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9/17/76

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

For your information



JAMES CARTER - Indianapolis

September 16, 1976

Press release before Mr. Carter's press conference.

Last night Mr. Ford came out of the White House. Now we know why it took him so long. By constructing for us his version of his record of stewardship of the Nation's welfare, he exposed the root of the Republicans' uneasiness. That record is so dismal and his characterization of it is so flatly inconsistent with the facts that he and his party rightly stand in fear of the reaction of the American people. In the months to come, as I have in the past, I shall continue to lay that record before the electorate. It is a record sadly familiar to the American people. No words of mine are necessary to reveal it. No words of Mr. Ford's can conceal it. As Mr. Ford belatedly shared with us his "view of America in 1976" and "hopes for America for ^{in the next four years} / and beyond", I thought of those of our citizens who must surely live in a different America than that seen by Mr. Ford and who know that their own hopes can best be realized by turning Mr. Ford and his party out of power. I think of the man or woman without a job, 2.5 million more than on the day Mr. Ford took office, a half million more than only three months ago. Mr. Ford claims credit for creating 4 million new jobs over the last 17 months, but he has been President for 24 months, not 17. His appalling record on jobs is, in fact, quite different from the way he told us last night. In those two years, Mr. Ford's policies have put 50% more people out of work and raised unemployment to its highest level since the great depression years. Under Mr. Ford's leadership, 800,000 more Americans have lost jobs than have found them. When Mr. Ford took office unemployment stood at 5.5%, but in less than 9 months it soared to 8.9%, a 50% jump. Despite Mr. Ford's claim to the vigorous recovery, unemployment has risen for the last three months in a row and now stands at 7.9% , a level reached once before under the same Mr. Ford who now tells us of his hopes for jobs for our people and despite his claims that more private jobs is a top priority, there are fewer workers today in non-farm jobs than when Mr. Ford took office two years ago. The American people know where the responsibility lies for this tragic record. Mr. Ford talks about jobs, but he vetoed every major job proposal

that came before him. Will the jobless American trust Mr. Ford's prophesies?
promises?
I think of the American family which cannot afford to buy its own
home, a portion of our citizens half as large again as large as when the
Republicans took office. Last night Mr. Ford told us he is concerned about
housing. He should be. It is his policies which are directly responsible
for those conditions--prohibitive down-payments and high interest rates, high
prices and high mortgage payments which puts a home of one's own beyond the reach
of the average American. Those policies have reduced housing starts below the level
when Mr. Ford took office, raised interest rates on the average of ^{a bout} 40% more under
the Republicans than under the Democrats, seen the median price of a new single-family
home sky-rocket 100% increase under the Republicans and increase the monthly payment
for such a home by 137%. Those statistics are no accident. They are the product
of a calculated Republican program, including Mr. Ford's veto of the Emergency
Housing Act of 1975 that would have increased housing starts by 400,000, encouraged
800,000 new jobs and provided federal subsidies to reduce mortgage rates. The
ailment which afflicts housing is one created by Mr. Ford. His proposals would
do nothing to cure that ailment. He proposes, ⁱⁿ a down-payment under the FHA program,
changes which he has opposed until the eve of the election, but even those changes
deal with only 10% of the market. What of the other 90% of the homeowners in America
who cannot afford a down-payment? Mr. Ford's proposal does nothing to either reduce
home prices or mortgage interest rates. Today 2/3 of our citizens cannot afford
to buy a home. Will they trust Mr. Ford's promises?

I think of the sick and aging Am ericans, those for whose welfare Mr. Ford,
last night, expressed his concern. But he expressed no concern over the federal
mismanagement of Medicaid which costs 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 any form of legislation designed to reduce Medicaid waste. He didn't
even try to explain the terrific increase in health costs and the 121% rise in hospital
costs over 8 years. Mr. Ford's principal expression of concern was to create a

fictitious \$70 Billion health insurance plan, one which I have certainly never proposed or endorsed. This Administration's record is an extremely extraordinary combination - skyrocketing health costs and plummeting quality; no rhetoric and no attacks on straw men can conceal that record from the American people. Will the sick and aging trust Mr. Ford's promises? I think not. For trust is based on something more durable than than affability. It must be based on some sound reason to believe that promises can and will be fulfilled. Every aspect of the Ford record belies that expectation. Every fourth year the Republicans propose what they have spent the past three years opposing. I do not intend to let them get away with it. Mr. Ford talks about the future as if he and his party had no past. I do not intend to let that past be forgotten. I agree that this election will be based on the quality of trust. I welcome such a challenge. Mr. Ford, last night, demonstrated that he ~~misjudges~~ both misjudges the intelligence and underestimates the memory of a fellow American. A political leader/^{who} does not trust those whose support he seeks cannot expect to receive their trust in return.

PRESS RELEASE

I think obviously, the Vietnamese war had something to do with subsequent inflation rates, yes. But, I think after the Vietnamese war ended the inflation rate hovered around 5 or 6%. As you know, subsequent to that, the inflation rate skyrocketed to, I believe, about 13%, above 10%. I don't believe that that high inflation rate and the present inflation rate can be attributed to a President who went out of office almost eight years ago. And so we did have a slight peak immediately following Lyndon Johnson's term, but the exact of that inflation rate was created by Nixon's adverse policies, continued almost without change, by President Ford. Obviously anybody who has been President, perhaps has contributed to some degree to inflation rate. I think when Truman went out of office the inflation rate was 7/10 of 1% and think those historical patterns, even through and including the Vietnamese war, was an inflation rate hovering in the neighborhood of about 2% - 2.2% to be accurate. But it skyrocketed and at least increased by 300% under the

Republicans and I don't attribute that chronic inflation rate which Mr. Ford is now trying to convince us is normal - 5%, 6%, 6½% - and the unemployment rate - 7% or more, which Mr. Ford considers to be normal (I don't think they're normal, they're abnormal). And they don't follow the historical current of an inflation rate down around 2% or so with an unemployment rate hovering around 5%. There is one more factor involved and that is the growth rate. We've always experienced, so far as I know, the last fifty years, an annual increase in the GNP of about 4% or 4½%. Under the Nixon-Ford Administration that growth rate has been down about 2%. This again is another contributing factor. I think the cumulative total has resulted in the worst conglomerate economic situation that we have ever had since the great depression.

Question: (In part) Senator Mondale warned against the use of accent, religion, region. I wonder whether you think that here in the Middle West that old North/South and religious factions are rising again and whether you are concerned about this.

My own assessment of the _____ which constantly fluctuate and the response of the crowds and the size of the crowds has been very encouraging to me. I think if there were a substantial blatant prejudice against me because of my region, my accent or my religion, it would have been much more likely to be a major factor in a primary election when I was less known. On a nationwide basis, immediately following the Democratic convention, we had a 10% higher support among Catholic voters than Protestant. The most recent poll that was conducted by _____ for me show that have about a 6% higher support among Catholics than Protestants. We're a majority in both instances. Now I can't comment on polls I have not studied - the one you referred to in Illinois - I have not heard about it before. But I think the most recent overall poll results that I saw published in Illinois, I was about 3 percentage points behind. How Illinois would deviate on a regional or religious

breakdown I can't say.

Question - inaudible

Well, I think there is a general disgust with the performance record of the Republican Administration. I think there is a favorable response to a kind of campaign that I have run, - a constant effort to let the people of this state know what I feel about them and to let them know me. We have only been campaigning now less than two weeks. My wife's been here in Indiana to campaign. My son, Chip, has been here in Indiana to campaign, and now I'm here in Indiana to campaign. I think / there is an awareness of the Indiana people that I am my family and Senator Mondale and his family care enough to come here to let the Indiana voters know us and let us know them. This is a healthy sign. Also, the fact that I happen to be a farmer has helped me to an extraordinary degree in agricultural states. I have been pleasantly surprised during the primary season at how well I did in states like Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, where I had very little chance to campaign personally. When the votes came in I came in 1st. The same applies to other states like South Dakota. I think this is another factor that helps. And I think the issues are on our side. Almost every time I complete a speech, for instance this week, I ask the audience "Do you think it's time for a change in Washington?" The response is overwhelmingly "Yes." And I think the fact that I am an outsider, that I am eager to change the debacle we have experienced in Washington for the last 8 years is a factor in my favor. I don't look on Indiana as an easy state. I know that it has been hard fought in the past. It has been very finely balanced between Democrats and Republicans but I think we have an excellent chance to win.

Question: inaudible

I can think of a couple off-hand. One is the Democratic proposal that interest payments above a certain level be supplemented by the federal government. I believe this is about exactly what he proposed last night, that he would support, but he vetoed it when it was presented to him. He has vetoed the job bill which has been put to him to provide employment and training for those who are out of work.

Last night he expressed his commitment to full employment and also said he would do what he could to encourage training and relocation of workers to match the jobs. Those are two that apply to housing and employment. Another one that comes to mind is in the interest rate category. I think the tight fiscal policies of the Republican Administration have contributed almost in every historic time, there have been higher interest rates among Republicans than Democrats. I think this is the kind of electorate that would support our two parties - the Republicans ordinarily have support from the richer people, from those who have large estates, from those who have money to invest and they want to see that investment pay rich dividends. The Democrats ordinarily, and sometimes, unfortunately, have to borrow money and have to buy things on credit and want to keep the interest rates low.

Question:

I'm not talking about a wide-spread tax increase, I'm not talking about putting everyone on the government payroll. My own inclination would be strongly toward giving people jobs in the private sector and using the public sector only as a last resort. This can be done in many ways - one is to reconstitute the strengths of the housing industry where we have an 18% unemployment rate. This is an escalating factor when the housing industry is brought too sharply into We now have 60% less new homes beginning in our country than we did in 1968. This means that people not only are not buying homes, but they cannot afford them. The median price of a family dwelling is double what it was in the past 8 years, the interest rate has gone up 40% or more. So the point I am making is that the Democrats are historically depended upon to have control of inflation, a balanced budget, providing services for our people, predicated on employment of our people, primarily in the private sector. Mr. Ford talks about private employment. The facts are that in non-farm jobs there are fewer people employed in the private sector now than there were when Mr. Ford took office.

Question

Every time the unemployment rate goes down 1%, you get about \$2 Billion in savings in unemployment compensation and welfare costs. You also gain about \$14 Billion in increased tax revenues, so 1% equals about sixteen billion dollars, contributions toward balancing the budget.... No you always have to have good fiscal management. You have to weed out programs that have long since served their usefulness. YOU need to bring some order out of chaos in the government bureaucracy, which I intend to do. YOU need to have an emphasis on stimulating the economy, with low interest rates, that's one additional factor. You need to have a closer working relationship between the federal, state and local levels of government and between government and industry, labor and agriculture, which we don't have now. You need to have long-range planning so that we can make our decisions on what we hope to accomplish in the field of energy, in transportation, agriculture, education, scientific development. This is not done now. There are many things that need to be done with proper management. The point is that under Mr. Ford we have had a completely dormant, completely negative, inactive, reticent leadership which amounts to and equates to a lack of leadership. I can't think of a single thing that Mr. Ford has done in the last two years except to avoid another Watergate. He has brought a degree of integrity to the White House after President Nixon. But I think we ought to expect from all our Presidents that they be honest and that the Watergate thing is not repeated. But other than that I can't think of any purposeful programs that Mr. Ford has accomplished in the two years he has been in office. The consequences of his administration have been devastating, with the increase in unemployment, inflation and so forth.

Question: Will the debates become a comparison of personalities and incumbency work in Mr. Ford's favor? image.

I suppose one of the negative factors is his personality, / But I translate trust, that into competence, / leadership, which is not a type of issue at all. I think in the television debates if both of us do well there won't be any dramatic shifting in opinion among the American people. I look forward to the debates with a great deal of anticipation. My feeling is that they might very well benefit me,

because Mr. Ford is much better known than I am. I think at least judging from the Republican speeches in the convention there has been an attempt to paint me as an ignorant about foreign affairs, as irresponsible, radical. I think to the extent that I can show that I am not identified accurately with these epithets, the debates will reassure people about me. I think debates help those who are less well known and in that respect I think they will help me. I don't fear the debates at all.

Question

I can't remember all of the specifics in the Democratic platform about which I have some reservations. One is the abortion issue. I think the Democratic platform insinuates that the Democratic Party would take an active position against the right of a citizen to seek a Constitutional amendment. Although I don't favor a Constitutional amendment on the abortion issue, I think an American citizen has a right to pursue one. Another one that I recall offhand is the commitment of the Democratic Party platform immediately to move the Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. I have said I will consider this but I have never committed myself to this in any manner. I would reserve that right until I can assess the diplomatic consequences and the hope that I might have for achieving an overall Mideastern settlement that might be delayed by that very quick move. Although there are other specifics in the Democratic platform with which I disagree, but think those are illustrative. They are very important to some people, but in general I think the platform is a good one and as specific issues come up on the rate of implementation of a program, I would have to use my own judgment. I am going to carry out all the promises I have made to the American people in the fall campaign, but I am also committed with normal projection to economic growth, putting our people back to work, controlling inflation and having a balanced budget when I go out of office at the end of my first term in 1981. That will be a major factor for me, to phase in programs in such a way that we can achieve a balanced budget. My own belief is that in normal economic times the budget of this country ought to be balanced and I think that is

important to the healthy growth of our country. The rapidity with which we implement programs - I would implement them all slowly but surely in order to complete our promises.



9/17/76

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

For your information



MONDALE/

CARTER SPEECH AT FARM FEST AT CRYSTAL LAKE, MINNESOTA.....

(Preliminary remarks...)

Not only will Governor Carter watch the farmers, not only will he sign rather than veto good farm legislation when it is put on his desk, not only will he not ~~only will he not~~ embargo , export when markets are and we need the full access to the free market but he'll do something else . He will listen to someone who has not been listened to for eight years ~~xxxxxx~~ on agriculture. One of the best spokesman one of the most consistent champions agriculture has ever had and I'm talking about Hubert Humphry. It's time that Hubert Humphry is welcomed in the White House again and in the Department of Agriculture . If you elect ^{him} ~~it~~ we'll have a farmer's president we'll have Hubert Humphry ~~xx~~ advising ~~xxxxxx~~ him on agriculture and more than that you are all invited to the ^{inaugural} ~~inaugural~~ ball . And if you're short of money Hubert will pay for it out of his own pocket . So it is now my privilege to introduce the ablest public leader ever produced in the state of Minnesota , the ablest spokesman the family farmer has ever had my friend Hubert Humphry.

(Humphry speech)



---People are arguing about who caught the largest fish. One of the farmers who finally won the contest, he said he was *fishing in a mill pond* bigger than a ~~milk barn~~, and he caught a fish so big that the ~~woman~~ *woman* ~~said~~ went back into the mill house ~~and/he~~ and----

but we don't have to exaggerate ~~the~~ the problem in agriculture. Here we are, a state here, the greater the promise in working together. ~~If it wasn't~~ *The one* characteristic of Minnesota farmers to stand out above all else is your ~~1th~~ willingness to work together with farm cooperatives. *You believe in managing your own affairs,* standing on your own feet, cooperating with your neighbor, sharing standing setbacks, sharing prosperity. Also understanding one another and shifting

but hope and confidence for time of betterment for agriculture's *for your family.* This year you're suffering the greatest drought since 1934. The estimates in Minnesota alone of 1-1/2 billion dollars in income because of slight rainfall. This is exactly the time when we need to have the cooperative attitudes *with the farmers* on the one hand and our own federal government, the White House, the Department of Agriculture, on the other. But that's not the way the Republicans look at ~~it~~ a deal. At times when you need them most, is a time when they are hardest to find. And not only this year but already next year the budget amount in the 23 counties in your state that have the worst disaster cannot even ~~farm-profit-by~~ *qualify for* crop insurance for next year. Is that the way our own government ought to ~~break~~ *threat* *families that have been hurt?* farm benefits . No. Absolutely not. We always

need strong leadership. We need leadership ~~to drive~~ *derived* from people. We need it from you. We need a government that's controlled by us and not the other way around. We need a government that's open



to our ideas--to our suggestions--to our requests for the ~~illegitimate~~.
 I never met a farmer who wanted a handout and I never met a farmer
 who wanted to go on welfare. I've never met a farmer that wanted
 the government to get into your profits. We want to be treated
 fairly. We want to have an agriculture ~~fa~~ policy that meets our
 needs and we want to be guaranteed a market price competition that
 doesn't rob us everytime we come around. The farmers always have
 to ask people who farm crops, How much will you pay me? And when
 farmers buy anything--a tractor or anything else--we always have
 to ask, "How much are you going to charge me?" This puts us in
 a vulnerable position if we don't stick together. But under this
 Administration ^{and it is historically the case} A farmers are guarded from the process
 of making decisions in our country. We are exporting about 42 billion
 dollars of farm products every year, but we don't have any assurance
 that that's going to continue. In the last three years, we had
 four embargoes out of our Republican Administration--of Ford, Nixon
 and ~~WV~~ BUTZ. None of those embargoes were necessary. They all
 rob you. They also rob in the long run our own American consumers.
 The average farm family has an investment now in land ^{equivalent}
 of about \$300,000. The average income for that investment is only
 3 or 4 % So we could sell our crops, invest our money in savings
 and loan for 5% interest and make twice as much income without
 lifting a hand to work. But farmers believe in work, and so do I.
 I believe that anybody that's able to work, ought to work, and also
 have a chance to work. And we're going to change that next January,
 and let that be the philospphy enee- of our country once again.
 It's not right that farmers are going bankrupt, growing food that
 the consumer cannot afford to buy. And that's going to change next
 January too, when we have a president in the White House who
 understands the ^{problems of} ~~farmer~~ and farm families.

In rural

~~Middle~~ America, where I grew up

and where I live

^

and where

you grew up and where you live, we have maintained the basic values in our country and also the basic values in our government. We believe people ought to control government and not the other way around. We believe that when there's a choice to be made between the government and agriculture and we ought to go to the private sector. We believe that we ought to have a minimum of government secrecy and a maximum of ~~central?~~ ~~strategy~~. We believe as they do on the farm that budgets ought to be balanced. All the time I was living on the farm, I never worked ~~but~~ with an unbalanced budget my budget was always balanced. When I worked for the Governor's office for Georgia four years we had a balanced budget. When I become President ~~one~~ of my major goals is to have a balanced budget for our United States Government before my time is over *Mondale and I* and I say-----you can depend on that too.

I just read a couple of days ago that our Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Butz, came into the farm belt to make a speech. I understand that only a couple of hundred people listened to him. He couldn't draw a ~~bigger-crowd~~ that big a crowd in Georgia. One of the things that he said was that everywhere I've been in this country I've promised to fire him if I got to be President, and he predicted that when I came here today that I was going to make a such a promise. This will be the first prediction that Mr. Butz has ever had right. Well, Butz and I met a couple of months ago in Washington at the Gridiron Banquet, and he said Governor why is it that everywhere you go you always tell people your're going to fire me, and I said I promise first of all to always tell the truth. Secondly, it gets more applause that anything else I say *no matter where I am*

And third,

The farmer are a bit discouraged with the ^{its one thing} the Republican Administration and ~~want me~~ to give them hope ~~for~~ and next year ~~you'll be gone~~. ^{Knowing that next year you'll be gone.}

I think we have to have--not only in the White House-- but in the Secretary's office--a person that can convince the American people the truth. ^{That what is best} ~~We want this~~ for the family farmer in our Nation is exactly what's best for the consumer. We need a farm policy that's predictable When I go to sew seed I need to know 15 months ahead of time what our acreage allotment basic price supports, export policy, import policy, reserve supply are going to be. Beef cattle farmers need to know 30 months ahead of time. We have no predictability now about what's going to be done next in our Nation's agricultural ^{program}. We need to have maximum production, yes, but we also need to have maximum exports. We now export 60% of all our wheat, 50% of all our soybeans, 50% of all our rye, 25% of all our corn, etc. We need to have stable export policies that our overseas purchasers can have ^{Confidence in us,} ~~government incentive~~. We don't have that, we need it. We also need to have basic price support levels equal to production costs. Now although I am a farmer, I am not in favor of guaranteeing the farmer the profit, but I am in favor of giving farmers an equal price. And it would help the consumers as well ^{in this nation} to know that they can have a guarantee of stability ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ production, stability ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ prices, ^{maximum} exports, that they can make their prices lower, and there has to be a relationship between agriculture and consumer and the Secretary of Agriculture has been missing ever since Mr. Butz has been in office. There is no reason for us to have four embargoes in three years. We can do without those, and beginning next January they are going to be done away with unless we have an absolute catastrophe, which I don't believe the American farmer will ever

come on our nation. You can depend on that as well.

I want to comment just a minute about the drought.

Obviously a President or a Sec. of Agriculture cant prevent a drought
but we have had a *progi lack* of leadership in this country, in Washington, that this region of our nation is in its worse drought since the Hoover depression years. We've had *dozens* of counties in Minnesota, Iowa, ND, SD, and *other states* that have been afflicted by the terrible ~~the~~ drought. What has the Administration done to help you? Absolutely nothing. *There is no way to approach them.*

Has our Secretary of Agriculture been visiting farm families ~~during~~ *going from one community to another and saying what can we do* to help you?

Absolutely not. Can you go to them and say will you listen to our problem? Can you help us with our insurance program?

Absolutely not. The bureaucratic obstacle that have been placed in the way of even the emergency livestock law make it impossible for farmers to get help. The Administration has cut the heart out of our soil conservation program. We have a *physical* gap between the rhetoric of the Ford-Butz administration compared to their record in helping farmers. It's a consistent pattern that's been going on a long time. Monday morning *I made a* ~~they have their~~ speech in

Long Springs, Georgia, which is the second home of Franklin Roosevelt Now folks back in those depression years ~~never heard when~~ *under Hoover*

when

Roosevelt *understood* working people and understood farm families. He ~~did what~~ *knew that* we needed ~~for~~ rural electrification.

The Republicans opposed it. That's a hot fight. It was finally *passed* by the

Democrats. Franklin Roosevelt initiated a good soil conservation program. It was opposed by the Republicans. It was finally *passed*

Franklin Roosevelt knew that we needed a minimum wage law to get decent wages for people who had to work with their hands. He put

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forward *25¢ an hour* minimum wage proposals. There were 95% of Republican Congressmen *that voted voted against paying an* ~~of~~ able bodied men or woman 25¢ an hour. He knew that we needed some security in our old age, and he proposed social security. There were 95 Republicans in the House, 94 of them voted against social security.

This pattern *has been continued down through* ~~of the~~ *the* ~~year~~ *Truman?* helping farmers, Nixon working against them Teddy Roosevelt, Johnson, Kennedy all having their political strength *derived from* working people. But ever since McKinley, ever since Coolidge, ever since Hoover, all the way from Nixon and now Ford + *Butz* the working people of this country have been forgotten. In 1972 Rural Development Act was passed by Herman Talmadge from my State and H. Humphrey from yours. This Republican Administration _____ get good from _____ and _____ the implimentation of an act that would ~~enough~~ *our* people and our children a chance in life. Better yet let me give you a few record of the last eight years. Interest rates have gone up 50%, unemployment has gone up 100%, inflation has gone up 200%. The Federal deficit has gone up 600 %. That's the kind of leadership that we've had from the Republican Administration and I believe that we need to change it. Now, I owe special interest nothing. I owe the people everything and I am going to keep it that way if you will help me. (applause)

I have come here to ask you for your help and express my thanks to you for the great leadership that you have provided this country. The fact is for providing one of the finest running mates that anybody can possibly have in Fritz Mondale: (applause) For making me feel welcome every time I come to Minnesota. I am glad to come here. It is a great thrill to see a tremendous crowd on these hills on this

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beautiful fall. We need your help. The election is not a sure thing. It is very difficult for an outsider to ~~the-scene~~ defeat an incumbent President ~~for~~ with a unified party. I believe though we can do it, with hard work and staying close/^{to}you. How many of you in this audience think it is time for a change in Washington? (applause) Then you will help me and Fritz Mondale between/^{now}and Nov. 2nd and we will help you beginning January 20th to change our government in Washington and make it understand the problems of farm families and restore the - *faith* we've lost and to give us assurance to other nations that we still live in the greatest nation on earth, the United States of America.

Thank you very much - God bless America- all of you



FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

FYI



CARTER SPEECH

September 17, 1976

Biloxi Party Rally

Eleven Point Plan to hold down inflation

(overtalk) before he died. Did you know he was a stalwart for strong defense? He was always at the right hand of the President in times of crisis. As I said to Russell, what was your greatest contribution you ever made as a senator from Georgia? And he said, Governor (at that times I had been elected Governor) I think the thing that I am the most proud of is the school lunch program. And when I had read about Senator Walter Joyce (?) from Atlanta Georgia the thing of which he was most proud in spite of the foreign services committee he always said that the thing he was the most proud was providing federal education funds to teach young people in vocational schools.

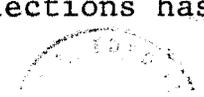
Well Senator Stennis has taken Senator Russell's place as Chairman of the Armed Services Committee. We are all proud of it. He is a strong advocate for an adequate national defense. He is also Chairman of the Subcommittee (the Appropriations Committee) on Public Works. And one of the things all of you in Mississippi know, is that he is very proud to build people and not just to provide for building quite a war. But, there need not be any controversy or conflict between the two. But the humanitarian aspects of the South to believe that government need not be source of fear if we control it; and it does not control us. It has been one of the unifying factors in Southern politics. Senator Stennis is also of course very interested in a deep religious commitment. I don't know if you know it or not but he certainly has been the leader of the prayer breakfast group/ ^{in the Senate} And this is another aspect of Southern consciousness that is part of our lives.

Senator Eastland occupied the highest office in the Senate of the United States. He is the President Pro Temporary, elected by his own pier group (applause) because of their respect for him. Chairman of the Judiciary Committee and a Ranking Member as you know of a very important committee to me which is Agricultural and Forestry. He and I also have something else in common, we are both small farmers (applause).

Today I would like to select as a topic a treatment of government of our people who are dependent on strong adequate leadership in management, conservation, and the control of the inflationary spiral. I tried to think of a story that would illustrate this point; how we put our faith in people and sometimes the faith is not realized. The only one that I could think of was about a young, an old merchant, in a very small town in Georgia and he had a store. He was a pretty shrewd trader. But he always liked to give the image of being very fair and very honest, very devote and very religious. Every time he made a sale he would say a little Bible verse out loud. And one day his grandson was in helping in the store and some lady came in ~~dressed-in-white~~ it was drizzling rain and she bought a pound of cheese and a loaf of bread. She gave him the money and he went over to the cash register and stood there for a while and finally rang up the sale. He then said the Lord will provide. After about twenty minutes the lady came walking back in from the rain, furious, threw the keys on the counter the cheese had gotten hard the bread was stale and she wanted her money back. And so the old fellow thought for a while and put the merchandise back on the shelf went over to the cash register and got her money out and said what the Lord giveth the Lord taketh away. She left and after a while a Cadillac automobile drew up in front. It had a beautiful trailer on the back and a fine race horse. And the fellow came running in and said I have got to have blanket for my horse. The old

fellow had three cheap blankets up on the shelf and got one off and laid it on the counter and said how will this one do? The fellow said well I don't know. How much does it cost? And the fellow said it only costs \$5.00. He said I wouldn't put a \$5.00 blanket on the horse I've got outside. That's a champion horse. I need a better blanket than that. Well the fellow put the blanket up on the shelf and got one down of the same quality but a different color. He said maybe this one will do better. How much is it? He said well, it's \$20.00. Now that horse out there is worth a half million dollars I am not going to put a \$20.00 blanket on a half million dollar horse. Is this all you got? The fellow said I have one more blanket. So he got the same quality blanket and laid it out on the table. He said this is \$100.00. The fellow said I'll take it. He went outside and put the blanket on the horse and drove off. His grandson knew the blankets were all worth the same amount. So when the fellow went over to ring the cash register he listened very closely and said (punch line inaudible - sorry!!)

In a way that is what has happened in the last eight years. And I think we have come to the point now that there needs to be a frank discussion of our relationship of our government and some of the faults that lie there. But that's not enough; some of the things that we ought to do to correct them. Inflation is the subject that I want to address this afternoon. Inflation robs us all. It is tearing up an invisible tax. The Commerce Department yesterday released figures that showed that family income was not growing as rapidly as the cost of goods. It is the first time in many, many years when the actual take-home pay in real dollars has decreased over the last eight-year period. This of course damages most those who have to work with their hands their salaries don't increase rapidly or retired people who live on fixed incomes. The Republican record has not gone up in a state like your own except in the last few elections has been



historically Democratic. I started my campaign last Monday morning in Walsprings(?) Georgia. _____ was afflicted by polio. He was stricken down in 1926, 50 years ago, he preaches in Walsprings. We went there to restore his physical body to think and to plan, to pray and to dream about the future. He saw, although he was a wealthy man, that there needed to be some care given to working people of the country. He proposed a minimum wage law, 25¢ an hour, social security, rural electrification. And he followed by Harry Truman, he was a common man but an uncommon leader. He was always on our level. He said something I believed in and he was a real leader, he made some tough decisions without hesitation. He had a sign on his desk. I don't know if any one remembers what it says. Does anyone remember? "The buck stops here". Well nowadays, the buck is going all over Washington looking for a place to stop. And the strong tough leadership is a prerequisite to good government. We've seen our national growth slow down. In the last eight years under the Republican Administration, we've only increased our national product about 2% a year. Historically, including those long democratic year our national growth was about 4 and 1/2% a year. Unemployment, _____ the unemployment was less than 3%. When the Kennedy-Johnson years were over, the unemployment rate was less than 4%. Last month, 7.9%. There are 500,000 more Americans out of work today than there were three months ago. Inflation, historically again, these years, four years, Republican years, Democratic years, the inflation rate has averaged 2.2% since 1930. In the last eight years under the Republican Administration the average inflation rate has about 6 1/2%; three times one would normally expect _____ talk about budget deficits.

When Truman was in office for seven years they had an average budget deficit but surplus (?) of two B(m)illion dollars a year. Under Kennedy and Johnson with the impact of the Vietnam War, the average deficit was less



seven billion dollars a year. Last year the deficit was 65 billion dollars. More than all eight years combined when Kennedy and Johnson were in office. And the last two proposal by the President to Congress were over 50 billion dollars deficit. As a matter of fact, in the last eight years the budget deficit increase on national debt equals more than all previous administrations since our nation was founded.

Now we have a lot of difference between political rhetoric and political performance. We have _____ prices in the last eight years increase 60%, food prices up 70%, median cost of a family home increase more than 100% the cost of health care in the last eight years alone up 250%. The 1968 dollar is now worth 61¢. You can see why the Republican President started issuing \$2.00 bills again. Unless we can turn this around on November 2nd we might have \$3.00 bills (applause).

The worst record on inflation in over fifty years. Now this is serious to us all. It is hard for us to understand that it saps away the strength of our country. I'm a small business man and a farmer. I _____ seed and I process seed and sell it to the farmer. And I know the cost of money. Interest rates have increased about 50% in the last eight years. This past year we had twice as many bankruptcies of business as we did in 1968. Thirty-one thousand businesses went bankrupt last year. Economic stagnation has set in and real corporate profits were even lower than they were when President Nixon took office. Now, why did this happen do you think? First of all, the general Republican philosophy is the thing, that prosperity is the single cause of inflation. Our philosophy in the South is always been that anybody that was able to work ought to work and ought to have a chance to work (applause).

But contrary to that in recent years we have had a philosophy that in order to control inflation that you have had to have high unemployment.



When you have seen on a Truman, Roosevelt, Kennedy Johnson we had low inflation and low unemployment. Tight money, high interest rates, have always been a pattern afflict us under this Republican Administration. Interest rates on home loans up 50% compared to what they were in 1968. No talk about balanced budgets just WIN buttons. Nothing about energy, about a plan or long-range commitment to a better transportation system, no long-range commitment to a better, more stable agricultural policy which means again that there is no way for federal, state and local levels of government to share responsibilities for exactly the same constituents. We also find it almost impossible for government on the one hand business industry, labor, agriculture, education and other entities in our society to co-operate. We in the South have always felt that if there is a choice to be made, between the government on the one hand and the private sector on the other that the choice ought to be the private sector. (light applause) If there is a choice to be made between the federal, state and local levels of government the responsibility and authority ought to be placed with the level of government closest to the individual citizen whose basic kind of philosophy has stood up in good stead in the press lately/^{we} have forgotten about them.

We need _____ also realization and with commodity shortages and _____ to resign and our economic strength is in danger. As a farmer (loud noise) soybeans, corn, peanuts I know what a devastating _____ was to us to have ^{four} all export embargoes in three years. This robs the farmer, spread to consumer, damages our balance of trade payments, and makes us uncertain about the future. And the damaging effect is permanent. There is no reason, I see in the future, short of some agricultural catastrophe, to have embargoes anymore as a part of our agricultural foreign trade policy. And I intend to put a stop to that. (applause)

We now export more than 60% of our wheat, 50% of our soybeans, and Eastland told me 2/3 of rice, 25% of our corn. And that ability to grow and export better fits us all. Now what can we do about it? I just want to give you a simple specific eleven point plan and I'll be brief, I don't want to bore you.

First of all we need to maintain employment opportunities, and reduce inflation at the same time. There are a lot of things that we can do to increase unemployment. One, is to commit our selves to the proposition that when we invest a small amount of money, taxpayers' money, into providing jobs in the private sector, it is permanent and it benefits us all. In research and development money, transportation to give us a good railroad system again. To guarantee of home loans, the restoration of integrity of the farm home administration. The correction of a disgraceful housing and urban development department which has now become the world's greatest slum-landlord. (applause) Strengthening of _____ the protection of neighborhoods and targeting employment opportunities. We need _____ a proposition that our goal is a balanced budget. I see no reason in normal economic circumstances for the federal government budget should not be balanced. When I lived on a farm, my family budget was balanced, my farm budget was balanced and I began to operate a warehouse my budget was balanced. I was governor four years of Georgia, the budget was always balanced. And before my time is over, if I am elected President, one of my major goals is to have the government budget balanced in (applause)

This year we are spending about seventeen billion dollars in unemployment compensation and welfare payments for people who are able to work full time and who are actively looking for a job. Everytime we reduce the unemployment rate just one percent we add sixteen billion dollars towards balancing the federal budget. Two billion of that comes

from decreased payments for welfare and unemployment compensation. The other fourteen billion dollars comes from increased tax revenues. Now the emphasis ought to be on jobs in the private sector, but many things can be done by the federal government to make sure that business is strengthened once again and the 75% utilization rate of our _____ capacity is improved. We need to have a complete reorganization of the beauracy in the federal government. (applause) If I am elected President, my commitment to you is that we are going to have an efficient, economical, well-organized purposful and manageable executive branch of our government and you can depend on it (applause).

We need to eliminate unnecessary paperwork, regulation, guidelines, and red tape. (applause). For business and for the farmers and for special _____ this saps away the strength and I know _____ with the Georgia government that when an agency becomes obsolete of obsolecent, when it has passed its time, it has more public relations people to convince the American people its has done a job it hasn't. It starts grinding out unnecessary paperwork, regulations, forms to be filled out to give the employees who have long since served their usefulness something to do. I am going to iniate as soon as I get into the White House a concept called "zero based budgeting". I did this my first springtime as governor of Georgia. Under zero based budgeting every year you analyze every expenditure proposed by the executive to the legislature in annual budget requests. It automatically eliminates obsolecent and obsolete programs. It detects overlapping and duplication and it sets priorities for next year so that tax _____ of what is needed then and wha not what was needed 50 years ago. This needs to be combined with the so-called "sunset" law which means that every five years or so the Congress reasses the need for existing agencies, so that we can automatically terminate those agencies that were created in an emergency perhaps for a useful purpose

but after they serve their purpose they continue on indefinitely and never die. We need to enforce for a change our antitrust laws and make them tough and also restore competition in the private sector. We need to do everything we can to strengthen the free enterprise system that is has got to be based on protection of consumers' rights, protection of small business rights and tough competition provide a healthier economy in our nation which has ^{saped} stepped away from it in recent years.

We need to have regulatory reform. And the regulatory agencies were designed originally to protect consumers. But over a period of time they get to be a kind of a sweetheart arrangement between the regulatory agencies on the one hand and the ~~interest~~ industries being regulated on the other. In the last five years under the Republican Administration over half the appointments made to regulatory agencies came directly from the industries being regulated. I think we have too much regulation and I want to do everything I can to reduce it if you elect me President this November (applause).

The next point I want to make is about aggressive foreign trade opportunities. As you well know in your own state of Mississippi and Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia one of the major responsibilities on the governor's shoulders is to bring new industry into our state and sell our state's products overseas. Now I tried to do this when I was governor. I visited eleven foreign countries and one time government business labor, agricultural leaders. We were faced with competition of countries like Japan, West Germany, France even small countries like Bulgaria, communists countries, China, Russia and they could come into a nation that had a major market potential like Brazil and they would say this is the merchandise we have to offer. This is the quality we can guarantee you. This is the delivery date, when the merchandise will be

here. This is the interest rates we will charge you . This is the re-
payment schedule you will have to meet. And they could trade right there.
When I and my compatriots from Georgia try to do the same thing there was
no where to go in Washington to get an answer. We never knew to go to
the Commerce Department the Treasury Department, the Agricultural Depart-
ment, the Defense Department, State Department or where. When we need to
have, but a drastic _____ export sales policy to help our business manufacture
products here, keep our employees in work here, _____ our inventory here
and sell aggressively fine American products throughout the world. We can
compete, we can profit and it will be a great step forward to restore the
economic strength of our country. (applause)

Georgia now has full time trained offices around the world in places
like Bonn, Germany, Brussels, Belgium, Brazil, Toronto, Canada and two in
Japan. One recently established an govern office in Great Britain. Just
to sell our products and ~~let~~ ^{when} our small businessmen, banker, goes ~~to~~ out
to present our case to a foreign ^{nation} we/make the arrangements and see _____
Other countries aggressively _____ the products we produce, and we don't.
A stable and predictable agricultural policy we don't have it anymore.
One of the reasons I worked so hard in the campaign to get up at six o'clock
almost every morning and work to almost midnight is so that in January 20,
1977 I-say-to-myself I can send Mr. Earl Butz back where he came from and
(applause) have a secretary of agriculture who understands what is best for
the family farmer and _____ exactly what's best for the consumer.
The agriculture is in danger and these great senators on my left know
we used to have a very strong voice in a manner of speaking, now we don't.
As long as we have got consumers pitted against farmers in a showdown vote
we are on shakey ground. We need a predicitable agricultural policy. The
farm _____ will _____ in 1977. It is going to be written again. And we

need someone there in the agricultural's secretary office who understands what is best for the farmer. We need maximum production, aggressive constant sales overseas, carryover stocks maintained to protect our interest _____ under the controls of farmers. We need a Secretary of Agricultural who is approachable, one who is not obligated, who didn't get his experience from the grain processes and speculators as does Mr. Buttz. And I think we also need in the White House a farmer. We haven't had one since Thomas Jefferson.

We now heavily dependent on import _____ of _____ material zinc, copper, boxcite, _____ as well as all the other products. The careful planning by government and industry together we can eliminate those bottlenecks by anticipating needs. We haven't done that in the past and it ought to be done again. We can provide incentives for research and development of all the developed nations in the world we spend a smaller proportion of our gross national product for basic research and development. This group of items a way to eliminate waste. Not too long ago in Plains, Georgia I had some people come there for a meeting on energy. A Dow Chemical representative said they had worked very hard in the industry to cut down on waste of fuel and they were now producing the same quantity of products with a 40% reduction in energy consumption. So with good research and development we can meet those needs anticipate problems and have industry and government together understand how they can cooperate to prevent bottlenecks, shortages _____ rapid inflation _____ to our economy. We need to have voluntary cooperation between labor and management in holding down prices and wages that are increased above and beyond the actual need for profit and adequate wages. Now one of the things that always aggravates and existing serious problem is unpredictability of about the future. If there is no way for business and industry

and government to cooperate, on a regular and predictable basis, if labor feels we need six percent increase in wages next year to meet the impact of inflation, if they don't know what is going to happen next and have no place play in the decision-making process, they'll ask for fifteen percent. Just to cover all the _____ and they'll get it. The same with industry. If an automobile manufacture says it is going to cost me \$50.00 a car extra next year to cover the anticipated inflationary cost, if they don't know what is going to happen next year and have no role to play in the decision-making process, they'll ask for \$200 a car and they'll get it. So need to have voluntary restraints, not mandatory price and wage control to hold down the impact of inflation when it is not necessary. I would like to strengthen the Wage and Price Council and to have some notification before wages or prices are raised to me as President and to the public. Now these are I think eleven specific things that can be done to hold down inflation that are not now being done.

I would like to say one other thing to _____ gentlemen in closing, In last twenty-one months I have had a chance to campaign around this country. I don't think any other human being has traveled more than I have, visited more places, talked to more people, listened more, answered more questions and I've enjoyed it. A-bais- (taped changed so lost some)a basis of which we can predicate such complicated questions, and correct our mistakes and approach the future with confidence. And the greatest resource of all are the two hundred fifteen million Americans. A tremendous resevoir of talent and ability and experience, intelligent, hope, brotherhood, and patriotism and high moral character and if we can just equate what our people are, with what our government is; our problems will be substantially solved . And under those circumstances _____ next year we can prove to the rest of the world once again the fact that

all of us in the South and throughout the nation know that we still live in the greatest country on earth.

Thank you very much

September 17, 1976

MEETING WITH NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Washington D.C.

MONDALE AND CARTER

Thank you John and Terry and President Carter and friends of the NEA. You will note who speaks first in this administration, and I find that most gratifying. We are proud of your endorsement. We are heartened by the overwhelming nature of that endorsement, and it is a matter of special pride to us that this is the first time in the over 100 years history of this organization that teaches more school children than any other to endorse a candidate for president and vice-president of the United States.

And I believe I know why you have abandoned a century of tradition to speak up for education in America. It is the same reason I am glad to be on this ticket, and I am working so hard for its election. In the 12 years that I have been in the Senate I have worked with this organization practically every day, fighting for good education. And I am getting sick and tired of having efforts of decent Americans who are trying to teach their children, and children of others, being put down and undermined. I'm getting tired of presidential leadership that does not support the substance and the programs that American need, and I'm getting tired of the frustration that surrounds this most sacred objective in America of giving every child a decent chance for the fullness of American life. You cannot be for the concepts of equality and justice in America unless ~~th~~ at the same time you're all out for a program that gives every kid a chance in the schools of the country.



And I'd like to be around where instead of JohnRyer and Harry Hernden and Stan McFarland and the rest of you, having to go before committees and fight administration programs, instead will meet together beforehand work it out and go together for the Congress and get it done in the first place.

This is a good crowd. I may be speaking longer than I plan to. One final point. The other day, the President went to Yellowstone National Park and with the background of Old Faithful, he announced he was for more national parks. That surprised me a little bit because I've looked at their records, checked again. The only park he supported in the last 8 years is the President of South Korea. And I'll tell you what's going on. Wahts going on with the President now is what my father, the minister, ysed to call a deathbed conversion. And he said the trouble with deathbed conversions is sometimes they get well. And we know the difference. We know the difference. He said he's for full employment. They've added 2½ million to the unemployment rolls since he became president. They said they're for home ownership for everyone at prices they can afford, when there's a depression in housing, high interest rates, and their policy on housing is a disgrace.

They said they're for health care for all that's affordable, and they've announced if we send a health bill to them, they'll veto it. And then finally, they did the same on education. And I want to read his language. The President said one of his goals is quality education for every young american. Where was he when we needed him. When, once, has he or this administration or its predecessor ever stood up for ~~imprved-edieatopm~~ improved education through federal support education. Give me one example because I've fought in every one of these fights.... for indian education, for the emergency school programs, for Title I, for adult education, for the handicapped, for vocational education, for student assistance and in every one of those cases, this administration and that president has opposed us and when hewas in the Congress, he voted against us.



He said in his speech that trust must be earned. Indeed it must. Indeed it must. And that's why we're gonna elect Carter president of the United States. Thank you very much.

CARTER

This is the last time Mondale is going to speak first. He's a hard act to follow, particularly when he's talkin' about education. We've seen what happened when I choose him to be my running mate and the democratic delegates agreed my rating in the poll went up almost overnight to 62%. I think that the change was among the 1.8 million teachers who just recently have endorsed our ticket and I think that all of you agree that if we had searched the nation over, which I did, if we had to set the highest possible standards, for excellence and compassion, for competence and for character, I could not have chosen a better man than Walter Mondale to run with me. Do you agree with that ?

WE've got 13 of us campaigning for us full time. Fritz and his wife and I and my wife and my sons and daughters-in-law and my aunt Sissy and five of us are educators, teachers, and Sissy and Joan and Annette and Karen and Judy are all gonna be proud that they'll be joined now with 1.8 million more teachers who I hope will be campaigning almost full time between now and November 2nd, after classroom hours for the Carter-Mondale ticket. I have ... last week we campaigned in 37 states, and this week about the same number. Last week 120 different cities and this week about the same number. And we're tryin to learn as best we can what the hopes and dreams and aspirations of our nation are. And it's obvious to me that the best thrust that our campaign can maintain is an investment of our financial and human resources in a better life for our people and a better chance to expand one's talent and abilities given to them by God

My first public office was for the local school board. I became chairman of it. For seven years I worked during the integration time in Georgia schools. And then when I was elected to the Georgia senate, with one major purpose in mind - to protect the public school system in Georgia, I was asked by the Lieutenant Governor, who made the committee appointments, which committees do you want to be on, and my own request was that I be put on the education committee, and I worked then to build up a new minimum foundation program law for Georgia, and as Governor, continue that effort. And I hope and believe that your choice of me and Senator Mondale to be the next president and vice-president of the country will never cause you to be embarrassed or concerned or disappointed. We will do just as much for the children and adults who look to you for leadership and guidance and instruction as you will do for us in the ~~next~~ next seven weeks to give us a victory on November 2nd, and you have my commitment on it.

Let me say... it's not going to be an easy thing, because in the last 7½ years we've lost a vision of what the country ought to be. and we've seen a constant hammering on our people that that government ought not to be concerned, it ought not to be compassionate, it ought not to be involved in improving the lives of our people. And the basic consciousness of our people nation has been dwarfed and attenuated and shrunken. I believe that we ought to expand minds and expand hearts, that we ought to treat people as individuals in the classroom or otherwise. And you know, every time we've had a major decision to be made in this country, the teachers of our country have had to be in the forefront in social affairs, particularly in the south, where I grew up and where I've lived, the teachers have had to be the repository of courage when quite often political leaders, business leaders, social leaders, didn't have that courage and we put a major responsibility on teachers to bring about the integration of the races and correct discrimination of all kinds and

and expand the consciousness of our country down through the years which I deeply appreciate. You've often served almost always, at a great financial sacrifice and the complexities in your own life are ones that concern me very much. I want to have the kind of administration next year that can revitalize our country, that can restore our faith, that can reassert our obligations to you, and I trust, in the education of our children and our adults who've suffered so long from an absence of proper attention, The best investment our country can make is in the minds of our people. I think it will guarantee a possibility or the correlation between liberty and freedom on the one hand and equality of opportunity on the other. We need to shift the emphasis towards greater individualization of instruction beginning at the early years and going throughout the adult life of human beings. There is a great need to correlate more closely career education and ~~ademic-in~~ academic instruction.

We need to try to do what we can to prevent the routine promotion of children from the third to the fourth to the fifth to the 6th to the 7th grades when they can't read and write. I've been in classrooms and seen the small groups of students sitting over in the corner while the ~~eighter~~ other students studied mathematics and English and social sciences and geography, and those children couldn't read or write. And it almost tears your heart out to see their formative years being spent ~~wh~~ withdrawn, alienated, proven every day that they are inferior people. But that's not necessary. and I've seen in our own classrooms at home young people go into the first grade, who've never seen a book, who've never heard a bedtime story, who've never heard the English language spoken properly, and I think that this is a nother grate resource that we are ~~likely~~ failing to tap and to expand. My own daughter, Amy, goes to a very good school in Plains. She's in the fourth grade. This year she's eight years old. I guess two thirds of her classmates are black.

She goes there because we want her to go there. Because she likes it, and my commitment is to the public school system of our country. The President and I have talked about this a lot. I'm not presuming that I'm president. I've got a tough hard fight to wage in the next seven weeks. Senator and Mondale have together with you. But our attention is that when Amy comes to Washington she'll be in the public school if there are problems there, I want to be part of the solution of those problems. This is a national commitment that ought to be dramatized. We do have problems in education, but they are not problems that ought to be permanent with us. And if a nation like Sweden or a nation like Israel can achieve almost universal literacy, I see no reason why that's too high a standard to set in our great great country. For we've never been willing as political leaders to set our standards that high, and I pledge to you that I'll do everything I can, working with Senator Mondale, working with the Congressional leaders, who are eager to get started and with your great organization to bring to our country the kind of educational system that will keep our minds open to learn about God's land and to keep our hearts open to encompass the realization of more friends and more love and compassion and understanding and brotherhood, and this in my opinion can only come through the educational system in our country.

All the way from the pre-school years through the graduate courses, I want to have a comprehensive commitment on a long-term basis to what our nation's educational system should be, clearly expressed, financed year by year with a commitment on my part and Senator Mondale's part that we will meet those needs, allocate the necessary funds, correct our mistakes, bind ourselves together and in unity provide our people with the greatest possible resource of all,,, a chance to take advantage of whatever talent or ability God has given to us through the educational system of our great great land. We've neglected it too long. Beginning next January the 20th, with your help, it will not be neglected any more. Thank you very much.

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Carter

I wish that everybody knew me well enough to trust me.

Q. What kind of reading do you get from (U.S. Rep. Al) Ullman (chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee) and others on the Hill as to the feasibility of a total overhaul of taxes? They tried a few years ago to get through legislation which would have in effect been a phase-out of loopholes and advantages which were not specifically approved by the Congress and they couldn't even get that.

A. I would let Mr. Ullman speak for himself, but I was encouraged by the attitude concerning the intention that I have. There is a great difference between Congress trying to initiate a comprehensive tax reform in a vacuum and having the President spearhead the effort.

Q. If you were President now, would you sign the tax reform bill that was passed in Congress this week?

A. Not having read it, I can't say for sure. My assessment from the news media reports is that it would be one that would be a step in the right direction.

Q. Another area of enormous interest is employment. As we understand it, you have endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and you are in favor of it..

(The bill sets a goal of 3 per cent adult unemployment equivalent to 4.5 per cent overall unemployment by 1980, with the emphasis on jobs in the private sector and the government acting as an employer of last resort.)

A. Yes.

Q. What about the specific terms of the bill? It makes the federal government the employer of last resort. Right now to carry out the terms of that bill it would mean the creation of something over 3.2 million jobs. Do you see the federal government assuming that role and how does that fit with the goals you set down of a leaner and trimmer and more efficient federal establishment?

A. Well, I am not sure you are referring to the latest version of Humphrey-Hawkins when you say the government would provide 3.2 million jobs. That is not my understanding of it. The amendments that have been incorporated in the bill by the Education Committee of the House recently would lessen substantially the number of jobs that would be provided directly by the federal government.

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My guess would be that the principles of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill are good, to set for our nation a clear goal for the level of unemployment now, at the end of four years to have 3 per cent or less unemployment among those who are 20 years old or older.

With those modifications that I have described, I do support it but I don't know if the Humphrey-Hawkins bill will pass this year, and I don't know what the latest amendments are, but if they have been included as I have just described to you, I think it is a good bill.

Q. Are you urging your fellow Democrats in Congress to support the bill and pass it?

A. Yes.

Q. The word around town is that a number of Democrats in the House have told the leadership that they would just as soon adjourn without having to go on record on this one before the election.

A. I am not trying to push passage of the bill.

Q: You seem to be saying that you agree with the goals of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill but not necessarily the mechanisms that they have devised in the first place to get there.

A. Well, as you possibly know, when the Humphrey-Hawkins bill was first introduced I came out against it. I and my economic advisers spent a lot of time studying the original bill and we delineated a list of amendments that we thought should be put in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, that should be passed. So as far as I know, the House Education Committee version of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill has now incorporated all of my suggested amendments.

Q: The bottom line is still public employment, isn't it?

A. No, it is not.

Q. As a last resort?

A. With the emphasis on "last," yes.

Q. Governor, whether you use private or public employment to get the present employment rate, which is 7.9 per cent, down to an overall rate of 4.5 or thereabouts, you need 3 million jobs or more than that.

A. Sure.

Q. Whether you get them from the public sector or the private sector, or out of thin air, how do you get 3 million jobs?

A. Well, we have had them many times before. We have jumped to an extraordinary increased unemployment since Mr. Ford has been in office. There are 2 million more people out of work now than there were when he took office in August of 1974. We have about a 75 per cent industrial capacity now being utilized and, as you know, there is no effort being made by the federal government now except over Mr. Ford's adamant opposition to encourage employment in the public or private sector. I think there are actually fewer private jobs now than there were when Mr. Ford took office.

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BC-Carter, ADV 19 - 5th add, 460<

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For release Sun. Sept. 19<

WASHINGTON: took office.>

Carter

So in the channeling of research and development funds and the instigation of increased activity in the housing industry, and using funds for law enforcement, recreation and better health care or pollution control or in the guaranteeing of local bond issues for public improvements - these kinds of things would all instigate an increase in employment.

Also, in some areas the federal government might very well supplement salaries in the private sector in the areas of very high unemployment, and I would favor a substantial expansion with federal funds combined with private funds for those who are young and particularly in communities where unemployment is very high.

Q. You talk about research and development and housing, law enforcement and pollution control as areas where spending might create jobs. How much will that cost and where is the money to come from?

A. Well, I think you know - I think the well-accepted statistic that every time you reduce the unemployment rate 1 per cent you add \$16 billion toward balancing the federal budget about \$2 billion in reduced welfare and unemployment compensation payments and the other \$14 billion in increased tax revenues.

We now are paying about \$17 billion this year for welfare and unemployment public compensation for able-bodied adults who are fully able to work, just because of the extraordinarily high unemployment rate.

So, that is where the money comes from. It is from increased national growth and increased federal revenues and reduced payments for welfare and unemployment compensation. It has worked historically in this country and it is not a revolutionary innovation at all. This is just to go back to the kind of economy that we experienced all of the way from when Roosevelt turned the economy around until Nixon went into office.

Q. Let's go back over that. Some of us are a little confused.

You have said that every 1 per cent of unemployment costs \$16 billion in welfare. The Congressional Budget Office says that for about \$1 billion in federal spending you can create about 350,000 jobs. That means that for about \$3 billion you could create enough jobs to lower the unemployment rate by 1 percent.

If those figures are right, the government ends up with a \$16 billion gain and 900,000 people have jobs they didn't have before. That seems to be too simple and, if it is that simple, I don't think I'm the only one who's confused. I've had about 15 or 20 economists who helped me and I think that the range of their political philosophy would be quite broad, and they are unanimous in agreeing with that basic figure - that 1 per cent reduction in unemployment is the equivalent of about \$16 billion. That would go toward balancing the budget.

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For release Sun. Sept. 19<
WASHINGTON: the budget.
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Carter

The key to a balanced budget and the key to revenues that can be used to provide services is in my opinion employment.

Q. Can the government create jobs at a profit? Can the government by pumping and by giving employment to those who can't get employment otherwise, lower the rate 1 per cent and thus realize the \$16 billion in benefits - are they then in the black on that transaction?

A. (Economist Lawrence) Klein and other economic advisers have computed it. It costs about \$10,500 to provide one federal job, the administration and the allocation of the funds, and the more you can use federal money to be magnified and provide jobs in the private sector, the more jobs you can provide for any given amount of money, obviously.

To guarantee, for instance, home mortgage loans, which was once a flourishing stimulation for the economy under FHA in the early stages of where that worked - it had a greatly magnified beneficial effect.

So, the more you can channel federal monies into areas that stimulate private employment, the greater you can cut down that \$10,500 per job and shift it down to not more than a couple of thousand dollars per job. That is where you get your magnification factor and that is where you get your increased revenues compared to the money that you spend.

Q. At what point do you think you could begin zero-based budgeting?

A. When I went into office (as governor of Georgia in 1971) it was something that had never been done before in any government. We had to devise all of the procedures and all of the forms from scratch and studied the techniques. I went into office in January and I put zero-base budgeting into effect in April of that same year, 100 per cent for every expenditure in the state government.

I can't say whether I could do it that rapidly at the federal government level, but my intention would be to prepare my first executive budget using zero-based budgeting in its entirety.

Q. The budget year when you would take office would begin in October, the change of fiscal year. Was that the year you were talking about?

A. I would like to do that.

A. Would you want to amend the Ford budget?

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For release Sun. Sept. 19

WASHINGTON: Ford budget?

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A. I would hope that by Jan. 20 of 1977 I would have my major amendments to the Ford-prepared budget ready to present to the Congress. But I could obviously not do that using zero-based budgeting. We would have to do that in a hurried way beginning in November. It would give me about two months to see if I wanted to shift emphasis toward other programs to fulfill my promises.

Q. Have you started on that and have you started putting together the figures that would comprise the Carter budget the first year?

A. I haven't been directly involved in it but it is being done, yes.

Q. Can you give us an idea of what magnitude of budget it would be?

A. No.

Q. You have said the Republicans gave us the first \$200 and \$300 and \$400 billion budgets, which is true. Could Carter give us the next under-\$400-billion budget?

A. No; I don't think it would be reasonable to expect that the present budget would be reduced.

Q. President Ford says that if you fulfill all of the promises that you have made and the promises in the platform it will cost \$100 billion a year in spending.

You said, I believe I guess by 1980 there will be a \$60 billion surplus, more than we have. That doesn't seem to jibe. Ford says \$100 billion. And what do you say your programs would cost?

A. Well, it is hard to say. We will fulfill all of the promises that are made to the American people, and we have projected using computer analysis from the Conference Board and the Wharton School of Business and some help from MIT and others, that by 1981, with the reasonable expectation of economic growth, employment at the end of the four-year period, which we have already discussed, and a reasonable inflation rate, we will have, that year, about \$60 billion more in income than we have now.

Within that framework, assuming a balanced budget for fiscal year 1981, the program that we have advocated will be implemented.

We have not yet decided, obviously, and this will be subject to future experience, but those increases in available funds would be used for partial tax reductions or for implementation of new programs. But as we put into effect welfare reform and health insurance programs, health care programs, they will be phased in to accommodate the increased money available to us.

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For release Sun. Sept. 19>

WASHINGTON: to us.<

Q. I don't want us to misunderstand what you said there. Your response to the \$100-billion figure is that it is too high?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. Do you have another figure or not?

A. Well, as I said, we will fit the rapidity of implementation of these programs in to accommodate the revenues that I have just described to you.

Q. Without tax increases?

A. That is correct; yes, sir.

Q. You mentioned welfare reform and I just would like to touch on it briefly because I seem to be a little confused. As I understood it, your position was that the burden should be lifted from the cities and it should be shared by the federal government and the states.

A. Yes.

Q. In answer to a question in a New York magazine interview you were asked: Do you favor the idea of the state and city eventually paying nothing for welfare and the full cost being picked up by the federal government? And they quote you as saying: On the basic welfare package, yes, but I would never remove the constitutional right of a city or state to vote bonus payments or additional payment above and beyond the national welfare standard.

Q. Do you see the federal government ultimately taking over the basic welfare payment that would be required?

A. Over a period of time, I think, the goal ought to be to also freeze and then reduce and maybe ultimately to remove the state responsibility for paying any part of the mandatory package of welfare compensation.

But if the local or state governments want, in addition to an adequate minimum package of welfare payments, to supplement them, then as that statement says, they would certainly have that right.

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WASHINGTON: that right.>

Carter

Q. Do you anticipate difficulty in getting the states that are now at the low end of the average welfare payment picture to come up to the levels at which some of the higher states are? The differences are in the range of several hundred dollars a month in some cases. How would you bring them to a uniform level?

A. The basic welfare package, which would provide hopefully a simple one payment to a person or family, would be guaranteed by the federal government on a fairly uniform basis throughout the country. The percentage of that package that would be paid for by the state would probably be based on the ability of the state to pay.

I think there might be some difficulty among the states that pay practically no part of the cost but still, if you put into formula which, I think, is only fair the ability of the state to participate, the shock would be minimal and it might require a phasing in and certainly would require a phasing-in period for this purpose.

Q. You have said on foreign policy that there should be an understanding with the Soviet Union, that you would settle any dispute without resorting to nuclear force. Doesn't that mean you would have to increase manpower in NATO substantially since the concept has been there that our nuclear shield offset their superior manpower on the ground?

A. I would intend to maintain our present level of troop deployment in Europe for the foreseeable future, but I think when we can move with the Soviet Union to reduce atomic weapons, I would even be willing to increase ground forces, or conventional forces, if that was what it took to give us equivalent strength.

Q. You said the other day in Billings that you would not shy away from a strong secretary of state and you mentioned Truman's secretaries of state. How would you work with a secretary of state, given the structure which now exists between the White House and the State Department, where there has grown up in the White House the national security adviser's role as a counterbalance to the secretary of state?

A. Well, I can only judge by my own inclinations and what I did as governor. I selected the best and most competent and strong leaders that I could to head up a major department in the state government. I would do the same thing this way as President.

I would not try to run a department of the federal government from the White House staff. I would have the best-qualified analysts and technicians to help me in the White House that I could possibly find. But I hope that I could maintain the kind of relationship with the secretary of state that Truman did with Acheson and Marshall.

I would be the spokesman for this country. I would make the final decisions about our nation's foreign policy. I would be responsible for carrying out once the decisions had been made and I would consult very closely with the secretary of state and I would not have a higher or more officious or influential person within the White House that would dominate the secretary of state at all.

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BC-Carter-Text, 10th add, 450<
Adv. for Sunday AMs, Sept. 19>
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WASHINGTON: at all.>

Carter

Q. Could you give us your feelings at this point on where the campaign stands and what you think the impact of the debates is going to be now?

A. My overall feeling is one of success the first two weeks. My wife, my three sons, and their wives are all campaigning full-time, and so is (Vice Presidential nominee) Sen. (Walter) Mondale and his wife. There are 13 of us who are constantly scheduled.

The complexity of this is challenging, but I think it is fruitful. A couple of times a week I talk with Rosalynn, my wife, late at night, and every weekend we have a chance to talk with my sons and their wives, and I see Sen. Mondale and talk to him a couple of times a week. We have all been pleased so far.

Last week we visited about 37 different states. This week about the same. And we hope to maintain this rate of campaigning except I am going to take a couple of days off before each debate.

I think the debates, unless President Ford or I make a serious mistake, will probably solidify support and naturally, leaning voters - it would make their degree of commitment more solid. I think it would help to alleviate a lot of the concerns about me. President Ford is much better known than I am. He is much more predictable than I am. And I think the juxtaposition of myself with him in the debates will accrue to my own benefit if I do a good job in the debates - which I intend to do.

So I look forward to the debates with a great deal of anticipation. I think they will show that, contrary to the rhetoric that was constant in the Republican convention, that I am not a radical, that I am not completely ignorant about defense or foreign affairs, that I am a substantial person. And if I can project that image in the debates, it would be a great asset for me, I think.

Q. Do you think it will take care of the concerns mentioned in that Harris poll?

A. I wish I had seen the poll. I think that to strike one element out of a poll is a substantial and, I might say, unwarranted distortion. The overall results of our polls show that when you ask "Does Jimmy Carter care about people like me?" and compare it with "Does Gerald Ford care about people like me?" which is an element, a measurement of trust, I came out better than he does.

Q. I think Harris put you ahead of Ford. But he says there is a problem among your supporters because their perception of you as a handler of issues is more troubled - that was at the time of the convention.

A. Well, I can't deny that. As I say, I wish everybody had complete trust in me, and I believe that the debates will help to alleviate concern that has been pointed out.

End Adv for AMs Sunday, Sept. 19, sent Sept. 17.

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Carter

For Release Sunday Sept. 18

By WALTER R. MEARS=

and=

LOUISE COOK=

Associated Press Writers=

WASHINGTON (AP) Jimmy Carter contends his debate with President Ford on Thursday will "alleviate a lot of the concern about me" among voters who think him too vague on issues.

Discussing those issues in an interview with The Associated Press, the Democratic presidential nominee said:

He believes that as president he could spearhead an unprecedented total overhaul of U.S. tax laws through Congress. But he cannot now spell out what would be in his new tax code.

He will seek to implement such Democratic platform promises as welfare reform and national health insurance only when a revived economy produces the revenues to pay for them without tax increases.

He already is sizing up the foreign policy experts he meets and consults as possible candidates to become secretary of state in a Carter administration.

He thinks he can curb unemployment by using federal funds to stimulate private industry jobs without heavy reliance on public employment to put people back to work. He put no price on his plan.

Carter and Ford meet Thursday night in Philadelphia in the first of their three nationally televised campaign debates.

"I think the debates, unless President Ford or I make a serious mistake, will probably solidify support and, naturally, leaning voters — it would make their degree of commitment more solid," he said in the Friday interview with a panel of AP editors and reporters.

"I think it would help to alleviate a lot of the concerns about me," the former Georgia governor said. "President Ford is much better known than I am. He is much more predictable than I am. And I think the juxtaposition of myself with him in the debates will accrue to my own benefit if I do a good job in the debates — which I intend to do."

Carter said he thinks the debates will demonstrate he is not the radical candidate Republicans claim he is, "that I am a substantial person" with some knowledge of defense and foreign affairs.

"And if I can project that image in the debates, it would be a great asset for me, I think," Carter said.

He bristled at questions about a Louis Harris survey, published Thursday, which reported a drop in his positive rating. It was based on a survey among 2,844 likely voters over the past three weeks.

Harris said the survey found that by 49 per cent to 34 per cent, a plurality of voters believe that Carter "has ducked taking stands on issues to avoid offending anybody, and that is wrong."

Carter said he hadn't seen the Harris poll. "I think that to strike one element out of a poll is a substantial and, I might say, unwarranted distortion," he said.

"I wish everybody had complete trust in me, and I believe that those rates higher than Ford said that in his own campaign polls, he rates higher than Ford on questions of trust and ability to solve major problems."

As he has in campaign speeches, Carter described his tax overhaul plans in broad terms, saying the law would be "drastically reformed and simplified."

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EC-Carter Interview, Adv 12 - 1st add, 470<

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For release Sunday Sept. 10<

WASHINGTON: and simplified.

Carter

1 He said all income would be taxed the same and said he would seek "to guarantee a truly progressive tax rate so that the higher an income one has, the higher percentage of income one pays."

2 Carter said tax exemptions and deductions "would be severely curtailed," but he did not say which ones.

3 Carter said he would try to lower the rate of taxation, keep the same revenues, and substantially increase the taxes on "those who have the higher incomes."

4 "What are you thinking of as higher?" Carter was asked.

5 "I don't know," he replied. "I would take the median level of income."

6 Q: "The median family income today is somewhere around \$12,000. ... somebody earning \$15,000 a year is not what people commonly think of as rich."

7 A: "I understand. I can't answer the question, because I haven't gone into it. I don't know how to write the tax code in specific terms. It is just not possible to do that on the campaign trail."

8 Carter said he saw no problem for the voter in judging his program because "the principles that I have spelled out to you would in every instance convince the average American family that their taxes are going to be no higher, or perhaps even lower ... and that their taxes as levied will be fair."

9 He also said the \$10 billion to \$11 billion in tax breaks now provided to homeowners represents about the right level "of encouragement for home construction and home ownership."

10 That includes tax deductions for mortgage interest - which he once said he would like to eliminate - and for property tax payments.

11 He said those advantages should not apply to second homes or similar property, but that with such revision "I would guess that it would stay in the tax code."

12 Carter said he is confident he can spearhead the bill through Congress, where past efforts at tax reform often have foundered. He said "I believe that I could speak clearly enough to the \$p(b p'upha dn p'qbd 0hdhp rtpparp&& nd Cnnfrdr vead p'rr vhd progr l. Carter ra'd hd f'vorr fddr l int'stldnt hn efforts to sthmtl tdprirate emplzmeor 5.5 per cen cut the 7.9 per cent unemployment rate to the 5 or 5.5 per cent maximum on which his budget planning is predicated.

13 By 1981, "with the reasonable expectation of economic growth" and with unemployment curtailed, "we will have, that year, about \$60 billion more in incalanthan we have now."

14 Within that framework, assuming a balanced budget for fiscal year 1981, the prograls that wd have advocated will be implemented," Carter said. He said such items as welfare reform and health insurance "will be phased in to accommodate the increased money available to us."

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BC-Carter Interview, Adv 19 - 2nd add, 490>

Adv 19 For release Sunday Sept. 19.<

WASHINGTON: to us.

Carter

While he disputed Republican claims that programs he and the Democratic platform propose would cost \$100 billion a year, when he was asked for the correct figure, Carter replied:

"Well, it is hard to say. We will fulfill all of the promises that are made to the American people."

He then said that his projection of increased federal revenues was based on computer analysis.

Q: "Your response to the \$100 billion figure is that it is too high?"

A: "Yes, it is."

Q: "Do you have another figure or not?"

A: "Well, as I said, we will fit the rapidity of implementation of these programs in to accommodate the revenues that I have just described to you."

Q: "Without tax increases?"

A: "That is correct, yes sir."

On other points:

Carter said that while he supports the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which seeks to reduce adult unemployment to 3 per cent over the next four years, "I am not trying to push the passage of th bill through the House and Senate." He said it is compatible with his goals.

He has people at work on amendmmts he would propose to a Ford-prepared budget if elected President, but declined to discuss figures. "I don't think it would be reasonable to expect that the present budget would be reduced," he said. The revised Ford budget estimate for the current year is just under \$400 billion.

He favors an eventual federal takeover of all welfare costs, but first would move to remove that expense burden from local governments and have the states share it with Washington.

But he said states will have to continue paying for the foreseeable future. Carter said there should be a simple, fairly uniform welfare payment throughout the country. He said the state share of the cost "would probably be based on the ability of the state to pay."

Carter said he would choose a strong, capable secretary of state, and would not try to run the State Department through the White House staff.

But he said that as President he would make the decisions and be the spokesman. He said there is a feeling among Americans now that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger shapes foreign policy "and that President Ford is only peripherally involved in the process."

He said he intends to maintain current U.S. troop levels in Europe "for the foreseeable future," Carter said if the United States and the Soviet Union reach agreement to curtail nuclear arms "I would be willing to increase ground forces, or conventional forces, if necessary, if that was what it took to give us equivalent strength."

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BC-Carter, ADV 19 - 2nd add, 380<

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For release Sun. Sept. 19<

WASHINGTON: tax code?

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Carter

A. We now have about \$10 billion or \$11 billion set up as tax incentives or tax expenditures to encourage home ownership or home construction. I think that level is approximately correct and I would maintain that level of encouragement for home construction and home ownership. There again, we have in the tax code a heavy reward for those in the higher-income brackets and a much lower reward for those in the low-income brackets.

Secondly, we have authorization now for those tax incentives to apply to second and third homes, vacation homes, and so forth and I would like to channel as much of that encouragement as I can to families trying to purchase their first home.

Q. You said that you don't think that you do have a problem with people being concerned about your lack of specificity. The latest Harris poll showed that 49 per cent of the voters feel that you have ducked taking a stand on the issues ... Does that bother you at all?

A. I wish it was zero.

Q. How do you get it to zero?

A. Well, I don't know. I haven't seen the Harris poll. I don't know whether most of the people in the Harris poll prefer that I be President or Mr. Ford. You have seen it and I guess you could interpret.

(The latest survey showed Carter has an 11 point lead over President Ford nationally. It also showed that while positive views about Carter outnumber negative ones, there has been a decrease in what voters find positive and an increase in what they find negative since the period just after the Democratic National Convention.)

I guess one of the questions is that I derived support from a wide range of public figures and from different kinds of voters. Every time there has been a post-election analysis I've gotten support from those who called themselves conservative or moderate or liberal. And I've also gotten the support, as you know, of an almost complete group of Democrats ranging from George McGovern to George Wallace and I think that this broad range of support causes some concern in the voters' minds about exactly where I stand on the political spectrum.

I'm typically a complex person. In some areas, I would be placed in the liberal end of the spectrum and in other areas I would be on the conservative end. But the fact that I am not a clearly identifiable political ideologue is possibly one reason for the concern.

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BC-Carter, ADV 19 - 1st add, 430<

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For release Sun. Sept. 19

WASHINGTON: income is.

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Another thing would be to tax income only once instead of twice. The tax expenditures or tax exemptions would be severely curtailed and this would result in a commensurate reduction in the rate of taxation for particular income. But I would not try to include an overall increase or decrease in tax revenues along with the tax reform method. I would try to keep the revenue about the same and modify the percentage of income.

The overall effect would be to shift a substantial increase toward those who have the higher incomes and reduce the income on the lower-income taxpayers.

Q. What do you mean when you say shift the burden?

A. That means people who have a higher income would pay more taxes at a certain level.

Q. In dollar figures, what are you thinking of as higher?

A. I don't know. I would take the mean or median level of income and anything above that would be higher and anything below that would be lower.

Q. The median family income today is somewhere around \$12,000. Somebody earning \$15,000 a year is not what people commonly think of as rich...

A. I understand. I can't answer that question because I haven't gone into it. I don't know how to write the tax code now in specific terms. It is just not possible to do that on a campaign trail. But I am committed to do it and I have already talked to congressional leaders in the House and the Senate about the need and have found an agreement among them. As far as telling you specifically what the tax code would be, there is no way I can do that.

Q. You are saying that you would like voters to make you President and you are not able to say what the impact might be of this very major change you are talking about. How would you respond to that?

A. It hasn't created a problem for me as far as I have been able to detect. I think the principles that I have spelled out to you would in every instance convince the average American family that their taxes are going to be no higher or perhaps even lower in some instances, depending on their income, and that their taxes as levied will be fair.

I don't think most of them want to see their taxes lowered. They want to be sure that when they do pay taxes they are given the same treatment as those who are more influential and have a wider range of opportunities on taxed income.

Q. One area that has been something of a problem for you since the Massachusetts primary is the home mortgage tax deduction. Are you still thinking in terms of eliminating that and substituting legislation to benefit the homeowner in some way outside of the tax code?

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Q & A

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^For Release Sun. Sept. 19<

WASHINGTON (AP) — Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter says his debate with President Ford will "alleviate a lot of the concerns about me" among voters who think he is too vague on the issues.

Carter also says he would be able to spearhead an overhaul of the U.S. tax system through Congress but says he cannot now provide details of his plan.

His comments came in an interview with The Associated Press. Here are excerpts from the interview:

Q. It is sometimes said that the press fails to focus as it should with enough clarity on campaign issues and the criticism is sometimes directed at candidates. I can recall back in 1968 when Richard Nixon said he had a plan to end the war, there was criticism of the press' lack of success in pinning down exactly what he was going to do. . . . We would like to focus on your positions in a few key areas. You proposed a total overhaul of the tax laws which is probably the one thing that touches more people than any other single action. Can you give us some idea of the specific changes that you envision as they touch the average taxpayer?

A. I can tell you what I intend to do. First of all, we have never had a comprehensive reform of the income tax laws so far as I know since the constitutional amendment was passed in 1913 . . . I intend to take on myself, as a president's responsibility, at one time, a complete and comprehensive tax reform effort.

There would be some specific and fairly dramatic themes followed. One is that the tax code would be drastically reformed and simplified. It now consists of 40,000 pages and I would like to make the tax code as simple as possible.

Secondly, I would move to treat all income the same and remove the sharp distinction now drawn depending on where the income is derived. There would be a couple of exceptions that I can envision now. One would be the question of local and state properties, including bonds . . .

Also, I would continue the encouragement of beneficent gifts, but would tighten up on the rules or laws relating to foundations (so) . . . that the income from foundations should have to go to the causes for which the foundation was set up.

Another thing that I would like to do is to guarantee a truly progressive tax rate so that the higher an income one has, the higher percentage of income one pays. This is not the case now. The low-income families actually pay a greater proportion of their income or at least the same. In almost every instance, we have a flat tax rate now on the average, independent of what income is.

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Carter

Jimmy Carter
September 20, 1976
Whistle--Stop Tour
New York City, New York

It's great to be back in the great city known as New York City. Twenty eight years ago if we think back we remember a great President. How many of you remember Harry Truman and what a great President he was. How many of you remember Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy. How many of you remember Franklin Roosevelt, the kind of president that you'd want? How many of you remember Harding, Coolidge,.... they typicify what the Democrats stand for compared with what the Republicans stand for. This campaign and victory on our ... represents directly for you an opportunity the president going around once again and not to the special interest and I'll bet you that we have some basic changes First of all, Stronger leadership, we need leadership in Washington.. When Harry Truman was in office, nobody doubted who the President of this country was. Does anybody remember the sign on Harry Trumans's desk in the oval office? Nobody is in charge of anything. They will never be able to ... themselves out, with Watergate, C.I.A., with unemployment, with inflation, with thescandel, nobody is in charge. We need a President who wants to get in charge of our government.... the way that Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson did. If you will help me, I'll try and be that kind of President that as far as I know, to have the strength.... from people and not special interest groups. And we need a democratic representative in the White House and if you'll help me I'll help you this November and return this.... to the people. I want you to remember what happen in the last eight years, We have had a 50% increase in interest rates. We had an increase in the price of homes. From the 20,000 dollar homes to the very expensive homes... to 44,000. We have got 18 percent of our construction workers out of work because the married families can no longer afford. We have had suffering and a number of unemployed people in our country. We've had to worst decifit in the history of our nation last year. 65 billion dollars in decifit more than all of the 8 years combined ... since Johnson and Kennedy were in office..... Despite was less than 1 percent.... more than 4 percent. And we had a government that we could trust. I have never felt that Truman told us a lie, he allways told us the truth and we need the kind of government that opens its arms to the people once again and doesn't put our people away from government put us out of work and destroy our families. I would to tell you we've got to have the Republican administration defeated by President Gerald Ford. We've got 375,000 workers here in New York than we had 2 years ago.... going up from 6 and 1/2 percent to over 10 percent..... for one... family and to human being and neighborhoods is a devesting blow to our country. This is a time for our people to remember what it means to us. We need to get registered to vote and we need to go out and vote and run the Republicans out and put the people back in. And this we have to do together. Let me ask you one more question, how many of you think it's time for a change in the party? If you help me on November the second, I'll help you on Janurary 20 to change our government to bring decently and respect to our party again.. Thank you very much.

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September 20, 1976
Jimmy Carter
Whistle--Stop Tour
Trenton

Put your signs down so I can see the people in the back okay? Thank you very much. Those signs are going to mean alot to us. Twenty Eight years ago Harry Truman began to campaign for President against Thomas Deuy. How many of you remember what kind of President Harry Truman was? How many of you remember what kind of President Franklin Roosevelt was? How many of you remember what kind of President Lyndon Johnson and Jack Kennedy were? Very Good. How many of you remember Coolidge and Hoover? How many of you remember Richard Nixon? So as you think about your own families, as you think about your own life, as you think about your jobs, as you think about your neighborhood, as you think about your farm land and the pride in your country and you think about human digity as you think about good health and as you think about your own relationship to other nations and with your neighbors. Think about what party you want to be in the White House for the next four years. This is a very important decision for you. We have a tremendous crowd here this morning but not everybody in this crowd can be happy because we have high unemployment in our country, 7.9 percent when Harry Trumen went out of office it was only 3 percent. When Johnson and Kennedy went out of office it was only 4 percent. I don't want to embarasse anybody but just for the benefit of the national news media how many of you do not have jobs right now, would you raise your hand. That's allmost unbelievable. This morning we registered 150 people in this group to vote. Unless you register to vote, there is no way that you can change your own government. Frank Thompson , one of the great Congressman of a whole nation, has allways been in favor of our people having a right to vote. Dr. Martain Luther King Sr. was on a train had their son and their husband killed trying to get people to chance to vote. If I'm elected President I intend to be the next year I'm going to push for a change in our law so that if you are 18 years old and if you are a citizen of the United States you'll be automatically registered to vote if you would like. We just came from Newark andthe unemployment there is 18 percent among construction workers. The unemployment rate is 18 percent. The Republicans have allways been the party of special interest of big business. They've allways thought that the best way to control inflation was to keep people unemployed, tight money, high interest rates, When Harry Truman went out of office in 1952interest on home loans was 4 percent. When Kennedy and Johnson finished their terms, it was 6 percent. Now as you know it is 9 or 10 percent. A home that cost 22,000 dollars when Richard Nixon went into the White House, now costs 45,000 dollars. Listen, one third of the people in this country can afford to own their own home what the Democracts and others did over 70 years the Republicans have undone in 8 years. And this is not just numbers and statitics, its human beings lifes. This election year is crucial. You know how important the election was in 1932, you know how important the election was when John Kennedy won in 1960, you know how important the election was in 1948, and now the election is just as important. It's not just wheather it's me or Gerald Ford, I'm eager to meet him and I believe that I'm going to beat him with your help but its also important to you and to your neighbors and to our country. We've been hurt deep in this nation in the last eight years under this Republican administration. We have been held at arms length because people have not had a chance to understand or control our own government. We've been excluded, we've been disalusoned, we've been alainated, we've been embarassed, and sometimes we've been ashamed of our own government. We don't have any leadership in Washington. When Harry Truman was in the

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September 20, 1976
Jimmy Carter
Whistle--Stop Tour
Trenton (CONTINUED)

White House, nobody doubted who the President was. It was Harry Truman. Now a days everytime our ship starts to run aground, on Watergate, C.I.A., unemployment, inflation, Angola, medicade scandels, the crew argues about who's to blame, while the captain hides in the state room. That's got to be changed. We need a tough competent President in the White House who has his allegiance, his support, his advice, his counsel, and his critizens coming directly from the people, you. The Republicans have allways been away from the people. I owe special interest absoulately nothing I own the people everything. I hope you'll think about these things in the next six weeks or so. How the election is going to apply to you, to your families, to your neighborhood, to your children, and to your country. It's not going to be an easy thing to defeat an incumbent President with a unified party. Strong dedicated to big business to the special interest groups unless the people take control of political process and vest your own life in changing our political system back to where it was when we had great Presidents who cared about you. Democrats obsviously make mista we're not perfect, but as one unchanging committment in the Democratic Party. We derive our strength from the people themselves. Directly f you and were going to keep it that way. It's great to be in New Jersey. You were very good to me in the primaries and I'm glad to be back with you and I hope that we'll have a chance to come often. You've got a great proud state and I'm very glad to be here and to have my wife and children to come often and to have the chance to start our whole train campaign trip in your state. How many of you believe that's its time to have a change in Washington. How many of you are satisfied with what goes on in Washington now. If you'll help me between now and November 2, along with Fritz Mondale, Frank Thompson, Pete Williams, all of the other great Democrats that are running for office, then in Janurary 1977 we're change this country. We'll turn the government back to you. We'll coninstrate on jobs, low interest rates, housing, good health care, balanced budget. Last year the budget under Gerald Ford was the highest decifit we've ever had in the history of our country. We went in debt further than in all of the . . . years put together. when Kennedy and Johnson were in office. Under Nixon and Ford, we've had a greater increase in our national debt than occured in 192 years before Richard Nixon went into office. So lets get red of the philosophy of Harding, Coolege, Hoover, Nixon, and Ford and lets return the government to the people. That's where it belongs. Thank you very much. You owe help me. Thank you very much.

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W. H. ...
Washington ...

- Robert
Stanley
2/22/76

.....A great president who you may or may not remember named Harry Truman campaigned throughout the country on the proposition that the Democratic Party was the Party of the people, that the Republican Party was the Party of special interest. Nothing has changed that plan.....if you'll help me we'll win again. We need not fear our own government as long as people control the government and not the other way around. We need to have a minimum of government secrecy. I've just returned from the midwest. The day before I was there, Earl Butz was there. He had about two hundred people in his crowd compared to sixty thousand here.... I don't believe Earl Butz could draw that many people in Georgia or Missouri. One of the things Mr. Butz had to say was, he predicted that when I arrive next May that I would say again that if I get to be elected President Earl Butz is going to be fired.....Not to long ago, I met my good friend Earl Butz at a banquet in Washington, D. C....Here's a copy of an income tax card. Has anybody here ever seen a copy? That's one copy of an income tax loss My friend, when you fill out your income tax return.....I hope that you have a battery of lawyers and CPAs to make sure you get all the advantages of the loop holes that have been put in these regulations over the last fifty years. Very few of you, very few, but there are those in this country who make a lot of money, who pay practically no taxes..... There aren't any hidden loopholes for someone who works with his hands forty hours a week, fifty two weeks a year, but there are hidden secret loopholes for everyone else. We have a situation in our country which is a disgrace. The average family in our nation makes less than ten thousand dollars a year pays a bigger proportion of that federal income in taxes than does the average family in this country that makes more than a million dollars a year.....there were six hundred and twenty that makes more than a hundred thousand dollars in income. They pay not a nickel in income taxes. They don't pay any income taxes, you know who pays it for them? You do, thats exactly right. The Republicans have always been the obstacle that prevented comprehensive tax reform. When Mr. Ford became President in August of 1974, the first thing he did in October was to ask for a tax increase on our people, a four point seven billion dollar increase. In January of last year he asked the that the federal taxes be increased, on working people now, five point six billion dollars. He asked that the taxes for the corporations and the special interest groups be reduced six point five billion dollars. This is the kind of constant committment that the Republican Party has always had to prevent tax reform and give our average American working family fair treatment in the income tax laws. If I'm elected, and so help me I will be beginning next year we're going to have a comprehensive income tax reform to change all this mess and make it clear to you.

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This is the Democratic Party, and I as the nominee of our Party will never increase taxes on the working people of our country and the lower and middle income groups, but we will give the burden of taxes, upon whom the Republicans have always protected, on the rich, the big corporations and the special interests groups and you can depend on that if I'm elected.....
As long as I'm here, let me say this. I don't blame the North, oh yes, I'm just like you are.....

Carter

Handwritten: Stand 9/25/76

September 24, 1976
Rally, Downtown Houston
Houston, Texas

Thank you. Thank you very much. Rev. Harvi, Governor Bensten,.... and leaders who have honored me by coming to join in this great celebration of a future victory. I'm glad to be back in Texas which gave me a tremendous victory in the primary and which I believe is going to give me a greater victory on November 2. I give you a thank you in advance. I hate to see..... being so timid about the great city of Houston. As you may know, I come from Georgia, about 130 miles south of Atlanta, and the southern city of which Atlanta allways competes is Houston. And it's the most widely opponent I've ever seen and I would certainly hate to disagree with his claim that Houston is the Capitol city of the South but Georgian and I might change my mind but right now I can't disagree with you Mr. Mayor, it's a great city. There's one thing that I don't like about Houston, and I want to help you change it in a couple of months. Houston has not supported Democratic in a long time and I want to be sure, when is the last time, since the great prison... of 1964. We're going to in November and let Houston join the rest of Texas in voting solely Democratic and putting a great Democratic Party back in control of the White House as you contributed when Lyndon Johnson, a great leader, went from here to lead our country and to care for our people as he should have. And you can depend on that. Today I want to talk to you about two things, leadership and people. We need very deeply to have the to the White House strong, aggressive, determined, leadership of our great country. Leadership derived directly from the people. With no dependance from the special interest groups for getting ones support, ones counsel, ones advice, ones critisims, ones leadership potential directly from the people of this country. In the last 2 years, we've not had that strong leadership. We've seen a 14% increase in the cost of living. This ... all Americans. Mr. Ford's Press Secretary , Mr. Ron Nessen says he was proud of that accomplish but for the family of a fixed income, it means the price of everything you buy doubles every ten years. It means for a family who saves their money and invests it in a savings account at 5%, that you actually lose 1% every year. It means that we have a constant decrease in the quality of our lives. Under President Johnson and Kennedy we had a average increase in the purchasing power of workers families. Under this administration we've had a decrease below what it was in 1968 and that decrease has accelerated the last 2 years. We need to have an Administration that cares about you and that possesses tremendous potential of this country in a continuing and successful way. I could use some ... First of all, we need to tie together job oportunities and inflationary control. The Republicans have proved that you can have high inflation and high unemployment at the same time. The Democrats have allways proved that you can have low inflation and low unemployment at the same time and that's the difference between the two parties and we're going to have low inflation and low unemployment beginning next year and if you'll help me you can also depend on that. We've got to have a dependance on jobs in the private sector, not government jobs... President Ford has been office, we've had a decrease of the number of people employed in private industry or on farms. We have 2 and 1/2 million people now more out of work than we had two years ago when Mr. Nixon left office. In the last 3 months, we've added 500,000 to the unemployment rolls so we have to put our people back to work. There is no way to balance the budget, which I certainly intend to do, there's no way to control inflation with 7 1/2 million people looking for jobs. This costs us enormous amounts of money and creates and creates ... decifits. Last year under Mr. Ford, we had the highest dicift in the history of our country, 65 billion dollars. More than the total deficit of the eight years when President Johnson, and President Nixon, and President Johnson and President Kennedy ... President. 65 billion dollars in one year. And under Nixon and Ford, we had more decifits acculmated than all of the 192 years of our nations history. I grew up on a farm, I know how to work. I've allways

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..... kept my family's budget balanced. I've allways kept my farms' budget balanced. I keep my business budget balanced. I was Governor for four years. The budget was allways balanced. We allways had a surplus. And when I get to be President, before that....., we're going to balanced the national budget with good sound management and you can depend on that to. We need to tap the tremendous economic strength of our country. When President Johnson was in office and President Kennedy, even before the Viataam War we had a 5 and 1/2 percent average growth per year. Under Nixon and Ford, our nation's economy has only grown 2 percent in expanded dollars. And under Mr. Ford, we've been going backwards this last two years. The productivity has got to be tapped, our farmes manufacturing, industry and of labor of our men and women. This has not been done. We've neglected tapping this tremendous resources. We need to strictly enforce the anti-trust laws and remove the unwarranted constraint on business that elimates competition because of the regulatory agencies being excessively constraining on top of tensions. We need a maximize trade over seas. One of the great responsibilies of a Governor in the South is to sell our product domestically and overseas and to bring in new industry to put our people to work. When I was of Georgia for four years, we did this. We now have fulltime trade offices in Bonn, Germany; Beligum; Brazil, Canada; two in Japan; one in Great Britian just a ... of products to shut down emborsories to keep our people to work. Under this Republican Administration, we expericenced the first negative balance of trade since the great depression and that's got to be changed and I intend to do it. Another thing we need to do is this, another thing that we need to address is the tax laws. The President's tax laws are a disgrace. They cheat the average person 25% of all of the tax benefits go to the one percent of the richest Americans over 50% of all of the tax benefits go to 14% of the richest Americans. This is a welfare program for the rich. It's got to be made fair and I intend to initiate and carry out a complete overall comprehensive tax reform when I get to be President of the United States and I would never increase the taxes on those who work for a living or those who have been reporting all their income and paying taxes on all of their income and you can depend on that to. I just want to mention two other things. We've got to have the bureaucratic mess in Washington straightened out. This agency, after agency, after agency, after bureau, after advisory board, has made the federal government almost uncontrolable, inefficient, ineffective, wasteful, there is no way to manage it. And we'll rarely depend on those who have been there for 25 or 30 years to straighten it out. We need a farmer, a businessman, a state legislator, a Governor to go into Washington from the outside to straighten out the mess and give us a government that we can understand and control for a change. Another number of years ago my first year in office I put into affect a budgting system called zero based budgeting. Texas officials got interested in it Bill Harvey came to Atlanta to meet with me. I work very closely with Frisco. And you and I have the same budgeting system. When I get to be President of the United States, we're going have zero based budgeting in Washington to strip down the government to zero, to start from scratch, to elimiate unnecessary or obslite programs, to detect overlapping agencies, wasted money, and to establish priorities for the expenditure of your tax money for what we need next year not what was needed 50 years ago. This will save alot of money and give you a better life and a better government. The thing that I want to point out to you in closing is this: when we have a disorganized government, when we have inflation rates the highest in 25 years, when we have 7.9% of our people looking for jobs, who are out of jobs, when we have increased 23 billion dollars the last two years alone in paying unemployment compensation and welfare costs and loss in tax revenues, when there is no way for people to understand their own government or to control it, when we have a need in our country for a balance government and it is not met, when the President of Congress can't cooperate and when business, industry, labor,

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manufacturing, government, agriculture, our country drifts. And as a nation we are weaker but the main damage done to our country is the individual human beings and when a father and a mother can't get a job it's very difficult to hold a family together. It's kind of a disgraceful thing for an able bodied man or women to waste the talent or ability that God has given them when they want to work and can't find a place to work. It destroys neighborhoods, it breaks down the fabrics of our life and it eliminates self respect and human dignity and for a President to sit in the White House and see the unemployment rate go up month after month after month and do nothing about it and depend on welfare payments and unemployment compensation instead of value jobs for our people is a disgrace to our country and I am going to change that next January to help your lives. I described high inflation robs us all. We've got a group of senior citizens here from the Williams Nursing Home Golden Age Manor and they've come to express their confidence in me and I appreciate it. For quite often they live on a fixed income and when they can't have control of inflation what they live on has to be spend on stretched a little further. Their food is not quite as good. Sometimes they have to leave their own homes because of high property taxes and increase costs for electricity and heating and telephone services. The cost of our country's health care has gone up 250 percent in the last 8 years and when they have had small savings and when they take their money out of a savings account at the end of 10 years they find their money is not as worth as much as when they put it in there. That hurts. And when they give gifts to their grandchildren at Christmas, the gift is not quite as nice as they would like for it to be. It's not fair for powerful political figures in Washington to ignore the needs of older people in health care and giving them a good place to live, and giving them dignity in their own life, and in giving them separate ... security and a chance to live as we do who are still young enough and fortunate enough to have jobs. There robbing our people by inflation. It is much more serious than just reading about 6% increase a year. The Republican inflation means that if you're an elderly person that your life gets a little worse every day, it means that a workers wage increases don't mean anything if the inflation is bigger than the wage increases. When President Johnson was in office, the average annual wage in real dollars allowing for inflation went up about 75 dollars per year (average) 600 dollars in the full 8 years but in the last 2 years under President Ford the average wage has actually gone down 78 dollars. Every working family in this country on the average makes 78 dollars less than they did when President Ford took office. This is a very serious blow to us and it needs to be changed. The last thing that I want to say is this. I need your help. It's not going to be an easy thing to defeat an incumbent President with a unified party. You took me in and helped me when you had your primary election in May. I've always felt at home here. I believe that my campaign has been the kind that appeals to you. I'm not a big shot politician when I started running for President 21 months ago, I didn't have much money. I did not hold public office. I didn't have a nationwide built in campaign organization. Very few people knew who I was or cared. I didn't into a big city with a major media market, I came from a little town with 683 people but I had my wife and my family and a few volenteers began going from one home to another and one labor hall to another, sometimes only 4 or 5 people would show up so I went to the factory lines and the shopping centers, the farmers markets, the livestock barns, we walked up and down the street, we went in beauty parlors and barbar shops and restranuts and we talked to people and we listened alot and we learned. We learned what you wanted in government, we learned about what your needs are, and how deeply you've been hurt in the last few years with Watergate, the C.I.A., inflation, unemployment, unbalanced budget, secretcy surrounding our government. Our nation is to strong for that. We don't have to have a reputation of weakness or failure. We have a great country. I believe in it. We've got great resources, economic strength, a system of government, and our people. We need to work together. We need

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to put the Republicans out of office and put Democrats back in the White House. This is an election between those who are satisfied with the status quo and those like all of us assembled here who are not and who think America can do better. How many of you think America can do better? How many of you think that its time for a change in Washington? If you'll help me between now and November 2 and help the congressional deligations... which is so great to go to Washington to help me beginning on Janurary 20, 1977, we're going to correct our mistakes; we're going to bind our wounds; we're going to unify our nation; we're going to ask a difficult question;we're going to restore common sense to our government; we're going to give our people a decent life and a chance to control our government; and we're going to restore the greatness of our country and let the rest of the world know that we still live in nation on earth, the United States of America.....

Carter Speech
Hilton Plaza Inn
Kansas City Fund Raising

In 1932, and there was one occasion, an election, I know all of you remember more vividly in 1948. The first time I ever voted in my life I was at Submarine School in New London, Conn., in 1948. There were 61 of us there. A young Naval officer learning how to be submarine officers. Sixty of them voted for Thomas Dewey, I voted for Harry Truman. And during this general election campaign, I've gone back in the history of our party to 1932 and outlined the basic differences that exist between our two major parties. I'm going to make a talk in a few minutes now at the Federal Office Building and perhaps a few of you can come down. I won't go into details later, but I would like to say this. You are the kind of people who are blessed with superior opportunities, intelligence, accomplishments, influence, politically, socially and economically. You've also been the kind of people who have the time and inclination to give unscrupling support to the political processes of our country. And I want to thank you deeply for being willing to contribute again to a principle and a tide of history of which we can be legitimately proud. It's important for me to be part of it, a part of you. A partner with you in trying to shape a better country for ourselves. In the last few years, particularly the last eight years, under a Republican Administration, our country has been deeply hurt. We've been dissolusioned; we've been disappointed; we've been embarassed; sometime we've been outright ashamed of what has occurred in our own government. I don't claim to know all the answers, nobody can do that, but I derive my strength and my support, and my counseling advice, criticisms directly from the people--and I want to keep it that way. It's the way Harry Truman campaigned and it drew vivid and avid differences to the attention of the American people during the campaign when he was a hopeless candidate--and he won because of it. He ran against a do-nothing Congress and I'm running against a do-nothing President. And to the extent that I can be factual and frank and clear and derive my strength directly from the people and not from the special interest groups, to that extent I can pride in my own success in the campaign against that of Harry Truman, and I hope that I can be half as good a president, if I am elected, as he was. In the last few years when we have, as I said, been ashamed and felt that our leaders have mislead us, I think in vivid contrast of what Harry Truman did. I was in the Navy during his administration and I never felt that he told a lie, or would ever try to mislead me or the hundreds of men in the.....corp leadership, there was never any doubt, he was the President and he was responsible and he was the Captain of our ship of state and he made the tough decisions. He was competent enough of himself, he did never fear choosing strong people to work with him, the likes of George Marshall, Dean Acheson and others, but there was never any doubt about who made the final decisions in our country, there was never any doubt who was spokesman for our nation, and I think our people are looking for some entity in Washington centered in the White House around which our nation can pull effort again, in unity, in commonality of purpose with an opportunity to make sacrifices if necessary. and where our nations' essence is actively described to the extend to which our government has deviated from what our people....who've suffered and

I believe that that's one of the major issues of the campaign. Leadership, times will change and I believe that we can derive strength from this. We've got a tough campaign on our hands.this is a very hard, very tough, very combative next six or seven weeks. I'm part of it with you and there will be areas where I can strengthen your candidate and there will be areas where your candidate will strengthen me, but we're partners in a common effort. The last thing I want to say is this, I don't have to raise any money for the whole campaign. I'm thankful for it. I'm not a good fund raiser. We ran our own campaign on a shoestring and this new law, which I favor, has not arrived from forty-four million Americans throughout the country over a period of four years, one dollar per person per year contributed when they file their income tax return. That's how my campaign and Senator Mondale's campaign...is financed. There is a great need in the states now to have strong financial support for the Democratic nominees. There is no way that I can have a good administration unless I have strong support in Congress, and I want to restore the bipartisan nature of the administration, of course, but I also want to have a sense of commonality of philosophy and a sharing of experience and a mutual respect between the White House and the Congress that hasn't been there for a number of years. But if you have come here today I know it's a good indication of your willingness to sacrifice financially for the Democratic Party. But I'd like to ask you as an outsider coming into your state to contribute even more. I doubt if there's anyone here who doesn't have fifty other friends, at least, who are not here that you could call on the telephone next week maybe ten a day and say can you contribute a hundred dollars or five hundred dollars or a thousand dollars for the Democratic Party. We've got a good strong ticketlets share the responsibility for the future. To summarize, I'm grateful to you. I need your help personally. We're a ticket, the Democrats throughout the country with a common purpose. We will represent you in public office. You want the good part of it I know. You're able to contribute not only today, but in the next week or two to help and I hope that you will make a personal sacrifice to do so. It's a great pleasure to be back in a great state, Kansas City, in spite of the selection of the site of the Republican Convention. It's a part of the country and I want to keep it that way.

Jimmy Carter
Hilton Plaza

*Over Gary
9/2/70*

in 1932. I don't want to be remembered for what I did in 1948. The first time that I ever voted in my life, I was at Submarine School in New London, Connecticut, in 1948. There were 61 of us there, young Naval Officers learning how to be Submarine Officers. Sixty of them voted for Thomas Dewey, I voted for Harry Truman. And during this general election campaign, I've gone back in the history of our party to 1932 and outlined the basic differences that exist between our two major parties. I'm going to make a talk in a few minutes in the State Office Building and perhaps some of you will come down, we'll go into details later but I would like to say this. You are the kind of people who have been blessed with superior opportunity, intelligence, accomplishments, influence politically socially and economically. You've also been the kind of people who have the time and inclination to give unwavering support to the political processes of our country. And I want to thank you deeply for being willing to contribute again to a principal and a tide of history of which we can be proud. It's important to me to be part of it, part of you. A partner with you in trying to shape a better country for ourselves. In the last few years, particularly the last eight years, under a Republican administration our country has been deeply hurt. We have been disappointed, we've been embarrassed sometimes we've have been out right ashamed of what has occurred in our own government. I don't claim to know all of the answers, nobody can do that. But I derive my strength and my support and my counseling and advice directly from the people and I want to keep it that way. It's the way Harry Truman campaigned. And it drew vivid and accurate differences to the attention of the American people during the campaign when he was a hopeless candidate and he won because of it. He ran against a do nothing Congress. I'm running against a do nothing President and to the extent that I can be factual, frank, and clear and derive my strength directly from the people and not from the special interest groups to that extent I can pattern my own success in the campaign as that as Harry Truman. And I hope that I can be half a good of a President if I am elected as he was. In the last few years when we have had letters, I think in vivid contrast to what Harry Truman did. I was in the Navy during his administration and I never felt that he told a lie hundreds of millions of Americans who looked at him for leadership including who was a President and who was responsible, and who was a captain of our ship of state and who made the tough decisions. He was confident enough of himself and he never feared choosing strong people to work with him. But there was never any doubt about who made the final decisions in our country. There was never any doubt about who was spokesman for our nation. And I think our people are looking for some intensity in the White House around which our nation can pull upwards again in unity, in the of purpose with an opportunity to make sacrifices if necessary and we're our nation's to the extent that the government itself is deviated from what our people we've suffered and I believe that that is one of the major issues in the campaign. Leadership, it's time for a change and I believe that we can derive strength from it. We've got a tough campaign on our hands. I know that your whole party in Missouri places a very hard, very tough, in the next six or seven weeks and I'm part of it with you and there will be areas where I can strengthen your candidates, there will be areas where your candidates can strengthen me. But we're partners in a common effort. The last thing that I want to say I don't have to raise any money for my campaign and I'm thankful for it. I'm not a good fund raiser. We ran our own campaign on a shoe string and this new law which I favor has now derived from 44 million Americans throughout the country over a period of four years one dollar per person per year contributed when you file your income tax forms every year and that's how my campaign

Jimmy Carter
Hilton Plaza

..... But there's a great need in the states now to have strong active financial support for the Democratic nominees. There is no way that I can have a good administration unless I have strong support in Congress and I want to restore the bi-partisan nature of the administration of course but I also want to have a sense of philosophy and a sharing of experience and a mutual respect between the White House and the Congress that hasn't been there for a number of years. So if you have come here today, I know that it's a good indication of your willingness to sacrifice financment of the Democratic Party but I would like to ask you as an outsider coming into your state to contribute even more. I doubt if there is anyone here who doesn't have fifty other friends atleast who are not hear that you could call on the telephone in the next week, maybe ten a day, and say can you contibute a 100 dollars or 500 dollars or 1000 dollars to the Democratic Party. We've got a good strong ticket, we've got the and the on our side. Let's share the responsibility for the future of our country. So to summarize I am greatful to. I need your help personally . We're a ticket, the Democrats throughout the county with a purpose and willing to represent you in public office. You want to be part of it I know able to contribute not only today but in the next week or two to help and I hope that you would make a personal sacrifice to do so. It's a great pleasure to be back in a great state. Kansas City, in spite of the selection for the site of the Republican Convention, is Carter Country and I want to keep it that way with your help.

END OF SPEECH END OF SPEECH END OF SPEECH END OF SPEECH END OF SPEECH

IN 1948 when a great president, who you may or may not remember named Harry Truman, campaigned throughout the country on the proposition that the Democratic Party was the party of the people and the Republican Party was the party of the special interest. Nothing has changed since then, and we're going to remind people of it this year and if you'll help me then we'll win again. We need not feel..... of our own government as long as people control the government and not the other way around. We need to have a minumm of government secretly. The day before I was there Earl Butz was there. He had about 200 people in his crowd compared to the 60,000 that I've seen. I don't believe that Earl Butz can draw that big of a crowd in Georgia or Missuori. One of the things that Mr. Butz had to say was he predicted, that when I arrived the next day that I would say again that if I get to be elected President Earl Butz is going to be fired. That is the first prediction that is going to come true. Not to long ago I met my good friend Earl Butz at a banquet in Washington and he said Governor..... Copy of the income tax code. Has anybody seen a copy I want to show you a copy of the Income Tax code. That's one copy of the income tax laws. Fine print. When you fill out your income tax returns how many of you have a battery of Lawyers and C.P.A.'S TO Make sure that you get all of the advantages of the loop holes that have been put in the regulations and codes over the period of the last 50 years. Very few of you, very few. But there are those in this country who make alot of money who pay practically no taxes.... a man or woman that works with their hands 40 hours a week 52 weeks a year but there hidden secret loop holes for everyone else. We have a situation in our country now that is a disgrace. The average family in our nation that makes less than \$10,000 a year pays a bigger portion of their total income in taxes than does the average family that makes more than 1 million dollars per year. IN the last reporting period analized, there were 622 different people in our country that made more than 100,000 dollars in income that paid not a nickel in income taxes.

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When they don't pay their income taxes, do you know who pays it for them? You do, that's exactly right. The Republicans have always been the obstical to prevent compreshensive tax reform. When Mr. Ford became President in August of 1974 the first thing that he did in October was to as for a tax increasae on our people of 4.7 billion dollars. In Janurary of last year, he asked the federal taxes be increased on working people now 5.6 billion dollars. He added the taxes on the corporations and the special interest groups reduced 6.5 billion dollars. This is the kind of constant committment that the Republican Party has always had to prevent tax reform and give our average American working family fair treatment in the income tax laws. If I am elected, and your going to be lucky if I am, beginning next year we're going to have a government income tax reform to change all of this mess and make it.....

And I as the nominee of our party ,I would never increase taxes on the working people of our country and the low and middle income groups but we will give the burden of taxes, to who the Republicans have always pretected, the rich the big corporations and the special interest groups and you can depend on that if I am elected and I hope that you will help me.I closemy.....

I don't claim to know all of the answers. I'm just like you are.....



RS
9/27/76

JIMMY CARTER ON ENERGY REORGANIZATION

RELEASED SEPTEMBER 21, 1976

There is one question that surmounts all others in the voters mind during this campaign. It is how--or even whether--we can make our government work again.

I have made this theme a major focus of my campaign. I have promised to undertake a major reorganization of the federal government. Today I would like to present my plan for energy reorganization at the federal level, which will permit us to be properly organized to carry out the programs necessary to deal with our energy crisis.

Nowhere is the need clearer for a coordinated and coherent policy than in the area of energy. Two and one half years after the oil embargo our country still has no energy policy. We have had a parade of energy czars, a fragmentation of responsibility, an absence of accountability, and an ill-conceived proposal for energy independence.

The energy crisis is one of leadership and a failure to act aggressively, rather than not having the resources to get the job done.

The facts are alarming:

--In the first six months of this year we imported 44% of our oil needs--up 25% from the fall of 1973. The amount of crude oil imported from the Arab countries has more than doubled. We are more vulnerable than ever to another embargo.

--We had no emergency oil stockpile at the time of the Arab embargo; three years later we still have no oil stockpile; and under the Ford program it would take us another 7 years to accumulate a minimum emergency supply.

--The OPEC countries have it within their power to prevent economic recovery in this country through further price increases, yet we have abdicated to the oil companies our government's responsibility to negotiate with OPEC.

--Our government has as its number one energy priority the proliferation of nuclear power plants at home and around the world that are increasing the danger of nuclear war.

--Our oil and gas production have gone down since 1970, despite the fact that the price has more than doubled.

--We have spent billions of dollars to develop a means of transporting Alaskan oil to the West Coast, only to discover that we do not need it on the West Coast and have no means of getting it to the rest of the country.

--Ever since the embargo we have discussed the need for energy conservation, but we have no program. Yet the President opposed even such obvious measures as requiring by law that automobiles meet mandatory fuel efficiency standards, and he fought legislation that would promote development of more fuel-efficient vehicles.



--Coal is our most abundant fuel, but we have no program to expand its use; instead we continue the wasteful use of our scarce resources, like natural gas.

These problems are not just going to go away. They were created when we assumed that energy was always going to be abundant and cheap. The embargo dramatically showed us that this would no longer be true, and yet our government has not rethought either its policy or its organization to reflect today's energy needs. In fact, just the opposite has occurred. Rather than creating an effective structure to manage the energy problem, a structure which is capable of producing and implementing an energy policy, the President has allowed new agencies, special energy offices and special assistants for energy to proliferate throughout the government. Right now there are no less than 20 departments, agencies or commissions that are directly involved and have their separate views on energy policy development. The fact that there has been a proliferation of agencies has obscured the fact that none of them are operating pursuant to a coherent policy.

The chaos created by this lack of organization is apparent:

--Crude oil and natural gas often exist side by side in the same reservoir and are produced from the same wells. Yet the price of natural gas is regulated by the Federal Power Commission (FPC) under one set of economic standards, and the price of oil and natural gas liquids extracted from the gas is controlled by the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) under a different set of standards. Before either of these resources reach the ultimate consumers, they fall under the further regulation of not only these same two agencies again, but also the ICC, the SEC and state utility commissions. Seldom do any of these agencies coordinate with each other, although each makes policy decisions that have a direct and substantial effect not only on the use of the fuel they regulate, but the demand for all alternative fuels as well.

--Coal is our only domestic energy resource plentiful and readily enough available to see us through the transition from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources such as solar energy. Many agencies have a role in its development: ERDA, FEA, Department of Interior. Yet in the end, no agency in the government really has overall responsibilities for its development in an environmentally sound manner, and the development of a national coal program therefore continues to drift.

--Today most energy research is concentrated in one agency, the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA). But because it is an offshoot of the now defunct Atomic Energy Commission and is not accountable to the other energy programs, its entire slant is toward the nuclear industry. Sixty-five percent of its research resources for fiscal year 1977 are oriented toward nuclear fission and fusion, while only 5% will go to energy conservation and 5% for solar power. This distribution is folly. We are now wasting 50% of the energy we are presently using, a figure that could be greatly reduced through development of aggressive conservation technologies. The technology to harness our renewable resources such as the sun could provide our children and grandchildren with a plentiful and environmentally acceptable energy source after our non-renewable resources are gone.

--The Energy Resources Council is the Ford Administration's excuse for energy policy coordination. It is made up of the heads of virtually every agency in Washington so that it is top-heavy with officials having little knowledge of or interest in energy policy. Its chairman is the Secretary of Commerce, whose agency has only peripheral involvement in the energy picture and who personally has little or no background or experience in the area. The ERC is without any staff or resources.



The Ford Administration has done nothing to straighten out this jumble. When it had the opportunity to make some headway, at the time the life of the PBA expired on June 30 of this year, it merely perpetuated the chaos by timidly proposing that the PBA be extended for another 39 months.

I recognize that reorganization of our energy agencies is only the prelude to solving the energy problems and that it will take new policies and programs--major new initiatives--to regain strength in energy. I have set out on other occasions the energy programs a Carter Administration would emphasize, but they are worth repeating in summary here, to show what the revamped structure will be designed to accomplish:

--I would exercise the federal government's obligation to protect the nation against an oil embargo and to negotiate on behalf of the consumer to keep OPEC prices under reasonable control. The present practice of leaving the consumers' fate in the hands of the big oil companies and the OPEC cartel will be stopped.

--I would institute an all-out, comprehensive energy conservation program. This means performance standards, financial incentives, research and development of more energy efficient technology, and conservation pricing of energy. The Carter Administration will give a higher priority to conservation.

--I would establish a new "clean coal" program, designed to overcome all the bottlenecks in mining, transportation and conversion of industrial plants but still protecting the land, air and water, and health and safety of coal miners.

--I would institute a major initiative to develop environmentally safe and renewable energy resources, such as solar power. Its development is being neglected, while nuclear power, which poses many dangers, is being favored.

--I would formulate all of my initiatives in partnership with the states and local governments. The best resources of each area of the country will be matched with its most important needs.

In order to implement these energy programs, we must begin by straightening out the bureaucratic jumble in Washington. The general outlines of how to go about that are clear. There should be combined in one cabinet-level Department, under a Secretary who would report to the President, all current offices or agencies that presently perform the energy functions of policy and analysis, conservation, research and development, data collection and economic regulation of oil, gas, utilities and pipelines.

I intend to abolish the Federal Energy Administration, the Federal Power Commission, the Energy Research and Development Administration, and the Energy Resources Council. Their combined missions will be carried out by the Department, eliminating in the process the overlap, duplication and inconsistency of our present structure. I would also bring into the Department those functions of the Departments of Commerce and Treasury relating solely to energy; those functions of the Securities and Exchange Commission relating to enforcement of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935; those functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission relating to pipeline regulation; and the economic regulatory functions of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Within the Department, it will be necessary to clearly define roles and functions and in certain instances to establish buffers to ensure that functions are insulated from undue political influence. For example, the economic regulatory functions should be properly insulated. Similarly, the energy data collection functions combined in

the Department should be free of the biases of the policymakers, in order to finally give some credibility to the government's energy statistics.

With this kind of coordinated energy department, we can move ahead with a balanced, comprehensive program of increasing energy sources, reducing our consumption and increasing our energy independence. But I should emphasize with equal force that the Secretary of this new department will not have unlimited or sole discretion within the Executive Branch to develop and promote the energy program. There is no reason why a balance between energy, on the one hand, and the protection of the environment, the health and safety of our citizens and the multiple use of our public lands, on the other, cannot be achieved. To insure that the latter considerations have an equal role in energy policy, I would keep separate from the new department primarily responsible for energy those agencies whose primary responsibilities are for these other considerations.

For example, many of the functions of the Department of Interior relate to energy, but the basic mission of that Department is to manage the nation's natural resources for all the public, not to promote energy development. While a sound energy policy will permit development and use of some of the energy resources which the government holds in trust for the public, the maintenance of Interior's "stewardship" role for all uses will assure that energy does not become the dominant factor in public land management.

Similarly, the agencies which are now charged with protection of public health and safety and with restoring and maintaining the quality of our environment (e.g., the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the EPA) must remain as independent voices for these goals.

Finally, other departments, such as Transportation and Housing and Urban Development must also play an important and upgraded role in carrying out a comprehensive energy program, by emphasizing energy conservation in the industries they are charged to promote or regulate.

As President, I will give the development of a coherent energy policy, and the creation of a government organization that can put it into effect, the highest priority. This is the kind of thinking that should have been going on inside the White House over the past few years.

What is needed is organization, not continued chaos; leadership, not the passivity of the past two years. The energy problem is not insoluble if we meet it with the vision, determination and competence that will come about only with a change of leadership.