things that can be done:

- An all-inclusive "Sunshine Law" similar to those passed in several states, should be implemented in Washington. Meetings of federal boards, commissions and regulatory agencies must be opened to the public, along with those of Congressional committees. The only exceptions should involve narrowly defined national security issues, unproven legal accusations or knowledge that might cause serious damage to the nation's economy.
- Broad public access, consonant with the right of personal privacy, should be provided to government files. Maximum security declassification must be implemented.
- The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled, both within Congress and the Executive Department agencies. The new lobbying law

should apply to those executive agencies and departments which are not now covered as well as to the Congress. Quarterly reports of expenditures by all lobbyists who spend more than \$250 in lobbying in any three month period should be required. The act should include any lobbying expenditures aimed at influencing legislation or executive decisions and should cover those who lobby directly, solicit others to lobby or employ lobbyists in their own behalf.

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

- All requests for special government consideration by private or corporate interests should be made public, and decisions should be made only on the basis of merit.

- Complete revelation of all business and financial involvement of all major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest. I have released an audit of my personal finances and will do so annually throughout my term of office. I will insist that the same requirement apply to the Vice President and to those appointed to major policy-making positions in my Administration. As President, I will seek legislation to make such disclosure mandatory.

- Everyone who serves in a position of policy-making ought to reveal to the public his or her financial holdings, where his or her riches are invested and where his or her special interests are so that no conflict with the public interest will exist.

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

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



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

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

- All diplomats, federal judges and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit.

- Independent, blue-ribbon, judicial selection commissions should be established to recommend persons considered best qualified for appointment as federal judges and prosecutors, and, as President, I will make my selection from those recommended.

- The Attorney General and all his or her assistants should be barred from any political activity. He or she should be given the full prerogatives and authority and independence that were recently given to the Special Prosecutor. The Attorney General should be appointed by the President, with the confirmation of the Senate, and should not be removed except for malfeasance.

- During the campaign and as President, I will make myself available to the news media. Press conferences will be held monthly or more often throughout my Administration.

- I will propose to the Congress that the members of my Cabinet appear regularly before both Houses, preferably in joint session, to answer questions from Senators and Repre-

sentatives. I will also request that these sessions be available for live broadcast.

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

- Maximum personal privacy for private citizens should be guaranteed.

- As President, I will be responsible for the conduct of the Executive Branch of Government. Errors or malfeasance will be immediately revealed, and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action to prevent any recurrence of such actions. The same responsibility for campaign actions will be assumed by me as a candidate.

There is only one person in this nation who can speak with a clear voice, who can set a standard of morals and decency and openness, who can spell out comprehensive policies and coordinate the efforts of different departments of government, who can call on the American people for sacrifices and explain the purpose of that sacrifice and the consequences of it. *That person is the President.* The President ought to be personally responsible for everything that goes on in the Executive Branch of government, whether that be the appointment of major officials, the clear description of policy, the relationship of the Executive with Congress, the revelation of mistakes and mismanagement, if any, or violations of the law, should they occur, unfairness on the part of regulatory agencies and so forth.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON FEDERAL JUDICIAL REFORM

✓
 The Attorney General of this nation must be removed from politics and given the full prerogatives, independence, and authority of his or her own office, plus those allotted temporarily to the Special Prosecutor during the Watergate scandals. The Attorney General should be appointed for a specific period of time and should be removed from office only for malfeasance, as mutually determined by the President and designated leaders of Congress. The Attorney General and all assistants should be barred from all political activity.

Substantial improvements can be made in the administration of the federal courts with administrative officers assigned to federal court districts to help insure rapid reductions in court dockets and trial delays. The expectation of quick and certain justice can be the greatest deterrent to crime.

The legal community should be encouraged to marshal its efforts to minimize the time involved in appellate procedures.

All federal judges and prosecutors should be appointed strictly on the basis of merit without any consideration of political aspect or influence. We can no longer afford to treat the administration of justice as political patronage. Even the ability to meet minimum standards is no longer enough; we must search out the very best. Independent, blue ribbon judicial selection committees should be established to give recommendations to the President of the most qualified persons available for positions when vacancies occur.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON GOVERNMENT GROWTH AND BUDGETING

There is a pervasive tendency in government toward unrestrained growth in salaries, number of personnel, and expenditure of funds. This growth often bears little relationship to the actual need for government services.

In times of prosperity, there is almost irresistible pressure to expand existing agencies and offices and to create new ones. Seldom is there a careful, realistic assessment of just what benefits will be derived from the increased expenditures. Not only is this wasteful in the short run, it also adds to the pressure for further growth in the future.

When economic hardship arrives, there is a tendency to cut back, not in administrative costs or government overhead, but in programs that provide services to our people.

One of the most difficult responsibilities of the executive is to keep a close and constant check on this built-in tendency to expand. Under the present federal budgeting system, it simply cannot be done.

The present ~~budgeting~~ system is inefficient, chaotic, and virtually uncontrollable by either the President or the Congress. The executive budget should be prepared using the zero base budgeting technique which has been evolved and proven in Georgia for the last four years and is now being implemented in other states across the nation. This budgeting procedure examines each year the need for specific programs, insures the elimination of unneeded or obsolescent programs, provides a routine means for the reduction or the modification of unsatisfactory programs which need to be continued, and provides for a logical and enlightened expansion of service delivery systems which need to be increased.

We should strive for a balanced budget for this nation during times of normal employment and prosperity. Most importantly, necessary imbalances during times of economic or military crises should be controllable and be a matter of carefully determined policy and clear intent, a sharp contrast to the present uncontrolled, irrational, and unplanned system.

To insure firm legislative and executive control, revenue for the upcoming year should be carefully estimated; and those making proposals to spend above that figure should be required to state how those expenditures will be financed on a continuing basis.

Zero-based budgeting is the best tool for insuring constant assessment of all government programs, new as well as old. But no system will work unless the Chief Executive understands the workings of a mass bureaucracy, is willing to work long hours to find out what is going on, and has the political courage to face tough decisions.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

74-1

JIMMY CARTER ON GUN CONTROL

I favor registration of all handguns, a ban on the sale of cheap handguns, the so-called Saturday Night specials, and prohibition of ownership by anyone convicted of a crime involving a gun and by those not mentally competent.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

✓
75-
JIMMY CARTER ON HIGHWAY TRUST FUNDS

The Highway Trust Fund has served as an outstanding and successful mechanism for constructing an extensive and effective highway network in the United States. In doing so, the Fund has also supported a major section of the U.S. economy, providing jobs, advancing technology, and changing the face of the American landscape.

We are now in an era in which the nation's transportation needs are changing. Such problems as energy costs, material shortages, and environmental considerations will continue to have a great and increasing bearing upon future needs and programs. We need to reevaluate the Highway Trust Fund and consider whether its past success might be extended to other modes of transportation. What we need most today is a balanced multi-modal approach to maintaining and improving the nation's transportation system.

Federal aid to the states has been restricted primarily to expenditures associated with new construction. Our progress with the Interstate and rural road systems, however, will reduce our future needs for new highways. We should shift attention to maintenance and modernization of the present system.

Under the Highway Act of 1973, the Highway Trust Fund was made available -- on a very limited basis -- for use in financing public mass transportation. However in several cases, such financing has proven to be difficult to use because of the divergent goals and objectives of state and local officials. We should try to set a national transportation policy, while making urban transportation implementation truly a matter of local discretion.

In the 15 years between 1950 and 1965, the annual federal aid to highways increased roughly 800%. During this time, the highway systems' share of the total freight revenue in the United States increased rapidly also, largely at the expense of rail transportation, so that now highways have the largest share of this revenue. While federal aid to highways did not cause the current crisis in our nation's railroad system, it has had a definite impact. We need a more balanced approach to funding to stress our future, not our past needs.

We need a balanced view of the nation's transportation system. The concept of a total transportation trust fund is especially appealing in that it would support and facilitate this balanced approach. At the same time, we need to review and change the complex regulatory system with which our transport industries must contend.

We should learn from the Highway Trust Fund experience and extend the lesson to our total transportation policy. We need a balanced approach to development and maintenance to meet our future needs.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON HOUSING

We have a housing crisis, both in terms of the individual looking for a home and in terms of the industry. Housing has been priced out of reach for many Americans. Housing prices now average three times the income of the average buyer. We have a surplus of expensive homes which we do not need while there is a scarcity of homes which Americans with average incomes can afford. Virtually no new housing is being built for low income Americans, the elderly, and the handicapped.

Approximately one household in eight continues to live in substandard and overcrowded conditions. Yet between January, 1973, and December, 1975, housing starts dropped by over half. The housing industry has not been in such bad shape since the Department of Commerce began keeping records in 1946.

Over half a million construction workers across the nation are out of work - nearly twice the national average.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has been rocked by scandal. Over two hundred Administration housing officials, some of them political appointees, have been convicted of criminal offenses; and many more are under indictment.

Time and time again, we have heard the pledge from Washington: a decent home in a decent environment for every American. Yet, given this ideal and the importance of housing for our entire economy, one can only be appalled at the shabby leadership of the Nixon and Ford Administrations in the housing area.

I doubt that anyone could tell me what the Ford Administration's housing policy is - because a policy does not exist. Those of us who are interested in low and moderate cost housing have absolutely no way of learning what our government's intentions are.

It was the abandonment of our national housing goals by the Nixon and Ford Administrations which led to our present housing disaster and which has contributed to the poor state of our national economy as a whole. The government impounded funds for existing programs and also tightened credit, which sent up the price of borrowed money and drained capital from housing.

Instead of production, we have been given moratoriums and illegal impoundments. Since the January, 1973, moratorium, there has been virtually no new subsidized housing for low and middle income Americans. Many projects begun earlier have died lingering deaths due to administrative delays by H.U.D. and due to the continuing increase in costs. The Administration housing moratorium was based not on the quality of these programs. Rather, it was a neat clever attempt to cure inflation, and it had disastrous consequences.

The cure-all programs promised by the Republican Administration two years ago have proven to be embarrassingly unwieldy, expensive, and unproductive. Section 8 has provided the housing industry with neither sufficient incentives nor confidence in the federal commitment to low income housing.

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Our efforts to restore the health of the national economy must go beyond mere gross manipulations of monetary policy and federal government spending. We cannot restore national economic health by crushing the housing sector. Such a result is the opposite of national comprehensive economic planning.

What can be done to meet our national housing needs?

We must establish simple, workable, and predictable housing policies which can be understood by all the participants in the housing sector.

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 concern consistent with the highest standards of the American people.

Whatever the Nixon and Ford Administrations may think, "public housing" and "subsidized housing" are not dirty words. We know traditional public housing can work when directed by professional local housing authorities. Assured financing - federal and state - and direct subsidies are essential in order to construct and rehabilitate new low and middle income housing and to stimulate the construction industry.

In the long run, we should work toward providing low income citizens with better incomes, through increased employment or through a reformed, efficient welfare system for those who are unable to work, so that the low income person can afford adequate housing.

We must restore housing professionals to their rightful place in the housing decision-making process. The professional men and women in our local housing authorities, in our state and federal agencies, in the Farmers' Home Administration, have more than forty years of experience in coping with the intricacies of housing development and distribution. The federal government can establish criteria for allocating housing funds, identifying unmet needs, and setting national targets; but we must let local authorities, with their experience and knowledge, produce and maintain low income housing.

The Section 202 Program, which successfully provides housing for the elderly and handicapped, must be expanded.

There should be federal guidelines to prevent redlining in urban neighborhoods. We must concentrate on restoring and conserving existing neighborhoods, as well as building new ones. The infrastructure is already there. The cost of constructing a new home today makes the rehabilitation of abandoned dwellings economically feasible, particularly when done in a neighborhood context.

Realtors and other involved parties should play a major and a constructive role in land use planning.

We must provide for a steady supply of credit for the housing industry in order to minimize the boom and bust rollercoaster which presently afflicts the industry.

We must continue to develop innovative programs for the distribution of housing to rural areas of our country. We will never solve our urban housing problems until we improve the housing conditions of those rural Americans who occupy two-thirds of the nation's substandard housing.

This country faces several housing crises: a depressed housing industry, broad sectors of the population unable to obtain decent housing, and a depression-like unemployment rate among construction workers. The solution to one of these crises is the solution to all of them. We must resume our efforts to fulfill our legislative promise of a decent home for all and, in so doing, move toward another basic need - a meaningful job for all.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Underlined for indexing

If detente with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe is to have real meaning, we must work toward a freer flow of information and ideas into those countries. The most valuable instruments our nation has for this purpose are our international radio stations -- Voice of America (the official radio voice of the U.S. Government abroad), Radio Free Europe (RFE), and Radio Liberty (RL).

These stations, which substitute for a free press in the countries they reach, have for many years been a vital part of the lives of over half the adult population of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, and one-fourth the adult population of the Soviet Union. For these people, radio broadcasts from abroad are the primary source of uncensored information.

The Voice of America, with superb technical facilities and a capacity to broadcast an audible signal to all of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, has been entangled in a web of political restrictions imposed by the Department of State, which seriously limits its effectiveness. At the same time, for nearly a decade, our foreign policy leadership in Washington has ignored repeated warnings that the broadcast strength of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is growing progressively weaker owing to jamming and inadequate transmitter power. Three years ago, a Presidential Study Commission chaired by Milton Eisenhower concluded that major facility modernization of the two stations should be undertaken on an urgent basis. The President and the authorizing committees of Congress concurred. And yet, the budget request for the period through September, 1977, is now before the Congress and still no funding is being sought by the Administration for the essential transmitters.

I believe that this failure to act stems from the inability of the present Administration to appreciate the importance of an open foreign policy and a free flow of information and ideas through mass communication. There are also signs of a more insidious problem -- a preference by our Secretary of State to deal privately with the Soviets, while they have launched a massive diplomatic attack on the radios demanding that they be shut down and attempting to prevent RFE and RL commentators from covering the Olympic Games. As I said in Chicago, "...having the benefits of the Helsinki Accords without the requirement of living up to the human rights provisions which form an integral part of it, is not an acceptable formula for detente."

In final analysis, the radios are more than mere transmitters of information. They are the symbol of the U.S. commitment to peaceful change in Eastern Europe and a sign of continued U.S. engagement in Europe's future. If we remove the uncertainties that have arisen around our commitment to the radios, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Russians, Ukrainians and others -- will transcend what Alexander Solzhenitsyn has called the "muffled zone." And the American people can once again take pride in the fact that their foreign policy is an accurate reflection of their character and moral heritage.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON RAILROAD REORGANIZATION

79-1

Our nation is dependent on its railroads - 40% of all intercity freight, over 60% of the shipments of manufacturers and over 66% of the grain from the North Central states moves by rail. These figures are larger than the combined percentages of trucks, barges, and air carriers. In addition, railroads enjoy low per unit operating, pollution, and fuel consumption costs.

In 1970, Congress took a major step towards improvement of the passenger rail system with the formation of Amtrak. Last year the system carried 18.5 million passengers on the 225 daily trains which serve 424 communities across the nation. Unfortunately, mechanical and other operating problems of the new system contribute to the \$90 million a year that Amtrak would lose even if every seat on every train were filled. To operate this system, the federal government has provided almost \$1.5 billion in grants and loan guarantees.

In 1973, Congress created Conrail, the consolidated rail system, in an effort to restructure the Penn Central and five other bankrupt railroads. The United States Railway Association blueprint for the new system proposes the abandonment of unprofitable branch lines in the hopes that the consolidated system will be financially self-supporting. The abandonment of 7,000 miles of lines in the Northeast leaves many communities without transportation service.

The problem of transportation services to communities that are to be left without rail service under Conrail makes evident that the problem of railroad reorganization cannot be analyzed in a vacuum but must be treated as one part of a larger transportation problem. We need a national comprehensive transportation policy, and it is obvious that the savings in fuel, operating, and pollution costs from intensive use of railroads should provide them with a competitive advantage over other forms of transportation. For example, the cost of transporting a ton of grain from Buffalo, N.Y. to Scranton, Pa. by rail was \$7.80 in March; by truck, the shipment would cost \$11.

Part of the problem facing the railroad industry has resulted from the haphazard pattern of regulation in the transportation industry. Railroads are regulated 100% as compared to 39% and 13% in the truck and barge traffic areas respectively. The current transportation policy has been to subsidize airports, highways and canals while railroad roadbeds receive no subsidies for reconstruction. In addition, railroads pay a greater proportion of their revenues in taxes on their right-of-way facilities and have until recently received little federal aid.

It is no wonder then that the reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today. We must deal not only with the immediate problems of the bankrupt railroads of the northeastern and midwestern states, but with longer-range questions focusing on the role of railroads in the future of this country's transportation needs.

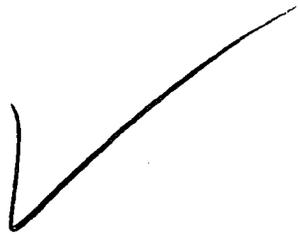
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We need closer inter-modal coordination at the federal level, along with increased support for research and development. We must also modify the present regulatory structure to encourage better coordination among modes.

There is a need to improve the quality of service. Past trends of deferral maintenance and investment have produced chronic shortages of rail cars and increasing accident rates. The percentage of rail accidents attributable to poor maintenance has doubled in the past ten years.

Containerization remains a most promising means of revitalizing the railroads, and we should make possible the more efficient use of this technology.

The key to success in railroad reorganization will be establishment of a system which makes greater use of inter-modal coordination and which provides support for the substantial effort required to put the system back in shape. While we must safeguard the existence of the railroads, we must also provide an atmosphere in which they can prosper. Government policies which provide a billion dollars a year for air travel but demand that railroads pay their own track and railbed expenses cannot continue. Our interest must be the public good; the interdependence of all systems must be recognized.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

82-1

JIMMY CARTER ON SENATE BILL 1

S.1 is an attempt to reform the federal criminal code. Federal criminal laws have not been codified and their development has been haphazard; an attempt to reform them is laudable.

Unfortunately, the proposed "Criminal Justice Codification, Revision, and Reform Act of 1975" goes beyond what is needed and threatens to disrupt civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. The basic problem is the vagueness in the manner that many of the crimes are defined. For this reason, I oppose the bill.

- Sections 1121, 1122, and 1123, which deal with espionage, define "national defense information" so broadly that ordinary agricultural, industrial and economic data could reasonably be protected.

- Section 1124 criminalizes disclosure of classified information whether the information was properly classified or not.

- Section 1103 reenacts the Smith Act, which makes it illegal to incite to imminent lawless conduct, or to act in a manner which could facilitate such conduct.

- Sections 541-544 allow as a defense in the prosecution of a "public servant" that the conduct "was required or authorized by law to carry out the defendant's authority."

After our recent experiences with Watergate, it is important that national government once again become a government of the people. Accountability is an elementary principle of democratic government. S.1 makes government officials less accountable to the people by not only making "just following orders" a valid defense for any public servant, but also by making it illegal to release misclassified documents.

The criminal code is archaic and in need of some reform. But reform can be accomplished without undermining the basis of democratic government. S.1 could possibly allow for the jailing of those who protest Vietnam-type wars. S.1 could possibly stop newspapers from printing such things as the Pentagon Papers, and possibly could prevent reports such as the stories about the grain deals with Russia.

S.1 has many vague provisions which could be used against people disliked by those running the government. And S.1 contains the provisions which would stop us from discovering those abuses. Secrecy in government is cancerous, as Watergate has taught us, and S.1 is designed to make government more - not less - secret.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

83-1

JIMMY CARTER ON THE ELDERLY AND SOCIAL SECURITY

One of our nation's most priceless, yet unappreciated, natural assets is our senior citizens. Yet their experience and wisdom is often untapped by both government and industry. Our elderly are often treated as second-class citizens.

There are now 23 million Americans over the age of 65 -- and our elderly constitute a growing percentage of our nation's population. But our government has no coherent program to assist the aged and help make them more productive citizens. Indeed for many, the basic necessities of life are still a struggle.

Our older citizens are most likely to be poverty-stricken, to have high health costs, poor housing, and inadequate access to available transportation.

Our senior citizens have contributed much during their lives to the strength and vitality of America. They have the right to expect in their later years that they will have an adequate income, comfortable housing, access to expert and affordable health care, and adequate transportation.

The most important guarantee of a secure income to our elderly comes through the Social Security program. The Social Security program has come under recent attack. It has been damaged by inflation, which has vastly increased costs; and unemployment, which has drained the system of needed revenues. Both are the legacy of Republican economic mismanagement. As a result, the system has been hit with severe deficits.

I pledge to you and Americans around the country that as President I will preserve, with the assistance of Congress, the financial integrity of the ~~Social Security~~ Social Security system to which so many millions of Americans have contributed and are contributing. Every year one million American workers contribute to Social Security, building benefits for themselves and their families and insuring the protection of the present beneficiaries.

To solve the current problems of the Social Security system we must energetically insure that:

--we preserve the present ~~cost of living~~ benefits for those receiving benefits and stabilize the "replacement rate" of benefits to wages, by guaranteeing to present day contributors that their benefits at retirement will fully reflect increases in their wages. Workers should be guaranteed that when they retire Social Security benefits will bear the same relationship to their recent earnings as is true for those retiring today. This could be accomplished by indexing average monthly earnings under Social Security. The reform I have suggested would cut in half the estimated long-range imbalance in the program.

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--rather than increasing the contribution rate as President Ford has suggested, which would put an even greater burden on the average wage earner, would not insure more benefits, and would require everyone to pay more, if additional revenues are needed, I would prefer a more progressive plan to increase gradually the maximum amount of earnings subject to the social security tax.

But our program for senior citizens cannot stop here.

We must move toward national health insurance for all Americans, so that no American, and particularly the elderly, will have to fear that they cannot afford necessary medical care.

It is not acceptable for this country to force the elderly to live in substandard housing. Yet 30% of American's elderly live in substandard, run-down or deteriorated housing. We cannot tolerate Republican failure to deal with this problem. I am committed to a rapid increase in the Section 202 housing program for the elderly, funds for renovation of existing structures, and strong federal protection against the displacement of senior citizens by landlords seeking to convert rental housing into condominiums.

Our elderly lack the mobility so essential to enjoyment of the benefits of our country. Our senior citizens must be involved in transportation planning. I believe it is appropriate for the federal government to help to subsidize low-cost fares for the elderly on federally financed public transit systems.

To insure that government policy toward the elderly is coordinated, I will establish in the Office of the President a Counselor on the Aging, to develop innovative programs for the elderly and insure that government action takes into account fully the concerns of the elderly.

Most important, we need a President who is truly concerned with and sympathetic to the problems of older Americans. They must never again feel ignored -- under my Administration they never will.

84-1

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign



January 22, 1976

JIMMY CARTER ON SOVIET JEWRY

The official suppression in the USSR of the "Journal of Jews in the USSR" is but the latest tactic in the relentless Soviet harassment of the Jewish emigration movement and its activists. Thirty-five prisoners languish in Soviet prisons in reprisal for their Jewish activities, in some instances after their relatives left for Israel.

Over a thousand "refuseniks" and their families are known to have been repeatedly denied exit visas for reunification with their families. New applicants for exit visas find obstacles continually placed in their way. Emigration of Soviet Jews both to Israel and the United States has dropped drastically since the high point of 35,000 in 1973. Scores of Soviet Jewish activists have been summoned to KGB offices and threatened with trials. Students are expelled from technical schools and universities and are threatened with military draft for their expressions of Jewish identity. Mail and telegrams from the West to Soviet Jewish activists and their families, and to the families of religious prisoners are often undelivered, and telephone calls are jammed or refused by Soviet operators.

I protest these and similar acts of oppression. I support full religious and cultural opportunities for Soviet Jews, including essential Jewish institutions and the free flow of ideas, information, and people. Violations of basic human rights are no longer the internal affair of any one nation. We must be strongly committed to the securing of basic human rights for all people, including the three million Jews in the Soviet Union.

We must make it clear to the Russians, in every endeavor, that their treatment of Jews is unacceptable to us. In our Bicentennial year, our responsibility for world leadership in this effort becomes even stronger.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

85-1

JIMMY CARTER ON TAX REFORM

Our national tax system is a disgrace. Carefully contrived loopholes let the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage earner. Some of our largest corporations with extremely high profits pay virtually no tax at all. The average family earning \$10,000 per year pays a larger portion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of \$1 million or more. When a business executive can charge off a \$50 luncheon on a tax return and a truck driver cannot deduct his \$1.50 sandwich -- when oil companies pay less than 5% on their earnings while employees of the company pay at least three times this rate -- when many pay no taxes on incomes of more than \$100,000 -- then we need basic tax reform.

I am considering a drastic simplification of the income tax system that would lower taxes on middle and low-income families. To do that you would eliminate hundreds of tax breaks and greatly reduce the tax rate. A recent study says such a plan would allow a reduction of as much as 40% in the tax rate.

Basically, subject to some exceptions, I favor a simplified tax system which treats all income the same, and a system which does not encourage corporations to locate plants abroad, while people who want to work are begging for jobs back home.

The only people who have anything to fear from any Carter tax reform plan are the special interests who do not pay their fair share of taxes and who are responsible for the disgracefully unfair tax system we now have.

5172
Ford Charge: ~~was~~ ~~claiming~~ Carter claims

that the United States is no longer ~~the~~ a breadbasket of the world. That is wrong.

Response: In Governor Carter's closing statement, the question is asked: "Can we become a breadbasket of the world instead of the great merchant of the world?" ~~The~~ This

~~question~~ ~~then~~ question must be looked at in the context of his ~~total~~ entire statement -- which focused on "Leadership, upholding the principles of our country and proper priorities in commitments for the future." Governor Carter was about talking about the future of this country and its image in the world ("I want to

see our nation returned to a posture and an image and a standard to make us ~~feel~~ proud once again.").

The question in issue was thus merely a question about ~~the~~ ~~our~~ priorities and ~~our~~ image in the world.

In other words, in the future, will ~~the~~ this country give priority to and develop an image of being principally the bread basket of the world or will ^{we} continue the Ford

Administration's ~~and~~ ^{policy} of increasing emphasis on

being ~~at~~ the arms merchant of the world? The question is

~~no~~ no ~~is~~ way said the United States no longer provide food assistance abroad.

Future

Statement

There are many empty promises Mr. Ford has tossed at the American electorate ~~the~~ during this campaign. His decision in the middle of last night's debate to disclose the names of companies complying with the Arab boycott is no exception. The ~~supposed~~ disingenuous nature of this most recent promise is absolutely clear.

-- First, although Mr. Ford said he would release the names of all companies which had

"participated" in the boycott, the Commerce Department was taken completely by surprise and now states that ~~only~~ Mr. Ford's promise only applies to future not ~~past~~^{past} compliance with the boycott. As to the part, Mr. Ford's agreement with Big business not to disclose ~~the~~ names will prevent ~~the~~^{their} disclosure,

-- Second, even if some ~~the~~ names are disclosed, something Mr. Ford has refused to do over the last two years, little will be achieved by that act. What we need ~~is~~ is a ~~thin~~^{strong} Federal law prohibiting compliance with the boycott. ~~Mr. Ford~~ Ford

PROPOSED JIMMY CARTER STATEMENT ON LEBANON

I am distressed and worried by the war in Lebanon. Before this conflict Lebanon was a beacon of democracy in the Arab world - a country, like the United States, that proved that groups that differ culturally and religiously could live together in peace and harmony. In religion, culture, and finance, Lebanon was the crossroads of Europe and the Middle East. Now, because ideological and selfish interests have torn up the Lebanese ^{Achievement} ~~way of life~~, 40,000 lives have been taken, untold human suffering has resulted and a country that only 2 years ago was ~~so~~ vibrant has been virtually destroyed.

In the midst of this chaos the Ford Administration has given only lip service to the preservation of Lebanon's independence and integrity. *We cannot sit idly by while the carnage continues.*

I believe we should help preserve the Lebanese experie~~m~~ in democracy and that we should ~~therefor~~ do more to promote conciliation among the warring factions. One reason this terrible conflict continues is the easy and indiscriminate availability of weapons. *A multinational effort should be conducted to stop this deadly arms race.* ~~The United States must do more right now to stop this deadly flow of weapons and ammunition.~~

We must help the Lebanese rebuild a free and independent Lebanon, ~~belonging to and~~ administered by the Lebanese.

To help restore Lebanon to its position as the cultural, educational, business and banking center of the Middle East, my Administration will support the efforts of the Lebanese government to end human oppression, protect the rights of the minorities,

and serve the needs of all the people of Lebanon.

Finally, I intend to appoint a special emissary to go to Lebanon within 30 days of my election to speak with President Sarkis and ~~other~~ leaders of other factions and report back to me with specific findings and recommendations. I believe that the United States should do its share to help with the long-term reconstruction of Lebanon, once peace is restored. Obviously all people of good will can agree that it is long past time for a permanent peace - not only in Lebanon, but throughout the Middle East.

This is not an impossible dream. It can be a concrete objective and it is one to which I will direct my efforts from the day I take office, as a matter of the highest priority and urgency.

Tel 10/24/76^{2/8}

With today's level of world affluence and the limited capacity of the world's farmers to produce enough food, there is demand for all the food we can produce in the long run. The job of the President is to develop a policy that will even out short term fluctuations in supply and demand. This is the kind of policy I would develop, and therefore eliminate the need for embargoes.

2. EXPORTS

Agriculture in international trade is the gas and oil for the United States. We export the produce of about one out of every three of our acres--60% of our wheat--50% of rice and soybeans--and 25% of our corn. It is imperative, therefore, that we have an aggressive, coherent and above all predictable agriculture export policy.

We should have a program of "active salesmanship" to promote the sale of American agricultural commodities and there should be strong sales efforts on the part of federal agencies in times of temporary overproduction.

Our foreign customers know that we produce the best food in the world. They know we can meet competitive world prices. They know we are the world's last dependable granary. But they've started to think we're undependable--not because of our farmers, but because of our Republican administration. Every time Nixon, Ford and Butz have imposed a new export embargo it has caused permanent damage to foreign markets for farm products. Every time they delay tough and honest grain inspection, the damage is multiplied.

It shouldn't be that way. With new leadership in the Agriculture Department, with a new and stable farm policy, we can win back our reputation as a dependable supplier.

3/8

3. PRICE SUPPORTS

In the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973, the Congress directed the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct a cost of production study of wheat, feed grains, cotton, and dairy commodities, and to update these costs annually. These studies have been published. They will form a good basis for the calculation of a fair national average cost of production figure.

I fully intend to seek advice from a wide spectrum of American agriculture and the American public so that we can, with the help of the Congress next year, develop price support levels that are high enough to give farmers protection against economic disaster but not so high that they either guarantee profit, stimulate surplus production, or artificially increase consumer prices. That's a difficult assignment, but I'm willing to tackle it. The present Administration has been content to sit back and ignore the problems.

4. RESERVES

The embargoes of the past four years have shown that farmers^{must} have the tools to deal with emergencies in the marketplace. A system of buffer stocks would help us maintain our reliability as an exporter during times of severe shortage while enabling us to meet the needs of domestic consumers. Farmers will know that there will be no secret unplanned embargoes which have so disrupted their markets; American consumers will be assured that there will always be enough to meet their needs. The details of such a reserve plan would be developed after extensive consultation with farmers, farm-elected committeemen and others concerned with food policy. However, any future reserve plan must be based on the following principles:

- a. MAXIMUM INSULATION. Any system of reserves must be maximally

4/8

insulated from the marketplace through clear-cut and well-known conditions for acquisition and use.

b. FARMER CONTROL. Control of such reserves must remain largely with farmers to prevent government "dumping" during times of moderate price increases.

America must maintain its reliability as a supplier of high quality agricultural products by honoring its contracts. Otherwise, overseas customers will look elsewhere.

5. DROUGHT

Farmers and ranchers face greater risks from natural disasters than any other producers in our economy.

The present disaster relief system actually hinders farmers and ranchers from obtaining the compensation due them.

As President, I will instruct my Secretary of Agriculture to send to the Congress a legislature package that makes sense of the overlapping, confused and often conflicting disaster programs which, even taken together, do not solve the problems that farmers and ranchers face year after year. We need an end to incomprehensible paperwork, conflicting standards, and confusing criteria that characterize the present disaster protection programs.

This streamlining and reorganization of disaster programs coupled with a Secretary of Agriculture who understands and actively cares about farmers, will mean a government that can respond with speed and compassion to such disasters.

2. I would like for agriculture to prosper with an absolute minimum of government control or intervention. With a coherent, stable and well-managed agricultural policy -- the kind I intend to pursue -- I believe we can accomplish this goal.

The Republicans CLAIM that their "free market" policy means less government control, but let's take a look at what happened when they put their "policy" into practice:

The Republicans imposed four embargoes on agricultural exports over the past three years -- and sent agricultural prices reeling.

The Republicans set price controls on beef -- and our livestock producers are still suffering the consequences.

In short, the Republicans merely TALK of less control. IN PRACTICE they have controlled, and driven down, farm income in the most damaging ways possible.

3. Farmers should be encouraged to seek broader export markets abroad, and they deserve greater support from the government in doing so. This year, the Ford administration attempted to cut the budget for the joint industry-government overseas agricultural market development program which has proven so effective. I would strengthen this program with emphasis on expanding markets in such areas as Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

We need to broaden markets for the products of American agriculture. Our goal must always be to eliminate arbitrary trade barriers and discriminatory trade practices. Of course, we recognize the need to import if we are to export to the world in large amounts. At the same time, however, we must carefully scrutinize the entry of subsidized imports into American markets, especially meat, dairy products and palm oil, and take vigorous action to prevent illegal importation of agricultural goods.

~~6/10~~ 6/8

INFLATION

12. Farmers have every right to be concerned about inflation. Recent federal government statistics have shown that while farm prices declined last year by 5%, the cost of farm inputs climbed 7%.

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

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

-- insure a steady flow of jobs and output.

-- increase productivity so that growth does not become overly inflationary.

-- insure a better relationship between the availability of goods and the demand for them.

-- reform those governmental regulations, such as the rule prohibiting a truck from carrying goods on its return haul, which unnecessarily add to prices.

-- adopt a monetary policy which encourages lower interest rates and the availability of investment capital at reasonable costs.

-- effectively monitor excessive price and wage increases in specific sectors of the economy.

~~7/10~~ 7/8

|| OIL + ENERGY

13. Two and a half years after the humiliating Arab oil embargo, with its devastating and continuing consequences for our economy, we still have no national energy policy. A major immediate need is to reduce the enormous waste which continues to occur in oil and gas consumption. Our energy waste in transportation is calculated at 85%. In generating electricity, it is 65%. Overall, 50% of our energy is wasted. We must move now, therefore, to reduce such waste by legal mandate, patriotic appeals, and improved technology. Should such measures be inadequate, standby excise taxes should be made available to the President for selective imposition on petroleum products.

In addition to drastic measures of energy conservation, we need to make a major shift to coal and substantially increase our use of solar energy so as to limit our dependence on nuclear power.

Recognizing that it is neither possible nor necessary for us to be entirely energy-independent by 1985, we nevertheless should be free from possible blackmail or economic disaster which might be caused by another boycott from abroad. Our oil reserves should therefore be developed, imports reduced to manageable levels, standby rationing procedures evolved and authorized, and aggressive economic reprisals readied to await any boycotting country.

In these and other ways we can assert the leadership now so sadly lacking.

N.B.,

One final word on energy policy. I believe agricultural users should receive a top priority in our energy policies and in case of any future energy shortage, along with hospitals, residences, and other users vital to public health and safety. It is imperative that our nation always have an abundant supply of food.

ESTATE TAXES

8/10 8/8

14. Congress has recently acted to reduce the burden that estate taxes place on our family farmers. I have long endorsed such a move. We must now work to keep the estate tax exemption in line with rising land costs, and ensure that permanent farmland is valued at its use for agricultural purposes.

GRAIN INSPECTION

15. I believe grain inspection should be handled by an administration which is not beholden to the big grain companies and which does not wink at evidence of wrong-doing on their part.

With its permissiveness in the face of massive corruption in the export sales of the big grain companies, the Nixon-Ford administration has brought on the most bizarre and shocking series of scandals in the history of the U.S. grain trade. During the past 16 months, criminal indictments have been produced against 83 individuals and companies at New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Houston on a variety of charges including grain theft, misgrading, short-weighting, bribery, conspiracy, and income tax evasion. Convictions now total 59.

A Carter Administration would clean up the mess and provide effective safeguards against future irregularities. Such action is essential to the restoration of confidence among foreign buyers and the maintenance of our important overseas markets.

Congress has recently provided new authority for dealing with the problems of grain inspection. I will do my best to see that the law is vigorously enforced and administered, and unlike the Republican administration, I will not hesitate to punish any wrong-doing.

Jodi or Stu

Noel S.
Al has
approved

Statement by Gov. Carter on

CONSUMER PRICES AND REAL EARNINGS

(for release on Sept. 21)

The American consumer got bad news again this morning when the Consumer Price Index and Real Earnings were announced. Government statistics confirm what the average worker already know^s--that prices are still rising faster than his paycheck.

--the 6 percent inflation rate in August confirms that we've made no progress in fighting inflation since the Republicans took office. The rate of inflation was 6 percent in 1969--the first year of Richard Nixon's Administration and it is still 6 percent today.

--the earnings of the average worker haven't kept pace with the prices he must pay every day for food, rent, and clothing. In August the real weekly earnings of the average worker dropped below the July level. In fact, earnings today are still below what they were when the Republicans took office in 1969. The bottom line of Republican economic policies is that the working men and women of this country have been on a treadmill ~~for the last 8 years.~~ -- they are 8 years older and still running to catch up to the standard of living that had in 1969.

Governor --

In the next few days, you may be asked about the new Israeli-Egyptian agreements. Some suggestions from your advisors:

HENRY OWEN -- What the agreement does is buy time. The agreements don't really get at the heart of the mideast problems -- the disagreements with the Syrians and the Palestinians. The Palestinians will be angry at the latest agreements. The Syrians are waiting to see what happens since Sadat has assured them that further agreements will follow. If they don't in the next few months, he could be in trouble. It is therefore imperative that this country push for another Geneva conference to keep the momentum from this agreement constant.

Sen. Jackson and Fred Harris have criticized the assignment of 125 Americans as sort of a peacekeeping advisory group. Owen saw their assignment as trivial, while admitting that they could be in some danger from terrorist attacks. He said however the risk was small when compared to what might happen if hostilities resumed. It was important to Israel to have an American force since they no longer trust the United Nations and think it has been stacked against them.

PROFESSOR BRZIENSKI -- He has taken a bit more negative approach. He sees this agreement as another one of the typical Kissinger agreements which looks good at the moment but might collapse in another year or two (Like Salt or Vietnam).

While the agreement should be welcomed, there are a number of misgivings that need to be expressed. First, there is a real danger that this agreement will perpetuate a stalemate. There is no apparent link between this and the questions of Golan, the West Bank, and Jerusalem, three problems that remain unsolved.

The United States has also paid a tremendous price for what might well turn out to be a marginal agreement. We have committed ourselves to a major subsidy; guaranteed our physical presence; and, if this agreement follows the form of others, there are probably secret agreements between both sides.

Therefore, if he were a Congressman, Brzienski would support the treaty, while pointing out that we should outline a broad policy of what sort of total mideast settlement we would like to attain. From there, we could work to secure concessions on all the major issues. Now, he says, we may have used much of our bargaining leverage on a marginal settlement.

JIMMY
CARTER
WALTER
MONDALE



Leaders, for a change.

FOR JOE
DUFFY

1 of 3

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1976

STATEMENT BY HAMILTON JORDAN, CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

"MR. FORD TODAY SAID THAT A 'CRUSADE AGAINST CRIME' WOULD KEYNOTE THE FIRST 100 DAYS OF HIS NEW TERM IF HE IS ELECTED. THAT IS A STRANGE PROMISE FROM THE MAN WHO HAS BEEN PRESIDENT FOR MORE THAN 700 DAYS ALREADY. BUT PERHAPS IT IS A NECESSARY ONE, SINCE THE RECORD OF THAT 700 DAYS SHOWS SERIOUS NEGLECT OF THE CRIME PROBLEM.

"LET'S LOOK AT THAT RECORD:

-- MR. FORD CLAIMS TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DRUG TRAFFIC, YET HE ACQUIESCED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS TAX PROGRAM, A HIGHLY EFFECTIVE EFFORT TO PUT MAJOR DRUG DEALERS IN JAIL FOR TAX EVASION. MR. FORD FINALLY TOLD HIS I.R.S. COMMISSIONER AND TREASURY SECRETARY TO REESTABLISH THE PROGRAM LAST APRIL, BUT THE I.R.S. STILL REFUSES.

-- THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE, THE GROUP BEFORE WHOM MR. FORD SPOKE, WILL VOTE THIS WEEK ON A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE FORD ADMINISTRATION FOR ITS FAILURE TO RE-ESTABLISH THIS PROGRAM.

-- THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION, THE GOVERNMENT'S CHIEF DRUG CONTROL AGENCY, HAS BEEN SO NEGLECTED THAT AFTER ITS FIRST DIRECTOR WAS FORCED TO RESIGN IN MAY, 1975, FOR CORRUPT ACTIVITIES, MR. FORD DID NOT GET AROUND TO REPLACING HIM FOR 6 MONTHS.

(MORE)

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-- THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN SO BADLY MISMANAGED OVER THE LAST EIGHT YEARS THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS REFUSED TO RE-AUTHORIZE IT FOR 5 MORE YEARS, BUT INSTEAD GAVE IT ONE MORE YEAR, WHICH IT CONSIDERS A PROBATIONARY PERIOD. RESPONSIBLE CRITICS FROM EVERY SIDE HAVE URGED THAT L.E.A.A. BE EITHER ABOLISHED OR COMPLETELY RESTRUCTURED, YET MR. FORD CALLED FOR A 5 YEAR RE-AUTHORIZATION WITHOUT PROPOSING A SINGLE LEGISLATIVE CHANGE.

"MR. FORD'S PROPOSALS ARE EQUALLY INDICATIVE OF HIS NEGLECT OF THE REAL PROBLEMS OF CRIME CONTROL:

-- HIS PROMISE TODAY TO CONTROL 'POLITICAL TERRORISM' WAS TOTALLY LACKING IN SPECIFICS. WHEN QUESTIONED, FORD'S AIDES SAID THERE WERE NONE AND NONE WOULD BE OFFERED UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION. THE REPUBLICANS SEEM TO THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE STILL WILLING TO ACCEPT 'SECRET PLANS' TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS.

-- HIS PROPOSAL TO SET UP A NEW COUNCIL ON CRIME MADE UP OF THE HEADS OF ALL FEDERAL ANTI-CRIME AGENCIES IS NOTHING MORE THAN THE SAME PEOPLE TALKING TO EACH OTHER WHO SHOULD HAVE BEEN DOING SO ALL ALONG. OR IS MR. FORD SAYING THAT HE HAS NEVER BEEN ABLE TO GET HIS APPOINTEES TO TALK TO EACH OTHER BEFORE? SURELY NO ONE BELIEVES THAT HOLDING MORE MEETINGS IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS GOING TO PUT MORE CRIMINALS IN JAIL. IT IS TIME FOR MORE ACTION AND LESS TALK.

"FINALLY, MR. FORD INCLUDED IN HIS REMARKS THE STATEMENT THAT 'JUST AS THE POLICE IDENTIFY CAREER CRIMINALS, AMERICAN VOTERS WILL EXAMINE THEIR BALLOTS IN NOVEMBER AND IDENTIFY THOSE CANDIDATES WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR INDIFFERENCE OR PERMISSIVENESS TOWARD CRIME, AND THEY SHOULD.' GOV. CARTER ENDORSES THAT VIEW, AND I HOPE THE VOTERS WILL CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHO HAS BEEN MOST INSENSITIVE TO CRIMINAL

JORDAN STATEMENT

3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

ACTIVITIES AT EVERY LEVEL, INCLUDING THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT. IF THAT IS THE CRITERION, I AM CONFIDENT OF A SWEEPING DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN 1976."

-30-

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ANTI-INFLATION STATEMENT

Mr. Ford has ~~done nothing~~ ^{failed miserably} ~~absolutely nothing~~ to bring inflation under control in this country. His ~~Republican~~ ^{lack of leadership +} economic policies are to blame for the worst inflation this country has experienced in 25 years.

(Insert wholesale price paragraph) All the hand-wringing, all the rhetoric and ~~promises~~ ^{proclaiming} that inflation ~~was the first priority~~ ^{to be public enemy number 1,} all the high unemployment we have suffered, have not moved us any closer to controlling inflation.

R2 The 6 percent rate of inflation today is → In his acceptance speech last January Mr. Ford said: "My first objective is to have ~~sound~~ ^{sound} economic growth without inflation."

Strong words. But words can't cover-up the disastrous Republican record on inflation.

They can't hide that medical prices have climbed more than 71% since 1968.

They can't hide that fuel oil and coal prices have risen more than ~~71%~~ ^{139%} since 1968.

They can't hide that the price of a new home has doubled in eight years, from \$22,000 in 1968 to \$44,000 today, and the monthly mortgage payment on that home has climbed from \$124 to \$294.

They can't hide the fact that the price of hamburger has gone from 56¢ to 90¢ a pound, or that the price of bacon has increased 122%, or that the price of sugar has doubled.

R3 They can't hide the fact that the 1968 dollar → The bottom line is that the average worker is being priced out of the market for essentials to live on because his real earnings are lower today than when Mr. Ford took office. The average worker is on an economic threadmill.

of Republican economics

Dependence on unguided

today

with only 1.61%

higher than it was at any time between
the Korean War & the inauguration of
Gerald Ford.

Mr. Ford says he is proud of this record. I say it is a disgrace.

We had six percent inflation in the first year of Republican policies, we have six percent inflation today, and the Administration acknowledges that inflation will be about six percent next year.

This is we
~~will have six percent inflation for the rest of our lives, or as long as the Republicans remain in office.~~
the administration of the 32 dollar bill. A few more years of their 6% inflation & the country will have 13 dollar bills.

There are three major mistakes the Republicans have made in trying to fight inflation:

They have misunderstood it;

They have accepted it;

They have protected the special interests.

-- The standard Republican remedy for inflation -- much like the bloodletting of the 18th Century, ^{doctors} -- is to slow down the economy by forcing workers out of jobs and onto the welfare rolls. That

policy has been a dismal failure because productivity has been reduced, costs increased, and the largest deficits in our history ^{created} were created. Mr. Ford has ^{not} reduced prices because you cannot fight ^{us} the highest combination of unemployment + inflation of any administration in 50 years.

-- Having created a permanent six percent rate of inflation, the Republicans now accept that rate of inflation. Each month that the price statistics rise, the White House says that they are encouraged. They ask us to accept that rate, to think of six percent as normal, to be glad it is not higher. I believe Mr. Ford has not made progress ^{in reducing prices} against inflation because ~~they have~~ ^{he has} given-up fighting

~~in~~ inflation.

And inflation will continue as long as the White House caters to the big corporations and the special interests. The Council on Wage and Price Stability, which is supposed to be an independent public watchdog on inflationary price increases, has just completed a study of the aluminum industry that was watered down by the industry itself. In making public their analysis of aluminum pricing policies, ^{after consultation with the White House,} the Council on Wage and Price Stability deleted 350 pages from the study of the industry, including proposals that the three aluminum giants ~~Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kaiser~~ should be broken up to increase competition in the industry. *I think the public should have*

the full parts in this case

Mr. Ford has done a lousy job managing the economy because he can't tell up from down. Prices go up and he says he is encouraged. Economic growth goes down and the Administration says we are on the right track. Since Mr. Ford can't tell up from down, I say it's time we put him out.

Inaccuracies by Mr. Ford during
the First Debate

1. In his commentary on Governor Carter's response to a question concerning Governor Carter's reorganization plan, Mr. Ford said:

". . . . Governor Carter has indicated that he approves of a \$30 billion expenditure by the federal government as far as education is concerned. At the present time, we're spending roughly \$3.5 billion."

This assertion is an invention of whoever prepared Mr. Ford for the debate. Governor Carter has never endorsed new education programs which would cost the federal budget \$30 billion, or anything remotely resembling such an outlandish figure. ~~What Governor Carter does support more effective use of the limited federal dollars which are presently available.~~ The Democratic Platform makes no mention of any dollar figure regarding federal education expenditures.

2. A number of times during the debate, Mr. Ford repeated the threadbare Republican charge that the Democratic Platform would cost \$100-\$200. The Congressional Budget Office, which services both parties in Congress, has estimated that the Democratic Platform would, if fully implemented, cost \$40 billion, and the Republican Platform would cost \$50 billion. (Needs to be checked) Much of the cost of the Republican Platform will come from additional tax expenditures it proposes, which will primarily benefit the wealthy.

~~3. In his commentary on taxation Governor Carter's~~

3. In response to James Gannon's question about the drain on the treasury which would result if Mr. Ford meant to keep his tax promises, Mr. Ford said that an increase in personal exemptions from \$750 per person to \$1,000 per person "would mean . . . that for a family of four that the family would have \$1,000 more

personal exemption--money that they could spend for their own purposes" Mr. Ford sought to leave the impression that each family of four would ~~have been~~ be able to keep an extra \$1,000. In fact, they would only be able to keep the tax they would spend on ~~that~~ their last \$1,000 of income. He neglected to point out that this proposal would benefit a family of four which earns \$110,000 three and ~~an~~ one half times as much as a family of four which earns \$8,000. (The marginal tax rate for the former family is 70%; the marginal tax rate for the ~~the~~ latter family is 19%.)

4. In his commentary on Governor Carter's response to James Gannon's question concerning Governor Carter's reorganization plan, Mr. Ford quoted Georgia's current Governor George Busbee, as saying that he found the state's medicaid program "in a shambles." But Governor Busbee was not describing the state of the Georgia program as he found it, but the national program--which the Republicans have ~~mismanaged to~~ *permitted to fall into such* *disrepair* such an extent that as much as \$7.5 billion a year is now being wasted, *through fraud and mismanagement,*

Governor Carter's response to
 5. In his commentary on/Elizabeth Drew's question about tax reform, Mr. Ford ~~repeated~~ *(to repeat)* continued the misrepresentation that Governor Carter intends to raise the taxes paid by the upper half of American families, despite the fact that this misrepresentation was based on ~~an inaccurate~~ *an inaccurate* transmission by the Associated Press of an interview with Governor Carter--acknowledged by the A.P. to be inaccurate, as Mr. Ford well knows.

Governor Carter's response to
 6. In his commentary on/James Gannon's question on Governor Carter's reorganization plans, Mr. Ford grossly distorted

Governor Carter's record of ~~success~~ reforming the government of Georgia. Mr. Ford stated that state expenditures increased under Governor Carter by over 50%. ~~But total revenues also in-~~

Ford Mistakements and Distortions During ~~Rebuttal to Ford's Statements During First~~

1. Education

~~put out~~

(a) Ford Statement: Carter ~~was~~ approves of a \$30 billion federal expenditure for education

(b) Apparent Ford ~~Annual~~ Source: NEA has a platform calling for such ~~an~~ a program involving such an expenditure. In an interview with NEA, Carter said he would look favorably upon the goals of ^{the} NEA program, ~~but~~

(c) Facts: ~~Carter~~ In his NEA interview, Carter specifically differentiated between the goals of NEA program and its specifics. He did not ~~so~~ express a support for the specifics. At another time he (Carter) called for an educational program that would entail a \$30 billion expenditure. The Democratic platform does not call for a program even remotely approaching \$30 billion.

2. Democratic Platform

(a) Ford Statement: Democratic platform would cost \$100 - \$200 billion.

(b) Apparent Ford Source: Someone working for Ford has apparently put price tags on the individual elements of the Democratic platform and added them up (Example: national health insurance - \$60 billion). The "phased-in" part of the platform was ignored in that process. More importantly, there has been no publicly released document by by Ford (Committee or OMB) carefully analyzing the various elements of the Democratic platform. The \$100 - \$200 billion assertion has never been documented (and cannot be); the fact that the Republicans' figure varies by \$100 billion shows how imprecise an incredible

the analysis supporting ~~it~~ the \$100-200 billion figure really is.

(c) Facts: The only comprehensive study of the Democratic platform that has been publicly released was done by the Senate Budget Committee. That study estimated the Democratic platform, at \$40 billion, ~~to be~~ it fully implemented

Republican platform, because of its higher tax expenditures and defense spending, was estimated at \$50 billion.

3. Taxes

(a) Ford Statement: Ford's proposed increase in the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1000 would mean a family of four would have \$1000 more to spend.

(b) Facts:

(1) ~~Ford's proposal would not act as a tax credit (which would give a dollar-for-dollar return to taxpayers); rather, it would only~~

(1) Ford's proposal to increase ~~the~~ ^{the} exemption would not result ~~as~~ in a dollar-for-dollar savings; ~~and~~ and thus for a family of four would not mean a \$1000 savings.

(2) Ford's proposal would, for a family of four, produce only a fraction of \$1000 savings, depending on the income bracket of the family. The higher the income the higher the savings. According to U.S. it would be

~~Gerald Ford and the Republican Platform~~

Treasury Dept, Ford's proposal would be worth \$182 to a family of four earning \$10,000, but it would be worth \$555 to a family of four earning \$150,000.

(3) Ford's proposal was part of a larger proposal to end the earned income credit for families earning less than \$10,000. For these low income families, ~~the president~~ Ford would increase taxes. A family of four earning \$7,000 would have a \$100 tax increase, ~~while~~ a family earning \$5,000 would have a \$300 tax increase. Ford did not mention this in the debate, or in any of his recent ~~and~~ pronouncements about his concern for the low income taxpayer.

Some families earning these amounts do not now pay any taxes, Ford's proposal would effectively take these amounts out of their pockets.

Ford vetoes

(a) Ford Statement: Ford said his vetoes had ~~Ford stated~~ saved \$9 billion.

(b) Apparent Ford Source. OMB has done a ~~study~~ clearly partisan study of Ford's vetoes and concluded that \$9 billion was saved. The study shows its partisan nature, according to the Senate Budget Committee by making inconsistent assumptions about the programs contained in the vetoed bills. The assumptions are made in a way to increase the amount of the savings.

(purported)

(c) Facts:

(1) The Senate Budget Committee has done the most exhaustive study of the Ford vetoes and concluded that the "savings" was no more than \$4 billion. However, the study cautions that "savings" figures for jobs programs do not take account of the loss in revenues to the Federal budget or the increase in Federal unemployment compensation and welfare costs likely to result from the failure to provide the jobs.

(2) The ~~fact~~ imaginary nature of Ford's figures is indicated from the fact that when he had vetoed only 44 bills (a)

(b) Apparent Ford source: ~~the~~ ^{Ford used} ~~the~~ ~~original~~ ~~and~~ ~~incorrect~~ ~~text~~ of Carter's ~~the~~ interview with the AP. ~~That text omitted the~~

(c) Facts:

(1) Ford's source was corrected, by the AP the following day. ~~The corrected text did not say that Carter would raise taxes for the middle income taxpayers. It specifically said that middle income taxpayers were a group whose taxes would not be raised by Carter.~~

The corrected version said that Carter would not raise taxes for the middle income taxpayer.

(2) The fact that the AP had corrected its earlier story was known to the President and those preparing him for the debate at least 3 days prior to the debate.

6. Georgia Reorganization

(a) Ford Statement: Ford stated that during Carter's term, State expenditures rose by over 50%, State employees rose by over 25%, and State bonded indebtedness rose by over 20%.

(b) Apparent Ford Source: Ford claimed

(37)
to have gotten the information the previous day from the Census Bureau. It seems more likely that he got the information from the Republican National Committee which spent \$50,000 to study Carter's record and which has been using the same information in its publications for months. (which rose by 58%)

(c) Facts:

(1) Expenditures: Expenditures did rise by more than 50%, but so did revenues. The increase in ~~total~~ expenditures and revenues was due to the growth in Georgia's population (which required more State services) and the rise in State income (which thus grew by personal

more than 25% during Carter's term) (Between '70 and '73, per capita personal income rose from \$3,318 to \$4,243 in Georgia). In addition, in ~~every~~ every year of Carter's term, there was a budget surplus, and when he left office the surplus was \$116 million. (By comparison, in the Ford Administration expenditures have risen from \$268 billion in FY '74 to over \$373 billion in FY '76).

(2) Employees: State employees grew

by 22% - not 25% - during Carter's term. That rate was half of the growth rate during Maddox's term - 45%.

(3) Bonded Indebtedness. Bonded indebtedness rose during Carter's term because he tried to keep the state from the type of financial ~~removed previous indebtedness from the state authorities which had been created to avoid Constitutional debt limits~~ refused to continue the state's practice of incurring indebtedness through state authorities, ~~which was done in New York, an example of which is the~~ ~~state~~.

rather than directly by the state. The previous practice had led to enormous amounts of hidden indebtedness and misled the taxpayers and investors about the state of Georgia's financial health. ~~The state~~ ~~by~~ The ~~changing to the~~ bonds issued under Carter's administration ~~that~~ were rated AAA (highest rating). The old authority bonds had been only AA. In addition, both Moody's and Standard & Poor's ~~the~~ praised the Carter Administration for moving toward sounder management of state debts.

opposed to ~~56~~ 56 ~~at~~ at the time of the debate, he was claiming an even greater savings of \$13 billion. In addition, Ford's own OMB director has been publicly using a \$5 billion figure as the savings.

(3) ~~The~~ ~~emphasis~~ ~~is~~ That Ford tried to stop needed programs by his vetoes, for the sake of relatively minor savings, is indicated by the fact that on six occasions a majority of his own party in both houses voted to override his vetoes:

(1) Rehabilitation Act Amendments, (2) Veterans Benefits Bill, (3) Restructuring Railroad Retirement System, (4) Special Health Revenue Sharing Act, (5) National School Lunch Act, and (6) Educational Appropriations for FY 1976.

Carter-Mondale On The Issues

for Paul Shone

GERALD FORD'S RECORD ON GUN CONTROL

Those who heard Mr. Ford talk about gun control while campaigning along the Mississippi Gulf Coast in September might reasonably conclude that he has opposed all legislation restricting gun ownership and that his position is identical to the gun clubs and sportsmen's groups whose votes he is seeking. That is what he would like the voters to think.

But this campaign rhetoric clashes with what Mr. Ford has been doing in Washington. He seems to think that on this issue, like so many others, the American people will not bother to look at the record before they vote in November. Let's take a look.

The Ford Administration proposed legislation to this Congress (S. 2186) that included the following provisions:

- (1) a ban on both commercial and private transfers (even between family members) of so-called "Saturday night specials"
- (2) a definition of "Saturday night specials" that would prohibit sale of 54% of the handguns produced in the United States in 1974
- (3) minimum standards for gun dealers that would put two-thirds to three-quarters of all gun dealers out of business
- (4) tighter restrictions on the number of handguns an individual can purchase and a full FBI name check on all purchasers

Not surprisingly, Mr. Ford's Attorney-General, Edward Levi, said that in his opinion the Constitutional Amendment on the right to bear arms was "very remote" from handgun controls.

Attorney-General Levi had suggested an even more radical gun control program in an April, 1975, speech to law enforcement officials. For 62 metropolitan areas, it would completely ban possession of handguns outside a private home or place of business, as well as banning all transfers of handguns and handgun ammunition in those areas. Handgun owners wishing to transport a weapon would have to obtain a special permit "of extremely limited duration" after showing "a legitimate reason". When questioned at a May news conference about this drastic proposal, Mr. Ford said he would certainly consider it, since it did not involve registration!

It is hard to imagine that the opponents of gun registration have these kinds of alternatives in mind as acceptable alternatives, but Mr. Ford has not bothered to tell them what he has actually proposed.

In spite of this record, Mr. Ford still thinks he can campaign as an opponent of all gun control, saying one thing in the North and another in the South, one thing on the campaign trail and another in Washington. The American people have been saddled with that kind of government and that kind of President for too long. They will not tolerate it for four more years.

SAM BLEICHER

Ford's Record on Civil Rights

Mr. Ford's statement that he is "proud of his record on civil rights" is indeed so incredible that it thoroughly justifies Governor Carter's statement that he "did not recognize" the record as it was expressed. That record is tragic:

(1) The Department of Agriculture extension service programs were found to have committed "blatant" and "widespread" violations of equal rights by the U.S Civil Rights Commission. Secretary Butz even helped/^{seven}state agriculture agencies get around federal anti-discrimination standards.

(2) The U.S. Civil Service Commission was found to be in violation of the federal anti-discrimination laws in its testing procedures, and it was ordered to change its testing by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1975. It has also adopted standards for test validation that would be illegal according to Justice Department standards if they were adopted by private industry.

(3) The Office of Management and Budget was recently revealed to have used its technical authority over approval of forms to block for two years all surveys of school attendance designed to determine the extent of racial segregation in schools. Before 1975 the surveys had been taken annually, and they served as a major tool for school desegregation analysis and federal enforcement efforts.

(4) The Office of Federal Contract Compliance recently announced that it would no longer require enforcement plans from companies with less than \$10,000,000 in/^{federal}business and

less than 100 employees. This action was described as "a total sellout to industry's interests" by an attorney on the staff of the Center for Law and Social Policy.

(5) The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has been so neglected and mismanaged that its Chairman resigned last May after an investigation he ordered turned up allegations of widespread inefficiency and corruption in the Commission's 32 field offices. At the end of 1975, the Commission had a 26% vacancy rate in staff positions. No agency can function effectively in that condition.

It might be noted that these programs affect not only the rights of minorities, but also the rights of women. And the Ford Administration record is equally awful:

- Civil service employment - While one-third of all federal white collar employees are women, only 7% are above the GS 13 level. Women hold 72% of all the jobs in grades GS 1-6.
- High level appointments - In one agency -- the FEA -- which has some 3,300 employees, not a single woman is in a management position above GS 15, compared to over 100 men in such positions. Government-wide, only 2% of all such positions are filled by women.
- Small business loans - Only 4.6% of the loans of the Small Business Administration went to businesses owned by women.
- Federal contracts - Only 5% of all federal government contracts went to businesses owned by women.

EB

Brezinski's Language

I do not expect a direct Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia, because the Yugoslavs would, ^{certainly} fight. The Yugoslavs have not asked for advance promises of U.S. military involvement and it would be counterproductive to make promises in regard to a hypothetical situation.

Soviet military intervention against Yugoslavia would create a major threat to peace in Europe affecting the interests of our NATO Allies.

Accordingly, I expect and trust that the Soviet leaders are fully aware of the dangerous forces that forces that would be set loose by such a conflict

We would make it clear in
the strongest terms that ^{we believe} the independence &
integrity of Yugoslavia as absolutely
essential to the stability of Europe.
If the Soviet Union were to attempt
to takeover Yugoslavia it is clear
that our actual physical ground
troop capacity is quite limited.

The consequences however to the
entire range of U.S. - Soviet relations
would be extremely serious if the
Soviets were to take such a step ^{in Yugoslavia} -
that the disadvantages would
~~be~~ so grave, ~~as to~~ far outweigh
any short range gains they might seek
to achieve.

Apparently the Yugoslav ~~quest~~ answer
will cause us some problems and
if used properly could lose us the
support of the Eastern Europeans we
so recently gained. I have already
heard from Detroit and Chicago.

I suggest you clear one of
the following for release -

Accompanying this are a series of short arguments against several of Ford's points in the debate which were not we feel sufficiently answered ~~to~~ ~~last~~ ~~me~~ ~~I~~ ~~think~~ ~~they~~ ~~might~~

I think these might be used by reporters in their analytical pieces.

However, there are a few vulnerable ones
can effectively be used:

Ford is not as vulnerable as Nixon on
his ambassadorial appointments. ~~The most vulnerable~~

Ford's

~~appointees are the following:~~

1) Jack Olsen - just ^{nominated} ~~appointed~~ as Ambassador
to Bahamas (~~to replace a critic of detente~~);
Formerly Rep. Lt. Gov. of Wisc.; supported
Ford in Wisc. primary and was delegate
hunter at Convention, no foreign policy experience;
was regarded as so unqualified an appointment
that Senate Foreign Relations did not even
bother to hold confirmation hearings.

2) Peter Flanigan - nominated at beginning of
Ford's term as Ambassador to Spain; had
been Nixon's "Mr. Fix-it" for the business
community; had also been involved in
the sale of ambassadorships during Nixon
re-election campaign. That charge was made
during his confirmation hearings (and seemingly
supported by Talmadge testimony), but Flanigan
denied any wrongdoing. ~~no~~ no action was
taken by Committee and nomination was withdrawn
at Flanigan's request.

3) Stanton Anderson - nominated at beginning of
Ford's term as Ambassador to Costa Rica;
had been (RFEF employee during '72; previously
had been involved in Nixon's "responsiveness"
program ~~ca~~ which was designed to use Federal
appointments, grants and contracts to gain support
for Nixon's re-election; no action taken by
Committee; was withdrawn by Ford

sought any ambassadorial appointment after his defeat;

4) Peter Dominick - was appointed as Ambassador to Switzerland after being defeated for re-election to U.S. Senate from Colorado; had no visible foreign policy experience; was ~~fraternity~~ brother of Ford at Yale Law; ~~appointed~~ ^{confirmed} by Senate only because of Senatorial courtesy

5) William Saxbe - was appointed as Ambassador to India in order to remove him from the Attorney Generalship; had absolutely no foreign policy experience; ~~no~~ had no background in Indian problems or affairs; also ~~was~~ confirmed only because of Senatorial courtesy.

6) Earl Ruth - was appointed as Governor of American Samoa; had been defeated for re-election to U.S. House of Representatives (served with Ford); had never been to Samoa; had absolutely no foreign policy background or training

Two other ^{Foreign ~~state~~ affairs - related} appointments might be mentioned:

1) Don Runsfeld - appointed as Secretary of Defense with no visible qualifications (all Ford could cite was Runsfeld's having been a Navy pilot); was ~~Runsfeld's~~ Ford's chief of staff and ~~the~~, previously, close crony in the Congress

2) George Bush - appointed as Director of CIA, though had no intelligence background; had previously been a Republican Congressman and a defeated Republican Senate candidate in Texas

1. ~~Ford Statement~~

Carter Vetoes

(a) Ford Statement: Ford said that Carter vetoed between 35 and 40 bills a year.

(b) Facts:

(1) Carter did veto 154 of 3,580 bills and resolutions over a 4 year period. However comparing Carter's vetoes with Ford's is like comparing apples and oranges.

(2) Unlike Ford Carter never vetoed bills designed to ~~create~~ end massive unemployment, to improve health care, to ~~get~~ government secrecy, to improve

the environment, or to improve housing.

(3) Carter's vetoes all dealt with the typical type of private bill and special interest legislation passed by a state legislature.

Examples:

- (a) Bill to create a new political judicial circuit not recommended by the appropriate review board.
- (b) Bill to exempt certain lenders from loan disclosure requirements.
- (c) Bill to reduce county contribution for forest fire prevention.
- (d) Bill to change fee system for a county's court reporter.

Just met on the ~~news~~ CBS local news & they ran reporting that Carter plan to raise the Social Security wage base would probably increase the contributions of those coming up to \$29,000 "according to a Carter spokesman." A series of very large numbers computed from this as to how much this would mean to ~~persons~~ ^{people} in the \$15-29,000 brackets followed.

Our press release contained no such number & none had been discussed with the Wash DC office which held the press conference.

According to Joe Puffey who held the press conference along with Senator Kennedy & Nelson Ainsworth, Ainsworth used the number \$29,000 in response to a question as to how high the base would have to go. Ainsworth said that if the base were to cover the same proportion of wages as it covered in 1938 when the system was started it would have to rise to about \$29,000.

This information, along with Ainsworth's proper identification as co-chairman of ^{National Committee on} our Seniors ~~category~~ for Carter-Committee Mondale, was apparently carried correctly on the A wire of the AP. The broadcast was, however, which is a condensed version of the A wire, reported that "a Carter spokesman" had said that "the wage base could go as high as \$29,000" ^{in April}. The broadcaster ^{who} ~~had taken~~ ^{with the local CBS story had much computed} ~~the rest of the way~~ ^{commented} ~~on this information~~ ^{commented on this information} the impact on earners in this category.

~~But~~ I called the CBS outlet here, and Puffey called the AP to correct the story. Since we do not have a broadcast

wire, and since our A wire was apparently
knocked off when the original story ran, I have
been unable to verify exactly what has been
printed & corrected on the wire.

Corrections of this story if ~~so~~ raised before,
after or during the debates should emphasize:

1) The person who used the number is
not a representative of the campaign except
as he is involved in helping to organize support
among senior citizens.

2) The figure of \$29,000 is a number
that represents the amount that ~~the initial~~
~~wage~~ the wage base would rise to if it were
to cover the same proportion of earnings (1979)
as it did in 1937 when the system began.
There is no need raise the base nearly this
much ~~and the same~~ immediately, and no
such rise has been ~~contemplated~~
~~contemplated~~ by the campaign.
Ea

As soon as we can contact appropriate
experts, details of needed increases will follow.